

PHILOSOPHIE, commonlie called,

THE

MORALS

WRITTEN BY

the learned Philosopher

PLUTARCH

of Charonea.

Translated out of Greeke into English, and conferred with the Latine translations and the French,
by Philemon Holland of
Coventrie, Doctor in
Physicke.

VV hereunto are annexed the Summaries necessary to be read before every Treatise.



At London
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HE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY

PRINCE, IAMES, BY THE Grace of God, King of England, Scotland,

France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

N this generall joy of affectionate and loyall subjects, testified by their frequent confluence from all parts, longing for nothing so much as the full fruition of that beautiful starre, which lately upon the shutting in of the evening with us after our long Summers day, immediatly by his radiant beames mainteined still a twi-

light from the North , and within some few houres appeared bright shining above our Horizon, suffering neither the dark night and confused Chaos of Anarchie to overspred and survert, nor the turbulent tempests and bloudy broiles of factious sidings to trouble and pervert our State: I also, for my part could not flay behinde, but in testimony of semblable love and allegeance shew my selfe; and withall, most humbly present unto your Highneffe, This Philosophie of PLUTARCH: which being first naturally bred in Greece; then, transplanted in Italie, France and other regions of the continent; after fundry $\mathcal N$ attivities, if Imay so speake, reserved (not without some divine providence) unto these daies, is now in this our Iland newly come to light; ready both to congratulate your Majesties first entrie upon the inheritance of these Kingdomes, and destrous also to enjoy the benefit of that happy Horoscope and fortunate Ascendent, under which it was borne; even the favourable aspect of your gracious countenance: by vertue whereof, it may not onely be marked to long life, feeble otherwise of it selfe, but also yeeld pleasure with profit to the English nation.

Vouchsafe therefore, my deere Lord and dread Soveraine, to accept

THE EPISTLE

accept that now at my hands, whole & entire, which in part Trajanus the best Romaine Emperour that ever was, received sometime from the first Authour and Stock-sather himselse: Protect the same in English habit, whom in French attire Amiot dedicated to the late most Christian King: and deigne unto ber no lesse favour and grace, than her yoonger sister, to wit, the History or Parallele Lives, hath already obtained: which being transported out of France into England by that woorthy Knight Sir Thomas North our countryman, was patronized by our late Soveraigne Lady of samous memory Elizabet. And the rather, for that considering the prerogative of birth-right, and the same accompanied with more variety and depth of knowledge, I may be bold to pronounce as much in her commendation, as the Poet wrote of Iupiter in comparison of his brother Neptune:

Homer.

में ध्रवेष वीप्रकारकृष्टिंग क्षेत्रके श्रिक्क में वि मवास्थात क्षेत्रके वीपान कर्मार्थिक स्थापन क्षेत्रके क्षेत्रके स्थापन क्षेत्रके क्षेत्रके स्थापन स्थापन क्षेत्रके स्थापन स्थाप

These regards, albeit they were sufficient motives in themselves to induce me, for to attempt none other patronage than the Name of my Liege Lord so gracious; nor to submit my labours to the censure of any person, before a King so judicious: yet was I more animated to enterprise the same, by the former experience that I had of a Princes benignity in that behalfe: what time as I confecrated my English Translation of the Romane Historie written by Titus Livius, unto the immortall memory of the said Noble and renowmed Queene. Now, seeing that with her Realmes and Dominions, the best parts and gifts that were in her, be likewise hæreditarily descended upon your roiall person, and the same multiplied in greater measure, proportionable to the dignity of sex, the addition of scepters and diademes, and the weighty charge of so puissant and populous an Empire; it were in me a grosse absurdity, if not meere impiety, to make any doubt of that excellent vertue of all others, whereby Princes come neerest unto the Nature of God, whose Majesty heere upon earth they represent. To say nothing, how the world hath taken knowledge already, as well by your vertuous life and politicke regiment hitherto, as also by the prudent and religious designements delivered in those sage and learned Compositions of

DEDICATORIE.

your Highnesse penning, That your blessed intention is to holde on the same course still, not onely remained; a point that the Indian Potentate Porus required of Alexander the Great: but also endowings; the Deformation singular note that our present Author set upon all the actions of the velvirus. Alexandi, said mighty Monarch; in virus, 38 minus inst.

Orat, 1.

Since then both these attributes concurre in your Noble person, just cause have we, in all devout thankefulnesse to acknowledge the goodnesse of the Almighty, who from heaven above hath sent us so wise a Prince, under whose reigne we (if ever any Nation under the Sunne) may assuredly expect that felicity and happinesse, which the divine Philosopher Plato so much recommendeth: and in due Derepter reverence unto your Majesty, with one heart and voice, both sing and say:

Hic ames dici Pater atq; Princeps: Serus in cœlum redeas, tuoq; Lætus intersis populo, Britannûm Prime Monarcha.

- สายเก็ด การเหลา (สายเกลา สายเกลา (สายเกลา)

oploutVV or

Horat. 1. Carm.

Your Majesties most

humble and obedient subject,

Philémon Holland.



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whole worke: with a direction to the page,
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OF THE NOVRITVRE AND EDVCATION OF CHILDREN.

The Summarie.

He very title of this Treatsfe discoveresh sufficiently the intention of the authour 3 and whospecure he was that reduced these Morals and mixt works of his into one entire volume, was well advised, and had great reason to range this present Discourse in the sirst and former place: For unlesseous minds be framed unto vertue from our insance, impossible is u that we should performe any a oorthy act so long as we live. Now, albeit

Plutarch (as a meere Pagane) hash bosh in this booke and also in others ensuing, where he treateth of vertues and vices, left out the chiefe and principall thing, to wit, The Law of God and his Tructh, (wherein he was altogether ignorant) yet neverthelesse, bese excellent precepts by him desurered like raies which proceed from the light of nature remaining still in the spirit and soule of man, as well to lease sinners inexcusable, as to show how happie they be, who are guided by the heavenly light of holy scripture; are able to commence action against those, who make prosession in word how they embrace the true and sourceigne Good, but in deed and effect do annihilate, as much as lieth in them, the power and efficacie thereof.

Moreover, in this Treatife he proveth first of all. That the generation of infants ought in no wife 30 to be defamed with the blot either of adulteries or annhenness: Then, he entreth into a discourse of their education : and after he hash showed, that Nature, Reason & Vsage ought to concurre in their instruction, he teacheth how & by whom they should be nurtured, brought up and taught, where he reproveth sharply the slouth ignorance and avarice of some fushers. And the better to desare the excellencie of these benefits, namely, good instruction, knowledge and wertue, which the studie of Philosophia doth promise and teach, he compareth the same with all the greatest goods of the world: and so consequently letteth downe what wices especially they are to sum and avoid, who would be capable of sincere and enables to the same whose the same when the same who would be capable of sincere and enables to the same who would be capable of sincere and enables to the same who would be capable of sincere and enables to the same who would be capable of sincere and enables to the same same and enables of sincere and enables of sincere and enables the same sincere and enables of sincere and e

and true literature.

But before he proceeded h further, hedescribeth and limiteth how farforth children well borne and of goodparentage should be urged and sorced by compulsion; disciphering briefly the praises of morall 40 Philosophie: and concluding withall. That the man is blessed, who is both helpfull to his neighbour as it becommet h, and also good unto himselfe. All these points above rehearsed, when he hath enriched and embelished with similitudes, examples, apoph hegmes, and such like ornaments, he propounded hivers rules pertinent to the Institution of young children: which done, he passed from tender child hood to you blull age, shewing what government there oughs to be of young men: sarre from whom, he banisheth and chiefeth flatterers especially: and for a finallocation discourse to other health and consistent of the kinde behavior of fathers and the good example that they are to give unto the sunto their children.



THE EDVCATION OF CHILDREN.



Orasimuch as we are to consider what may be sayd as touching the education of children free borne and descended from gentle blood. how and by what discipline they may become honest and vertuous, we thall perhaps treat hereof the better, if we begin at their very generation and nativitie. First and formost therefore, I would advise those who defire to be the fathers of such children, as may live ano- 10 ther day in honour and reputation among men, not to match themselves and meddle with light women, common courtifans I meane, or private concubines. For a reproch this is that followeth a man all

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the dayes of his life, and a thamefull staine which by no meanes can be fetched out, if haply he be not come of a good father or good mother: neither is there any one thing that prefenteth it felfe more readily unto his adversaries, and sooner is in their mouth when they are disposed to checke, taunt and revile, than to twit him with fuch parentage. In which regard, wifely fayd the Poët Euripides:

When as the ground is not well laid at first, for our nativity; With parents fault, men will upbraid both us, and our posterity.

A goodly treasure then have they who are well and honestly borne, when in the confidence and affurance thereof, they may be bold to beare their heads aloft, and speake their minds frankly wherefoever they come : and verily they of all others are to make the greatest account of this bleffing, who with to have faire iffue of their bodies lawfully begotten. Certes, a thing it is that ordinarily daunteth and casteth downe the heart of a man, when he is privie to the basenesse of his birth, and knoweth fome defect, blemish and imperfection by his parents. Most truly therefore, and to the purpose right fitly spake the same Poët:

> The privitie to fathers vice or mothers fault reprochable, Will him debase who otherwise is hautic, stout and commendable.

Whereas contrariwife, they that are knowen to be the children of noble and worthy parents, beare themselves highly, and are full of thomacke and generositie. In which conceit and lostic spirit it is reported, that Diaphantus the some of Themistocles, was woont to say, and that in the hearing of many, That what focuer pleased him, the same also the people of Athens thought well of: for, that which I would have done, quoth he, my mother likewife fayth Yea unto it: what my mothers minde stands to, Themistocles my father will not gainfay it: and looke what likes Themissiocles, the Athenians all are well contented therewith. Where by the way, the magnanimitie, 40 and brave mind of the Lacedemoninas is highly to be praifed, who condemned their king Archidames in a great fine of money, for that he could finde in his heart to espouse a wife of little stature, alledging therewith a good reason: Because, say they, his meaning is to get, not a breed of Kings, but Kinglins, or divers Kings, to reigne over us.

Well, upon this first advertisement concerning children, there dependeth another, which they who wrote before us of the like argument, forgat not to fet downe; and what is that? namely, That they who for procreation of children will come neere unto women, ought to meddle with them, either upon empty flomacks, and before they have drunke any wine at all, or at leastwife, after they have taken their wine in measure, and soberly: for such will proove commonly wine-bibbers and drunkards, who were engendred when their fathers were drunken: according 50 to that which Diogenes fayd upon a time unto a youth whom he saw beside himselfe, and farre overseene with drinke; My ladde, quoth he, thy father gat thee when he was drunke. And thus much may suffice for the generation of children.

Astouching their nourture and education, whereof now I am to discourse: That which we are woont generally to fay of all Arts and Sciences, the fame we may be bolde to pronounce of Education of children.

vertue, to wit, that to the accomplishment thereof, and to make a man perfectly vertuous, three things ought to concurre, Nature, Reason and Vsage, By reason, I understand doctrine and precepts: by ulage, exercise and practise. The first beginnings we have from nature: progresse and proceeding come by teaching and instruction: exercise and practise is performed by diligence: And all three together bring foorth the height of perfection. If any one of these faile, it cannot otherwise be, but that vertue also should have her desect and be maimed: For nature without learning is blind: Doctrine wanting the gift of nature is defectuous; and exercise void of the other twame, imperfect. And verily, it fareth in this case much like as in Husbandrie and tillage of the earth. For first and formest requisite it is, that the ground be good: Secondly, 10 that the Husbandman be skilfull; and in the third place that the feed be cleane and well chosen. Semblaby, Nature refembleth the foile: the Mafter who teacheth, representeth the labouring Husbandman; and last of all, the rules, precepts, admonitions and examples are compared to the feede. All these good meanes (I dare with confidence avouch) met together, and inspired their power into the mindes of these woorthy personages, who throughout the world are so renowmed, Pythagoras I meane, Socrates, Plato, and all the rest who have attained to a memorable name and immortall glorie. Bleffed then is that man and entirely beloved of the gods, whole hap it is by their favor and grace to be furnished with all three. Now if any one be of this opinion, that those who are not endued with the gift of naturall wit, and yet have the helpes of true instruction and diligent exercise to the attaining of vertue, cannot by this meanes recover 20 and repaire the forefaid defect: Knowhe, that he is much deceived, and to fay more truely, quite out of the way: for as idlenesse and negligence doth marre and corrupt the goodnesse of nature: 10, the industrie and diligence of good erudition supplies the defect, and correctes the the default thereof. Idle and flothfull persons (we see) are not able to compasse the things that be easie: whereas contrariwise by studie and travell, the greatest difficulties are atchieved. Moreover, of what efficacie, and execution, diligence and labour is, a man may eafily know by fundrie effects that are daily observed. For we do evidently perceive that drops of water falling upon the hard rocke, doe cate the fame hollow: yron and braffe we fee to we are and confume onely by continual handling: The fellies in chariot wheeles which by labour are bended and curbed, will not returne and be reduced againe, do what you can to their former streight-30 neffe: Like as it is impossible by any device to fet streight the crooked staves that Stage-players goe withall. And evident it is, that whatfoever against nature, is by force and labour chaunged and redreffed, becometh much better and more fure, than those things that continue in their ownekinde. But, are these the things onely wherein appeareth the power of studie and diligence? Noverily. For there are an infinite number of other experiments, which proove the fame most cleerely. Is there a peece of ground naturally good? Let it lie neglected, it becommeth wilde and barrain: Yea, and the more rich and fertill that it is of it selfe, the more waste and fruitlesse it prooveth for want of tillage and husbandry. Contrariwise, you shall see another plot hard, rough, and more stonie than it should be: which by good ordering and the carefull hand of the husbandman, soone bringeth foorth faire and goodly fruit. Againe, what trees are 40 there which will not twine, grow crooked and proove fruitleffe, if good heed be not taken unto them? Whereas, if due regard be had, and that carefulnes employed about them which becommeth, they beare fruit, and yeeld the fame ripe in due feafon. Is there any body fo found and able, but by neglect, rior, delicacie, and an evill habit or custome it will grow dull, seeble and unlustie, yea and fall into a misliking and consumption? On the other side, what complexion is there so faint and weake, which is not brought to great strength and perfection in the end, by continual travell and ordinary exercises? Are there any horses in the world, which if they be well handled and broken while they are colts, will not proove gentle in the end and fuffer themselves easily to be mounted and manned? Contrariwife, let them remaine untamed in their youth: ftrongheaded, stiffenecked and unruly will they be alwaies after, and never fit for service. And why 50 should we marvell at these and such like matters, considering that many of the most savage and cruell beafts that be, are made gentle and familiar, yea and brought to hand by labour and paines taken about them? Well faid therefore that Theffalian who loever he was, who being demaunded, which The falians of all others were most dull and softest of spirit, Answered thus, Even they that have given over warfare. But what need we to stand longer upon this point? For certaine it is, that our manners and conditions are qualities imprinted in us by tract and

"Gracemeling continuance of time: and who foever faith that * Morall vertues are gotten by cultome, in my with the conceit speaketh not amisse but to very great purpose. And therefore with one example and no more produced by Lycargus as touching this matter, I will knit up and conclude my difcourse thereof. Lycurgus, him I meane who established the lawes of the Lacedamonians, tooke two whelpes of one letter, and comming both from the fame fire and damme: Those he caused to be nourished and brought up diversly, and unlike one to the other; that as the one prooved a greedie and ravenous curre and full of Threwd turnes: fo the other was given to hunting and minded nothing but to quest and follow the game. Now upon a certaine day afterwards, when the Laceda monians were met together in a frequent affembly, he spake unto them in this manner, My Masters, citizens of Lacedamon, Of what importance to engender vertue in the hart 10 of man, cultonic, nourture, discipline and education is, I will presently shew unto you by an evident demonstration: and with that he brought foorth in the fight of them all, those two whelpes, and fet directly before them a great platter of fops in broth, and therewith let loofe also a live hare : but behold, one of them followed immediately after the hare, but the other ranne thraight to flap in the platter aforefaid. The Lacedamonians will not what to make of this, nor to what purpose he shewed unto them these two dogs before faid, untill he brake out into this speech, These two dogs (quoth he) had one damme and the same sire, but being bred and

brought up diverfly, See how the one is become a greedy gut, and the other a kinde hound. And thus much may ferve as touching cuftome and diverfitie of education.

thus much may ferve as touching custome and diversitie of education. It were meete now in the next place to treat of the feeding and nourifhing of infants newly 20 borne. I hold it therefore convenient, that mothers reare their babes, and fuckle them with their owne breafts: For feede them they will with greater affection, with more care and diligence, as loving them inwardly, and (as the proverbe faith) from their tender nailes, whereas mileh nources and fostermothers carie not so kinde a hart unto their nourcelings, but rather a fained and counterfet affection, as being mercenarie and loving them indeed for hire onely and reward. Furthermore, even nature her selfe is sufficient to proove, that mothers ought to suckle and nourish those whom they have borne and brought into the world: For to this end hath the given to every living creature that bringeth foorth yoong, the foode of milke: and in great wisedome the divine providence hath furnished a woman with two teats for this purpose, that if happily the should be delivered of two twinnes at once, the might have likewife two fountaines 30 of milke to yeeld nouriflyment for them both. Moreover, by this meanes more kinde and loving they will be unto their children: and verily not without great reason: For this fellowship in feeding together is a bond that knitteth, or rather a wrest that straineth and stretcheth benevolence to the utmost. The experience whereof we may see even in the very brute and wilde beafts, which hardly are parted from their companie, with whom they have been enourished, but still they lowe and mowe after them. Mothers therefore (as I have faid) ought especially to endevour and do their best for to be nources of their owne children, if it be possible. But in case they cannot, by reason either of some bodily infirmitie and indisposition that way (for so it may fall out) or that they have a defire and do make hast to be with childe againe, and to have more children: then a carefull eie and good regard would be had, not to entertaine those for nources 40 and governesses that come next to hand, but to make choise of the very best and most honest that they can come by, and namely for faire conditions and good behavior, to choose Greekish women before any other. For like as the members and limmes of little infants, fo foone as ever they be borne, are of necessitie to be formed and fashioned, that afterwards they may grow ftraight and not crooked: even so, at the very first their harts and manners ought to be framed and fet in order: For this first age of childhood is moist and soft, apt to receive any impression: whiles the heart is tender every leffon may be soone instilled into it, and quickly will take hold, whereas hard things are not fo cafic to be wronght and made foft. And as fignets or feales will quickly fet a print upon fost wax; so the tender hearts of yoong children take readily the imprestion of whatfoever is taught them. In which regard, Plato that heavenly and divine Philoso- 50 pher, seemeth unto me to have given a wife admonition for nources, when he warned them not to tell foolish tales, nor to use vaine speeches inconsiderately in the heating of yoong infants, tor feare least at the first their minds might apprehend folly and conceive corrupt opinions, Semblably the Poet Phocylides seemeth to deliver sage counsaile in this behalfe when hee faith:

Achild of yoong and tender age
Ought to be taught things good and fage.

Neither is this precept in any wife to be forgotten or paffed by, That other children also who are either to attend upon them, whiles they be nourced and brought up, or to beare them companie and be fedde together with them, be chosen such as above all things are well mannered and of good conditions: Then, that they speake the Greeke toong naturally, and pronounce the same most plainely and distinctly, for seare, least if they fort with such secrets as either in language are barbarous, or in behaviour leawd and ungratious, they catch infection from them, and be stained with their vices. For such old sawes and proverbes as these, are not for the with 10 out good reason, If thou converse and cohebite with a lame creaple, thou will soone learne to simpe

and halt the Celf

Now when children be growen to that age, wherin they are to be committed unto the charge of Tutors, Schoolemasters and governors: then, parents ought to have an especial care of their state, namely, under whom they fet them to be trained up: least for want of good providence and forefight, they betray them into the hands of fome vile flaves, base barbarians, vaine and light-headed persons. For most absurd and ridiculous is the practise of many men in this point: who if they have any fervants more vertuous or better disposed than others, some of them they appoint to husbandry and tillage of their ground; others they make Masters of their ships. They employ them (I fay) either in merchandife to be their factours, or as flewards of their 20 house to receive and pay all; or else to be banquers, and so they trust them with the exchaunging and turning of their monies. But if they meete with one flave among the reft that ufeth to becupfhotten, given to gluttony & belly cheere, or otherwife is untoward for any good fervice, him they fet over their children to bring them up: Whereas indeed a governour over youth should be wel given, & of a right good nature himselfe, such an one as Phanix was, who had the breeding and education of Achilles. The principal point therfore and most important of all that hitherto hath bene alledged is this, That choise men be fought out for to be teachers & masters of our children; who live in good name and without challenge, whose carriage and behaviour is blameles; & who for their knowledge & experience of the world are the best that may be found. For furely the fource & roote of all goodnes and honefty, is the good education and training up 20 of our children in their renderage. And like as good hisbandmen and gardeners are woont to pitch props & flakes close unto their yong plants, to flay them up and keepe them ftreight: even To, difference and wife teachers plant good precepts and holefome instructions round about their yoong schollers, to the end that thereby, their manners may bud foorth commendably, and be framed to the rule of vertue. But contrariwife, you shall have some fathers now addies, that deferve no better than to be spit at in their very faces; who either upon ignorance, or for want of experience, before any triall made of those masters, who are to have the conduct and charge of their children, committhem hand over head to the tuition of lewd persons, and such as beare thew and make profession of that which they are not. Neither were this absurditie altogether so groffe and ridiculous, if so be they faulted herein of meere simplicitie & default of foreknow-40 ledge. But here is the heights of their folly and errour, that themselves knowing otherwhiles the infufficiencie, yea and the naughtines of fome fuch Masters, better than they doe who advertife them thereof; yet for all that, they commit their children unto them, partly being overcome by Heflatteric of claw-backes, and partly willing to gratific fome friends upon their kinde and carnest entreaties. Wherein they do much like for all the world to him, who lying verice ficke in bodie, for to content and fatisfie a friend, leavethan expert and learned physition who was able to cure him; and entertaineth another blind leech, who for want of skill and experience quickly killeth him: or elfe unto one who being at fea; forgoeth an excellent pilot whom he knoweth to be very skilfull, and for the love of a friend maketh choise of another that is most insufficient: O Inpiter and all the gods in Heaven! Is it possible that a man bearing the name 30 of a father, thould make more account of a friends request, than of the good education of his owne children? Which confidered, had not that ancient Philosopher Crates (timke you) just occasion to fay oftentimes, that if possibly he might, he would willingly mount to the highest place of the citie, and there cric out about in this manner: What meane you my Masters, and whether rinne you headlong, carking and cating all that ever you can, to gather goods and rake riches together as you downliles in the mean time you make little or no reckoning at all of your

children, unto whom you are to leave all your wealth? To which exclamation of his, I may adde thus much moreover, and fay, That fuch fathers are like unto him that hath great regard of his floc, but taketh no heed unto his foot. And verily, a man shall see many of these fathers, who upon a covetous minde, and a cold affection toward their owne children, are growen to this passe, that for to spare their purse, and case themselves of charge, chuse men of no woorth to teach them: which is as much as to feeke a good market where they may buy ignorance cheapest. Certes Aristippus said verie well to this purpose, when upon a time he pretily mocked fuch a father who had neither wit nor understanding, and jibed pleafantly with him in this maner: For when he demaunded of him how much he would take for the training up and teaching of his fonne? He answered, An hundred crownes: A hundred crownes! quoth the father: by 10 Hercules I sweare, you aske too much out of the way; For with a hundred crownes I could buy 2 good flave. True quoth Aristippus againe, Lay out this hundred crownes so, you may have twaine, your fonne for one, and him whom you buy for the other. And is not this a follie of all follies, that nourses should use their yoong infants to take meate and seed themselves with the right hand, yea and rebuke them if haply they put foorth their left: and not to forecast and give order that they may learne civility, and heare fage & holefom instructions? But what befalleth afterward to these good fathers, when they have first noursed their children badly, & then taught them as lewelly? Mary I will tell you, When these children of theirs are growne to mans estate, and will not abide to heare of living orderly, and as it becommeth honest men: but contrariwise fall headlong into outragious courfes, and give themselves wholy to sensuality and service plea- 20 fures: Then fuch fathers all repent for their negligence past, in taking no better order for their education: but all too late confidering no good enfueth thereupon: but contrariwife, the lewd prancks which they commit daily, augment their griefe of heart and cause them to languish in forrow. For some of them they see to keepe companie with flatterers, parasites, and smell seasts, the lewdeft, bafeft, and most cursed wretches of all other, who serve for nothing but to corrupt, spoile, and marre youth: Others, to captivate and spend themselves upon harlots, queanes and common strumpers, proud and sumptuous in expence; the entertainment of whom is infinitly coftly. Many of them confirme all in delicate fare, and feeding a daintie and fine tooth: Many of them fall to dice, and with mumming and masking hazard all they have. And divers of them againe entangle themselves in other vices more hardy and adventurous, courting faire dames, 30 and making love to other mens wives: for which purpose they walke disguised in the night, like the frantike priefts of Bacches, to commit adulteries, buying fometimes one onely nights pleafure with the price of their life: Whereas if fuch as these had conversed before with any Philofopher, they would never have taken fuch waies as this, and give themselves to like vanities: but rather they would have turned over a new leafe and learned a leffon of Diogenes, who in words not very civill and feemely, howbeit to the point not untruly, gave this counsell and faid, Goc thy waies to the Stewes (I advise thee) and enter into some brothell house, where thou mailt know how the pleasure that costeth little or nothing, differeth not from that which is bought full decrely.

To knir up thereforeall in one fumme I will conclude, and this my conclusion ought 40 of right to bee esteemed for an oracle, rather than a simple counsell and admonition; That the beginning, mids, and ende of all these matters, lieth onely in vertuous nourture and honeft education, which I avouch are the very meanes that be operative and powerfull for the attaining both of vertue and true happinesse. As for all other things which we count good in this world, are in comparison heereof, mortall, transitorie, small, and not woorth the seeking after with fuch care and studie. Nobilitie, I confesse to be a goodly thing, but it is the gift of our ancestors. Riches who doubteth that they be gay and pretious matters? Howbeit, lying in the power of fortune onely, who taketh the fame many times from those that possession, and give th them away to fuch as never looke for them. Moreover, much wealth is the very marke whereat they thoot who are common out purfes, privic & domesticall theeves, Sycophants and 50 promoters, and that which is most, the wickedest persons in the world oftentimes meete therewith. Glorie and honor be things venerable, howbeit uncertaine and mutable. Beautie is lovely and verie much defired, but it continueth a small while. Health is woorth much and yet you fee how foone it changeth. Strength of body who witheth not? but quickly it is decaied and gone, either by fickenes or yeeres: in fo much, as who foever younteth and beareth himfelfe in

his able bodie, is greatly deceived, and commeth farre short of his reckoning: For what is mans force, compared with that of other beafts, I meane Elephants, Buls and Lions? It is learning and knowledge onely, which in us is divine, heavenly and immortall. For inmans nature two parts there are to be confidered of all other most principall, to wit, understanding and speech. And of thefe, understanding is as it were the maister that commandeth: Speech, the fervant that obeyeth. Now the forefaid understanding is not exposed to the injurie of fortune: no flanders raifed by Sycophants can take it away: Sickneffe hath no power to corrupt and destroy it; neither doth it decay or perish by olde age : For it is the onely thing that being in yeeres, waxeth yoong and fresh. Length of time which doth diminish and impaire all things else, addeth still 10 more knowledge to our understanding, the elder that we are. So violence of warre which in manner of a streame casteth downe and carieth all away with it is not able to make havocke and spoyle of knowledge and learning: that onely is not in danger thereof. And in my conceir, Stifpe the Megarian Philosopher gave a most woorthy and memorable answere unto K. Demetrius, who having forced, facked and rafed the citie of Megarato the very foundation, demannded of him what loffes he fulfained in that generall facking? None at all (quoth he) For warre can make no spoile of vertue. To which answere of his, accordeth and soundeth well the Apophthegment Socrates, who (as I take it) being asked of Gorgias, what opinion he had of the great King and Monarch of the Persians in those daies, whether he deemed him Happie or no? I wotnot (quoth he) how he is furnished with vertue and learning: as if he judged, that true 20 felicitie confifted in these two things, and not in the transitorie gifts of fortune.

But as my counfell and advice unto parents is, to hold nothing in the world more deere and pretious, then to traine up their children in good letters and vertuous manners: fo I fay againe, that they ought to have an cie unto that literature and institution which is found, pure and uncorrupt: furthermore, to fequester and withdraw their children as farre as possibly they can, from the vanitie and foolish desire to be seene and heard in the frequent and publike affemblies of the people. For commonly we finde, that to please a multitude, is to displease the wifer sort.

And that I speake truth herein Euripides giveth good testimonic in these verses:

No filed toong I have nor eloquence, To speake in place of frequent audience: Among my feeres and those in number few, Hove to give advise and make no shew: For, those whose speech doth please a multitude, With learned men are fooligh thought and rude.

For mine owne part, I observe those men who endevour to speake to the appetite and pleafure of the base and vulgar fort, that ordinarily they become loose and dissolute persons, abandoned to all fentualitie. And verily not without great apparance of reason. For if to gratifie and content others, they have no regard of honelty: more likelyhood there is a great deale, that for to do apleasure to themselves, and seede their owne humour and appetite, they will forget all honor and devoir; yea and fooner give the reines to their owne delights, than follow the

40 streight rules of temperance and sobrietie.

30

But now, what good thing is there moreover, that we are to teach our children? and whereto fould we advise them for to give their minds? A goodly matter no doubt it is to do nothing raffily, nor to speake a word unadvisedly: But (as the old Proverbe faith) what soever is faire and goodly, the same also is hard and difficult. As for these orations which be made extempore and without premeditation', they goe away with great facilitie, and are verie rash and full of vanitie: And fuch commonly as to speake, know not well either where to begin or when to make an end. Alfo, over and above other abfurdities and faults which they commit, who are accustomed in this wife to parle at aventure, and to let their toong runne at randome, know not how to keepe any meane or measure of speech, but fall into a marvellous superfluitie and ex-50 cesseof wordes: Whereas on the contrarie side, when a man thinketh before hand what hee should say, newill never overshoot him so fance as to passe beyond the bonds of temperate and proportionable language. Pericles, as we have beene given to understand, being oftentimes called upon & importuned by the people, and that expressly by name, for to deliver his opinion as rouching a matter in question, would not fo much as rise from his place, but excused himrelie and faid, I am not provided to speake. Semblably Demosthenes, one who greatly affected

the faid Pericles, and followed his steps in policy and managing of State affaires, being called by the Athenians to fit in counfell with them, & requested to give his advise in certain points, refufed and made the fame answer, saying, I have not yet thought upon it, neither am I prepared. But peradventure fome man will fay, this is an headles tale and a devifed report received by tradition from hand to hand, and not grounded upon any certaine tellimonie. Liften then, what he faith himselfe in that oration which he made against Midias, wherein he setteth evidently before our cies, the profit that commeth by premeditation: For in one place thereof, there be his », words: My Masters of Athens, I confesse plainely, and cannot denie or diffemble, that I have ta-, ken as much paines in composing of this oration as possibly I could: For an idle wretch I had beene if having fuffred, and fuffring still such indignities as these, I would not consider and 10 2) studie before hand, what I had to say in reason concerning these matters. Neither alledge I this, as one who condemned altogether the promptitude and readineffe of the toong, and the gift of interance ex tempore, but the ordinary cultome and exercise therof in everie smal matter, and of no great importance. For otherwhiles it is tolerable; provided alwaies that we use it to, as we would take a purging medicine. And to speake more plainely, my meaning is, that I would not have young men before they bee growen to mans age, for to speake ought without good advise and consideration. But after they bee well grounded and have gathered fufficient roote which may yeelde pithic speech, then if occasion be offered, and that they bee called unto it, I thinke it convenient, they should bee allowed to speake freely. For even as they who have beene fettered a long time and worne yrons on their 20 feete, when they are loofed from their gives, cannot goe well at the first, because they have continued fuch a while with clogs at their heeles, but ever and anone are ready to trip and stumble: fo it fareth with those that of long time have been etoong tied (as it were) and restrained of their libertic of speech: For if haply there be presented some matter, whereto they are to speake on a fudden, they will retaine Itill the fame manner and forme of Itile, and speake no otherwife than they did before with premeditation. Mary, to fuffer young boies to make subitanie and inconfiderate orations, is the next way to bring them to vaine babling, and causeth them to utter many words altogether impertinent to the matter. It is reported that upon a time a vaine and foolith painter came to Apelles, and shewed him a picture, faying withall, This Image I drew thus and thus foone. I wot well (quoth apelles) at the first fight , although thou faidst 30 never a word that it was quickly painted and in hafte. And I marvell rather that thou haft not painted many more such in the same time. But to return e againe to my former discourse which I began withall, as touching speech, like as I would give counsell to beware of glorious and brave words, and to avoide that maner of haughtic voice which befeemeth tragedies, and is meete for Theaters: So I advite and admonish againe to flie as much that kinde of language which is too finall and over-lowly: For that the one which is fo loude and aloft, exceedeth civilitie: and the other that is as much beneath, bewrayeth overmuch fearfulneffe, Moreover, as the bodie ought not onely to be found and in health, but also in good plight and well liking: so our speech should be not onely cleere from ficknesse as it were and malady, but also strong and able: For that a thing that is found and fafe only, we do but barely praife: whereas that which is hardy 40 and adventurous, we admire and woonder at. That which I have faid, as touching the toong and speech, the same opinion I have of the heart and the disposition thereof. For I would not have a youth to be overbold and audacious: neither do I like of him, if he be too timorous and fearefull: For as the one turneth in the end to prefumption and impudencie; fo the other into fervile cowardife. But here lieth all the maistrie and cunning, as well in this as in all things else, namely, to cut even in the mids, and to hold the golden meane. And fince I am entred thus far into the discourse as touching the literature and erudition of youth, before I proceed any farther, I will deliver mine opinion thereof generally in these termes: Namely, That to be able to speake of one thing and no more, is first and formest in my conceit no small signe of ignorance. Then, I suppose that the exercise and practise thereof, soone bringeth sacietie. And againe, I 50 hold it impossible to continue evermore in the same : For so to be ever in one song, breedeth tediousnes, and soone a man is weary of it: wheras varietie is alwaies delectable both in this, and also in all other objects as well of the cie as the care. And therefore it behooveth, that a childe well descended and free borne, be not suffred to want either the fight or the hearing of all those arts and liberall sciences, which are linked as it were and comprehended within one circle, and

thereupon called Encyclia.i. Circular. These would I have him to runne through every one fuperficially, for a rafte onely of them all: for as much as to attaine unto the perfection thereof were impossible. Yet so, as his chiese and principall studie be employed in Philosophie: which opinion of mine I may very well confirme by a proper fimilitude. For all one it is, as if a man would fay, a commendable thing it were to faile along the coatts, and fee many a citie: but expedient and profitable to make abode and dwell in the best: and much like to that pleasant and pretie conceited speech of Bion the Philosopher, who faid, That even as the lovers and wooers of Lady Penelope, when they could not enjoy the Mistresse herselfe, went in hand with her wayting maidens, and companied with them: fo, as are not able to attaine unto Philosophie, spend 10 and confume themselves in the studie of other Arts, which in comparison of it are nothing woorth. And therefore we ought to make this account, that Philosophie is the principall head (as it were) of all other learning and knowledge whatfoever. True it is, that for the maintenance and preservation of the body, men have devised two Arts, to wit, Physicke and bodily exercise: of which twaine, the one procureth health; the other addeth thereto a good habitude and firong constitution: but for the infirmities and maladies of the soule, there is no other physicke but onely Philosophie: For by the meanes of it and together with it, we may know what is good, what is badde, what is honest and dishonest, what is just, and generally what to choise and what to refuse, how we ought to beare our selves towards the gods, and towards our parents, what our demeanour should bee with our elders, what regard we are to have of lawes, what 20 our cariage must be to strangers, to superiours: how we are to converse with our friends, In what fort we ought to demeane our felves towards our children and wives, and finally, what behaviour it befeemeth us to thew unto our fervants and familie: For as much as our duetie is to worthip and adore the gods, to honour our parents, to reverence our ancients, to obey the lawes, to give place unto our superiors and betters, to love our friends, to use our wives chastely and with moderation: to be kinde and affectionate to our children, and not to be outragious with our fervants, nor to tyrannize over them. But the principall and chiefe of all is this, not to fliew our felves over joious and merric in prosperitie, nor yet exceeding heavie and sad in adversitie: not in pleasures and delight dissolute, nor in anger furious, and transported or rather transformed into brutish beasts by choler. And these I esteeme to be the soveraigne fruits that 30 are to be gathered and gotten by Philosophie. For to carrie a generous and noble heart in prosperitie, is the part of a brave minded man: to live without envie and malice, is the figne of a good and tractible nature: to overcome pleasures by the guidance of reason, is the act of wife and fage men: and to bridle and restraine choler, is a mastry that every one cannot skill of: But the height of perfection in my judgement those onely attaine unto, who are able to joine and intermingle the politicke government of weale publike with the profession and studie of Philosophie: For by this meanes (I suppose) they may enjoy two of the best things in the world, to wit, the profit of the common weale by managing State affaires: and their owne good, living fo as they doe in tranquilitie and repose of mind, by the meanes of Philosophie. For whereas there be amongst men three forts of life, namely, Active, Contemplative, and Volup-40 tuous: this last named, being diffolute, loofe, and thrall to pleasures, is bruitish, beastly, base and vile: The contemplative wanting the active is unprofitable: and the active, not participating with the speculation of Philosophie, committeth many absurde enormities, and wanteth ornaments to grace and beautifie it. In which regard, men must endevour and assay as much as lieth in them both to deale in government of the State, and also to give their mindes to the studie of Philosophie, so farre foorth as they have time, and publike affaires will permit. Thus governed in timespast noble Pericles: thus ruled Archytas the Tarentine: thus Dion the Syracusian, and Epaminondas of Thebes swaied the State where they lived; and both of them aswell the one as the other converfed familiarly with Plato. Astouching the Institution of children in good literature, needleffe (I suppose) it is to write any more. This onely will I adde unto the rest that 50 hath beene faid, which I suppose to be expedient or rather necessarie: namely, that they make no finall account of the workes and bookes of the ancient Sages and Philosophers, but diligentlie collect and gather them together: fo as they do it after the maner of good husbandmen: For as they doe make provision of such tooles as pertaine to Agriculture and husbandrie, not onely to keepe them in their possession, but also to use them accordingly: so this reckoning ought to be made, that the instruments and furniture of knowledge and learning, bee good bookes, if

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they be read and perused: For from thence as from a fountaine they may be sure to maintaine

And here we are not to forget the diligence that is to be imployed in the bodily exercise of children: but to remember that they bee fent into the schooles of those masters who make profession of such feats, there to be trained and exercised sufficiently, aswell for the streight and decent grouth, as for the abilitie and strength of their bodies: For the fast knitting and strong complexion of the bodie in children, is a good foundation to make them another day decent and personable old men. And like as in time of a calme & faire season, they that are at sea, ought to make provision of necessarie meanes to withstand foule weather and a tempest : even so, verie meete it is, that tender age be furnished with temperance, sobrietie and continencie, and even 10 betimes referve and lay up fuch voyage provision, for the better sustenance of old age. Howbeit in fuch order ought this labour and travell of children to be dispensed, that their bodies be not exhauft and dried up, and fo by that meanes they themselves be overwearied, and made either unmeet or unwilling to follow their booke afresh and take their learning: For as Plato said very well, Sleepe and laffitude be enemies to learning. But why do I ftand hereupon fo much, being in comparison so small a matter?

Proceed I will therefore and make hafte to that which is of greatest importance, and passeth all the rest that hath beene said before: For this I say, that youth ought to be trained to militaric feats, namely, in launcing darts and javelins, in drawing a bow and shooting arrowes, in chasing also and hunting wilde beafts. For a fruch as all the goods of those who are vanquished in 20 fight, be exposed as a prey and bootie to the conquerours: neither are they fit for warfarre and to beare armes, whose bodies having beene daintily brought up in the shade and within house, are corpulent, and of a foft and delicate conflitution.

The leane and dry the raw bone foldiour fierce, 14ho train'd bath beene in armes and warlike toile, In field wholerankes of enemies will pierce, Indin the lifts all his concurrents foile.

But what may fome men fay unto me? Sir, you have made promife to give us examples and precepts, concerning the education of all children free borne and of honest parentage: and now, me thinkes you neglect the education of commoners and poore mens children, and deli- 30 ver no inftructions but fuch as are for gentlemen, and be furable to the rich and wealthie onely. To which objection, it is no hard matter to make answere. For mine owne part, my defire especially is, that this inftruction of mine might ferve all: but in case there befome, who for want of meanes cannot make that use and profit which I could wish, let them lay the waight upon fortune, and not blame him who hath given them his advice and counfell in these points. And yet for poore men thus much will I fay, Let them endevour and straine themselves to the utmost of their power, to bring up their children in the best manner: and if they cannot reach unto that, yet must they aime thereat, and come as neere as their abilitie will give them leave.

I have beene willing to infert these points by the way, into this present argument, and to charge my discourse over and above therewith, that I might prosecute other precepts remay- 40 ning behinde, which concerne the education of young men. Thus much therefore I fay moreover, that children must be trained and brought to their duety in all lenity, by faire words, gentle exhortations, and milde remonstrance, and in no wife (pardie) by stripes and blowes: For this course of swinging and beating seemeth meete for bondslaves, rather than persons of free condition. And to fay a truth, by this meanes they become dull and fenfelesse, nay they have all fludie and labour afterwards in hatred and horrour: partly for the fmart and paine which they abide by fuch correction, and in part by the contumely and reproch that they fustaine thereby. Praise and dispraise be farrebetter and more profitable to children free borne, than all the whips, rods and boxes in the world: the one for to drive them forward to well doing, the other to draw them backe from doing ill: but both the one and the other are to be used in alternative 50 course. One while they would be commended; another while blamed and rebuked: and namelie, if at any time they be too jocund and infolent, they ought to be fnibbed a little and taken downe, yea and put to fome light shame : but soone after, railed up againe by giving them their due prailes. And herein we must imitate good nourses, who when they have fet their infants a crying, give them the breaft for to still them againe. Howbeit, a measure would be kept, and

great heed taken that they be not too highly commended, for feare leaft they grow proude and prefume overmuch of themselves; For when they be praised exceedingly they waxe carelesses, diffolute and enervate; neither will they be willing afterwards to take more paines. Moreover, I have knowen certaine fathers, who through excessive love of their children have hated them afterwards. But what is my meaning by this speech? Surely I will declare my minde and make my words plaine anon by an evident example and demonstration. Some fathers (Ifay) there be, who upon a hot and halfie defire to have their children come foone forward, and to be the formost in every thing, put them to immoderate travell and excessive paines; in such fort, that they either fincke under the waight of the burden, and so fall into greevous maladies, or else 10 finding themselves thus surcharged and overladen, they are not willing to learne that which is taught them. And it fareth with them as it doth with yoong herbes and plants in a garden, which fo long as they be watered moderately, are nourished and thrive very well; but if they be overmuch drenched with water, they take harme thereby and are drowned: Even fo we must allow unto children a breathing time betweene their continual! labouts: confidering and making this account, That all the life of man is divided into labor & reft; and for this cause Nature hath fo ordained, that as there is a time to be awake, so we finde a time also to sleepe. One while there is warre, and another while peace: It is not alwaies winter and foule weather, but former likewife and a faire feafon. There be appointed not onely worke daies to toyle in, but also feastivall holidaies to folace and disport our selves. In sunne, rest and appose, is (as it were) the sance un-20 to our travaile. And this we may observe as well in senselesse and livelesse things, as in living and fenfible creature. For we unbend our bowes, and let flacke the strings of Luces, Harpes, and such musicall instruments, to the end that we may bend and stretch the same againe. And in one word, as the bodie is preferved and maintained by repletion and evacuation successively; fo the minde likewise by repose and travell in their turnes.

Furthermore, there be other fathers also woorthy of rebuke and blame, who after they have once betaken their children to Masters, Tutors and Governors, never deigne afterwards themfelves, either to fee or heare them, whereby they might know how they learne: wherein they do faile verie much in their dutie. For they ought in proper person to make triall how they profit, they should ever and anon (after some sew daies passed betweene) see into their progresse and 30 proceeding, and not to repose their hope and rest altogether upon the discretion and disposition of a mercenarie mafter. And verily this carefull regard of the fathers, will worke also greater diligence in the mafters themselves, seeing that by this meanes they are called estsoones, as it were to account and examine how much they plie their schollers, and how they profit under their hands. To this purpose may be well applied a prety woord spoken sometimes by a wife estugry of a stable, Nothing (quoth he) feedeth the steede so fat as doth the masters eie.

But above all things, the memorie of children ought daily to be exercised: for that it is as a man would fay the Treafury & Storehouse of all learning. Which was the cause that the ancient Poëts have feigned, That Lady Mnemofyne, that is to fay Memorie, was the mother of the Mufes: Whereby they would feeme under an ænigmaticall and darke speech to give us to under-40 fland, that nothing availeth fo much either to breed, or to feed and nourish learning, as Memorie. And therefore great diligence would be used in the exercise thereof everie way: whether the children be by nature good of remembrance and retentive: or otherwise of a fickle memorie and given to oblivion. For the gift of nature in the one, by exercise we shall confirme and augment; and the imperfection or default in the other, by diligence supplie and correct: in fuch fort, that as they, shall become better than others; so these, shall proove better then themfelves. For verie wifely to this purpose said the Poët Hesiodus:

If little still to little thou do ad

a heape at length and mickle will be had.

Over and befides, I would not have fathers to be ignorant of another point also, as touching 50 this memorative part & faculty of the mind: namely, that it ferveth much not onely to get learning and literature, but also is a meanes that carieth not the least stroke in worldly affaires: For the remembrance of matters past, furnisheth men with examples sufficient to guide and direct them in their confultatious of future things.

Furthermore, this care would be had of yoongchildren, that they be kept from filthie and unseemely speeches: For words (as Democritum saith) are the shadowes of deeds. Trained also

* Fide Plu-

tarch, in vita

Lyfundri.

they must be to be courteous, affable, & faire spoken, aswell in intertainment of talke with every one, as in faluting and greeting whomfoever they meete: for there is nothing in the world fo odious as to be coy and furly of speech; to make it strange and to disdaine for to speake with men. Againe, yoong students shall make themselves more lovely and amiable to those with whom they converte, in case they be not so opinative and stiffe that they will not relent nor give place one jot in disputations, if they have once taken a partie against others. For a commendable and goodly matter it is for a man to know, not only how to overcome, but also to suffer himfelse otherwhiles to be overcome: especially in such things wherein the victorie bringeth hurt and dammage: For verily fuch a conquest may well and truely be called according to the common Proverbe, A Cadmian victorie, that is to fay, which turneth to the detriment and losse of 10 the winner. In confirmation whereof I may well alleage the testimony of the wise Poët Euripides, who in one of his tragedies hath these verses:

Education of children.

When one of twaine, that argue and dispute, growes into heat of words and will not rest: I hold him much the wifer who is mute and staies his toong, that he do not contest.

Now come I to other points wherein youth is to be instructed, and those of no lesse importance, nay rather I may be bolde to fay, of greater consequence than all those whereof I have discoursed hitherto: And what be they? Namely, that yoong men be not riotous, and given to superfluity of expence: That they holde their tongue: That they master their anger: and final- 20 ly, That they keepe their hands pure & cleane. But let us confider these precepts particularlie, what ech of them in severall doeth import: and more easily may they be understood, if we illustrate the same by lively examples. To begin then first with the last : There have beene knowen great personages, who being once permitted to put forth their hands for to take bribes and money unjustly, lost all the honor which they had woon the rest of their life time: As for example, * Gylippus the Lacedæmonian, who having once opened those bagges or coffers of money by turning their bottomes upwards, and taken foorth what pleafed him, was shamefully banished out of Sparta, and lived obscurely in exile. Astouching the gift of bridling choler, and notto be angric at all, it is a fingular vertue, and perfect wife men they are indeed who can fo do: Such as Socrates was, who being greatly abused by an infolent, audacious and gracelesse youth, that 30 fpared him not, but had spurned & kicked him with his heeles, seeing shose about him to be very angrie and out of patience, stamping and faring as though they would run after the partie, to be avenged of fuch an indignitie; How now my mafters (quoth he) what if an affe had flung out, and given me a rap with his heeles, would you have had me to have yerked out and kicked him againe? Howbeit, this ungracious imperient not clere away with impunity : for being rated for his infolence & leud demeanor, and reproched by everie man with the termes of Winfing affe, Kicking colt, and such like nick-names, he fell into such a fit of melancholie, that he strangled himselle in a halter. Also when Aristophanes the Poet exhibited the Comedie called Cloudes, wherein he let flie and discharged upon Socrates all maner of slanders and contumelies that he could devise, infomuch as one of them who were present at the very time when he railed thus 40 licentiously, demanded of him, and faid, Art thou not netled, ô Socrates, to heare and fee thy felfe thus blasoned and noted in publike place? Not a whit (quoth hee againe) for well I wot, that I am in a Theatre, where I make fport, and am laughed at, no otherwise than at some great feast: and glad I am that I can make the audience so merie. The like for all the world, is reported of Archytas, the Tarentine, and Plato: the one being returned home from the warre, wherein he was L. Generall, found his land forlet, neglected and untilled; whereupon he fent for his Bailife of husbandrie, who had the charge thereof: and when he was come before him, Were I not exceeding angrie (quoth he) I would make thee feele my fingers, and give thee thy defert. And Plate being upon a time displeased with a servant of his, who had a licourous tooth, and had done some ungracious pranke, called unto him Spensippus his sisters sonne, and said, Goe 50 your waies, take me this knave afide, and fwinge him well: for I my felfeam verie angrie. But fome man perhaps will fay unto me, These be hard matters to do and imitate. True it is, I wote well; howbeit, endevour we must and strive with our selves what we can, according to the example of these worthie men, to cut off somewhat of our impatience, and to curbe our excessive anger: for we may not looke to be equall and comparable in any respect to them, either in expe-

rience and skill or in vertue. Howbeit, let us nevertheleffe, like the Priests and Torch-bearers (if I may fo fay) of the gods, ordeined to give light, and fnew unto men the reliques of their wifedome and learning, no leffe than if they were verie gods, affay to follow them, and tread in their fleps, endevouring as much as lieth in us, to be furnished with their examples for our better instruction. As for the rule and government of the tongue (for of it, according to my promise, I am to discourse) if there be any man, who thinketh it to be no great mastrie, but a small and frivolous matter, he is verie wide and farre out of the right way. For a point it is of great wildome, to know in time and place to keepe filence, and farre better by many degrees than any speech whatfoever. And for this cause (I suppose) it was, that our ancestours in times past instituted to those precise ceremonies of sacred mysteries, to the end that being used to holde our peace by that meanes, we might transferre that feare which we learned in the fervice of the gods, to the fidelitie and fecrecie which we are to observe in mens affaires; and verily never was there man that repented for holding his tongue, but many a one hath often beshrewed himselfe for speaking. Againe, that word which a man hath held in at one time, he may cafilie utter at another well enough; but a word once passed out of the mouth, he cannot possibly recall it againe. I remember that I have heard of an infinite number of men, who by occasion of an intemperate tongue of their own, have fallen headlong into exceeding great calamities, among whom I will felect one or two by way of example, to illustrate the theame that I have in hand, & overpasse the rest. Ptolomaus King of Aegypt, him I meane who was furnamed Philadelphia, espoused 20 his owne fifter Arsinoë, and maried her: at what time one Sotades came unto him and fayd, You putyour aglet, sir, thorow the oilet that is not made for it: For this one word, he was cast into prison, where he remained a long time in miserie, and rotted in the end, suffering condigne punishment due for his lauish tongue and foolish words ? and for that he thought to make other men laugh, himselse wept for it a long time after. The like, and in a maner the same, both did and suffered another, named Theoretim the Sophister, save that the punishment which he abid was much more grievous. For when King Alexander the Great had by his letters miffive given commandement that the Greekes should provide Robes of purple against his returne, because upon his comming home he minded to celebrate a solemne sacrifice unto the Gods, in token of thanksgiving for that he had atchieved a victorie over the Barbarians: by reason 30 of which commaundement the States and cities of Greece were enjoyeed to contribute money by the poll, Then this Theoritm, I have ever to this day (quoth he) doubted what Homer meant by this word Purple death: but now I know full well that this is the Purple death which he speaketh of. By which words he incurred the high displeasure of King Alexander, and made him his heavie friend ever after. The same Theoritus another time procured to himselfe the deadly hatred of Antigonus King of the Macedonians, by reproching him in way of mockerie with his deformity and defect, for that he had but one eie. For the King having advaunced Entropian his Mafter Cooke to a place of high calling and commaund, thought him a meete man to be fent unto Theoritus, as well to give account unto him, as also to take account of him reciprocally. Eutropion gave him to understand so much from the King, and about this businesse, repaired 40 often unto him. In the end, I know well (quoth Theoritus) thou wilt never have done untill thou have made a dish of meate of me, and serve me up raw to the table before this Cyclops to be eaten: twitting the King with his one cie, and Eutropion with his cookerie. But Eutropion came upon him againe prefently and faid: Thou shalt be then without a head first, For I will make thee pay for thy prating and foolish toong, and with that he went immediately to the King, and reported what he had faid, who made no more adoe but fent his writ and caused his head to be

Over and besides all these precepts before rehearsed, children ought to be inured from their very infancie in one thing which is most holy and beforeming religious education, and that is, to speake the truth: For furely, lying is a base and servile vice, detestable and hatefull among all 50 men, and not pardonable for much as to meane flaves, fuch as haue little or no good in them. Now as touching all that which I have delivered and advised hitherto which concerneth the honest behaviour, modestie and temperance of yoong children, I have delivered the same franckly, resolutely, and making no doubt thereof. Mary, for one point which now I am to touch and handle, I am not fo well refolved, but much diffracted in my mind, hanging to and fro as it were in a quall balance, and know not which way to incline, whether to the one fide or

to another: Infomuch as I am in great perplexitie and feare: neither wote I whether I were better to go forward and utter it, or to turne backe and hold my peace, And yet I will take heart, and boldly declare what it is. The question to be debated is this, Whether we ought to permit those that love young boies, to converse with them and haunt their companie, or contrariwise, keepe them away and debar them that they neither come neere nor have any speech with them? For when I behold & confider the auftere nature & severitie of some fathers, who for feare that their fonnes should be abused, wil in no wife abide that those who love them should in any fort keepe copanie, or talke with them, but thinke it intolerable, I am affraid either to bring up fuch an order or to approove & mainteine the same. But when on the other side I propound before mine cies the examples of Socrates, Plato, Xenophon, Aeschines, Cebes, and all the suit and fort of 10 those woorthy men in times past, who allowed the maner of loving yoong boies, and by that meanes brought such youthes to learne good sciences, to skill of government & State matters, and to frame their maners to the rule and square of vertue, I am turned quite and altogither of another mind, yea and inclined wholly to imitate and follow those great personages, who have the tellimonie of the Poet Euripides on their fide, faying in one place after this maner,

All loves do not the flesh großly respect: One love there is which doth the foule affect, With justice beweified and aquitie. With innocence likewise and chastitie.

Neither ought we to overpasse one faying of Plato, which he delivereth betweene mirth and 20 good carnest in this wise, Good reason it is, quoth he, that they who have done woorthy service and archieved great prowesse and victory in a battaile, be priviledged to kill whom it pleaseth them among their captives. And for those who desire nothing but the bewty and fresh sloure of the bodic, mine opinion is they should be put backe & kept away: but such in one word as love of the bewtie of the minde are to be chosen & admitted unto them. Also I hold, that such kind love is to be avoided and forbidden, which they practife in Thebes and Elis, as also that which in Candy they call Ravishment: but that which is used in Athens and Lacedamon, we ought to receive and allow, even in young and faire boies. Howbeit concerning this matter every man may for me opine what he thinketh good, and do as he feeth cause and can finde in his heart.

Moreover, having fufficiently treated of the good nourture and modest behaviour of chil- 30 dren, I purpose to proceed unto the age of young men: but first I will speake my mind briefly once for all as touching one point. For many a time I have complained of those who have brought up divers ill customes & this above the rest, namely to provide for their children whiles they be very yoong and little, mafters, teachers and governors: but after they are growen once to some yeeres, they give them head and suffer them to be caried away with the violent heat of youth: whereas contrariwife it were meet and needfull, to have a more carefull eie unto them, and to hold a streighter hand over them at that time, than during their infancic and childhood. For who knoweth not, that the faults of young children are but finall, light and eafie to be amended, as for example, some shrewdnesse and little disobedience to their tutors and governors, or haply some negligence and default in not giving eare to their teachers, and not 40 doing as their Maisters appoint them: But contrariwise the offences that yonkers commit, are many times outragious and heinous, as gourmandile and furfeting, robbing of their fathers, dice plaie in masks and mummeries, excelle in featling, banqueting, quaffing and caroufing, wanton love of yoong maidens, adulteries committed upon maried wives, & thereby the overthrow of houses and confusion of families. In regard of which enormities, it behooved parents to represse and bridle their wilde and untamed affections with great care and vigilance: For this floure of age having no forecast of thrift, but fet altogither upon spending, and given to delights and pleafures, winfeth and flingeth out like a skittifh and frampold horfe, in fuch fort that it had need of a sharpe bit and short curb: And therefore they that endeuor not by all good meanes forcibly to hold in and restraine this age, but give young men libertie and suffer so them to do after their own mind, plunge them ere they be aware into a licentious course of life and all maner of wickednesse. Wherefore good and wife fathers ought in this age especially to be vigilant and watchfull over their fonnes, they ought I say to keepe them downe, and inure them to wisedome and vertue, by teaching, by threatning, by intreatie and praiers, by advise and remonstrances, by persuation and counsell, by faire promises, by setting before their eies the

examples of some who being abandoned to their pleasures and all sensualities, have fallen headlong into great calamities and wofull miferies: and contrariwife, of others who by maftering their lusts and conquering their delights, have wonne honor and glorious renowne. For furely these be the two Elements and foundations of vertue, Hope of reward, and Feare of punishment: For as hope inciteth and fetteth them forward to enterprise the best and most commendable acts, fo feare plucketh them backe, that they dare not enter upon lewd and wicked pranks. In fumme, Fathers ought with great care to divert their children from frequenting ill companie, for otherwise they shall be fure to catch infection and carie away the contagion of their leandnes. This is that Pythagoras expresly forbiddeth in his Aenigmaticall precepts under co-10 yert and dark words, which because they are of no small efficacie to the attaining of vertue, I will briefly fet downe by the way, and open their meaning, Tafte not (quoth he) of the black tailed fi-. Thes, Melanuri, which is as much to fay, as, Keepe not company with infamons persons, & such as for their naughtie life are noted (as it were) with a blacke coale. Paffe not over a balance, That is, we ought to make the greatest account of equitie and justice, and in no case to transgresse the fame. Sit not upon the *measure Choenix, That is to fay, we are to flie floth and idlenes, that we *Choenix cbmay forecast to make provision of things necessarie to this life. Give not every man thy right tars, or after hand, which is all one with this, Make no contracts and bargaines indifferently with all persons, some a sexter Weare not a ring streight upon thy finger i. Live in freedome and at libertie; neither intangle &halfe, which and clog thy life with troubles as with gives. Dignot nor rake into the fire with a fword: where-qualifanium, 20 by he giveth us a caveat, not to provoke farther a man that is angrie, for that is not meete and Fide Car. Riveexpedient; but rather to give place unto those that are in heat of choller. Eat not thy heart, that in mind and

is to fay, offend not thine ownefoule, nor hurt and confume it with penfive cares. Abstaine from beanes. i. Intermeddle not in the affaires of State and government: for that in olde time men were woont to passe their voices by beanes, & so proceeded to the election of Magistrates. Put not viands in a chamber-pot: whereby he fignifieth, that we should not commit good and civill words to a wicked minde; because speech is the nutriment of the understanding, which becommeth polluted by the leudnesse of men. Returne not backe from the limits and confines when thou commest unto them, that is to fay, If wee perceive death approaching, and that wee are come to the uttermost bounds of our life, we ought to beare our death patiently, and not

30 be discouraged thereat.

But now is it time to return eagaine to my matter which I proposed before in the beginning. namely, as I have alreadic faid, we are to withdraw our children from the focietie and companie of leud persons, and flatterers especiallie: for that which many a time and often I have said to divers and fundrie fathers, I will now repeat once againe, namely, That there is not a more milchievous and pestilent kinde of men, or who doe greater hurt to youth, and sooner overthrow them, then these flatterers, who are the undoing both of fathers and sonnes, causing the olde age of the one, and the youth of the other, wretched and miferable, prefenting with their leud and wicked counfels an inevitable bait, to wit, Pleafure, wherewith they are fure to be caught. Fathers exhort their fonnes that be wealthie, to sobrietie; and these incite them to drunkenesse, 40 Fathers give them counfell to live chaste and continent; these provoke them to lust and loosenesse of life. Fathers bid them to save, spare, and be thriftie; these will them to spend, scatter, and be wasters. Fathers advise their children to labour and travell; these flatterers give them counfell to play or fit still and doe nothing; What? all our life, fay they, is no more but a moment and minute of time, to speake of: we must live therefore, and enjoy our owne, whiles wee have it: we must not live beside our selves, and languish. What need you regard and care for the menaces of a father, an olde doting foole carving death in his face, and having one foor in the grave, we shall see him one of these dayes turne up his heeles, and then will we soone have him forth, and cary him aloft bravely to his grave. You shall have one of these come, and bring unto a youth some common harlot our of the stinking stewes, having borne him in hand be-50 fore, that the is forme brave dame and citizens wife, for to furnish whom, he must robbe his father, there is no remedie. Thus fathers, good men, in one houre are bereaved and spoiled of that which they had faved many a yeere for the maintenance of their olde age. To be thort, a wretched and curfed generation they be; hypocrites, pretending friendship, but they can not skill of plaine dealing and frankespeech. Rich men they claw, sooth up and flatter: the poore they contemne and despile. It seemeth they have learned the Art of singing to the Harpe, for

to feduce yoong men: for when their yoong mafters, who mainteine and feed them, begin to lungh, then they fet up by and by a loud laughter, then they yawne & flow all their teeth; counterfeit cranks, fained and supposed men; baltard members of mankinde and this life; who compose themselves, and live to the will and pleasure of rich men: and notwithstanding their fortune is to be free borne, and of franke condition, yet they chuse voluntarily to be slaves: who thinke they have great injurie done unto them, if they may not live in all sulnesse and superstanties, to be kept delicately, and doe nothing that good is. And therefore all fathers that have any away from them these gracelesse imps and than elesses they shall doe well also to keepe from them such schoole-tellowes as be unhappie and given to doe shrewd turnes: for such as ro

they, are enough to corrupt and marre the best natures in the world.

All these rules and lessons which hitherto I have delivered, do concerne honestie, vertue and profit: but those that now remaine behinde, pertaine rather to humanity, and are more agreeable to mans nature. For in no case would I have fathers to be verie hard, sharpe and rigorous to their children: but I could rather wish and desire that they winke at dome faults of a voong man, yea and pardon the fame when they espie them, remembring that they themselves were fometimes young. For like as Phylitians mingling and tempering otherwhiles some fweete juice or liquid with bitter drugs and medicines, have devifed that pleafure and delight should be the meanes and way to do their patients good : Even so, fatherslought to delay their cager reprehensions and cutting rebukes with kindnesse and clemencies one while letting the 20 bridle loofe, and giving head a little to the youthfull defires of their children: another while againe reigning them (hort and holding them in, as hard; but above all, with patience gently to beare with their faults. But if fo be fathers cannot otherwise doe, but be soone angrie; then they must assoone have done and be quickly pacified. For I had rather that a father should be hallie with his children, fo he be appealed anon; then flow to anger, and as hard to be pleafed againe. For when a father is so hard harted, that he will not be reconciled, but earleth still in minde the offence that is done, it is a great figne that he hateth his children. And I hold it good that fathers sometime take not knowledge of their childrens faults, and in this case make some use of hard hearing and dimme fight, which old age ordinarily bringeth with it, as if by reason of these infirmities, they neither saw somewhat when they see well ynough, nor heard that which 30 they heare plainely. We beare with the faults of friends; what strange matter is it then to tolerate the imperfections of our owne children? Many a time when our fervants have overdrunke themselves, & furfeited therwith, we search not too narrowly into them, nor rebuke them sharply: therefore keepe thy fonne one while fhort, be franke another while, and give him money to tpend freely. Thou haft beene highly offended, and angric with him once, pardon him another time for it. Hath he practifed fecretly with any one of thy houthold fervants, and beguiled thee? Diffemble the matter and bridle thine yre. Hath he beene at one of thy farmes, met with a good yoke of oxen & made money therof? Commeth he in the morning to do his dutie and bid thee good morrow, belching fowre and finelling strongly of wine, which the day before he drunke at the taverne with companions like himselse? seeme to know nothing. Senteth he of 40 fweete perfumes and coffly pomanders? Hold thy peace and fay nothing. There are the means to tame and breake a wilde and coltifh youth. True it is, that fuch as naturally be fubject to wantonnesse or carnall lust, and will not be reclaimed from it, nor give care to those that rebuke them, ought to have wives of their owne and to be yoked in marriage: for furely this is the belt and furest meanes to bridle those affections, and to keepe them in order. And when fathers are refolved upon this point, what wives are they to feeke for them? Surely those, that are neither in blood much more noble, nor in state farre wealthier than they: For an old said saw it is and a wife, Take a wife according to thy felte. As for those that wed women farre higher in degree, or much wealthier than themselves, I cannot say they be husbands unto their wives, butrather flaves unto their wives goods.

I have yet a few short lessons to annexe unto those above rehearsed, which when I have set downe, I will conclude, and knit up these precepts of mine. Above all things fathers are to take heed, that they neither commit any grosse fault, nor omit any one part of their owne dutie: to the end they may be as lively examples to their owne children; who looking into their life as into a cleere mirrour, may by the precedents by them given, forbeare to do or speake any thing

that is unfeemely and difthoneft: For fuch fathers who reproove their children for those parts which they play themselves, see not how under the name of their children they condemne their owne selves. But surely, all those generally who are ill livers, have not the heart to rebuke so much as their owne servants; much lesse dare they finde fault with their children. And that which is woorst of all, in living ill themselves, they teach and counsell their fervants and children to do the same: For looke where old solke be shamelesse, there must yoong people of necessitie be most graceles and impudent Endevour therfore we ought for the reformation of our children, to do our selves all that our dutie requirest); and heerein to imitate that noble Ladie Eurydites, who being a Slavonian borne, and most barbarous, yet for the instruction of her owne to children, the tooke paines to learne good letters when she was well stept in yeeres. And how kinde a mother she was to her children, this Epigram which she her selse made and dedicated to the Muses, doth sufficiently testific and declare:

This Cupid here of honest love a true Memoriali is,
Which whilom Dame Eutydice of Hierapolis
To Muses nine did dedicate: whereby in soule and mind
Conceived she was in later dries and brought foor is fruit in kind.
For when here children were well growen: good ancient Lady shee,
And carefull mother tooke the paines to learne the A.B.C.
And in good letters did so far proceed, that in the end
She taught them those sides lessons which they might comprehend.

But now to conclude this Treatife, To be able to observe and keepe all these precepts and rules together which I have before set downe, is a thing haply that I may with for, rather than give advise and exhort unto. Howbeit, to affect and follow the greater part of them, although it require a rare selicitie and singular diligence; yet it is a thing that man by nature is capable of, and may attaine unto.



HOW A YOONG MAN

OVGHT TO HEARE POETS, AND

HOW HE MAY TAKE PROFIT BY READING POEMES.

The Summarie.

Orafmuch as yoong Students are ordinarily allured as with a baite by reading of Poets in fuch fort, as willingly they employ their sime therein, confidering that Poefic hath I wot not what Sympathie with the first heats of this age: therefore by good right this prefent diffeourle in placed next unto the former. And alboit, to speake properly it persainesh unto those one symbo read anciens Poets, as well Greeke as Latin, so

take heede and beware how they take an impression of dangerous opinions, in regard either of religion or manners; yet a man may comprehend likewife under it all other profan authors, cut of which a minde that is not corrupt may gather prossit, so they be handled wisely and used with discretion. 50 which essent Plutacch delivereth in this treasise good precepts. And after he hath sewed generally, that in Poose there is delight and danger withall: he refused briess those who statty condemness: Then, as he proceede the advertise that this ground and soundation is to be laid, namely, that Poose are tiers; he described hat their sections be, how they ough to be considered, and what the scope and marke is whereat Poose don't aime and shoot: Afterwards he advise the toweigh & ponder well the intention of Poots, unto which they addresse & accommodate their verses; to beware of their repagnara-

ces and contradictions: and to the endethat we be not so soone damnified by any dangerous points which they deliver one after another, to oppose against them the opinions and counsels of other persons of bestermarke. Which done, he addesh woreover and faith, That the sentences intermingled here and there in Poets, do reply sufficiently against the evill doctrine that they may seeme to teach elsewhere: also, intaking heed to the diverse significations of words to be rid and freed from great encumbrances and difficulties: discoursing moreover how amanmay make use of their descriptions of vices and vertues: allo, of the words and deeds of those personages whom they bring in: searching unto the reasons and causes of such speeches and discourses : thereout to draw in the end a deeper sense and higher meaning reaching evento Morall Philosophie, and the gentle framing of the minde unto the love of vertue. And for that there be some hard and difficult places, which like unto forked waies, may leave 10 the mindes of the Readers doubtfull and insuspense: he sheweth that it is an easie matter to apply the same well, and that withall, a man may reforme those sentences ill placed, and accommodate them to many things. And in conclusion, framing this discourse to his principall intention, hetreatesh how the praises and dispraises which Poets attribute unto persons, are to be considered: and that we ought to confirme all that which we finde good in such authors by testimonies taken out of Philosophie, the onely scope whereunto young men must tend in reading of Poets.

READING AND HEARING of Poemes and Poets.



Hat which the Poet Philosenus said of siesh, that the sweetest is that which is least siesh. of fish likewise that the most savorie is that which is least sish, let us, O Marcus Sedatus, leave to be decided and judged by those, who as Cato said, had their palats more quicke and sensible than their hearts. But, that yoong men take more pleasure in those Philosophicall discourses, which savour least of Philosophic, and seeme rather spoken in mirth than in earnest, and are more willing to give eare thereto, and suffer themselves more easily to be led and directed thereby, is a thing to us notorious and evi-30

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dent. For we fee, that in reading not onely Acfops fables and the fictions of Poets, but also the booke of Herselides entituled Abaris, and that of Ariston, named Lycas; wherein the opinions of Philosophers as touching the soule, are mingled with tales and seigned narrations devifedfor pleafure, they be ravished as one would say with great contentment and delight. And therefore such youthes ought not onely to keepe their bodies sober and temperate in the pleafures of meate and drinke, but also much more to accustome their minds to a moderate delight in those things which they heare and read, using the same temperately as a pleasant and delectable fauce to give a better and more favorie tafte to that which is healthfull, holfome and profitable therein. For neither those gates that be shut in a city do guard the same and secure it for being forced and won, if there be but one standing open to receive and let in the enimies : nor the 40 temperance and continencie in the pleafures of other fenses preserve a yoong man for being corrupted and perverted, if for want of forecast and heed taking he give himselfe to the pleafure onely of the care. But for that the hearing approcheth neerer to the proper feat of reason and understanding (which is the braine) so much the more hurt it doth unto him that receiveth delectation thereby, if it be neglected, and not better heed taken thereto. Now for a smuch haply, as it is neither possible nor profitable, to restraine from the reading and hearing of Poemes, fuch yoong men as are of the age either of my fonne Soclarus, or of your Cleander, let us I praie you, have a carefull eie unto them, as standing more in need of a guide now to direct them in their readings, then they did in times past to stay and dade them when they learned to go. This is the reason, that me thought in dutic I was bound to fend unto you in writing, that which not 50 long fince I discoursed of by mouth, as touching the writings of Poets: to the end that you may reade it your felfe, and if you find that the reasons therein delivered be of no lesse vertue & efficacie than the stones called Amethysts, which some take before and hang about their necks, to keepe them from drunkennesse as they sit at bankets, drinking wine merily; you may impart and communicate the fame to your fonne Cleander, to preoccupate and prevent his nature,

which being not dull and heavie in any thing, but every way quicke, lively and pregnant, is more apt and eafie to be led by fuch allurements.

In Polypes head there is to be had,

One thing that good stand another as bad,
for that the fless thereof is pleasant and savorie enough in taste to him that seedeth there
upon: but (as they say) it causest troublesome dreames in the sleepe, and imprinted in the same
taste strange and monitrous visions. Semblablie, there is in Poesie much delectation and pleafure, enough to entertaine and feed the understanding and spirit of a yoong man; yet neverthelesse, hee shall meet with that there which will trouble and cary away his minde into errours, if
no his hearing be not well guided and conducted by sage direction. For verie well and fish yit may
be said not onely of the land of Aegypt, but also of Poetrie;

Mixed drugs plentie, of well good as bad, Med cines and poisons are thereto be had, which it bringeth foorth and yeeldeth to as many as converse therein. Likewise: Therein sweet love and mantonnesse,

Therein sweet tone and wantownesses, with dalliance, you shall finde;
And sugred words, which do beguile
the best and wifest minde.

For that which is so deceitfull and dangerous therein, toucheth not at all those that be wit20 less fooles, and grosse of conceit. Like as Simonides answered upon a time to one, who demanded of him, Why he did not beguile and circumvent the Thessalams aswell as all other.
Greeks; Because, quoth he, they are too sortish for me to deale withall, and so rude, that I can
not skill of deceiving them. Gorgius also the Leontine was woont to say of a Tragedie, That it
was a kinde of deceive, whereby he that deceived became more just than he who deceived not;
and he that was deceived, wifer than another who was not deceived. What is then to be done?
Shall we constraine our youth to goe aboord into the Brigantine or Barke of Epicarus, to sale away and slie from Poetrie, by plastring and stopping their eares with hard and strong wase, a
Viisse sometimes served those of Ithicae? or rather by environing and defending their judgement with some discourse of true reason, as with a defensative band about it, to keepe and guard
them, that they be not caried away with the allurements of pleasure, unto that which might hurt
them: Shall we reforme and preserve them?

For fure, Lycurgus, though he was The valiant sonne of stout Dryas,

shewed himselfe not wife nor well in his wits, when he went throughout his whole realme and caused all the vines to be cut downe and destroied, because he saw many of his subjects troubled in their braines and drunken with wine: whereas he should rather have brought the nymphes (which are the fpring waters) neerer, and keepe in order that foolish, furious and outragious god Bacchio as Plato faith, with another goddeffe that was wife and fober. For the mingling of water with wine, delaieth and taketh away the hurtfull force thereof: but killeth not 40 withall the holfome vertue that it hath: Even fo we ought not to cut off, nor abolish Poetrie, which is a part and member of the Muses and good literature: But when as the straunge sables and Theatricall fictions therein, by reason of the exceeding pleasure and singular delight that they yeeld in reading them, do spred and swell unmeasurably, readie to enter forcibly into our conceit so farre as to imprint therein some corrupt opinions: then let us beware, put soorth our hands before us, keepe them backe and state their course. But where there is a Grace and Muse met togither, that is to fay, delight conjoigned with fome knowledge and learning: where I fay, the attractive pleasure and sweetenesse of speech, is not without some fruit nor void of utilitie, there let us bring in withall the reason of Philosophie, and make a good medly of pleasure and profit together. For as the herbe Mandragoras growing neere unto a vine, doth by infusion 50 transmit her medicinable vertue into the wine that commeth of it, and procureth in them that drinke afterwards thereof, a more milde defire and inclination to fleepe foundly: Even so, a Poeme receiving reasons and arguments out of Philosophie, and intermingling the same with fables and fictions, maketh the learning and knowledge therein conteined to be right amiable unto young men, and foone to be conceived. Which being fo, they that would be learned and Philosophers indeed, ought not to reject and condemne the works of Poetrie, but rather fearch for Philosophie in the writings of Poëts: or rather therein to practise Philosophie, by using to seeke profit in pleasure, and to love the same: otherwise, if they can finde no goodnesse therein, to be displeased and discontented, and to fall out therewith. And truely this is the very be ginning of knowledge and learning: for according to the Poët sophocles,

Lay well thy ground, what ever thou intend: For a good beginning, makes an happie end.

First and formost therefore, the yoong man whom we would induct and traineto the reading of Pocsie, ought to have nothing in his heart so well imprinted, nor so readie at hand, as this common laying.

Poets all to fay a footh

Arc Liers fout, and fpeake untruth.

And verily as Poets sometimes lie wilfully, so otherwhiles they do it against their wils: wilfully and of purpole, for that being defirous to tickle and pleafe the eares, a thing which most Readers defire and feeke after, they thinke that fimple and plaine veritie is more auftere for that purpose then leasing: For truth recounting a thing as it was done, keeperh to it still, and albeit the iffue and the end thereof haply be unpleafant, yet nevertheleffe the goeth not afide but reporteth it outright: whereas a tale or lie devised for delight, quickly diverteth out of the way, and soone turneth from a thing which greeveth, unto that which is more delightsome. For there is no fong in rime and metre, no trope or figuratine speech, no lostie stile, no metaphor fo fiely borowed, no harmonie, no composition of words, how smoothly soever they run, that 20 carieth the like grace, and is either fo attractive or retentive, as a fabulous narration well couched, artificially enterlaced, and aptly delivered. But as a picture drawen to the like, the colour is more effectuall to moove & affect our fense, then the simple purtraying and first draught, by reason of a certaine resemblance it hath to the personage of man or woman, which deceiveth our judgement: Evenfo, in Poëmes, a lie intermingled with some probabilitie and likelihood of a truth doth excite and ftirre more, yea and pleafe better by farre, than all the arte and ftudie that a man is able to employeither in composing excellent verses, or enditing any polished profe, without enterlarding fables and fictions Poeticall. Whereupon it came to paffe, that Secrates who all his life time made great profession to be a desender and mainteiner of the truth, being minded upon a time to take in hand Poetrie, by occasion of certeine dreames and visions 30 appearing unto him in his fleepe: in the enterprise whereof finding himselfe to have no aptnefie nor grace at all in deviling lies, did into verfe certaine fables of Aefope, supposing verilic there could be no Poësie where there were no lies. Many sacrifices we know to have beene celebrated without piping and danneing. But never was there knowen any Poetrie, but it was grounded upon some vaine fables & loud leasing. The verses of Empedocles and Parmendes, the booke of Nicander entituled Therfara, where he treateth of the biting and flinging of venemous serpents, and of their remedies, Themorall sentences of Theognis are writings which borrow of Poetrie their loftinesse of stile and measure of syllables, to bearethem up mounted on high to avoid the base soote pace (as it were) of prose. When as we read therefore in Poeticall compolitions, any strange and abfurd thing, as touching the Gods, demy-gods, or vertue, spoken by 40 fome worthy personage of great renowne, he that beleeveth such a speech and receive thit as an undoubted truth, wandereth in error and is corrupted in opinion: but he that ever and anon remembreth and setteth before his cies the charmes and illusions that Poetrie ordinarily useth in the invention of lying fables, and can effloones bleffe himfelfe and fay thus thereto,

O queint device, ô fle anderafriegin more changeable than footed Ounces skin: Why jestest thou and yet thy browes doeft knis? deceiving me, yet feem'st to teach me wit.

He I say, shall never take harme, nor admit into his understanding any evill impression, but reprehend and reproove himselse when he search Neptune, and standeth indread, least he shake 50 cleaue and open the earth, and so discoverhell: he will rebuke also himselse when he is offended and angrie with for Apollo the principal * man of all the Greekes, of whom Theta complaineth thus in the Poet Aeschaus, as touching Aehilles her sonne.

Himselfe did sing and say at good of me: bimselfe also at wedding present was: Yet for all this, himselse and none but he, bath slaine and done to death my sonne, also:

He will likewife represse the teares of Achilles now departed, and of Agamention being in hell, who in their defire to revive and for the love of this life; fittetch foorth their impotent and teeble hands. And if it chaunce at any time that he be troubled with passions, and surprised with their enchantments and forcerie, he will not sticke nor seare to say thus unto himselfe,

Make hast and speed, without delay, Recover soone the light of day; Beare well in minde what thou seest heere:

And all report to thy bed feere.

Homer spake this in mith and pleasantly; sitting indeed the discourse, wherein he describe the hell as being in regard of the fiction at ale fit for the eares of women and none els: These be the tables that Poets do seigne voluntarily. But more in number there are which they neither devicenor counterseit, but as they are perswaded and do beleeve themselves, so they would be are us in hand and infect us with the same untruthes, as namely when Homer writeth thus of Impater,

Two loss then of long steeping death, he did in balance put, One for Achilles hardy knyests, and one for Hector stout! But when he pis'd it sust in mids, behold, sor Hectors death Weigh'd downward unto hell beneath: Then Phochus sloot his breath.

To this siction Aeschylus the Poet hath aptly fitted one entire Tragedie, which he intituled Psichosasia, that is to say, the weighing of Soules or ghosts in balance. Wherein he devised to fund at these skales of Impiter, Theth of the one side, and Aurora of the other, praying each of them for their sonnes as they fight. But there is not a man who seeth not cleerely, that this it but a made tale and meete sable devised by Homer, either to content and delight the Reader, or to bring him into some great admiration and assonithment, Likewise in this place:

T'is Iupiter that moovesh warre: He is the cause that men do jarre. As also this of another Poet:

When God above some house will overskrow, He makes debate, twixt mortall men below.

These and such like speeches are delivered by Poëts, according to the very conceit and beliese which they have, whereby the errour and ignorance which themselves are in as touching
the nature of the gods they derive and communicate unto us. Semblably, the strange wonders
and marvels of Hell; The descriptions by themmade which they depaint unto us by seareful
and terrible termes, representing unto us the fantastical apprehensions and imaginations of
burning and staming rivers, of hideous places and horrible terments: there are not many men
but wot well ynough that therein be tales and lies good store: no otherwise than in meates and
viands, you shall sinde mixed otherwhiles hursfull poyson, or medicinable drugs. For neither
Homer nor Pindarm, nor Sephoeles, have written thus of Hell, beleeving certainely that there
40 were any such things there:

From whence the dormans rivers dead of blacke and hady night, Cass up huge milts and clouds full darke, that overwhelme the light: Likewise.

The Ocean coast they failed still along, Fast by the clifs of Leucas rocke among. As also.

Here boyling waves of gulfe so deepe do swell, Where lies the way and downfall into hell.

And as many of them as bewailed and lamented for death as a most piteous and woful thing, or feared want of sepulture as a miserable and wretched case, untered their plaints and griefes in these and such like words:

For sake me not unburied so, Nor unbewaited when you go.

Semblably,

Semblably. And then the foule from body flew, and as to hell the went, She did her death, her loffeof strength and yout bfull yeeres lament. Likewise. Doe not me kill before my time, for why? to fee this light Is sweet : force me not under earth, where nothing is but night.

These are the voices I say of passionate persons, captivate before to error and false opinions. And therefore they touch us more neerely, and trouble us fo much the rather, when they finde us likewife poffessed of such passions and feeblenes of spirit, from whence they proceed. In which regard we ought to be prepared betimes, and provided alwaies before hand to encounter and withstand such illusions; having this sentence readily evermore resounding in our cares as it were from a trunke or pipe, That Poetrie is fabulous, and maketh smal reckoning of Truth. As for the truth indeed of these things, it is exceeding hard to be conceived & comprehended even by those who travell in no other businesse, but to search out the knowledge and understanding of the thing, as they themselves do confesse. And for this purpose these verses of Empedocles would be alwaies readic at hand, who faith that the depth of fuch things as thefe

Reading and hearing of

No eie of man is able to perceive : No eare to heare, nor first to conceive. Like as these also of X enophanes. Never was man nor ever will be, Able to found the veritie Of those things which of God I write,

Or of the world I do endite. And I affure you, The very words of Socrates in Place imply no leffe, who protesteth and bindeth it with an oath, that he cannot attaine to the knowledge of these matters. And this will be a good motive to induce young men to give lesse credit unto Poëts, as touching their 30 certaine knowledge in these points, wherein they perceive the Philosophers themselves so doubtfull and perplexed, yea and therewith fo much troubled.

Also the better shall we stay the mind of a yoong man & cause him to be more warie, if at his first entrance into the reading of Poëts, we describe Poetrie unto him: giving him to understand that it is an art of Imitation, & a science correspondent every way to the feat of painting; and not onely must be be acquainted with the hearing of that vulgar speech so common in every mans mouth, that Poësie is a speaking picture, and picture a dumbe Poësie : but also we ought to teach him, that when we behold a Lizard or an Ape wel painted, or the face of Ther fites lively drawen, we take pleasure therein & praise the same wonderfully; not for any beautie in the one or in the other, but because they are so naturally counterseited. For that which is soule of it selfe & ilfavo- 40 red in the owne nature, cannot be made faire & feemly: but the skil of refembling a thing wel, be the same saire or be it soule, is alwaies commended: wheras contratiwise, he that takes in hand to purtray an ilfavoured bodie, and makes thereof a faire & beautifull image, shall exhibite a fight neither feemely nor decent. Some painters you shall have to delight in painting of strange, foolish and absurd actions: as for example Timomachus represented in a table the picture of Medea, killing her owne children: Theen painted Orestes murthering his owne mother: Parrhafius described with his penfill, the counterfeit race and madnesse of Visses, and Cherephanes purtrayed the wanton dalliance, and dealing of men and women together unfeemely. With which arguments and fuch like, a yoong man is to be made acquainted, that he may learne thereby how the thing it felfe is not praise woorthie, whereof he feeth the expresse estimate, 50 but the art and cunning of the workeman who could fo artificially draw the same to the life. Semblably, for asimuch as Poësie representeth many times by way of imitation, filthie actions, leand affections, and vicious manners: it is the part of a yoong man to know thus much, That the thing which is admired therein and found to be fingular, he ought not either to receive as true, or proove as good, but to praise it so far foorth onely as it is besitting the person, or appro-

priate to the subject matter. For like as when we heare the grunting of a swine, the creaking of a cart wheele, the whistling noise of the winde, or the roaring of the sea, we take no pleasure therein, but are troubled and discontented: but contrariwise, if a merie fellow or jester can pretily counterfeit the fame, as one Parmeno could grunt like a fwine, and Theodorus creake like the faid wheeles, we are delighted therewith. Also, as we shun a diseased person, and a Lazar full of filthy ulcers, as an unpleafant and hideous spectacle to beholde: but when we looke upon Philacletes purtraied by Aristophon; and queene locasta by Silanian: namely, how they be described to pine away, and ready to yeeld up the ghost, we receive no small contentment thereby: even fo a young man when hee thall reade what the ridiculous jefter Ther fites, or the amorous and 10 wanton spoiler of maiden, Sifyphus, or the beaftly bawd Betrochus, is brought in by Poets to sav or doe; let him be advertised and instructed to praise the art and sufficiencie of the Poet, who knew how to paint the fame so lively and naturally: but withall to blame, reject, and detest the acts and conditions which are thus represented. For there is a great difference betweene resembling a thing well, and a thing that is fimply good: for when I fay Well, I meane aptly, decently and properly: and so acts filthic and dithonest, are fit and beforeing for lewd and unhonest persons. For the shoes of that lame creple Demonides, which he prayed to God might serve his feer that had stollen them from him, were in themselves misshapen and ilfavoured; howbeit, proper and fit for him: As for this speech, If lawes of right and equitie

> What man alive would not begin To do all wrong, a crowne to win? And this: Put on the face, I thee advise, Of him that is just and right wife : But fee no deeds thou do for let, Whereby thou maift some profit get. Alfo: Vnlesse I may may talent gaine As clere as gift, I am in paine. Likewise: How fhall I live or take repose, In case this talent 1 do lose? Nay sleepe I will and feare no hell, Nor torments there, but thinke all well: What wrong I do, what plots I fet,

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In any case may broken be,

My silver talent for to get. Wicked words they be all, and most false; howbeit, befeeming such as Escocles and Ixion were, and becomming well an olde Viurer. If therefore wee would aduertife yoong men, that 40 Poets write thus, not as if they praised and allowed such speeches, but as they know full well that they be lewd and naughtie, fo they do attribute them unto as wicked and godlesse persons, they should never take harme by any evill impressions from Poets: but contrariwise, the prejudicate opinion infinuated first, of such & such a man, will presently breed a suspition both of word and deed to be bad, as spoken and done by a bad and vicious person. Such an example is that of Paris in Homer, who flying out of the battell, went presently to bed unto faire Helena. For seeing that the Poet reporteth of no man els, but only of this unchast adulterous Paris, that he lay with his wife in the day time: it is an evident proofe that he reputed and judged fuch incontinencie to be reprochfull, and therefore made report thereof to his blame and shame both. In these cafes also it would be well considered whether the Poët himselfe do not give some plaine demon-50 strations emplying thus much, that he misliketh such speeches, and is offended therewith, as Menander did in the Prologue of that Comedic, which he entituled Thais.

> Oladie Muse now belpe me to endite Of this fo bolde and unshamefaced queane, Tet beautifull: who also hath a shrite Perswafeve, and with words can earie cleane

23

Reading and hearing of

The wrongs that she unto her lovers all
Doth offer; whom she shutteth out of dores,
And yet for gifts she still of them doth call,
And picks their purse, which is the cast of whores,
She none doth love, and yet she semblance makes

That are fre will, poore heart, for all their sakes.

And verily in this kinde, Homer among all other Poets doth excell, and useth fuch advertisements with best discretion: for it is ordinarie with him both to premise some reprehension and blame of evill speeches, and also to recommend the good. And for an instance heereof, in this wise he giveth commendation of a good speech,

And then anon, this speech right commendable He spake, which was both sweet and profitable.

Approching then, he stood unto him nere, And stated him soone with words that gentle were.

And tratea non-joine with new as that general terms. Semblably on the other fide, reprooving bad and lewd fpeeches, he in a manerdoth protest that himselfe misliketh of them, and therewith denounceth likewise, and doth intimate unto the readers thus much in effect. That they should make no use thereof, nor take regard, otherwise than of wicked things and dangerous examples: as namely when he purposed to describe the rude and grosse terms that Agamemon gave unto the Priest of Apollo, when he abused him 20 unreverently, he premised this before;

This nothing pleased Atreus some, K. Agamemnon hight;

But him he badly did intreat, and use with all despish.

By this word Badly, he meaneth rudely, proudly, didainfully, without regard of dutie or decencie. As for Achilles he attributeth unto him these rash and outragious speeches,

Thou drunken fot and dogs face that thou art Thou courage hast no more then fearfull Hart.

But he inferred withall his owne judgement as touching those words in this maner,

Achilles then fir Peleus sonne, still boiling in his blood

Gave Agamemon words againe unfeemely and not good.

For it is not like that any thing could be well and decently spoken proceeding from such anger and bitter choler, he observet the same not in words onely but also in deeds. For thus he saith,

No fooner had he flock the word, but presently hement To worthy Hector much differace, whose body up he hent, He strips and spoiled it full soone, and then hard by the bed Of sir Patrochus he it laid, and groweling there it spred.

He nicht allo filly to the purpose pretie reprehensions after things be done, delivering his own sentence, as it were by way of a voice given, touching that which was either done or said a little before: As for example, after the narration of the adultery betweene Mars and Venus, he reported that the gods spake in this fort:

Lewd Acts do never better speed; Lo how the slow and lame

Can overtake him him who for strength and swiftnes hath the name!

And in another place, upon the audatious presumption and proud vaunting of Hector, thus he

Thefe words he spake in braverie and swelling pride of heart, But Lady Luno was displeas d, and tooke them in ill part. Likewise as touching the arrow that Pandarus shot,

faith,

No fooner Pallas faid the word, but foolish mindedman, He was perswaded, and therewith streight waies to shoote began.

And these be the sententious speeches, & opinions of Poets, by them expressly uttered, which 50 any man may soone find & easily discerne, if he will but take heed & give regard unto them. But yet over & besides these testimonies, they furnish us also with other instructions by their owne deeds. For thus it is reported of Emipides, that when upo a time some revited Ixion & reproched him by the termes of Godlesse, Wicked & Accursed: he answered, True indeed quoth he, and therefore I would not suffer him to be brought for the Stage, before I had set him fast upon the wheele,

wheele, & broken both his armes & legs. True it is that this kinde of Doctrine in Homer is after a fort mute & not delivered in plaine & expresse termes: but if a man will conder more neerely, even those fables & fictions in him, which are most blamed & found fault withall, there may be found therein a profitable inflruction & covert speculation: And yet somethere be who wiest & writhe forcibly the faid fables another way by their Allegories, (for fo they call in these daies those speeches wherein one thing is spoken & another ment, whereas in times past they were termed Hypponaa, for the hidden meaning couched under them) whereby they would make us beloeve that the fiction as touching the adulteric of Mars & Venus fignifieth thus much, That when the Planet of Mars, is in conjunction with that of Venus in some Horoscopes and Nati-10 vities, fuch perfons then borne shall bee enclined to adulteries: but if the Sun do then arife, paffe, and overtake them, then fuch adulteries are in danger to be discovered and the parties to be taken in the very act. Now as touching Into how the embellitheth and adorned herfelie before Iupiter, as also the fiction and forcerie about the needle worke girdle and Tiffue which the borowed of Venus, they would have it to fignific a certaine purging and cleering of the aire, as it approcheth necre to the fire: as if the Poet himfelfe gave not the interpretation and exposition of fuch doubts: For in the tale of the adulterie of Venue, he meaneth nothing els, but to teach them that gave care thereto, how wanton musicke, lascivious songs, and speeches grounded upon evill arguments and conteining naughtie matters, corrupt our maners, induce us to a luxurious, loofe and effeminate life, and caufe men to be subject unto pleasures, delights, sen-20 fualitie and luft, and given over to the love of women: as also

To chaunge eft soones their beds of costly price, I heir rich array, hote baines, and ech device.

And therefore the fame Homer bringeth in Visifes, commanding the Musician who fung to the Harpe, in this wife

Digreffe good fir from such leved fongs, and ballads vaine as these. Singrather of the Trojan horse: you shall us therein please.

Giving us thereby a good instruction, that Minstrels, Musicians and Poets should receive the matter and argument of their compositions from wise men, sober, sage and vertuous. And as touching that sible of sume, so the sum of the s

Thou shalt then know that wanton love and daliance in bed, Whereby thou earst hast me deceived, shall serve thee in small sted.

For the shew and representation of wicked deeds, if there be propounded withall the shame and loffe which befalleth unto them that have committed the fame, doth no hurt at all, but rather much good unto the hearers. As for Philosophers verily, they use examples taken out of historics, to admoniff and instruct the readers, even by such things as be at hand, and either are or 40 have beene really fo: but Poets do in deed the fame, and in effect, howbeit they devife and invent matter of their owne heads, they feigne fables I fay, fitting their purpose. Certes like as Melanthin faid, betweenebord and goodearnest, that the citie of Athens stood upright on foote and was preferred by meanes of the divition, discorde and trouble which was among oratours and Politicians; for that all the citizens leaned not altogither to a fide, nor bare levelly upon one and the fame wall, and so by reason of the variance which reigned among the States men, there was evermore some one counterpoise or other, weighing even against that which endamaged the common-weale: even so the contradictions that are found in the writings of Poets, which draw the affent and beleefe of the readers reciprocally to and fro, and leave matters ambiguous and doubtfull, area cause that they be not of so great moment and weight, as to en-50 damage or endaunger much. When as therefore we meet with fuch repugnant places among them, which being laid neere togither do implie evident contraricties, we ought to encline to the lafer fide and favor the better part, As namely in these verses,

The Gods in many things, my fonne, Have men decerved and them undone. But contrariwife, what faith the fonne againe?

Although it come by false meanes and unmeete.

Deceitfull lies and false language,

Bring forth no fruit, that will beare age.

Reply we ought and fay thus: We have heard you fing in another tune:

Furthermore to encounter these speeches which are delivered as touching riches;

revenge:

All meanes and plots we may addresse,

To worke and compasse our foes distresse,

The joy we gaine by fraud and trecherie,

Lucre alwaies full pleasant is and sweete,

Turnes in the end to woe and miferie.

Morcover, when we heare Sophocles in this fong:

We may come upon him againe and answer thus: But you good Sir elsewhere affirme, That

Although

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Reading and hearing of
           Sir, that's foone faid: mens fault t'excufe,
          N othing more ready, than Gods t'accuse.
  Likewise in one place:
           In store of gold thou should it have joy:
           And count all knowledge but a toy.
   But elfewhere:
           Absurdit is in goods to flow,
           And no good thing besides to know.
  Morcover when we read:
           How then? should I die? For Gods cause die?
                                                                                               10
  We must be ready with this
          What elfer for love of God I judge
          We ought no fervice for to grudge
  These and such like diversities of doubtfull sentences, are soone associated and distolved, in
case, as I have before said, we direct the judgement of yoong men to adhere unto the better
part. But fay, we light upon some wicked and ungodly speech, without any answere adjoyned
thereto for to refell the same presently: what then is to be done? Surely we must consute it, by
opposing contrarie sentences of the same author in other places: neither are we to be angrie or
offended with the Poët in this case; but rather thinke they be words either merily spoken, or on-
ly to represent the nature of some person, & with him only to be displeased. Moreover, against 20
these sictions in Homer, when he reporteth how the gods fall toge ther by the cares, and throw
one another downe: or that they be wounded in some battell by the hands of mortall men: also
that they be at variance and debate: you may if you will by and by oppose that which he him-
felie speaketh in another place, and so beathim with his ownerod: faying thus unto him,
           You know fir if you list, ywis
           To tell us better tales than this.
   And verily you both utter better wordes, and thinke of better matters otherwise in these
places:
           The Gods in heaven do live at ease:
                                                                                               30
           They know no trouble nor difease.
                 Alfo:
           Whereas, the Gods in bliffe and joy
           Do ever live, wishout annoy.
                 Likewise:
           The Gods themselves are void of care:
           Sadnesse and sorrow mens lots they are.
   For these are the true and safe conceptions which we ought to have as touching the Gods:
And for all other fabulous fictions and attributes given unto them, they have been edevised on-
ly to give contentment to the readers, or to moove their affections. In like case whereas Euri-
                                                                                               40
pides faith:
           Gods over men, having power and masterie,
           Abuse and deceive them with wiles and sophistrie
   It were not amisse to alledge and inferre that which he writeth better and more truely in ano-
ther place:
           If Gods do harme, or what doth not befeeme,
           No Gods in truth, we are them for to deeme.
   Also when Pindarus speaketh verie bitterly and eagerly in one place, tending altogether to
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Powr-full is riches to win forts steepe and high,
                 As well as places most plaine and acce sible,
              Whereas those pleasures, which redy be and nigh
                 To hold and enjoy, for poore is impo sible.
              And why? a toong that smooth and filed is
                 Will cause aman foule and unpersonable,
              Of no regard, whose parts be all amis
                 Faire for to seeme full wife and commendable.
      The Reader may alleage many opposite sentences of Sephaeles, and these among the rest:
              I fee no cause, but men in povertie,
              May be advauned to place of dignitie.
                    Alfo:
              Aman is not the woor fe for his povertie,
              In case he have both wisedome and hone stie.
              What joy, what grace can come of worldly pelfe,
                 If first by shifts a manto it artaine:
              And then with restlesse cares torment lamselfe,
                 And take bad cour ses the same to maintaine?
      And Menander verily in one place hath highly praised and extolled sensual lust and concu-
   piscence, whereby he set them forward who are of an hot nature, and of themselves prone to vo-
   luptuousnes, namely, in these and such like amatorious words:
              What creatures soever do live and see
                 I he sun light joys that common treasure,
              Are all, have beene, and ever skall be
30
                 Subject and thrait offeftly pleasure.
      Howbeit, in another the same Poet hath turned us about, and forcibly drawen us unto hone-
   ftie, repressing and bridling the insolent surie of a loose and luxurious life, saying in this wise:
              A filthie life though pleasant for the while,
              With hame at last, doth all delights defile.
      These sayings are in some fort contrarie to the former, but far better and more profitable
   every way. And therefore the fetting together and confideration of fuch contradictoric fen-
   tences, will bring foorth one of thefetwo effects: for either it will draw yoong men to the bet-
   ter way, or at leaftwife derogate the credit of the woorst.
     But if peradventure it come to paffethat the Poëts themselves do not solve and salve those
   strange and abfurd fayings, which they feeme to set abroad: it were not amisse to oppose against
   them, the contrarie fentences of other famous authors: and when wee have weighed and
   compared them in balance, to make proofe thereby which are the better. As for example, if
   haply Alexis the Poët hath prevailed with some by these verses of his;
              If men be wife above all they will chuse
              By all meanes their pleasures to compasse and use.
              Whereof there be three most powrfull and rife,
              Which wholy possesse and accomplish our life
              To eat, to drinke, to follow venerie:
              As for the rest, I hold accessarie.
      We must call to minde and remember, that the fage Socrates was of another opinion and
   spake the contrarie: for he was woont to say that the wicked lived for to eate and drinke; but the
   vertuous didboth eat and drinke, to live. Semblably, to meete with this verse of the Poët who
    ever it was that wrote thus:
              Tomake thy part good with aperson leved
                                                                                              Fight
                                                             C >
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Fight with like lew dnes, and be thou as skrewd.

Bidding us in some fort to accommodate and frame our selves like to the lewd and wicked: we may be readic with that notable Apophthegme of Diogenes, who being asked how a man might be revenged best of his enemie, answered thus, If (quoth he) thou shew thy selfe a good and honest man. The wisedome also of the said Diogenes we must set against the Poet Sophoeles, who troubled the minds and consciences of many thousands, with distrust and dispaire, by writing these verses as touching the religion and confraternity in the Mysteries of Ceres:

How happie men and thrice happy are they Whose fortune it is, the secrets to see Of Mysteries so sacred : and streight way Downe into hell, forto descend with glee: For they alone in bliffe shall live for ay:

The rest in bale, must suffer paine alway. How now, quoth Diogenes, when he heard fuch verses read: Saist thou so indeed? And shall PARACIAN the notorious theefe be in better state after this life when he is once departed, only because he was entred and professed in the orders of this confraternitie, than good Epiminondas? As for Timothem, when upon a time in the audience of a full Theatre, he chaunted a Poeme which he had compiled in the honor of Diana, wherein he stilled her with the Attributes and Epithets, of Menas, Thyas, Phabas and Lyllas, which fignific, Furious, Enraged, Poffeffed, and starke Mad : Cinnesias presently cried presently aloud unto him , I would thou haddest a 20 daughter of thine owne with fuch qualities. The like elegant answere Bion is reported to have made unto Theognis. For when Theognis came out with these verses,

Aman held downe with povertie can nothing do or fay: For why? his tongue wants libertie, and somewhat dothit stay.

Bion heating them, How commeth it then to passe quoth he, that thou thy selfe being but a beggarkeepell fuch a prating as thou doeft, and with thy vaine babling and garrulitie troublest

Moreover we must not in any wife omit and let passe the occasions which are ministred out 30 of the words and fentences either adjoyning, or intermingled with those speeches, for to reforme and correct the fame: But like as Phylicions are of opinion, that notwithstanding the greene Flies Cantharides be of themselves venemous and a deadly poison; yet their wings and feete are helpefull and holfome: yea and of vertue to frustrate and kill the malice of the said flies: even to in the Poemes and writings of Poets, if there be one Nowne or Verbe hanging to a sentence that we seare will do harme, which Nowne or Verbe may in some fort weaken the faid hurtfull force, we are to take hold thereof, and to fland upon the fignification of fuch words more at large, as some do in these verses,

This honour duc to wretched men we keepe Our haire to cut, and over them to weepe. As also in these,

We men, Alas most miferable, live In paine and griefe, this lot the gods do give.

For the Poet doth not simply affirme that the gods have predestinate all men simply to live in woe & forrow, but this he speaketh of foolish and witlesse folke, who being ordinarily lewd and naught, and therefore milerable and wretched for their wickednes, he is woont to call Jenais & di Tupes.

Another way there is belides, to turne the doubtfull and suspected sentences in poeticall writings to the better fense, which otherwise might be construed in the worse part: namely, by interpreting words to the fignification wherein they are ufually taken: wherein it were better to 50 exercise a yong man, than in the interpretations of obscure termes, which we call Glosses. And verily a point this is favouring of great learning, and full befides of delectation: as for example, To know how the word from in Poëts signifieth, is as much to say, as ill death or a bad end; for that the Macedonians use to call death Javos. Likewise the Acolians do terme victorie which is atchieved by long fuffering, continuall perseverance and abiding, requesti. Also among the

Dryopians, those be named Tloral, who with other are called Damones, i. Saints or Heavenlie wights. Furthermore, it is not onely expedient, but necessarie also, if we would receive good, and not harme, by the reading of Poets; to know certeinly, how and in what fignification they take the proper names of gods, as also the appellative words of good and evill things. Likewise what they meane by the vocables we i, the foule; or wifer, i, farall destinie. Namely, whether these termes be taken by them in one sence, or have many fignifications? The same is to be said of many other words befides: for example fake, this Nowne 3 nos fomtimes fignifieth an addifice or dwelling house, as when Homer faith,

Bizoves vivespov. To the house built with an highroofe. 10 otherwhiles it betokeneth goods and substance: as in this piece of a verse.

Editti por onos. My house is eaten. i. My goods are wasted and consumed.

Also this word giorss is taken in one place for life; as namely in these verses; dueviva oer Sear dix plui

μυανος είναι πισειθύων βιότοιο μεγήρας. God Neptune with his haire fo blacke, enywing him long life, Defightfully his daies cut fhort, and ended all the firife.

But in another for goods and riches: to wit, Bione Stoi anor San. Meane while do others frend my goods.

Semblably the Verbe dates, you shall finde put for to fret, be discontented and ill apaied: as when the Poet writeth thus;

'Ως εφωθ' είθ' άλύεσ' άπεβίσατο, τείρετο

S' airais.

40

40

Which faid, fre feemed male-content,

And wounded so; away she went.

And yet it is used sometime, for to joy and vaunt: as namely in the same Poet;

n anders on Trov evixnous tov ancidu.

And do you brag and boaft fo much in deed, Poore Irus that you beat in beggers weed.

In like fort the Verbe Sodjew, fignifieth either to moove or stirre with great violence : as in Euripides. Κήτος Βοάζον εξάτλαντικής άλος.

A whale out of th' Atlanticke sea, we might descrie from land Most forcibly to swimme, and then to shut himselfe on land. or to fit downe and take repofe: as for example, when Sophocles faith thus,

τίνας πόθ' είθεας τάς δεμοι Βοάζετε ι η τικίοις η λάθδισην έξες εμμθρόις.

My friends what meane you in this wife fo strangely for to fit, With branches dight about your heads, which suppliants doe be fit ?

40 Moreover, it is verie pretie and commendable, when a man meeteth with words of divers acceptions, to make use thereof accordingly, and to accommodate them to the present occasions and subject matters: like as the Grammarians teach us to doe in vocables that admit fundry senfes; as for example,

Youman well praise a little barke or barge, But fee with wares, a mightie hulke you charge.

Here the Verbe einer, fignifieth imagein, i, to praise: and yet now in this place (to praise) is as much to fay, as to refuse and reject : Like as in our common and daily speech wee use to say, rands in it is wel: or when we bid referred it: meaning by thefe terms, that we like not 50 of a thing, or will none of it, nor accept thereof. And herevpon it is that some say, Proferpina is called ment which is as much to fay as a goddeffe blamed and to be found fault with. This difference then, and diffinction in the fignifications of words, is principally to be observed in marters that be more ferious and of greater confequence, to wit, in the names of gods. To beginne therefore with them, let us advertise and seach young men, that Poets in using the names of gods, sometimes meane thereby their very nature and effence : otherwhiles they attribute the homonymie of the fame names, to the powers & vertues which the gods do give, and wherof they be the authours. And here there presenteth himselfe unto me the Poet archilechus, when in his praier he faith thus;

Kaŭ di avač noase, &c. O Vulcan king be gracious unto me, And heare my praices, thus kneeling on my knee Devously: Grant, I Jay, this my request As thou are wont, to whom thou love ft beft.

It is veric cleere and evident that he doth invocate the god Palean himselfe, and calleth him by his proper name. But when hee bewaileth his fifters husband, who perished and was drow- 10 ned in the fea, by which accident he wanted his due fepulture, he faith, that he could have borne this calamitie and misfortune the better,

If that his head and lovely limmes in pure white clothes iclad, As doth beseeme a faire dead corps, Vulcan confumed had.

By which word Vulcan, he meaneth fire, and not the god himlelfe. Againe, when Euripides in his oth useth these words.

By love I sweare and bloodie Mars him by,

Who beare great swar among the stars in sky.

Certaine it is, that he speaketh of the verie gods Iupiter and Mars: But when Sophocles

Full blind is Mars, faire Dames (I say) and nothing he doth see, But tike wilde bore he havocke makes and works al miserie.

You must understand that he speaketh of war: Like as in these verses of Homer:

Whose blood along Scamanders streame, so deeply died in red,

That blacke againe it is therewith, now Trenchant Mars hath shed.

It is meant the edge of the fword and other weapons made of braffe and fteele: which being fo, and confidering that there be many other wordes of double and divers fignifications, we ought to learne and beare in mind, that the very names of Dies and Zluis, which fignific Impiter, 30 in one place they attribute to the god himfelfe, in another to Fortune, and oftentimes to Deftiny and Fatall necessitie. For when they fay

Zeo ming idnder meden. o Iupiter who from Ida hill Do'streigne as King and worke thy will.

Ω Ζεί τις είναι ς κοί σε σορώπερος. O Inpiter who dare avow

That he can wifer be than thow? Plaine it is that they meane nothing else but the god Iupiter himselfe. But when they give 48 the Denomination, aids, to the causes whereupon all things depend, and do say in this wise:

Andmany a flour and valiant knight who fought in pitched field, Before due time there lost their lives and vitall breath didyeeld.

Dics d' ÉTELESETO BELIS.

i. This was the wit of mightie love Who wrought all this from heaven above.

Surely we must understand by love Farall destinie: For we must not imagine that the Poce thinketh God to devile and practite any evill against men: but he giveth us to understand by the way as touching the Farall necessitie of all humaine affaires, that Cities, Armies, and Generall Captaines are predestined to fortunate successe and victorie over their enemies, if 59 they be wife and governe their affections well. But contrariwife, if they be passionate and fall into errors and misdeineanors, growing to quarrels and debates one against another, as these did, of whom the Poet spake, it cannot be avoided but they shall commit many outrages, breed troubles and confusion, and at the last come to an unhappie end:

For by Fatall nece sitie,

And Destime inevitable:

Badcounfels of imquitie

Bring forth fruits thereto answerable. Now whereas the Poet Hefodus bringeth in Prometheus, perswading his brother Epimetheus

To take no gifts in any wife Which Iupiter from heaven hath fent :

But them alwaies for to despise

And send them backe as discontent. He useth the name of Inpiter for the puissance of Fortune: for by the gifts of that god, meato neth the goods of Fortune, to wit, Riches, Mariages, States and Dignities, and generally all outward bleffings: the poffeffion whereof is unprofitable unto those that know not how to use them well. Esteeming therefore no better of Epimethem than of a lewd & foolish fellow, he sup-

poseth that he ought to take heed, & beware of prosperitie whereby he was like to receive hurt and losse: yea and to come unto a mischiese in the end. Semblably, when the same Poet saith: Reproch no man while that you live

With povertie which gods do give.

He understandeth hereby the gift of the gods, a thing meere casuall and comming by Fortune: implying thus much, that those men are not to be blamed and accused, who by some misfortune are become poore: but rather, that povertie proceeding by occasion of sloth, idle-20 nes, eafe, delicate wantonneffe, walffull and foolish expences, is shame-woorthic and reprochable. For Poëts and others being not acquainted with the word Fortune, which as yet was not in use, and knowing full well, that the power of this variable and inconstant cause, raunging disorderly as it did without any certaine purpose and determinate ende, was mightie, and could not possibly be avoided by any humaine wit, reason and policie, they expressed the same by the names of the gods: much like as we in our daily speech and ordinary language, are woont commonly to give unto divers actions and affaires, to the conditions, natures and maners of fundry persons to speeches and orations; yea and (believe me) to men themselves, the termes of Heavenly and Divine. Well, a very good and expedient meane this is whereby we are to reforme and correct many fentences and verfes, which feeme at the first fight to carrie with them any 30 abfurditie and incongruity, as touching Inpiter: as namely thefe,

Two tunnes within the entrie stand Of love his house with lots both full: One hath successe and winning hand, The other loffes forrow-full.

As judge aloft fat Iupiter without regard of oth Or sovenant: and shewed signes of mischiefe to them both.

And then began the missbiefes all of Greekes and Trojans both, For Iupiter his pleasure wrought and with ech side was wroth.

Allthis we must interpret either of Fatall destinie or of Fortune, potent causes both, which neither are comprehensible within our understanding, nor yet evitable within the compasse of our power. But where we read of any thing attributed unto Iupiter, which is conformable to reason, hath semblance of truth, and is beseeming his person, there we are to thinke that the said name fignifieth the god himselfe: as for example,

Sir Hector then advanne'd him selfe, and all the ranks beside Of Greeks did brave, expecting who his chalenge would abide. Onely the some of Telamon, Ajax that woorthy knight, He did avoid : for Iupiter umo him had a fught. Alfo

And

Such great affaires of mortall men Aremanag'd ay by Iupiter: But smaller matters now and then Topety-gods he doth refer.

Furthermore, we ought to have adiligent ele to other words, which may be turned and trans-

ferred to many things, and are taken in divers fenfes by Poets. Of which fort is the name of Ageril. i. Vertue. For by reason that vertue not only causeth men to be wise, prudent, just, & honeft both in word and deed: but also purchaseth ordinarily unto them, honour, glorie, authoritie and reputation in the world: therfore they give the name of Vertue unto renowme, power, and might: like as the Olive fruit, they call by the name estate. i. Olive tree, and the Beech-maft they terme also oness aswell as the Beech tree. Our yong man then, as he readeth in a Poet,

Reading and hearing of

The gods before vertue have fet Labour, travell, and painfull swet. Or thus, The Greeks by vertue then downe bare Their squadron thicke and battell square. Likewise,

If die we must, most glorious is death, For vertue, when we found our vitall breath, presently ought to conceive thus much, That all is spoken of the best, most excellent, and divinest habitude in us, which we understand to be the verie rectitude and rule of reason and judgement, the heighth and perfection of our reasonable humaine nature, yea, and the disposition of the foule, accordant with it felfe. But when he readeth againe these other verses there,

Vertue in men love causeth for to grow And fade: by him it doth both ebbe and flow. As also,

Where worldly wealth and riches are, Vertue and fame follow not farre.

let him not by and by fet him downe, and by occasion of these words have the rich in woonderfull great admiration, as if they could anon buy vertue for money, and with their wealth have it at command: let him not thinke, I fay, that it lieth in the power of Fortune, either to augment or to diminish vertue : but rather deeme thus, and make this construction, that the Poet under the name Vertue, fignifieth Worship, Authoritie, Power, Prosperitie, or some such matter. For so the word resons is sometimes taken by them in the native and proper signification, for a naughtic and wicked disposition of the minde, as when Hesiodus writeth thus, 30

Of wickednesse a man may evermore Have foison great and plenteous store.

But otherwile it is used for some other evill calamitie or infortunitie, as by Homer,

Men quickly age and waxen olde, Er ruxotum, with hunger and cold, &c.

And much were he deceived, who should perswade himselfe that Poets take beatitude and blesfednesse, which in Greeke is called and purity, so precisely as Philosophers doe; who understand thereby, an absolute habitude, and entire possession of all good things, or rather an accompliflied perfection of this life, holding on a prosperous course according to nature : for many times Poets abuse this word, calling a man bleffed and happie, who is rich in world goods; and 40 giving the terme of felicitic and happinesse unto great power, fame and renowme. As for Homer, he useth verily these termes aright and properly in this verse,

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would reveal to the same of

Although much wealth I do holde and enjoy, Yet in my heart I take no bleffed joy. So doth Menander when he writeth thus, Of goods I have and money great flore, And all men call me rich therefore: But yet how rich foewer I feeme, and make on & succeeding a summer with his to Happie and blest none doth me deeme: A continuent of the Linguistical L

Euripides maketh great disorder and confusion, when he writeth in this fort; the attendent of the

I would not have that bleffed life Wherein I finde much paine and griefe. Also in another place. Why do'st thou honor tyranny, Happie injustice and villary?

unlesse a man, as I said before, take these termes as spoken metaphorically or by the figure REMIXEMOS. i. the abustion of them; otherwise than in their proper sense. And thus much may ferve as touching this point.

Now for this that remaineth behind, yoong men would be put in remembrance and admonished not once but oftentimes, that Poesie, having for her proper subject an argument to be expressed by imitation; howsoever she useth the ornaments & beautifull furniture of figurative speeches, in fetting out and describing those matters and actions which are presented moro her, yet nevertheleffe the doth not forgo the refemblance and likelihood of truth. For that imitation indeed delighteth the Reader fo long onely as it carieth fome thew of probabilitie. And to therefore that imitation which feemeth not altogether to fquare and depart from the rule of veritie, doth expresse the signes of vertues and vices both at once, entermingled one with another in actions. Such is the Poeme and composition written by Homer, which resteth not in the strange opinions and paradoxes of the Stoicks, who holde, That neither any evill at all can fort with vertue, ne yet one jot of goodnesse with vice: but he hath bidden farewell to such precise politions; namely, That a foolish and lewd person, in all his actions, when and wheresoever, doth offend and finne: and femblably, the wife and vertuous man, at all times and in all places, can not chuse but do every thing well. These are the principles which the Stoicks schooles refound withall. Howbeit, in the affaires of this world, and in our dayly life and converfation, as Euripdes faith,

> It cannot be in everie point, That good and bad should be disjoint: But in all actions me dayly fee, One with another medled will be.

Io

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But the Art of Poetrie fetting apart the truth in deede, useth most of all varietie and fundry formes of phrases. For, the diversimitations are they, that give to sables that vertue to moove affections & passions in the readers: these are they that worke strange events in them, even contrarie to their opinion and expectation: upon which ensueth the greatest woonder, and altonifhment, wherein lieth the chiefe grace, and from whence proceedeth the most delight and pleafure, whereas, contratiwife, that which is simple and uniforme, is not patheticall nor hath in 20 it any fiction. Heereupon it is that Poets bring not in the same persons alwaies winners, alwaies happy and doing wel: and that which more is, when they feigne that the gods themselves meddle in mens affaires, they describe them not without their passions, nor yet exempt from errors & faults, for feare, left that part of their Poefie which stirreth up the affection, & holdeth in suspense and admiration the mindes of men, should become idle and dull, for want of some danger and adverfarie as it were to excite and quicken it: which being fo, let us bring a yoong man to the reading of Poets works, not fore-stalled and possessed before with such an opinion as touching those great and magnificall names of ancient worthies, as if they had beene wife and just men, or vertuous Princes in the highest degree of perfection, and as a man would faie, the very Canon rule, and paterne of all vertue, uprightnes and integritie: Otherwise he should 40 receive great damage thereby, in case I say he were of this minde to approove and have in admiration all that they did or faid as fingular; and to be offended at nothing that he heareth from them: neither would be allow of him, who blameth and findeth fault with them when they either do or fay fuch things as thefe.

> O father Iove, ô Phoebus bright, ô Pallas maiden pure: That you would all bring this about and make in twaine secure, That not one Trojane might escape nor Greeke remaine aline But we two knights: That we (I (ay) and none but we belive May win the honor of this warre, and onely reape the joy Of victory, to race the wals and stately towres of Troy,

Theard the voice most piteous of Pryams daughter bright, Caffandra faire a virgin chafte: whom me for to despight, My wife dame Clytemnestra flew, by cruell treacherie, Because of m she jelom was for sinne of lecherie.

Likewise

Likewise

With concubine of Father mine she counseld me to lie, The old mans curse that I might have : persivaded so did I. And in another place,

O Iupiter whom men do father call, thou art a God most mischievous of all.

Let not a yoong man in any wife be accustomed to praise such speeches: neither let him secke any colourable pretenfes to cloke and excule wicked and infamous acts: he must not be studious and cunning in fuch inventions, to flew therein his fubtilitie and promptneffe of wir. But rather he is to thinke thus, that Poesse is the veric imitation of maners, conditions and lives, 10 yea and of men, such as are not altogither perfect, pure and irreprehensible, but in whom palfions, falle opinions and ignorance beare fome fway, yet fo, as many times by the dexteritie and goodnesse of nature they be reformed and disposed to better water. When a yoong man then is thus prepared, and his understanding so framed, that when things are well done and faid, his heart is mooved and affected therewith as by some heavenly instinct: and contrariwise not well pleased with lewed deeds or words, but highly offended thereat, certes, such instruction of his judgement will be a meanes that he shal both heare and read any Poemes without hurt and danger. But he that admirethal, & applieth himselse so, that he embraceth every thing, he I say, that commeth with a judgement devoted and enthralled to those magnificent and heroicke names, like unto those disciples who counterfeited to be crump shouldred and buncht backe like their 20 mafter Plate, or woulds needs flur, flammer and maffle as Aristotle did: furely fuch a one will take no greatheed, but soone apprehend and interteine many evill things. Moreover this young beginner of ours ought not to be affected after a timorous and superstitious manner, as they are who being in a temple feare and dread every thing, and are readie to worship and adore what foever they fee or heare: but boldly and confidently to pronounce and fay as occasionserveth, Thisis ill done, or not decently spoken: no lesse than to give his acclamation and confent to that which is well and feemely either faid or done. As for example, Achilles feeing the foldiors how they fell ficke daily in the campe, and not well appaid that the war was thus drawen out in length, especially to the hinderance of his owne honor, being a martiall man, of great prowesse and renowne in the field, assembled a counsell of war and called the 30 Greeks together. But, (as he was a man otherwife well feene in the skill of Phyfick) perceiving by the ninth day past, (which commonly is criticall, and doth determine of maladies one way or other by course of nature) that it was no ordinary disease, not proceeding from usuall causes, flood up to make a speech, not framing himselse to please and gratific the common people, but to give counfell unto the king himselfe in this maner.

Ithinke we must when all is done, o Agamemnon Leege,

Returne againe without effect to Greece, and leave our feege.

This was well and wifely faid: these were modest and temperate words becomming his person:
But when the prophet or soothsaier said, that he seared much the wrath and indignation of the mightiest man and soveraigne commander of all the Greeks, he answered then never a wife or so-the word; for having swomen a great oth, that no man should be so hardy as to lay hand on the said prophet so long as he remained alive, he added moreover and said full unseemely,

No, if thou should It both meane and name

King Agamennon, I vow the same.

Shewing plainly by these words, what little account he made of his prince, and how he contemned sourceigne authoritie: nay he overpassed himselfe more yet, and proceeded farther in heat of choler, to lay hand upon his sword, yea and to draw it foorth with a full purpose to kill the king: which was done of him neither well for his owne honour, nor wisely for the good of the State. But repenting himselfe immediately

Into the skabbard then anon, he puts his doughty fword: Minerva gave him that advise, and he oberd her word.

Herein againe he did well and honeftly: for having not the power to extinguish and quench his choler quite, yet he delaied it well and repressed it, yea and brought it under the obeysance of reason, before it brake out into any excessive outrage, which had been remedilesse. Semblably Agamemnen himselfe, for that which he did and said in the assembly of Counsell, he was woorthy

woorthy to be skorned and laughed at. But in the matter concerning the Damofell Chryseis, he shewed more gravitie and princely Majestie, than in like case Achilles did : for he, when the faire Brise was taken from him and led away:

Sat weeping in great agonic Retir dapart from companie.

But Agamemon himfelse in person conducting her as sarre as to the ship, delivering up and fending away to her owne sather; the woman whom a little before he said that he loved more decrely than his owne espoused wise, did nothing unfitting himselse or like a passionate lover. Againe, Phanix being cursed by his sather and betaken to all the hellish stends for lying with to his concubine, breaketh out into these words,

I minded once with fword of mine my fathers blood to fhead: But that fome god my rage repreft and put this in my head: How men would cry much frame on me, and namely Gracians all With one voice me a parrietde or Father killer call,

Which verses in Homer, Aristarchus was afraid to let stand; and therefore dashed them out. But verily, they serve in that place fitly for the purpose, namely, when Phanix instructeth Achilles, what a violent passion anger is, and how there is no outrage but men will dare and do in the heat of choler, when they will not be guided with reason, or directed by the counsell of those that would appease them. For he bringeth in Meleager also, who was angrie with his citizens, how beit afterwards pacified: In which example; as he wisely blameth and reprooveth such passions: so he prasseth and commendeth as a good and expedient thing, not to be led and carried away therewith, but to resist and conquer them, and to take up bettine and repent. True it is, that hitherto in these places alreadie cited, there is a manifest difference to be observed: but where there is some obscurity as touching the true sense and meaning of a sentence, we must teach a yoong man to stay himselse there and pause upon the point, that he may be able to distinguish in this manner: If 2 ausseau upon the first sight of Phisses, a meere stranger, falling into the same passion of love with him, as Calpso did, and seeking nothing but wanton pleasure, as one living daintily, and being now ripe and readie for marriage, utter soolishly these and such like words, and that before her waiting maids:

O that it weremy hap, so brave a Knight to wed who hath my hart: O that he would with me vouch safe for to remaine and not depart.

Her boldnesse and incontinencie is to be reprooved: but if by his speech and talke, she perceived that he was a man of wit and wise behaviour, and thereupon withed in her heart to be his wedded wise, and to dwell with him rather than with one of her owne countrie, who could skill of nothing else but to daunce or be a mariner, I cannot blame her, but thinke her praise woorthy. In like case, if when Penelope deviseth and talketh courteously with her woers, who sued unto her for marriage, and thereupon they court her againe and bestow upon her gay clothes, rich to be a mariner of the same and other goodly ornaments sit for a Lady Plifes her husband rejoice

That she was well content to take Their gifts, and did to them lovemake, As though she would be kinde againe, And yet her shewes were all bus vaine.

If I say he joyed, in that his wife received their courtefies and tokens, and so made a gaine of them, surely he surpassed the notorious bawd, playing his part in the Comedies, of whom there goeth this by-word:

Bawde Poliager happie man hee, That keepes at home in house a shee: A beaventy goate whose instuence, Brings in riches with affluence.

But if he did it to have them by that meanes under his hand, whiles they upon hope of obtayning their fuit, little thought of him how he watched them a strewd turne; then his joy and confident affurance was grounded well & upon good reason. Semblably in the counting that he made of those goods which the Phæacians had landed when they set him on shore; and having fo done, spred faile and departed backe againe: if being thus left folitarie alone and finding him felfe forlorne, he doubted of his estate and what should become of him, and yet his mind was so fet upon his goods that he seared,

Least part thereof they tooke away, whiles that on shore assesse he lay,

His avarice were lamentable, nay it were abominable, I affore you: But if as some do thinke and fay, being not fure whether he were in the Isle Ithaca or no, he supposed that the fafety of his gods and money, was a certaine proofe and demonstration of the Phæacians loyaltie and fidelitie (for never would they have transported him into a strange land but for lucre, nor when they left him and departed would have forborne his goods) he used herein no foolish argument, 10 and his providence in so doing is commendable. Some there be who finde fault with this vetic landing of him upon the shore, in case the Phazacians did it whiles he was assept in deed: and they fay that it appeareth by a certaine Chronicle or Hiltorie among the Tuskanes which they keepe by them, that Viffes was given by nature to be verie drowfie; which was the cause, that to many he was not affable, and men oftentimes might hardly speake with him. Now if this was no sleepe in very truth, but that being both ashamed to fend away the Phæacians who had conducted him over sea, without feasting them & giving them presents and rewards for their kindneffer and also in feare least if they were feene, there still upon the coast, whiles he entertained them to kindly, himselfe might be discovered by his enimies, he used this pretense of seigned fleepe to cover and hide the perplexitie wherein he was, or to shift off this difficultie wherein he 20 stood in this case, they allow and commend him for it. In giving therefore to young men such advertisements as these, we shall never suffer them to runne on still to the corruption of their manners, but rather imprint in them prefently a fervent zeale and hartie defire to chuse better things, namely, if we proceed directly to praise this and to dispraise that. And this would be done especially in Tragedies, those I meane, wherein fine words and affected speeches be oftentimes framed to cloke dishonest and villanous deeds. For that which Sophoeles faith in one place, is not alwaies true:

If that it be a naughtie deed, Of it good words cannot proceed.

For even himselfe is woont many times to palliat wicked conditions, yea, and naughtie acts 30 with pleasant specches and familiar apparant reasons, which carie a probabilitie of sufficient excuse. And even so plaieth Europides his companion, who shewed himselfe upon the same stage: for see you not, how he bringeth in Pheasa to begin with her husband Theseus, First, laying all the blame on him; as if for sooth the wrongs and abuses that he offered unto her, were the cause that she was enamoured upon Hippolytus? The like audacious and bold speech he putteth in Heleus mouth against queene Hecuba, in that Tragedie which is entituled Troades, objecting unto her, and saying, That she was rather to be punished, for bearing such a sonne as Alexander. Paris, who committed the adulterie with her. A yoong man then, ought not to accuss ome himselfest to thinke any such inventions as these to be prette, gallant and wittie, ne yet laugh at such subtile and fine devices; but to abhorre and detest as much, or rather more, wanton and filthie 40 words, than loose and dishonest deeds.

Moreover, it would be expedient, in all speeches to search the cause whereupon they do proceed; after the example of Cato when he was a little boy: For, do he would whatsoever his Master or Tutour bad; but ever and anon hee would be inquisitive and questioning with him the reason of his commandements. And yet we are not to believe and obey Poets, as we ought either Schoole masters or Law givers, unlesse the matter by them proposed have reason for the ground: and grounded then it thalbe thought upon reason, if it be good and honest for if it be wicked, it ought to seeme sooils and vaine. But many of these men there be, who are verie sharpe and curious in searching and demanding what Hessaus should meane in this verse,

Whiles men are drinking, doe not fet The flagon over the wine goblet. as also what sense may be made of these verses in Homer: Another charios who mounted is, when from his owne he is alight, Assaft not bis spare and savelinmis, Ent truft thereto, and therewith fight.

but other fentences, iwis, of greater importance and danger, they admit foone, and give credit thereto, without further enquiry & examination: as for example, at these verses they slicke not,

The privitie to fathers vice Or mothers fault reprochable, Will him debase, who otherwise, Is hardie, stout, and commendable. no more than they doe at this,

V pon a man, if fort**une frowne,** His heart therewith must be cast dow**ne.**

And yetfuch fayings as thele, come nere unto us, and touch the quicke, troubling our maner and behaviour in this life, imprinting in us perverfe judgements, base and unmanly opinions, unlesse we acquaint our selves to contradict ech of them in every point, after this maner. And wherefore ought he to beare an abject minde, who is crossed with adverse fortune? Why rather should not he make head againe, and wrestle with her, bearing himselfe so much the more alost, and never endure to be troden downe and depressed by her? What reason is there, that my heart should be done, for that my father was vicious and soolish, in case I be a wise and honest man my selse? Is there greater cause that he ignorance and impersection of my father should keeper me downe and discourage me, that I dare not looke up; than mine owne knowledge and valour make me take heart and put my selse forth? He that will thus encounter, withstand, and not give way to every speech, turning side, as it were, to every pusse of wind, but rather effeceme that sentence of Heraelinus to be well and truely spoken,

A foolish and witlesse man is he, With every word who stricken will be.

Such a one, I say, thalbeable to put by and repell many fayings of Poets, that are neither true nor profitable. And thus much as touching those observations which may serve a yoong mans

turne, that he may reade and heare Poets fafe without any danger.

But forasmuch as it falleth out, that as in Vines many times, the grapes lie hidden among the leaves and branches, and cannot be seene by reason that they are covered and shadowed there-30 with: fo alfo in poeticall verfes, under fables and fictions there be covertly couched many profitable and hollome leffons, which a yong man cannot efpie by himfelfe, and therefore he miffeth that commoditie and fruit which is to be reaped out thereof. Howbeit, we must not suffer this, nor let him turne away, and give over the ought not (I fay) to wander afide, but flicke close and fast to those matters especially, which leade unto vertue, and make any thing for the framing or reforming of maners. In which regard, I shall not do amisse, if I treat also of this matterbriefly; making, as it were, a first draught onely, and touching summarily the principall points; leaving long discourses, by way of narration, confirmation, and a multitude of examples, to those that write of purpose for more shew and ostentation. First and formost therefore, when a yoong man knoweth throughly the persons of men and women, their natures also and 40 maners both good and bad, let him then regard and confider well the fayings and doings which the Poet doth attribute aptly unto either of them. As for example, Achilles faith unto Agamemnon these words, although he speaketh them in choler, For never shall I honour have,

Nor equall recompense to yow,
When populous Troy, that city brave,
The Greeks shall force, as they do vow.
But Thersites reviling the selfestame Agamemnon, useth these termes;
Anush brassen vessells bou hast now in many a goodly tent,
Of captive women teke like chosse, in beauty excellent,
In thy pavilion: whom we Greeks, as to our Soveraigne,
Do give, so soone as any towne by martiall force we gaine.
Againe Abrilles in another place hath this humble speech,
Is suprice will be so good, as to sussil our joy,
And grant that we one day may win the stately city Troy.
But Thersites commeth out with this proud word,

Whom

Reading and hearing of

Whom either I, or in my flead,

Some Greeke shall bound as captive lead. Semblably in another place, when in the review of the armie, Agamemnon passing along the bands, rebuked and taunted Diomedes, he answered not againe, nor gave him one croffe word:

For why he feared in modestie The checks of his dread Majestie.

But Sthenelus, of whom no man made any reckoning, was so bolde as to reply and say,

Sir Agamemnon Atreus fonne, for beare thus for to lie, Tou can, if that you lift, with me report a trueth: for why? Pronounce I dare, and it avow, we better warriours be

In these dayes than our fathers were, by many a degree.

The difference which is in these personages, if it be well marked, will teach a yoong man thus much: That to be modest, temperate, void of pride, and humble, is a most civil and excellent vertue: and contrariwife it will advertise him to take heed of pride and overweening; to beware also of boalting and vaunting much of himselfe, as a detestable vice. And heere in this place, expedient it is and profitable to observe the action of Agamemnon: He passed by Sthenelus, and would not flay to speake unto him: As for Vlyfes, who found himselfe grieved, him he neglected not, but shaped him an answere : For as Homer writeth,

No sooner he perceived him offended for to be,

But presently he spake againe, and thus replied he. For, as it is a base and servile thing, and not be seeming the majestie of a Prince to answere everie one, and by way of Apologie to justifie a thing done or faid; so to despise and distaine all men, is meere pride and extreame follie. As for Diomedes, he did paffing well to hold his peace during the time of the battell, when he was rebuked and reviled by the king, but after the fight was ended, he spake his minde freely and boldly in this wife;

You are the first of all the Greeks, who in reprochfull wise Have charged me for my falle heart, and fearefull cowardife.

Good also it is, to see the difference betweene a wise man in deed and a vaine soothsayer, who loved to be seene, and to heare himselse speake among the multitude. For Calchas without all respect of chusing his time and a fit opportunitie, bathed not in publike place, and before all 30 the people, to challenge king Agamemnon, imputing directly unto him, and to no other, the cause of the pestilence which reigned in the campe. But Nesson, contrariwise, intending to make a motion as touching the reconciliation and pacifying of Achilles, and to speake directlic unto that point, because hee would not seeme to blame and accuse the king in the audience of the people; namely, that he had passed himselse in choler, and done amisse, adviseth him in this maner, faying:

To supper bid the ancient peeres : this doth your person fit : And when they are together met, in order as they fit, Let themopine, Heare their advise, and looke who speaketh best,

His counsell take I reede, and then therein see that yourest.

And after supper, he sent forth the Embassadours accordingly. This was the onely way to correct a fault, and amend that was amiffe: whereas the other had bene a very injurious acculation, and a contumelious reproofe to his no fmall difgrace. Furthermore, there would be noted and considered the diversitie that is in fundry nations, and that after this maner: The Trojans give the charge in battell to their enemies with great shouts, out-cries, and exceeding violence: whereas the Greeks

The onset give with all silence,

To leaders having reverence. For foldiours to dread and feare their captaines and commaunders, at what time as they be readie to joyne battaile with the enimie, is a figne both of valour and also of obedience and milita- 30 rie Discipline. Which is the reason that Plato would inure us to be afraid of rebukes, reproofes and filthy acts, more than of any travels and dangers. Cato likewise was woont to say, That he loved those better who blushed and looked red, than the pale faced. As for promises, there is a proper worke also in them, whereby a man may discerne whether they be wise or foolish. For Dolon promifeth in this maner 7 he

The campe of Greeks I enter will and passe on still outright Vntill to Agamemnons (hip, I come there for to fight.

Contrariwife Diomedes promifeth nothing of himselfe, onely this he saith: That he should feare the leffe, if he were fent with some other to beare him companie. Whereby you may see that Prudence, Diferetion and Forecast be civile vertues befeeming the Greeks; but audacious raffines is naught; and fit for Barbarians. The one therefore we must embrace and imitate, the other reject and cast behindeus. Moreover it were a speculation not unprofitable to marke the affections that befell unto the Trojans and to Heller at what time as he was ready to enter into combat and fingle fight with Ajax. Aefchylus being upon a time in place to behold the combats to at the 13thmian games, it fell out to that one of the champions was hurt and wounded in the very face, whereupon the people that looked on, fet up a great crie and shouted aloud: See, quoth he, what use and exercise is I the Beholders crie out, but the man himselse that is hurt, faith never a word. In like maner, when Homer the Poet faith, that Ajax was no fooner feene in his bright compleat harnish, and armed at all pieces, but the Greekes rejoiced: whereas

The Trojans all for feare did quake, and tremble every joint Hector himselfe did feele his heart to beate even at this point.

who would not woonder to fee this difference? The partie himfelfe who was in danger, felt his hart onely to leape, as if he had beene (I affure you) to wreftle for the best game, or to run a race for the prize: but they that faw him, trembled and shaked all their bodie over, for feare of the 20 perill wherein their prince was, and for kind affection that they bare unto him. It is woorth the noting also what ods and difference there is betweene the most resolute or valiant Captaine, and the greatest coward: For it is said of Thersites that

Achilles of all that were in the Host And also Vlysses he hated most.

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whereas Ajax as he alwaies loved Achilles, so he giveth an honorable testimonic thereof, when he speaketh unto Hector in this wife,

In single fight with me alone what woorthy knight we have In Grecian host, thou maift not fee besides Achilles brave: Achilles he, the Paragon of Proweffe whom we count

Whose Lions hart undaunted yet all others doth surmount.

This is a fingular commendation of Achilles particularly: but that which followeth afterwards, is aptly spoken to the praise of all in generall:

Wot well that many of us there be in Campe that dare and can Make head, and maintaine fight with thee in combat man to man.

Marke, how he praiseth not himselfe, to be the man alone or the most valourous of all other, but is content to be raunged with many more as sufficient men to make their part good against him. Thus much may ferve as touching the diversitie of persons, unlesse we will adde this 40 moreover, That of Trojans we read there were many taken prisoners alive by their enimies, but of the Greeks not one: as also that divers of them became humble suppliants to their enimies and fell downe at their feete; namely Adrastus, the sonnes of Antimachus and Lycaon: yea and Hettor himselfe befought Achilles to vouchsafe him buriall: whereas, there was not one of them that did the like: As if thus much were implied thereby, that it is the maner of Barbarians in fight, to make supplication, to submit, to kneele and lie prostrate before the enimie: but of Grecians, either to win the victorie by maine fight, or to die for it.

Moreover, like as in pasturage and feeding, the Bee setleth upon flowres: the goate searcheth after greene leaves and brouseth young buds: the Swine searcheth for roots, and other bealts for the feed & fruit; Even so in reading Poems, one gathereth the flowre of the Hiltory: 50 another cleaveth to the elegancie of phrase and furniture of words, as Aristophanes was wont to

fay of Euripides.

Histoone foround doth please my mind, In file to (mooth content I finde.

Others there be who affect morall fentences aprly fitted to the reformation of maners. Those therefore with whom now we have to deale, and to whom we direct our speech, we are to admo-

nith, that it were a shame and unwoorthy thing, if either he who setteth his minde upon fables should marke well the witty narrations, and fingular fine inventions therein: or he that delighteth in eloquence should note diligently the pure and elegant phrase, the artificiall rhetorick alfo, as he readeth: whiles he, that would feeme to affect honor, to studie honestie, and to take Poets in hand not for delight, pleasure and pastime, but for the infight of learning, and for the treasure of knowledge, readeth and heareth carelessely and without fruits, those sentences which are penned and delivered by them to the recommendation of fortitude, temperance and juflice: For as concerning valor and vertue you shall finde these verses,

What is befall n fir Diomede, that we forget to fight? How is it that our harts be done? where is our Martiall might? Come neere, stand close unto my side, great shame it were for us, If Hector now should board our ships and force our naviethms.

For to see a most wise and prudent capitaine who was in damager to perish, and to be overthrowen together with the whole armie, not to be affraid of death, but to feare reproch and thamefull difgrace, the fame no doubt will cause a yoong man to be woonderfully affectionate to vertue and prowesse.

For wisedome and justice these verses serve:

Minerva then tooke great delight To fee the man wife and upright.

Such a featence as this, will give occasion to a yoong scholler thus to reason and discourse: The Poet here hath devifed, that the goddeffe joyed not in a rich man, in one that was faire, well favoured and personable, or mighty in bodily strength: but in him that was prudent and just withall. And in another place where the fame goddeffe faith, that the will not neglect nor forfake Vliffes and leave him destitute:

For toong he hath and wit at will:

The Poet sheweth plainely: That there is nothing in us but vertue onely, that is divine and loved of the gods; if this be true her I then the poets of the gods; if this be true her I then the poets. beloved of the gods: if this be true that Like will to like, and Naturally everie thing delighteth in the Semblable. Now for a fmuch as it feemeth to be a great matter and rare perfections, as in truth it is no leffe, to be able to mafter and bridle anger: certes a greater vertue it is and a gift more fingular to prevent and wifely to forecast, that we fall not into choler, nor fuffer our selves to be surprised therewith: And therefore the readers of Poëts ought to be advertised in these points, not coldly but in good earnest: as namely, how Achilles, a man by nature nothing mecke, milde and patient, giveth warning unto Priamus to be quiet, and not to provoke him, in these wordes:

Take heed old father I thee reed, how thou my choler moove: I minded am thy sonne to yeeld: For why? from Iove above Amessenger bathwarn'dme so : Beware Gray-beard, Ifay, Least that my tent will not thee save, but foorthwith I thee flay : Although in humble wife thou come, with suppliants habit dight, And so I do transgresse I oves will and breake the lawes of right.

Who also after he had washed the corps of Hetter, and wound it within Funerall clothes, bestowed the same with his owne hands in the chariot, before that Priamse his father should see it, so misused as it was,

For feare least when he saw

his forme, fo mangled and beraid In oriefe of heart old father be, Should not him felfe be state But with hot words Achilles moove in him to fheath his firord Without regard of Iupiter, his hefts, his will and word.

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For when a man is apt and prone to anger, as being of nature hot, rough and cholericke, to know himselfe so given, and therewith to prevent, decline and avoid all occasions of yre, and by to the guidance of reason to hold of, in such fort, that even as it were against his will lie shall not fall into any passionate sits, is a point of great wiledome and singular providence. After the fame manner ought he shar is given to wine; to be armed against drunkennesse: he also that is by nature amorous, thould thus withfrand wanton love: Like as Agefilans, who would not abide to be kiffed of a beautifull yoong boy comming toward him: and Cyrus, who durft not fo much as fet his eie upon faire Panthea. Whereas contrariwife, those that be ill nourthred and badly brought up, seeke all meanes and occasions to kindle and enflame their foolish affections, mimiltring matter thereto, as fewell unto fire: casting themselves headlong and that wilfully into those vices, whereunto they are most prone and ready to fall by nature. But Plystes not onely brideled and represed his ownscholer when he was chased, but also perceiving by some words 20 of Telemachin his fonne, that he was angric and hatefully bent against lewd persons, he laboured to appeale and mittigate his moode: he deale with him before hand, willing and commanding him to be quiet, to forbeare and have parience.

My some, if that by worder deed In mine owne house they me abuse, Bite in thine anger, I thee reed, Seethouindure, and patience use: Nay if they draw me by the foot, And out of doores me drag anone, Or their (har pe arrowes at me shoot, See all, fay nought, what ever is done.

For like as men use not to bridle their horses when they be running in a race, but before they begin their course; even so they that hardly can digest indignities, and upon occasion offered are quickly angrie, ought first to be præoccupate with reason: and being thus prepared beforehand, to bring them to the combat.

Over and besides, a yoong man must not negligently passe over the bare words as hee readeth. And yet I speake not this, as though I would have him play upon them, as Cleanthes did, who making femblance to interpret and expound words, would otherwhiles cavill and make fport. For where as we reade in Homer,

Σεύ πατες Ίσηθεν με Νέων. & Σεθ ανα Δωσωναίε.

He would have us to reade these two last words in one, by way of vew, thus, Est anadologueus, as if for footh, the aire which by exhalation is elevated, and doth rife from the earth, should therefore be called a vastus fur dies. Chrysippus likewise many times comes in with his bald reasons, without all grace: and this he doeth not in jeft and meriment, but he would feeme to devife reasons fubtilly; and fo forceth divers words impertinently: as namely, when he wrestern these words, Euguora Keguistus, to this sense, as if deguora should signific one that was eager and quicke in disputation or argument, furpaffing others in force of eloquence. It were better for us to leave these nice subtilities of words and syllables unto Grammarians for to be scanned, and to consider more neerely other observations, which, as they yeeld greater profit, so they cary with them more probabilitie and likelihood of structh; and namely to picke some good out of these verses,

Most crosse unto my minde it is. For taught I am proefferwis. Full well he knew, to every wight

To shew himselfe a curteous knight. For hereby he declareth evidently, that valour and fortitude is gotten by teaching; as also, he

is of opinion, That to be milde, affable and kinde to every man, is a gracious vertue, proceeding from science and reason: whereupon he exhorteth us, not to be carelesse of our selves, but to learne good and honest things, by giving care unto our teachers: for that cowardise, follie, and perverse incivilitie, be the defects of learning, and are meere ignorance indeed. Hereto accordeth very well, that which the fame Poct Homer faith of Iupiter and N. eptune:

Beholde one father both they had, and countrey one them bread: Bur Iupiter was former borne, and the day of the day of the day and had she wifer head.

He declareth hereby that wifedome is a most divine and princely qualitie; wherein he plates ceth the fovereigne and highest excellencie of Inpirer, as refeeming all other good parts to accompanie that fovereigne and heavenly vertue. We are likewife to acquaint a yoong man to heare, and that with no heavie and dull care, but attentively and with a vigilant minde, thefe oy and the services

Right wifehe is, and wot you well, A lie for no good will he tell.

Andrew State (1984) Antilochus, reputed aye for wife you are to blame My fleeds to hurt, mine honour eke thus for to flaine with flame.

You, a woorthy knight, to speake fo foolishly!

I would have faid you had, in wit, past all men verily.

These sentences import thus much; That wise men will never speake untrueths: neither will they in battell behave themselves as cowards, and use deceit in fight, ne yet charge unjust imputations upon others without reason. Also when the Poet faith, that he through his folly suffered himselfe to be induced & perswaded to breake the truce and league, he sheweth plainly, That he thinketh a wife man will in no wife commit unrighteoufneffe. The like may of a young man be taught, as touching continencie and chastitie, especially, if he consider well these verses.

K. Prœtus wife, Dame Antea, him lov'd and woed foone For to embrace her secretly, and lie with her anone: But never would he yeeld thereto. Belleryphon was wife, And in his heart he never let such thoughts for to arise.

As also these, Dame Clytemnestro first was chaste, and wanton tricks rejected All while she was by reason led, and wisdomes lore directed.

In these places we see, that the Poet attributeth the cause of continency and pudicitie unto wisedome. Furtherward in those exhortations whereby capitaines use to encourage their souldiers to fight, when the Poet eftfoones inferreth these and such like speeches,

Fy, fy for shame ô Lycians, you are now light of foote, To runne away thus as you do, iwis it will not boote. Alfo:

A conflict sharpe is toward, Sirs, wherefore let every one Set shame and just revenge in fight,

By which words the Poet seemeth to ascribe fortitude vnto shamefastnesse and modeltie: else all, I doubt, is gone. For that, those who are bashfull and ashamed to commit filthinesse, are able likewise not onely to overcome voluptuous pleasures; but also to undergoe all daungerous adventures. By occa- 50 fion whereof Timotheus also in his Poeme entituled Perfa was mooved not unaptly to encourage the Greekes to fight, faying thus:

Have honest shame in reverence and honour her, I you advise. She helpeth Promeffe, and from hence the victorie doth oft arife.

ABschylus also reputeth it a point of wisedome, not to be vaine-glorious nor desirous to be feene of the multitude, ne yet to be lifted up with the puffes of popular praife, when he describeth Amphiaraus in this wife:

He feeketh not to feeme the very best, But for to be the best in word and deed: He fowed hath within his woorthy breft, In furrow deepe, all good and vertuous feed, Which reeld both leafe & fruit in feafon due; I meane sage counsel join'd with honor true.

For the part it is of a wife man and of good conceit, to stand upon his owne botome, that is to fay, to rest in himselfe, and to thinke highly of his owne resolutions and courses as the verie best. Thus you see how all good things being reduced unto prudence, there is no kinde of vertue but it commeth to a man afterwards, and is acquired by learning and discipline.

Moreover, like as Bees have this propertie by nature to finde and fucke the mildest and best honie, out of the sharpest and most eager flowers; yea and from among the roughest and most prickly thornes: even so children and yoong men if they be well nourtured and orderly inured in the reading of Poemes, will learne after a fort to draw alwaies fome holefome and profitable doctrine or other, even out of those places which moove suspition of lewd and absurd lense. At 20 the first fight, Agamemnon may seeme suspected of avarice and briberie, in that he exempted

from watfare, that rich * man in regard of the faire mare Aetha he gave unto him as a gift and * Etherelist.

gratuitie:

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That unto Troy that flately towne, he might not with him go To (erve in armes: but stay at home, andrest there far from wo: Where he might live in solace much, enjoying all his owne: For Iupiter in measure great

had wealth on him bestowen.

Howbeit, as Ariftotle faith, he did very well in preferring a good mare before a man no better than he was: For I affure you a coward & hartleffe man, flowing in abundance of riches, wallowing in pleasures and delight, and thereby made effeminate, is not in prise comparable either to a dog or an affe. Semblaby, it may feeme that Thet is did exceeding badly to incite her fonne to pleafures, and to put him in minde of the fleshly delights of Venus: But even there, the continencie of Achilles is woorthie to be confidered: who notwithstanding that he had beene enamoured of Brifeis, and faw that she was returned againe unto him, yea and knew that he had not long to live, but that his end was neere; yet neither made he hafte to enjoy his pleafures while he might, nor as many men use to do, bewailed the death of his friend, sitting idlely the 40 while, doing nothing at all and neglecting the duties of his calling: but as in forrow and griefe of hearthe forbare his delights and pleasures, so in action and conduct of his regiment, he shewed himselfe a martiall and valorous man. In like manner Archilochus is not commended for this, that being to mourne and lament for the loffe of his brother in law who married his fifter, and was perifhed in the fea, he would feeme to conquer his forow with drinking wine & making good cheere: yet nevertheleffe he alleageth a cause of his doing so, which carrieth some apparence of reason in these words:

> For neither can my plaints and teares restore his life and heale: N eyet my mirth and pleasant sports will harme him ever a deale.

And if he were of this minde, and had reason to thinke, that in following his delights, meri-50 ments, pastimes and bankets, he could not empaire the state of his brother departed; how should our present condition be the worse and our affaires go backward, by the studie and practife of Philosophie, by managing the government of publike weale, by frequenting the comon hall and courts of pleas, by going downe to the Academie and schooles of learning, or by sollowing Agriculture and husbandrie?

And therefore the corrections of some poeticall verses by changing certaine words which practife

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practife Cleanthes and Antisthenes were woont to use are not amisse. For one of them upon a
time when the Athenians in full-Theatre tooke offense and made a great stifte at this verse:
           Tis' aixedy et un roïon zewedhour sonis.
           What fileby thing can be that breedeth shame?
           Valeffe they thinke it forthat afethe fame? and soit or de and
quieted all the trouble prefently by changing it and pronouncing another in this wife,
           כוֹן צְטֹע דִסֹ ץ' מוֹקְצְנִע, אִמָּע לֹסְצִהוֹן אִמָּע נְנִיוֹן בּיִצְיוֹנִים .
           A filthiething, is foule and filthie fill:
           Thinkest, or thinke it not, That desh not skill.
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As for Cleanthes when he read these verses as touching riches:
           cincis re d'ai au ocquar els vores mode
                    da miram pagu
           Among good frends for to bestow and spend upon your selfe
           Your lickly body to preferve ; thus use your worldly pelfe.
He altered them in this manner, and wrote thus:
           πέρκαις το άβναι, οδιμάτ' εις νός ες πεσόν
                     Ja miyas onreinas
            That you may it to harlots give, and pampring much your selfe:
            A crasic body overthrow, abusing worldly pelfe.
Semblaby Zeno reading these verses of Sophocles,
           osis Na megs nucannon el mopenenu,
           หเท่า หรับ ปีนี้กอร หญ่ม อักอบ์วิธยูตร ณอภัพ.
           Who once in court of I yrant serve, become
            His flaves anone, though free they thither come.
turned the fame and wrote this againe,
           אי נישו לעטול אים לאפר של אים לאפר של היא היא
           His flave ywis he cannot bec,
            If he at fir It came thinher free.
But you must not understand that he meaneth here by a free man, one, that is timorous, but
fearcleffe, magnanimous, & whose heart is not easie to be danted. What should hinder us then, 30
but that we also by such suggestions and corrections as these may reclaime and withdraw yoong
men from the woorse to the better. Whereas therefore we shall meete with these verses,
            τι Β' έςὶ το (ηλαιτόν αθφαίποις, ότι
            TO EOU MEETUNG HIS O BENETUL TEST
            The thing that men are for to wish and most defire is this,
            That when they (hoote at their delights, she arrow may not mis-
Not so, but rather thus,
            πξον μέριμνης είς δ συμφέρεν πέση.
            That when they aime at their profit
            The arrow may be sure to but.
For to reach into those things which a man ought not to desire, yea and to obtaine and have the
fame is pitifull and lamentable, and in no wife to be wished for. Likewise, when we read in Ho-
mer thus,
            Thy part of weale and woe thou must o Agamemnon have,
            For Athens did not thee beget, alwaies to winor fave.
We'verily are thus to fay rather,
            Thou art to joy, and never for to grieve,
            But in a meane estate delight to live.
            For Athens did not Agamemnon get
                                                                                                     50
           The world at will to have, and finde no let.
 Againe, when we meet with this verse,
            Alas what mischiefe sent to men,
               is this from gods above,
            That they fould see what thing is good,
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and it not use nor love?

Sent from gods above? nay rather, it is a brutish, unreasonable, yea, a wofull and lamentable thing, that a man seeing that which is better, should for all that be caried away and transported to the worse, by reason of intemperance, slouth, and effeminate softmesse of the minde.

Also, if we light upon this sentence,

Behaviour t'is and good carriage, That do perswade, and not language.

Not so iwis, but maners and words together are perswasive: on rather the maners by meanes of speech, like as the horse is ruled by the bit and bridle, and as the Pilot guideth the ship by the rudder or helme. For surely vertue is furnished with no instrument or meanes so gracious with men and so familiar, as speech is.

Moreover, where you encounter these verses;

For wanton love, how stands his minde?

To male more or to female kinde?

Answer.

Both hands are right, with him, where beauty ü,

Neither of twaine to him can come amis.

Nay rather thus he should have answered:

Where vertue is seated, and continence,

Both hands are like, there is no difference.

20 And to speake truely and more plainly, in equall balance poised he is indeed, inclining neither the one way nor the other: Whereas contrariwise, he that with pleasure and beautic swaieth to and fro, is altogether left handed, inconstant, and incontinent.

Read you at any time this verse?

Φίθος το θελατοί οι σώφεροι βερτών.

Religion true, and right godlinesse

Make wife men too fear efull alwaies, more or leffe.

In no wife admit thereof, but fay thus:

Θάρτος τὰ Śτία το ιστούρερο βερτών. Religion true, and right godlinesse,

Make wife men bolde, and hardy, more or leffe.

For in trueth, feare and despaire, by the meanes of religion, ariseth in the hearts of none but of fooles, unthankfull and senselessees, who have in suspicion and do dread that divine power which is the first cause of all good things, as hurtfull unto them. Thus much concerning correction of sentences.

There is besides an amplification of that which we read, whereby a sentence may be stretched farther than the bare wordes import. And thus Chrysppus hath rightly taught us how to transfer and apply that which was spoken of one onely thing, to many of the like kinde, and so to make a profitable use thereof: for after this manner when He souls saith,

An oxe or cow a man shall never loose,

If neighbour his be not malicious.

40 He meaneth by oxe or cow, his dog likewise and affe, yea, and all things else that may perish. Semblably, whereas Europiaes saith thus,

A slave indeed, whom may we justly call? Even him of death who thinketh not all.

We must understand that he meant and spake, aswell of labour, assistion and sicknesse, as of death. And verily, as physicians sinding the vertue and operations of a medicine applyed and sitted to one maladie, by the knowledge thereof can skill how to accommodate the same to all others of the like nature, and use it accordingly; even so, when we meete with a sentence that is common, and whereof the profit may serve to many purposes, we ought not to oversee and so neglect the manifold use thereof, and leave it as appropriate to one onely matter: but to handle the same so, that it may be applyed to all of like fort: and herein we must inure and exercise yoong men, to see and know readily this communion, and with a quicke conceit to transferre that which they finde apt and proper in many, and by examples to be practised and made prompt therein, so as they be able to marke at the first hearing the semblable: To the ende that when they come to read in Menander this verse,

A happie man we may him call, Who hath much wealth, and wit withall.

They may verie well thinke that in naming wealth, he meant and included Honor, authoritie and eloquence. Also, that the imputation which VIffes charged upon Achilles, fitting idlely in the Iland Serres, among the yoong maidens and damofels, in these words,

You fir, whose father was a knight, the best that ever drew His fivord, of all the Greekes in fight and many acaptaine sew: Sit you here carding like a wench and finning wooll on rocke, Thereby the glorious light to quench

of your most noble stocke? may be aptly faid unto any loofe liver and voluptuous wanton, unto a covetous and wretched miser, unto an idle luske, an untaught or ignorant lozell. As for example, in lieu of this verse in the forefaid imputation,

Eulvers deis & murgos esplusion reguis

What, what good fir? are you become a spinster now for need, Whole father was of all the Greekes a knight of doughtiest deed.

A man may read and not unfitly thus,

mires deise,&c. Canyou carrouse so lustily and tosse the pot so round, Whose father knew to shake a speare and stourly stand his ground? Or after this manner,

zulden deise &c. Your courage serves to hazard all at casting of three dies Your fathers heart was tried in war and martiall jeopardies. Either thus,

ортизоконей авіян, вс. You cunning are to play at quoites the game, Whereas your fire, by proweffe wan much fame.

Or in this wife, Kumadiers deisu, &c. Are you become indeed a Tavernour, Whole father was a woorthy governour?

Or laftly thus, דנאסץ אטספונ מפונדם, פנכ. In hundred ten, you can full well call for at such a day,

Your father tens and hundreds knew to range in battell ray. And in one word, so well as you are descended there is no goodnes nor great thing in you wor-40 thy the noble parentage. Moreover, where you happen upon these verses,

What tell you me of Pluto and his chievance, For such a god as he with all his puissance. Iworship not : since that the lewdest wreach In all the world, to wealth may quickly reach.

A man may fay as much of glory, of outward beauty, of the rich mantels of a captaine generall, of a Bishops miter, and the facred coronet of a priest, which we see the wickedest wretches in the world may attaine unto. Againe, whereas the words of another verle import thus much onely: That children gotten of cowardife,

Be foule and those whom men de spise. The same verily do imply also, that Intemperance, Superstition, Envie, and all other vices and maladies of the minde, bring foorth no better of spring. Now whereas Homer faide excellent well in one place:

Paris a coward thou art for footh, For all thy face so faire and smooth.

And in another, Sir Hector in the prime of age, With lovely lookes and faire vifage.

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And

(For by these termes and epithits, he sheweth covertly that a man deserveth blame and reproch, who is endued with no better grace and gift than beautie) we may well and fitly apply this reprehension to such like things: namely, to plucke downe their peacocks plumes, who vaunt and glorific themselves for matters of no moment and value: teaching yoong men thereby, that fuch praises as these, be no better than contumelies and reproches: Asfor example, when a man is faluted in this manner: O most excellent for riches, for keeping a bountifull table, for to many fervitours: right excellent for fingular good teames of draught oxen, caples and mules, for stables of steeds and greathorses: yea or thus moreover to the rest: O surpassing orator and of woonderfull eloquence: for to speake a truth, a man is to aime at excellencie and preferrence before others in good and honest things, that in the chiefe and principall he may be the highest and formost as also in great matters, the greatest: for the reputation that groweth from smal and base things is dishonorable, illiberall, vile, & of no worth. And verily this example last alleaged, putteth us straightwaies in minde, to consider better the reprehensions and praises which offer themselves especially in the Poemes of Homer: For certes, they give us expresly to understand one notable instruction, to wit, Not highly to esteeme the gifts either of body or of fortune. For first and formest (in those titles which they give one to another in reciprocall greetings) when 20 they meet and shake hands, the maner is not to falute by the name of Beautifull, Rich or Strong, but they use such commendations as these,

Vlyffcs ô most noble knight, from Iupiter first descended, Lacrtes sonne, for wisedome, and much wis, yet most commended.

O Hector fonne of Priamus king, Equall to love in wifedome and cunning. Likewife,

Achilles of Peleus the most redoubted sonne, Chiefe glory of the worthy Greekes, their light and Shining sunne. And againe,

Patroclus ô fonne of Menætius, Most lovely in my hart and gracious.

Semblably when they are disposed to revile and taunt, they twit not one another with any defects and imperfections of the bodie, but touch them exprelly with the vices of the mind, after this maner.

Thou drunken sot, as shamelesse as, the dogs that use to barke Thou coward base as hartlesse as, the stags that run in parke. And thus.

Thouwrangling Ajax of Barrotters chiefe Divising nought but evill and mischiefe. Semblably,

Idomeneus in frappling prompt, what mean'st thouthus to prate? This babling little thee becomes, such clattering men do hate. As alfo.

O Ajax fie for (hame: how farre out of the way Speake you, so bold and malapart? you brag too much I say.

To conclude, Vlyfes revileth not Ther fites, with these termes: Thou halting and lame squire, 50 thou bald pate thou coptank, thou that art camell backt, or crump shouldred: but rather reprocheth him with his vaine babling and undifcreet language. But rather on the contrarie fide, the mother of Vulcane when the speaketh unto her sonne lovingly and in great kindnesse of hart, beginneth first with his lamenesse in this maner

Come his her my some come to me come sweet hart My poore lumping creeple, come crokelege as thou art.

By

Reading and hearing of

By this it may appeare plainly that Homer devideth those, who thinke it a shame to be halt, blind, or otherwise impotent. He is of opinion, that nothing is blame worthy which is not dishonest: nor any thing dishonest and shamefull, which came not by our owne selves, but proceeded from fortune. And therefore these two great and singular commodities, they are sure to finde, who be exercised in reading and hearing of Poets: the one tending to moderation and modestic: in that they learne to reproch no man odiously, bitterly and foolishly with his fortune: the other unto magnanimitie; for that they be taught themselves to make use of their owne fortune: not to be cast downe and troubled, for any adverse calamitie that may happen; but meekly and patiently to abide the frumpes, scosses, reprochfull termes that are given them, yea, and the laughters that arise thereupon. And verily evermore this sentence of Philemon 10 ought to be ready at hand and resound in their eares:

Nothing there is more pleafant and musicall Then him to abide who doth thee mis-call.

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Howbeit, if any of these mockers, deserve to be rebused and taunted againe, vantage would be taken of the vices and impersections of their minde, and those are to be objected against them; for so Adrastus in a tragedie when Alemann provoked with these words,

Alc. Asister thou hast (Itell thee true)

who in husbands bloud her hands did embrue.

Adr. But thou thy felfe, (Imust tell plaine)

thy mother that bare thee, hast cruelly slaine.

For like as they who whip and foourge garments, touch not the bodie at all: even fo they that upbraid a man with infortunitie, or reproch him for fome default or blemish in his parentage, doe like vaine sooles beat those things that are without, but never come neere the quicke, nor touch the soule, ne yet any thing which truly deserveth correction, blame or biting.

Over and befide, as wee shewed and taught before, how to impeach and derogate the credite of those leand sentences and dangerous speeches, which otherwhiles wee meet with in Poeticall books namely, by opposing against the same, the good and grave sawes of worthy persons, renowmed as well for their learning as politicke government: even so, if we finde any civill, honest, and profitable matter in Poetrie, we ought (as it were) to nourish, confirme and strengthen the same, by demonstrations and testimonics. Philosophicall: and evermore to resource that we ascribe the first invention of such sentences to sage Philosophers: For a just, requisite and commodious thing it is, that their credite should be in that maner fortified and authorized: namely, when the Poems which are pronounced upon the Stage in a Theatre, or sung to the harp, or taught unto children in schooles, do accord with the sententious counsels of Pythagoria, the instructions of Plato, and the precepts of Chilon: when I say the rules of Bian, shall tend to the same end and effect as do those lessons that children are to read and learne. And therefore we are to teach and instruct them thus much, not slightly and by the way, but cannelly and of purpose, that these places of Poets

Faire daughter mine, thou wert not borne To manage wars and armes to dred:

Minde thou love sports, and thinke no scorne To joine young folke in marriage bed.

Likewife;

For Iupiter difpleased is with thee,

If that in fight thou unmarched bee.
nothing at all differ from this notable fentence, I was never i. Know thy felfe: but carie the verie fame fenfe and meaning.

Alfo these verses

Like fooles, they do not know, inth, That halfe than whole much better is:

Evill counsels hurt no man somuch, Oh.

are all one in effect with the opinions and discourses of *Plate* in his dialogue *Gorgius*, and in his books of *Common weale*; to wit, that more dangerous it is to doe wrong that to suffer injurie; and

and more damage commeth by giving than by receiving an abuse. Also to this verse of Aeschylus

Be of good cheere: Exective paine Cannot endure nor long remaine: When wofull bale is at the higheft, Then bleffed boot (be fure) is nigheft.

we must say, that they be the very same with that divulged sentence so often repeated by Epicurus, and so highly admired by his followers, namely, That as great paines are not durable, so long griefs are tolerable. And as the former member of this sentence was evidently expressed by AcTo Schylus, so the other is a consequent thereof, and implied therein. For if a griefe that is sore and vehement, endureth not a surely that which continueth, can not be violent or intolerable.

Semblably this fentence of Thespis the Poet in verse

Thou feeft how love all other gods for this doth fare excell, Because that hes he doth abhorre, and pride of heart expell. He is not wont to laugh and scorne, to frumpe he doth dislature: He onely can not skill of lusts

o and pleasures which be vaine.
is varied by Plato in prose, when he saith that the divine power is seated farre from pleasure and paine. As for these verses of Barehylides,

We holde it true, and ever will maintaine That glory found and vertue doth endure. Great wealth and flore we take to be but vaine, And may befall to vile men and impure.

As also these of Europides to the like sense;

Sage temperance I holde, we ought

to honour most in heart;

For with good menit doth remaine,

and never will depart.

As also these,

When honour and worldly wealth you have, To furnish your selves with vertue, take care, Without her striches you get and save,

Though bleffed you feeme, unhappy you are. Containe they not an evident proofe and demonstration of that which the Philosophers teach as touching riches and externall goods; which without vertue profit not those at all who are possessed of them? And verily thus to reduce, and fitly to accommodate the sentences of Poets 40 unto the precepts and principles delivered by Philosophers, will soone diffever Poetrie from fables, and plucke from it the masque wherewith it is disguised; it will give, I say, unto them an effeetuall power, that being profitably spoken, they may be thought serious and perswasive: yea, and belides, will make an overture and way unto the minde of a yoong ladde, that it may encline the rather to Philosophicall reasons and discourses: namely, when he having gotten some smarch and tasse alreadic thereof, and being not voide altogether of hearing good things, he shall not come altogether without judgement; replenished onely with foolish conceits and opinions which he hath evermore heard from his mothers and nurses mouth, yea, and otherwhiles (beleeve me) from his father, tutour and schoole-master: who will not sticke in his hearing to repute for bleffed and happie, yea, and with great reverence to give the worthip to 50 those who are rich: but as for death, paine and labour, to stand in seare and horror thereof: and contrariwife, to make no reckoning and account of vertue, but to despite the same, and thinke it as good as nothing, without earthly riches and authoritie. Certes, when yoong men shal come thus rawly and untrained, to heare the divisions, reasons & arguments of Philosophers, flat contrary to such opinions, they will at first be much assonied, troubled & disquieted in their minds: and no more able to admit of the fame, and to reduce fuch doctrine, than they, who having a long time benepent in, and kept in darke, can abide the glittering raies of the Sun shine: unlesse they were acquainted before by little & little with some falle and bastard light, not altogether so

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lively and cleere, as it: And even so, I say, yoong men must be accustomed beforehand, yea, and from the very first day, to the light of the trueth, entermingled somewhat with sables among, that they may the better endure the full light and fight of the cleere trueth, without any paine and offence at all. For when they have either heard or read before in Poemes these sen-

Reading and bearing of

Lament we ought for infants at their birth, Entring a world of cares that they shall have: Whereas the dead we should with joy and mirth Accompanie, and bring them so to grave.

Alfo. Of worldly things we need no more but twaine, For bread to eat, the earth doth yeeld us graine: And for to quench our thir st, the river cleere Affoords us drinke, the water faire and sheere.

Likewise, O tyrannie so lov'd, and in request With barbarous, but hatefull to thereft. The highest pitch of mans felicitie,

To feele the least part of adversitie. Leffe troubled they are & grieved in spirit, when they shall heare in the Philosophers schooles, That we are to make no account of death as a thing touching us: That the Riches of nature are definite & limited: That felicitie and foveraigne happines of man, lieth not in great fummes of money, ne yet in the pride of managing State affaires, nor in dignities and great authority, but in a quiet life free from paine and forrow: in moderating all passions, and in a disposition of the minde kept within the compasse of Nature. To conclude, in regard hereof, as also for other reasons before alleaged, A yoong man had neede to bewell guided and directed in reading of Poets, to the end that he may be fent to the studie of Philosophie not forestalled with sinister surmiles; but rather fufficiently instructed before and prepared, yea and made friendly and familiar thereto by the meanes of Poetrie.



HEARING.

The Summarie.

Y goodright, this prefent discourse was rangednext unto the former twaine. For Togodaright, this prejent discourse was ranged next unto the sormer twant. The second sensibly or any thing to reason, we ought to have heard men who are able to deliver sherr minds with judgement, to the ende, that by their aide and helpe we may be bester framed and fitted to the way of wersue: reguifie it is that after the imbibition of good nourture inchildhood, and some libertie and license given to travel in the the writings of Poets, according to the rules above declared. Young menthat are fludents should advance forward, and mount up into higher schooles. Now, for that in the time when this Author, Plutarch, lived, besides many good bookes, there were a great number of professions in the liberall Sciences, and namely in those rites into 50 which Burbarisme crept afterwards: he proposeth and setteth downethose precepts now which they are to follow and observe, that goe to heare publike lettures, orations and disputations, thereby to know how to behave themselves there; which training haply may reach to al that which we shal heare spoken elsewhere; and is materiall to make us more learned and better mannered. In the first place therefore he sheweth that at what time as we grow to yeeres of discretion, we should have a feeling of our ignorance, to the ende that we may be desirous to learne, and afterwards heare willingly. For to encrease our affection, he toucheth those dangers into which they fall, who will needs be teachers, before they be

taught themsclves: adjoyning hereto those vices and inconveniences, which a young man is to take heed of in hearing and above all others, to beware of envie : as also on the other side what he ought to studie. Now, for that impossible it is, that teachers should be perfect and fully accomplished in all things, he proceedes h to declare with what minde and spirit we should take knowledge, and consider of their imperfections; giving withall an advertisement how to avoide another extremitie, to wit, an excessive admiration of him that speaketh, namely, to leave the principall substance of doctrine: the which will be so much more accepted, in case it be commended and adorned with eloquence. He commeth afterwards to treat of those problemes and questions which may be propounded in companies and mectings: also of the pleasure that we ought to take when we are told the truth: in such fort, that as we are 10 not to envy them for their excellencie, who speake any thing to raise and set us aloft : so, on the contrary side we ought to carie with us thither, a spirit favourable, gracious, well prepared, hating flatterie, loring reprehensions, patient, voide of that rusticall bashfulnes which we seein over blunt and dull natures, neither presumptuous nor yet discouraged, but keeping a goodmeasure and meane betweene vame curiositie and that supine soth and idlenes, which is in the most part of those that he heavers. To conclude, he would have him that hath diligently heard a certaine time, and with discretion, to exercise himselfe in devising and inventing some thing of his owne, in such sort that he may put the same foorth fo, as the outward part may discover well what goodnes there lyeth inclosed within.

HEARING.



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His little treatife (my friend Nicander) which being gathered and compiled by flarts, as my leyfure would ferve Astouching the maner of Hearing, I lately put in writing, and fend here unto you, To the end that you being delivered now from the subjection of Maisters, who were woont to command you, and having put on your virile robe and growen to mans estate, may know how to heare him that giveth you good counsell. For this licentious casement and deliverie from all government, which fome yoong men for default of good nourture and education do untruely terme Libertie, setteth

over them more rough Lords and harder Masters by farre, than were those teachers, tutors and governours, under whom they were awed in their childhood, to wit, their owne irregular lufts and unordinate appetites, which now be(as it were) dischained & let loose. For like as a woman (to use the words of Herodot w) no sooner doth of her smocke or inner vesture, but therewithall the casteth off all shamefastnes and modestie; even so, some young men there be, who together with the garments of infancie and childhood, lay by all grace, shame and feare: fo that being once divested of that habit and apparell which became them fowell, and gave them a modelt and sober countenance, they are straightwaies full of stubbornesse and disobedience. Asfor 40 your selfe, who have oftentimes heard, that To follow God, and to obey Reason is all one, you ought to thinke, that the wifer fort and fuch as have wit indeed, repute not the passage and change from chidhood to mans effate, an absolute deliverance and freedome from commandement and subjection, but an exchange onely of the commander; for that their life in steed either of a mercenarie hireling or fome mafter bought with a peece of money, who was woone to governe it in their nonage and minoritie, taketh then a divine and heavenly guide to conduct it, even Reason: unto which they that yeeld themselves obeisant, are to be reputed onely free and at libertie. For they alone live as they would, who have learned to will that which they should: whereas if our actions and affections both be difordinate and not ruled by reason, the libertie of our free-will is small, slender and feeble, yea and intermingled for the most part with 50 much repentance. Like as therefore among new Burgovises (who lately are enrolled Free-Denifens to enjoy the Franchifes and priviledges of some citie) they that were meete aliens before and strangers new come from far and remote parts, finde themselves grieved at the first with many things that are done, year and complaine thereof: but fuch as had beene inhabitants there. fometime before they were made citizens, who partly by education were inured, and partly by cultome and converfing, familiarly acquainted with the lawes and cultomes of the place, never thinke much, but can brooke well ynough, and undergo with parience all charges and impolitions laid upon them; So it behooveth that a yoong man should a long time have been e bred up,

and (as it were) halfe nourfed in Philosophie, accustomed (Isay) he ought to have beene from the beginning with intermingling all that he learneth or heareth in his tender yeeres, with Philosophicall reasons, that being thus made tractable, gentle and familiar before hand, he might now betake himselfe wholy and in good earnest to Philosophie; which alone is able to array and adotne yoong men with those robes and ornaments, of reason which are manlike indeed and everie way perfect. Moreover, I suppose you will be well pleased and content, to give eare unto that which Theophrasus hath written of hearing; which of all the five senses given us by nature, presenteth both the most and also the greatest passions unto the minde. For there is no object of the eye, nothing that we taste or rouch that causeth such such safes, so violent troubles or sudden frights, as those which enter and pearce into the soule, by the meanes of some noises; so sould not reason than such affections; for many places there be and pasts of the bodie that make way and give entrance unto vices for to passe unto the soule; but the only handle (as I may so say) wherewith vertue may take holde of yong men are their eares: provided alwaies, that they were kept cleane and near at the first from all flatterie, and defended

against corrupt and leawd speeches, that they touch them not. Good reason therefore had Xenocrates, to give order that children should have certaine auriclets or bolfters deviled to hang about their cares for their defence, rather than fencers and fword-plaiers: for that these are in danger onely to have their eares spoiled with knocks or cuts by weapons: but the other, to have their maners corrupted and marred with naughtie speeches. 20 Neither was it any part of Xenocrates his meaning, to deprive them altogether of hearing, and to commend deafeneffe: but to admonish and exhort them, so long to forbeate the hearing of evill words, and to take heed, untill other good fayings, enterteined and nourithed there, in long continuance of time by Philosophie, had seized the place, and were well setled in that part which is most easie to be mooved and perswaded by speech : where being once lodged, they might as good sentinels and guards preferve and defend the same. Bias verily, that auncient Sage, being commanded by king Amasis, to send unto him the best and woorst piece of a beast killed for factifice, plucked foorth the tongue onely, and fent it him; giving him thus much thereby to understand, That speech is the cause both of most good, and also of greatest harme. Many there be also, who ordinarily when they kiffe little children, both touch their cares withall, 30 and also bid them do the like: infinuating thus much covertly, by way of mirth and sport, That they are to love those who profit them and doe them good by their cares. For this is certaine and evident, that a yoong man deprived and debarred of hearing, being able to tafte and conceive reason, will not onely become barren altogether of fruit, and put out not so much as any buds and flowers at all, which may give fome hope of verme: but also contrariwise, will soone turne to vice, and fend foorth of his corrupt minde many wilde and favage shoots, like as a ground neglected and untilled, beareth nothing but briers, brambles and hurtfull weeds. For the motions and inclinations unto pleafures, and the finisher conceits and suspitions of paines and travels (which are no strangers to us iwis, entring in directly from without foorth by themfelves, or els let in by evill suggestions, but inbred with us, and the natural sources of infinite 40 vices and maladies) if a man fuffer to run on end with the raines at large, whither by nature they would go, and not cut them off by fage remonstrances, or divert them another way, and thereby reforme the default of nature; furely there were not upon the face of the earth any wildebeaft. but would be more tame and gentle than man. Forasmuch as therefore the sence of hearing bringeth unto young men so great profit, and no leffe perill with it, I suppose it were well done, if a man would eftfoones both devife with himfelle, and also discourse with others, as touching the order and maner of hearing. For a finuch as we doe fee most men in this point to offend and erre, in that they exercise themselves in speaking before they were used to heare: supposing that good speech requireth akinde of discipline, meditation and practise ere it be learned : as for hearing, though men use it without any art, it makes no matter how, yet they may receive 50 profit thereby as they thinke. And verily, albeit at Tennis play they that practife the feat thereof, learne to take the ball as it commeth, and also to strike and send it from them againe, both at once. Yet in the use of speech it is otherwise: for to receive it well, goeth before the interance and deliverie thereof: like as conception and retention of the feed, doeth præceed birth of the infant. It is faid, That the egges laid by fowles, called Wind-egges, as they proceed of imperfect and falle conceptions, fo they are the rudiments and beginnings of fuch fruits, as never will quicken and have life; even so, The speeches that young men let fall, such I meane, as never knew how to heare, nor were wont to receive profit by hearing, are nothing els indeed but yery winde: and as the Poet faith,

Words vaine, obsture, and foolish every one,
Which under clouds soone vanish and be cone.

Certes if they would powre out any liquor out of one veffell into another, they are wont to encline and turne downe the mouth of the one, fo, as the faid liquor may passe into the receptorie without shedding any part thereof, least in stead of an infusion indeed there be an effusion onely and spilling of the same: and yet thesemen cannot learne to be attentive and give good ware unto others, to as nothing do escape them, which is well and profitably delivered. But here To is the greatest folly and most ridiculous, that if they meet with one, who can relate the order of afcast or great dinner, discourse from point to point of a solemne shew or pompe, tella tale of forme dreame, or make report of a quarrell and brablement betweene him and another, they harken with great filence, bid him fay on, and will not miffe every circumstance: Let another man draw them apart, to teach them fome good and profitable lefton, to exhort them to their dutie, to admonish and tell them of a fault, to reproove them wherein they did amisse, or to appeale their moode when they be in choler, they can not abide and indure him: for either the will fer in handto argue and refute him by arguments contending and contesting against that which hath beene faid, (if they be able to to doe:) or if they finde themfelves too weake, they flinke away, and run thither, where they may heare fome other vaine and foolish discourses, desirous to fill 20 their eares (like naughtic and rotten veffels) with any thing rather then that, which is good and necessarie. They that would keepe and order horses well, teach them to have a good mouth, to reine light, and to obey the bit: even fo, they that bring up children as they ought, make them obsequent and obeisant to reason, by teaching them to heare much and speake little. For Spintharus praifing Epaminondus upon a time, gave out thus much of him, That he could hardly meet with another man who knew more than hee, and spake lesse. And it is commonly said, that nature herfelfe hath given to each us but one tongue and two eares, because we ought to heare more than we speake. Now as Silence and Taciturnitie is everiewhere and at all times a fingular and fure ornament of a yoong man; fo especially, if when hee heareth another man to speake he interrupt and trouble him not, nor baie and barke (as it were) at every worde: 30 but although he do not very well like of his speech, yet hath patience and sorbeareth, giving him leave to make an end; and when he hath finished his speech, setteth not upon him presently, nor beginneth out of hand to confute him, but fuffereth him to paule a while, and as Aefchines faith, giveth him fome time to breath and bethinke himselfe to see, if haply he thinke is good to adde any more to that which hath beene delivered already, or change for ewhat, or els retract and unfay fomething: Whereas, they that by and by cut a man off, with contradictions, and neither heare, nor are well heard themselves, but are ever replying upon other, whiles they speake, observe no decorum nor grace arall, but shew a very undecent and unseemely behavior. But he that is accustomed to heare patiently, and with a modest and sober countenance, better conceivethand reteineth the good things uttered, and withall hath more leafure to marke, ob-40 ferve and different that which is either unprofitable or false: He sheweth himselfe besides, to be a lover of the trueth, and is not taken for a litigious quareller, a rath wrangler, or a bitter brawler. And therefore, somethere be, who not unaptly say, That we ought no leffe, but rather more, to void out of the minds of yoong men that prefumption and foolish opinion which they have of their owne selves, than to rid and exclude the winde and aire out of leather bagges or bladders wherewith they are puft and blowen up, if we meane to infuse and put any good thing into them: for otherwise, if they be still full of that swelling winde of arrogancie and overweening of themselves, they will never receive and admit any goodnesse.

Moteover, envie accompanied with a maligne eie and ill will is good in no action what so ever where it is present: but as it is an impediment and hinderance to all honest causes; so it is to the woorst counsellor and affistant that he can have who would be an auditor, making all those things that be profitable and for his benefit, to seeme odious, unpleasant, harsh to the care and hardly admitted; sor that the nature of envious persons is, to take more pleasure in any thing else than in that which is well spoken. And verily, who so ever repineth and is vexed at the learnt to see others rich, beautifull or in authoritie, is onely envious: for greeved he is at the welfare of others: but he that taketh discontentment in heating a wise and sententious speech, is offended with the good of his owne selfe: for like as the light is a benefit to them that see; even so is speech unto the heaters if they will embrace and entertaine the same: As for those kinds of enfects

vie which arife in regard of other things, there be some naughtie passions and vitious conditions of the minde belides, that breed and ingender them : but that maner of envie which is conceived against them that speake excellently well, springeth from a certeine & important desire of vaine glorie, and unjust ambition, which will not fuffer him that is fo indisposed to give eare and attend unto the words spoken, but troubleth, disquieteth; and distracteth the minde and understanding : both to consider at one instant his owne state and sufficiencie, whether it beins rior to the conceit and eloquence of the speaker: and also to regard and looke upon the countenance of other hearers, whether they take contentment and are in admiration of himidaa maketh the speech: yea and withall, if happly he be praised, the same minde is woonderfully galled and amazed, angrie and ready to fall out with all that be preferr, in cafe they approove 10 his speech with applause. Herewith it letteth slip also and rejecteth the matter and good fayings that were delivered already; for that the remembrance thereof is unfaverie and unplease fant: and full he is disquieted and wotteth not what to do, hearing out the rest with feare and trembling, left haply they should be better than the former, never so desirous that the speakers should hasten to an end and have done, as when they discourse and speake best. Now when the Sermon is ended, and the auditoric diffolved: what doth this envious spirit then? not ruminate; be you fure, nor confider of the reasons and matter delivered; but he stirreth the affections and opinions straightwaies, and gathereth voices (as it were in a scrutinic) of the audience. If he meet with any that give out good words to the praise of the Preachet, them hee avoideth and fleeth from, as if he were in a furious fit of madnesse: hapneth he upon such as finde fault, and be 20 ready to misconstrue and pervert the words that were spoken, to the woorst sense: these are they whom hee lovethalife, to them he runneth, and with them hee forteth and keepeth companie: But fay that he finde none of that disposition, so as he can not wrest any words to a wrong conflruction, then hefalleth to make comparisons, and to set against him, others younger than he; who of the same theame have discoursed better, with more plausible utterance and greater force of eloquence: he never ceafeth nor giveth over corrupting, milinterpreting, and differacing the whole speech, untill he have made the same altogether unprofitable and without any edification ar all to his owne selfe. It behooved therefore, that he who defireth to heare, take truce (for the time) with ambition 3 to the end that hee may give care with patience and mildneffe unto him that maketh an oration or fermon, and cary himselfe no otherwise than if he were admitted to 20 fome facred and feltival banker, or an invited guest to the first fruits of a solemne facrifice; praifing his eloquence when he hath spoken well and sufficiently to the point in any matter, accepting favourably, and in best part, his good will, to deliver and communicate to others, fuch things as he knew, and to perfinade his hearers with those reasons and motives which had indusced and perswaded himselse. Neither must our auditours make this reckoning and conclusion, That whatfoever hathbeene fingularly well delivered by the speaker, ought to be ascribed to chance and fortune, as if he had let fall his words at aventure: but impute the fame to his diligence, labour and art: yea, and he ought to imitate the same with a kinde of zeale and admira: tion. But whereas he hath faulted and done amisse, it is the part of an hearer to bend his minde, and confider well and circumfpectly, what might the cause and occasion be of such errour: For 40 like as (according to Xenophon) good houtholders know how to make profit and use, aswellof their enemies as their friends, even fo they that be vigilant and attentive heaters, take good, not onely by them that speake well, but by those also that misse and faile of their purpose: for barren, triviall and stale invention; improper, vaine and unfignificant words; forced and fooliffs figutes; abrupt, fond, and unfeemly breakings foorth with joy to some praise, and such like impertinences or defects, which often times befall unto them that speake in publike place; are sooner espied by us that are hearers, than observed by themselves who are the speakers. And therefore we are to transferre the inquilition and correction of any fuch fault, from them to our felves, by examining whether we also may not fault likewise, before we be aware? For there is nothing in the world more easie, than for a man to blame and reprehend his neighbour: but such a repre- 50 hension verily is vaine and unprofitable, unlesse it have a reference to correct and amend the like errours in himselfe. In which regard every one ought to be ready in this case, according to the advertisement of Plato, to say unto himselfe, Am not I also such an one? or doe not I the femblable otherwhiles? For even as we see our owne eies shining within the ball or apple of our neighbours cie, fo we ought by the forme & maner of other mens orations to take the patterne and representation of our owne; to the end that we be not too forward and bolde in despising others, but may more carefully take heed to our felves when wee likewise come to speake. To

this purpose allow would doe very well, to make a kinde of conference and comparison in this maner; Namely 100 retire our felves apart when we have heard one make an oration, and to take in hand forme points, which weethlinke had not beene well and fufficiently handled, and then to affay either to supply that which was defective in some, or to correct what was amiffe in others: or els to varie the fame matter in other wordes, or ar leastwife to discourse altogether the teof, with new reasons and arguments; like as Plate himselfe did upon the oration of Lysias, For, I affure you anothered matterities, but very easie to contradict the oration and reason by another pronounced 5 mary to fet abetter by it , that is a piece of workeright hard and difficult ... Much like, as when a certaine Lacedemonian heard, that Philip king of Macedon had demolished To and rafed the city Whathun, Hade he fo ? quoth he, But he is notable to fet up fuch another. Nowwhen as wellhall fee that intreating of the fame subject and argument, there is no great difference betweene our owner doings and other mens before us, and that we have not farte excelled them, we shall be reclaimed much from the contempt of others, and quickly represe and flay our owne prefumptuous pride and felfeslove, feeing it thus checked by this triall and comparison. And verily, to admire other mensionings, as it is a thing adverse and opposite to defpifing, foir is a figne of a milder nature, and more enclined to indifferencie and equitie. But even herein also there would be no leffe heedtaken (if not mote) than in the contempt beforefaid : for as they which are for prefumptuous, bolde, and given to much to dispraise and despite others, receive leffe good and maller profit by hearing; to the fimple and harmeleffe fort, adso dicted overmuch to others, and having them in admiration, are more subject to take harme and hurt thereby: verifying this sentence of Heraelitus,

A foolish sot astonica is anone

ederall be hear's, or feet b dones and organism As for the praises therefore, of him that speaketh, we ought favorable and of course without great affectation to passethem out of our mouthes: in giving credite unto their reasons and arguments we are to be more wisin and circums spect: and as southing the phrase, utterance, and action of those that exercise no make speeches; we must both see and heare the same with a single hart and a kind affection: As for the utilitie and truth of those matters which are delivered. we flould examine and weigh the fame exactly & with more severitie of judgement. Thus we 30 who be hearens thall avoid the suspitions of evil will and hatred & they againe that are speakers shall do usno karme. For oftentimes it falleth out that upon a special faustine and good liking unto those that preach unto us we takelesse heed to our selves and by our credulitie admit & embraces from their lips many false & erroneous opinions. The Lacedamonian rulers & Lords of the Counfel of effate, upon a time liking wel of the good advile and opinion of a person who was an ill liver, caused the same to be delivered openly by another of approoved life and good reputation: wherein they did very wifely & abprudent politicians, to accustome the people for to affect the behavior and honest carriage of their counsellots, rather than to respect their words onely. But in Philosophicat is otherwise: For we must last afide the reputation of the man who hath in publike place spoken his minde; and examine the matter apart by it selfe : For that, like 40 as in warre(we fay) there be many falle alarmes: fo also in an auditorie there passe as many vanities: The goodly grey beard and hoatic had of the speaker, his solenme getture and compoling of his countenance, his grave cichrowes, his glorious words in behalfe of himfelfe: but above all the acclamations, the applante and clapping of hands, the leaping and shouting of the standers by and those that are present in place, are enough other whiles to trouble and aftonish the spirits of a yoong heardr, who is not well acquainted with such matters, and carie him away perforce as it were with a streame: Over and besides, there is in the very style and speech it selfe a secret powerable to beguild aid deceive a young novice; namely, if it funne round away importh and pleafant; and if withall there be a certeine affected gravitie, and artificiall porrand boftine fle, to for our and graces the matter. And even as they that play upon the go pipe, be it cornet, recorder or life, fault many times in mulicite, and are not perceived by the hearers a foarbrave and elegant nongue; a dopious and gallant oration, dazeleth the wits of the hearer, forshe can not judge foundly of the matter in hand. Melant being demaunded upon a time, what he thought of a Tragadic of Diegener: I could not fee it (quoth he) for fo many words, where with it was choaked up. Burthe Orations & declamations for the most part of these Spohisters, who make show of their eloquence, hor onely have their sentences covered (as it were) with vailes and curtaines of words, but that which more is, they themselves do dulce their voice by the meanes of (I wot not what) devised notes for founds, exquisite and musical accents

accents in their pronuntiation, so as they ravish the wits of the hearers, and transport them befide themselves: leading and carying them which way they lift; and thus for a certeine little vaine pleasure that they give, receive againe applause and glorie much more vaine: Insomuch, as that befalleth properly unto them which by report Diony fine answered upon a time : who seemed to promise unto a samous minstrell for his oxcellent play in an open Theatre, to reward him with great gifts, gave him in the end just nothing, but faid he had recompensed him sufficiently already: For looke (quoth he) how much pleasure I have received from thee by thy fong and minftrelfy, so much contentment and joy thou hast had from me by hoping for some great reward. And verily fuch recompense as this have those Sophisters and great Orators at their hearers hands: For admired they are fo long as they fit in their chaire, and give delight unto 19 their auditorie: No fooner is their speech ended, but gone is the pleasure of the one, and the gloric of the other. Thus the Auditours spend their time, and the speakers employ their whole life in vaine. For this cause, it behooveth a young hearer to sequester and set aside the ranke superfluitie of words and to feeke after the fruit it felfe: and heerein not to imitate women, that plait and make garlands of flowres, but to follow the Bees: For those women laying for, and choosing faire flowres and odoriferous herbes, with, plat and compose them so, as they make thereof a peece of worke (I must needs say) pleasantto the senses, but fruitlesse altogether, and not lasting above one day: whereas the Bees flying oftentimes over & over the medowes full of Violets, Roses and Crowtoes, light at length upon Thyme, an herbe of a most strong sent, and quicke tafte and there fettle,

te and there fettle, the state of the second the second

The yellow home for to make, and when they have gathered from them fome profitable juice or liquor to ferve their turne, they flie away unto their proper worke and businesse: Semblably ought an auditour who is studious of skill and knowledge, and hath his minde and understanding free from passions, to let paffe, affected, flourishing and superfluous words givea, and such matters also as be fit for the Stage and Theatre, reputing them to be food meet for drone Bees (I meane Sophisters) and nothing good for honie: and rather with diligence and attentive heed to found the very depth and profound intention of the speaker, for to draw that which is good & profitable: remebring eftsoons, that he is not come thither as to a Theatre, either to see sports & pastimes, or to heare 30 anuficke and Poeticall fables, but into a schoole & auditorie, for to learne how to amend and reforme his life by the rule of reason. And therefore he must enter into his owne heart and examine himselse when he is alone, how he was mooved and affected with the Lecture or Sermon that he heard; confider (Ifay) and reason he ought with himselse whether he find any turbulent paffions of his minde thereby dulced and appealed; whether any griefe or heavinesse that trouble him be mitigated and affwaged; whether his courage and confidence of heart be more resolute and better confirmed; and in one word, whether he seele any instinct unto vertue and honestie, to be more kindled and enslained. When we rise out of the Barbars chaire, we thinke it meete presently to consult with a mirrour or looking glasse; we stroke our head to see whether he hath polled and notted it well; we confider and petule our beard and every haire whether 40 we have the right cut, & be trimmed as we ought a thame it were then, to depart from a schole or a lecture, and not immediately to retire apart and view our mindewell, whether it have laide away any foolish thought that troubled it: whether it be cased of superfluous and wandring thoughts, that clogged it: and be thereby more lightforme and pleafant. For neither a Baine and Striph, as Ariffon faith, nor a fermon doth any good, if the one do not feoure the skin, and the other clenfe the heart. A poblicate organication of the silver

A yoong man therefore is to take joy and delight if he have made profit by a lecture, or be better edified by hearing a fermon. And yet I write not this, as if this pleafure should be the finall end that he proposeth to himselfe when he goeth to such a lecture or fermon, neither would I have him thinke that he should depart out of the Philosophers schoole, with a merie 50 note finging jocundly, or with a frethand cheerefull countenance; ne yet to use meanes to be perfumed with sweete odors and ointments, whereas he hath more need of Embracations, Fomentations and Cataplasmes: but to take it well and be thankfull, if haply by some sharpe words and cutting speeches, any man hathycleansed and purified his heart full of cloudie mists and palpable darkenes, like as mendrive Bee-hives and rid away Bees with smoke. For albeit, he that preacheth unto others ought not to be altogether carelesse and negligent in his stile, but that it may carrie with it forme pleasure, delectation and grace, aswel as probabilitie and reason : yet a

voong man when he commeth to heare should not stand so much thereupon, but have least regard thereto, especially at the first: marrie afterwards (I will not say) but he may well ynough have an eie unto it alfo. For like as those that drinke, after they have once quenched their thirst, have lev fure to peruse the cups & turne them about every way, to view and consider the worke engraven or imprinted upon them; even fo, when a yong student or auditor is well replenished and furnished with doctrine, after he hath breathed and panfed a while, may be permitted to consider farther of the speech, namely, what elegant and copious phrases it hath, 'As for him, who at the verie beginning attendeth not nor cleaveth unto the matter and fubftance, but hunteth after the language onely, defiring that it should be pure Atticke, fine and smooth: I can 10 liken such a one to him, who being empoisoned will not drinke any Antidote or counterpoison, unlesse the pot or cup wherein it is, be made of the Colian earth in Attica: or who in the cold of winter will not weare a garment, except it were made of the wooll that came from the Attike Theepes backe; but had rather fit still idle doing nothing and stirring not, with some thin mantell and overworne gaberdine cast over him, fuch as be the orations of Lyfins his penning. The errours committed in this kinde, have beene the cause why there is found so little wit and understanding, and contrariwise so much tongue and bibble-babble, such vaine chattring about words in yoong men throughout the Schooles: who never observe the life, the deeds, the carriage and demeanor in State government of a Philosopher, but give all praise and commendation to his fine termes and elegant words, onely fetting out his eloquence, action and readic 20 deliverie of his oration, but will not in any wife learne or enquire whether the matter fo uttered be profitable or unprofitable, necessarie or vaine and superfluous.

Next to these precepts, how we should heare a Philosopher to discourse at large and with a continued speech, there followethin good consequence a rule and advertisement as touching thort questions and problemes. A man that commeth as a bidden guest unto a great supper, ought to be content with that which is fet before him upon the table, and neither to call for any viands elfe, nor to finde fault with those that are present: He also that is invited to a Philosophicall feaft or banket (as I may fay) of discourses, in case they be matters and questions certaine and chosen long before for to be handled, ought to do nothing else but heare with patience and filence him that speaketh: for they that distract and hale him away to other theames, interpo-30 fing interrogations and demaunds, or otherwife moove doubts or make oppositions as he speaketh, are troublesome and unportunate hearers, such as be unsociable and accord not with an auditorie; who besides that they receive no profit themselves, disturbe both the speaker and the speech also. But in case the partie that standeth ad oppositum, doe of himselfe will and pray his auditors to aske him questions and to propose what they will; then they ought to propound fuch demaunds as be either necessarie or profitable. Viffes verily in Homer was mocked by the wooers of his wife, because

> He sald for shieves of bread to eat, And not for swords or candrons near.

For it was reputed a figne of magnanimity to demaund, aswel as to give things of great price 40 and value. Much more then might a man deride and laugh at the auditor, who will moove unto a Master or Doctour of the Chaire; trifling, frivolous and fruitlesse questions, as otherwhiles fome of these yoong men do : who taking pleasure to vaunt themselves, and to thew what great schollers they are in Logicke or the Mathematikes, are woont to put foorth questions as touching the fections of things indefinite: also, what be litterall motions or Diametricall? Vnto whom a man may verie well answere as Philotimus the Phisitian did unto one that had a suppuration in his chift, and by reason of an inward ulcer of his lungs was in a consumption, who comming to him for counfell, defired that he would give him a incdicine for a little whit-flow growing about the roote of his naile: but Philotiman perceiving by his colour and shortnes of winde in what case he was; My good friend (quoth he) you have no such need of a cure for your 50 whit-flow, you may hold your peace well enough at this time for any danger there: Even fo, it may be faid unto one of these young men; There is no time now to thinke or dispute upon fuch questions, but rather by what meanes you may be freed from presumptuous overweening of your felfe, from pride and arrogance, from wanton love and foolish toics: that you may be fetled in a found state of life, devoide of vanitie. Moreover, this young man is to have a good cie and regard unto the fufficiencie of the speaker, whether it be by naturall inclination, or gotten by experience and practife, and accordingly to frame and direct his questions in those points wherein he is most excellent: and in no wife to force him who is well read and stu58

died in Morall Philosophie, to answer unto Physical or Mathematicall questions: or him that is better scene in Natural Philosophy to draw unto Logick, for to give his judgment of Hypothetical propositions & to resolve them: or to move the knots & make solution of false Syllogisms, Elenches fophisticall and such fallacies. For like as one that would goe about to cleave wood with a key, or unlocke a doore with an axe, feemeth not fo much to doe hurt unto those instruments, as to deprive himselfe of the proper use and commoditie as well of the one as the other; Even so, they that require of a Speaker that which he is not apt unto by nature, or wherein he is not well practifed, & will not reape, gather & take that which willingly commeth from him, and wherewith he is able to furnish them, are not only hurt therein, but incurre the name and blame of a pievith, froward and malicious nature. Furthermore this heed would be taken, not to over- 10 lay him with many questions, nor oftentimes to urge him therewith. For this bewraiethone, that in fome fort loveth to heare himfelfe speake and would be seene: whereas, when another doth propose a question to give attentive care, and that with mildnes and patience, is a signe of a studious person, and one that knoweth well how to behave himselfe in companie, and can abide that others should learne aswell as he: unlesse perhaps some private and particular occurrent do urge the contrarie, or some passion do hinder, which had neede to be stated and represfed or else some maladie and imperfection which requireth remedie. For peradventure as Heraclism faith, it were not good for one to hide and conceale his owne ignorance, but to let it appecre and beknowen, and fo to cure it. But fay, that some fit of choler, some assault of scrupulous superstition, or some violent quarell and jarre with one houshold and kinssolke, or some 20 furious passion proceeding from wanton lust,

Which doth the fecret heart strings move,

That earst were never stir'd with love, trouble our understanding, and put it out of tune, we ought not for the avoiding of a reproofe, to flie for refuge to other matters, and interrupt the discourse begun, but be desirous to heare of fuch things, even in open places of exercises; and after the exercise or lecture done, to take the Philosophers or Readers aside, and conferre with them, to be further enformed: not as many doe, who are well enough contented to heare Philosophers speake of others, and have them therefore in great admiration: but if it chance that a Philosopher leave other men, and turne his speech to them apart, to tell them freely and boldly what he thinketh, admonishing and put-30 ting them in minde of such things as do concerne them, then they are in a chase, then they say he speakes besides the text and more then needs. For of this opinion are these men, That wee are to heare Philosophers in Schooles for pastime, as plaiers of Tragedies in a Theatre upon the Stage: As for other matters out of the Schoole, they holde them no better men than themfelves: and to fay a trueth, good reason have they so to deeme of Sophisters, who are no sooner out of their chaires, or come downe from off the pulpit, and when their books, and pettie introductions are laid out of their hands, but in other ferious actions and parts of this life to be difcourfed of, a man shall finde them as raw as other, and nothing better skilled than the vulgar fort. But to come unto those Philosophers indeed, who worthily are so to be called and effecmed, ignorant are such persons above reheated, that their words (be they spoken in earnest or 40 in game) their becks, their nods, their countenance, whether it be composed to smiling or to frowning, but principally their words directed privately to every one a part, be all fignificant, and cary some fruit commodious to those that with patience will give them leave to speake, and are willing and used to hearken unto them.

As concerning the praises which we are to attribute unto them for their eloquence and well fpeaking, there would in this dutie fome wife caution & meane be used : for that in this case, neither overmuch nor too little is commendable & honest. And verily that scholar, who seemeth not to be moved or touched with any thing that he heareth, is a heavie and unsupportable auditour, full of a fecret prefumptuous opinion of himselfe, conceited inwardly of his owne sufficiencie, of an inbred felfe-love and aptneffe to speake much of his owne doings, shewing evident- 50 ly that he thinketh he can speake better than that which hath beene delivered: Inregard whereof, he never stirs brow any way decently, he uttereth not a word to testific that he heareth willingly and with contentment: but by a certaine forced filence, affected gravitie, and counterfeit countenance, would purchase and winne unto himselse the reputation of a stated man, of a profound and deepe clerke: and is as sparie of his praises, as of his purse and money in it, imagining that they bid him loffe, who would have him part with any one jot thereof, as if he robbed himselfe of so much as he imparted to another. For many there be who misconster & interpret

in ill sense one sentence of Pythagoras, when he faith, That he had gotten this fruit by the studie of Philosophie, namely, to have nothing in admiration. And these men are of this opinion, that because they are not to admire, praise, and honor others, therefore they must despise and dispraise them, and by the disdaine and contempt of others they thinke themselves to seeme grave and venerable. For reason Philosophicall, although it rejecteth that woonder and admiration which proceedeth of doubt or ignorance, for that the knoweth the cause of everie thing, and is able to discourse thereof; yet for all that it condemneth not courtesie, magnanimitie and humanitie. For certes unto fuch as truely and certainly are good, a right great honor it is to honour those that are worthie of honor: also for a man to adorne another is an excellent ornament proceeding from a superabundance (as it were) of glorie and honor which is in himfelfe, voide of all envie and malice. Whereas those that be niggards in praising of another, feeme to be poore & bare themselves that way, & bewray how hungrie they be after their owner praises. Now on the contrarie side, he who without all judgement & discretion at everie word and fyllable(in a maner) is readie to rife up & give acclamation, offendeth afmuch another way, being a man of levitie and inconstancie, oftentimes displeaseth, even them that be the speakers, but alwaies is offensive and troublesome to other affistants about him: causing them to rise up eftfoons & lift up themfelves against their wils, drawing them perforce to do as they see him do. and even for verie shame and modestie, to set up some cries and acclamations with him for companie. Nowafter that he hath reaped no fruit nor edification by the oration that he hath 20 heard, for that he had so troubled and disquieted the auditorie by his unseasonable praises, he returneth from thence with one of these three additions to his stile: namely, either a Mocker, a Flatterer, or a Blockhead, who understood not what was faid. A judge I must needs fay, when he fitteth upon the feat of Iustice to heare and determine causes, ought to give eare unto both parties without hatred or favour, voide of all affection, and respective onely to right and equitie. But in the auditories where learned men are met together, there is neither law nor oath hindereth us, but that we may heare him with favour and benevolence, who doth speake and discourse unto us. And even our ancients in old time were woont to place and fet Mercurie in their temples neere unto the Graces, giving us thereby to know that above all things, a speech publikely delivered, requireth a gracious and friendly audience: for they never thought that the 20 speaker would be such an outcast, or so farre short and unsufficient; but if he were not able either to fay fornewhat of his owne invention praise worthy, or to report from auncients that which is memorable, or to deliver the subject matter of his speech together with his drift and intention, so as it deserved applause: yet at leastwife, his eloquation and disposition of everie part might be commendable: for according to the old proverb,

Of Hearing.

With Calibrap-thistles rough and keen, with pricky Rest harrow. Close Scions faire and white are seen with foft walflowres to grow.

For if some to shew their wit, have taken upon them the praise of vomiting, others of fever, and 40 some iwis of a pot or caudron, and yet have not failed of favor and approbation: how can it otherwise be, but that the oration compassed by a grave personage, who in some sort is reputed, or at least wife called a Philosopher, should minister unto benevolent, gracious and courteous Auditours some respit and opportunitie of time for to praise and commend the same? Al those that are in the flowre and prime of their age, faith Plato, one way or other, do affect and moove him that is enamoured on them: infomuch as if they be white of colour, he calleth them the children of the gods: if blacke of hew, he termes them manly and magnanimous: be one hawke-nofed, such he nameth Roiall and of a kingly race: is he camoife or flat nofed, him he will have to be gentle, pleasant and gracious: and to conclude, looketh one pale & yellow, then to cover and mollifie in some fort that ill colour, he useth to call him Hony-face: and every one 50 of these defects, he loveth and embraceth as severall beauties: For in love is no lacke, and of this nature it is to claspe and cleave to every thing that it can reach or meet withall, in maner of Ivy;much more then wil he that is a studious scholar & a diligent hearer, find alwaies one thing or other, for which he may seeme worthily to praise any one that mounteth up into the chaire for to declaime or discourse. For even Plato himselfe, who in the oration of Lyssas commended not the invention; and as for the disposition thereof, utterly found fault therewith as disorderly and confused: yet he praised his stile and eloquution, & gave this attribute unto it, that every word was perspicuous and lightsome, and withall ran round, as if they all had beene artificiallie

wrought with the Turners instrument. A man that were so disposed, may seeme in reason to reproove in Archylocus the argument and subject matter: in Parmenides the composition of his verfes: in Phocylides, the meane and homely matter: the loquacity of Euripides, and the inequalitie or uneven stile of Sophoeles: After which fort, you shall have among Oracours and Rhetoricians, one who cannot expresse the naturall disposition of a man, another who hath no power in resembling passions & affections, and another agains who faileth in graceland yet ech one of them commendable enough for some particular and especiall gift, either to moove or to delight. In which regard, the hearers also, may find sufficient matter & pleasure enough to gratific and content if they lift, those that speake and make orations to them. For some of them is fufficeth although we do not testific our good liking of them by lively and open voice, to give 10 them a favourable regard of the eie, to frew them a milde and gentle vifage, a cheerefull looke, an amiable disposition of the countenance, without any signe of sadnes and heavinesse. And verily, these things are growen now to be so common and ordinary, that we can affoord them evento those who speake but so so and to no purpose at all; insomuch, as every auditoric can skill thereof: Butto fit still modestly in his place without any token of disdaine; to beare the body upright, leaning neither one way nor other; to fixe the eie wiftly upon him that fpeaketh; to show a forward gellure, as if one gave great attention and marked every word seriously; to set and dispose the countenance plaine, pure and simple, without any signification at all, not onely of contempt or discontentment, but also of all other cares and thoughts whatsoever, be evident tokens of approbation, and tend all thereto. For, as in every thing els, beautic and fauour is 20 composed and framed (as it were) of many numbers meeting and concurring in one, and all together at the fame time, and that by a certaine fymmetrie, confonance and harmonie: but that which is foule and ill fauoured, is bred immediatly by the least thing in the world, that either is wanting, or added and put to abfurdly, otherwife than it should; even so we may notably obferve in this action of hearing, not onely the knitting and bending of the browes, or the heavie cheere of the visage, a crooked aspect and wandring cast of the eye, a writhing away or turning about of the bodie, an undecent change of the thighes croffe one over another: but a very nod of the head, or winke of the eye alone, the whifpering or rounding one of another in the care, a bare fmile, gapings, and drowfie yawnings, as if a man were ready to drop afleepe: finally, the hanging downe of the head, and whatfoever gestures of that fort, wee are countable for as fault 30 woorthy, and they would be carefully taken need of. Howbeit, there be some of this opinion, that the speaker indeed ought to looke unto himselfe and his behaviour when hee is aloft; but the hearers beneath need not. They would (Ifay) have him who is to make a speech in publike place, to come well prepared, and with diligent præmeditation of that which he ought to fay: but as for the hearers, they have no more to doe but to take their places, without any forethinking of the matter, without any care and regard at all of duetie and demeanour after they be fet, as if they were come to a very supper, and nothing els, there to take their repast or ease themfelices, whiles others take paine and travell. And yet a guest that goeth to suppe with another, hath fomething to doe and observe when he sits at the table, if hee would be thought civilland mancrly: how much more then, in all reason, is an auditour bound so to do, who is to heare an-40 other speake. For he is partaker with him of his speech, yea, and by right, a coadjutour of him: he ought not then, to examine rigouroully his faults escaped; hee is not to fift narrowly, and weigh in severe ballance ech word of his, and every gesture; whiles hee himselse (exempt from centure and controlment, and without feare of being espied and searched into) committeth many enormities, unseemly parts, and incongruities in hearing. For like as at Tennis play, he that receiveth the ball, ought in the stirring and motion of his bodie to accommodate himfelfe handfomely and in order to his fellow that finit it; even fo betweene the speaker and the hearer, if both of them observe their duetie and decencie, there would be a mutuall and reciprocall proportion. Now in yeelding praises unto the Reader or Speaker, we must not inconsiderately, the all maner of termes and acclamations without difference. For Epicurus himfelfe is 50 not well liked, but odious, when he faith, That upon the reading of any letters missive from his friends unto him, they that were about him did fet up exceffive outcries and applauses, with troublesome clapping of their hands. And verily those who bring in now adayes into the auditorie uncoth and strange noises by way of acclamation; they also who have brought up these termes, O heavenly and divine speech; The voice of God & not of man, uttered by his mouth; and, Who is able to come neere unto him? as though it were not sufficient, simply thus to say; O well faid, Wifely spoken, or, Truely delivered; which were the testimonies and signes of

praise which Plato, Socrates, and Hyperides used in old time) such men, I say, doe highly offend, and passe the bounds of decencie exceeding much: nay, they doe traduce and abuse the speakers themselves, as though they did hunt after, and lay for such excessive and proud commendations. Those also be odious and unpleasant, who as if they were in some judiciall Court, depose and give formall testimonie as touching the honour of the speakers, and binde the same with an oth: neither be they in leffe fault, who without regard of the qualitie of persons, doe accomodate unto them their titles of praise beside all decorum: As for example, when they be ready to crie aloud unto a Philosopher, O quicke and wittie saying! and unto an olde man, O what a brave and jolly speech is this! transferring and applying unto Philosophers those words 10 and termes that ordinarily are used or attributed to plaiers, or such as exercise and shew themfelves in feholalticall declamations and to a ferious and fober oration, giving a praise more befeeming a light and wanton courtifan: which is as much, as if upon the head of a victorious champion, they (hould fet a garland of lillies or rofes, and not of the lawrell or wilde olive tree. Euripides verily, the Poet, when one overlieard him as he prompted and endited unto the actors or persons in the Charus, a certaine song set to musicall harmonie, and therewith laughed heartilie whiles he instructed them in finging the same; If thou wert not (quoth hee) some blackith and senselesse dolt, thou wouldest never laugh when I sung a heavy mixt-Lydian tune, or a note to a dumpe or dolefull dittie. Semblably, a grave Philosopher, and a man exercised in managing State affaires, might very well in mine advise, cut off, and represse the delicate insolency 20 of fome auditour, over wantonly disposed to mirth and jolity, by faying thus unto him; Thou feemest unto me a brainfick fellow, & untaught for otherwise whiles I am teaching, preaching, and reprooving vices, discoursing and reading of policie and the administration of Common weale, of the nature of the gods, or the ductic of a Magistrate, thou wouldest neither daunce thus and fing as thou doeft. For confider with me intrueth, what a diforder is this, That when a Philolopher is in the Schoole at his lecture reading, they within should keepe a crying and howling, and make such noises, as they that be without can not tell whether it be some piper, harper, or danneer that they thus do praise, such a cosused brute they make within. Moreover, we ought not to hearethe reprehensions, rebukes, and corrections of Philosophers, rechlesly without fense of griefe and displeasure, nor yet unmanly: for they that can so well abide to be reprooved 30 or blamed by a Philosopher, and make nothing adoe at it, infomuch as when they be found fault withall, they fall a laughing, or can finde in their hearts to praise those that do reprehend them, much like unto these flattering Parasites, who are content to extoll and commend their good mafters that give them their meat and drinke, notwithstanding they be reviled and taunted by them: thefe fellowes (I fay) of all others, be most rash, audacious and bolde, shewing thereby their shamelesse impudencie, which is no good nor true argument of courage and fortitude. As for a pretie scoffe pleasantly delivered, and in mirth, without any wrong meant, or touch of credit, if a manknow how to take it well, and be not moved thereby to choler and displeasure, but laughit out, it doth argue no base minde, nor want of wit and understanding, but is a liberall and gentleman-like qualitie, favouring much of the ingenuous maner of the Lacedæmonians. 40 But to heare a sharpe checke that toucheth the very quicke, and a reprehension to reforme maners, delivered in cutting and tart words, much like unto an egar and biting medicine, and therwith not to be cast downe, and shrinke together for feare, nor to run all into a sweat, or be ready to recle and stagger with a dizinesse in the head, for very shame that hath set the heart on fire, but to feeme inflexible and nothing thereat moved, fmiling in fome fort, and drily fcoffing after a diffembling maner, is a notable figne of a most diffolute and illiberall nature, past all grace, and that basheth for nothing, being so long wonted and inured to evill doing; in such fort, as the heart and conscience is hardened and overgrowen with a certaine brawne and thicke skinne, which will not receive the marke or wale of any lash, be it never so smart. And as there be many fuch, so you shall meet with other youthes of another nature meere contrary unto them; who if 50 they happen but once to be checked and to heare ill, are foone gone, and will not turne againe, but quit the Philosophie schooles for ever. These being endued by nature with the good rudiments and beginnings of vertue tending unto felicity another day, to wit, Shamefaltneffe and Abathment, loofe the benefit thereof, in that by reason of their overmuch delicacy and esseminate minds, they can not abide reproofs, nor with generofitie endure correctious, but turne away their itching eares, to heare rather the pleasant and smooth tales of some flatterers or sophillers, which yeeld them no fruit nor profit at all in the end. For as hee, who after incision made, or the fear of difmembring performed by the Chyrurgian, runneth away from him, and will not tary to have his wound bound up or feared, fulfaineth all the paine of the cure, but miffeth the good that might enfue thereof: even fo he, who unto that fpeech of the Philosopher which hath wounded and launced his follie and untowardnesse, will not give leasure to heale the same up, and bring it to a persect & confirmed skin againe, goeth his waies with the painfull bit and dolorous sting, but wanteth all the helpe and benefit of Philosophie. For not onely the hurt that Telephus received, as Euripides saith,

By skales of rust boshease and remedie found, Fil'd from the speare, that first didmake the wound.

but also the pricke inflicted upon a towardly young man by Philosophie, is healed by the fame words that did the hurt. And therefore when hee findeth himselfe checked and blamed, 10 feele he must and suffer some smart, abide (I say) he ought to be bitten, but not to be crushed and confounded therewith, not to be discouraged and dismaide for ever. Thus he is to thinke of himselfe being now inducted in Philosophie, as if he were a novice newly instituted and profeffed in some religious orders and facred mysteries: namely, that after he hath patiently endured a while the first expiatoric purifications and troubles, he may hope at the end thereof to fee and finde some sweete and goodly fruit of consolation, after this present disquietnesse and agonie. Say also, that he were wrongfully and without cause thus shubbed and rebuked by the Philosopher, yet he shall do well to have patience and sit out the end. And after the speech finished, he may addresse an Apologie unto him and justific himselse, praying him to reserve this libertie of speech and vehemency of reproofe which he now used, for to represse and redresse 20 fome other fault, which he shall indeed have committed. Moreover, like as in Grammar, the learning to spel letters and to reade: in Musicke also to play upon the Lute or Harpe; yea and in bodily exercise, the seat of wrestling and other activities, at the beginning be painefull, cumberfome, and exceeding hard, but after that one be well entred and have made fome progresse therein, by little and little continuall use and custome (much after the manner of conversing and acquaintance among men) maketh maistrie, engendreth further knowledge, and then everie thing that was stronge and difficult before, prooveth familiar and casie ynough both to say and doe: Even so, it fareth in Philosophie, whereat the first there seemeth no doubt to be some strangenesse, obscuritie, and I wot not what barrennesse, aswell in the termes and words, as in the matters therein contained: Howbeit, for all that a yoong man must not for want of heart 30 be aftonied at the first entrance into it, nor yet for faintnesse be discouraged and give over: but make proofe and triall of every thing, perfevere and continue in diligence, defirous ever to paffe on still and proceed further, and as it were, to draw well before, waiting and attending the time which may make the knowledge thereof familiar by use and custome, the onely meanes which causeth everie thing that is of itselfe good and honest, to be also sweete and pleasant in the ende. And verily this familiaritie will come on apace, bringing with it a great cleerneffe and light of learning: it doth ingenerate also an ardent love and affection to vertue, without which love, a man were most wretched or timorous, if he should apply himselse to follow another course of life, having once given over for want of heart the studie of Philosophie. But peradventure it may fall out fo, that young men not well experienced, may find at the beginning fuch 40 difficulties in some matters that hardly or unneth at all they shall be able to comprehend them. Howbeit, they are themselves partly the cause that they doe incurre this obscuritie and ignorance: who being of divers and contrarie natures, yet fall into one and the felfefame inconvenience. For some upon a certaine respectuous reverence which they bare unto their Reader and Doctour, or because they would seeme to spare him, are afraid to aske questions, and to be confirmed and resolved in doubts arising from the doctrine which he delivereth: and so give signes by nodding their heads that they approove all, as if they understood everie thing verie well. Others againe by reason of a certaine importune ambition and vaine emulation of others, for to show the quicknesse and promptitude of their wit, and their readie capacitie, giving out that they fully understand that which they never conceived, by that meanes attaine to nothing. And 50 thus it commeth to passe, that those bashfull ones, who for modestie and shamefastnes are silent and dare not aske that whereof they are ignorant, after they be departed out of the auditorie, are in heavinesse and doubtfull perplexitie, untill at last they be driven of necessitie with greater shame to trouble those who have once already delivered their doctrine, to runne (I say) unto them backe againe and moove questions anew. And as for these ambitious, bold and presumptuous persons they be forced to palliat, cover and disguise their ignorance and blindnes which abideth with them for ever. Therefore casting behinde us and rejecting all such stupiditie and

vanitie; let us take paines and endevour howfoever we do, to learne and throughly to comprehend, all profitable discourses that shall be taught unto us: and for to effect this, let us be content gently to be are the scoffes and derissons of others, that thinke themselves quicker of content gently to be are the scording to the example of Cleanther and Xenerates, who being somewhat more grosse and dull of capacitie than others their school-fellowes, ran not therefore away from schoole, nor were any whit discouraged, but the first that scoffed and made sport with themselves, saying, shey were like unto narrow mouthed vessels and brasen tables, for that they hardly conceived any thing that was taught them, but they retained and kept the same sate and surely when they had it once for not onely as Phospides saith,

Who seekes in the nd for goodnes and for praies, Meane while must be deceived many wates.

but also to suffer himselse to be mocked oftentimes and to endure much reproch, to abide broad jests and skurrile skoffes: expelling ignorance with all his might and maine; yea, and conquering the same.

Moreover, we must be carefull to avoide one fault more, which many commit on the contraite side; who for that they be somewhat slow of apprehension and idle withall, are verie troublesome unto their teachers, and importune them overmuch: when they be apart by themselves, they will not take any paines not labour to understand that which they have heard; but they put their masters to new travell, who reade unto them: asking and enquiring of them ever and anon concerning one and the same thing, resembling herein yoong callow birds which are not yet fethered and fledg'd, but alwaies gaping toward the bill of the damme, and so by their good wils would have nothing given them, but that which hash beene chewed and prepared already. Now there be others yet, who destrous beyond all reason to be counted quicke of wit and attentive hearers, wearietheir masters even as they are reading unto the, with much prittle prattle, interrupting them everies foot in their lectures, demanding of tiem one thing or other that is needlesse and impertinent, calling for proofs and demonstrations of things where no need is a Thus they much paines for little takes.

And of fort way long journeies make.

According as Sophocles faid, making much worke, not onely for themselves, but also for others a 30 For staying their teacher thus as they doe everie foote with their vaine and superfluous questions, as if they were walking together upon the way, they hinder the course of the lecture, being fo often interrupted and broken off. These fellowes then according to the faying of Hierom, in this doing are much like to cowardly & dastardly curre dogs, which, when they be at home within house, will bite the hides and skinnes of wilde beafts, and lie tugging at their shagged haire: but they dare not touch them abroad in the field. Furthermore, I would give those others, who are but foft spirited and flow withill, this counsell that retaining the principall points of everie matter, they supplie the rest apart by themselves, exercising their memorie, and as it were leading it by the hand to all that dependent thereto: to the end that when they have conceived in their spirit the words of others, as it were the elementarie beginning and the verie seede, they 40 might nourith and augment the fame: For that the minde and understanding of man is not of the nature of a vessell that requireth to be filled up: but it hath neede onely of some match (if I may to fay), to kindle and let it on fire (like as the matter standeth ever in need of the efficient cause) which may ingender in it a certaine inventive motion, and an affection to finde out the truth. Wellthen, like as if a man going to his neighbour for to fetch fire, and finding there goodsfore, and the same burning light in the chimney, should sit him downe by it and warme himselfe continually thereat, and never make care to take some of it home with him, you would take him to be unwife : even folle, that commeth to another for to learne, and thinketh not that he ought to kindle his owne fire within and make light in his owne minde, but taketh pleafure in hearing onely, and therefitteth by his mafter still, and joyeth onely in this contentment : he 50 may well get himselfe a kind of opinion by the words of another, like a fresh and red colour by fitting by the fire fide: but as for the mosse or rust of his minde within, he shall never skoure it out, nor disperse the darkenes by the light of Philosophic.

Now if there be neede yet of one precept more to archieve the dutie of a good auditour, it is this, That we ought to remember effloones that which now I have to fay: namely, That we exercise our wit and understanding by our felves, to invent something of our owne, as well as to comprehend that which we heate of others: to the end that we may acquire within our selves a certaine habitude, not sophisticall nor historicall, that is to say, apparant onely, and able to

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recite barely that which we have beene taught by others, but a more inwardly imprinted and philosophicall, making this account, that the verie beginning of a good life, is to heare well and



OF MORALL VERTVE.

The Summarie.



Efore he entreshinto the discourse of vertues and vices, he treatest of Morall vertue in generall: propounding in the first place the diversitie of opinions of Philosophers as touching this point: the which he discuffesh and examineth: Wherein after that he had begun to dispute concerning the composition of the soule, he adjoineth his owne opinion touching that propertie, which Morall vertue hath particularly by it selfe, as also wherein it differeth from contemplative Philosophie. Then having 20

defined the Mediocritic of this vertue, and declared the difference betweene Continence and Temper ance, he speaketh of the impression of reason in the soulc. And by this meanes addresset himselfe against the Stoicks, of disputeth cocerning the affections of the soule prooving the inequalitie therein, with such a resutation of the contrarie objections, that after he had taught how the reasonlesse part of the foule, ought to be mannaged, he discoveresh by divers similarudes and reasons, the absurdities of the faid Stoicke Philosophers, who insteed of well governing and ruling the soule of man, have as much as liethin them extinguished and abolished the same.

OF MORALL VERTVE.



Y purpose is to treate of that vertue, which is both called and also reputed Morall, and namely wherein it differeth especially from vertue contemplative : as having for the subject matter thereof the paffions of the minde, and for the forme, Reafon : Likewise of what nature and substance it is; as also, how it doth subsist and hath the Being to wit, whether that part of the foule which is capable of the faid vertue be endued and adourned with reason as appropriate and peculiar unto it; or, whether it borrow it from other parts, & fo 40 receiving it, be like unto things mingled, and adhering to the better: or rather, for that being under the government and rule of ano-

ther, it be faid to participate the power and puissance of that which commendeth it? For that vertue also may subsist and have an effentiall being, withour any subject matter and mixture at all, I suppose it is very evident and apparent. But first and formost, I hold it very expedient, briefly to run through the opinions of other Philosophers, not fo much by way of an Historical narration and so an end, as, that when they be once thewed and laid abroad, our opinion may both appeare more plainly, and also be held more furely.

Menedemus then, who was borne in the citie Eretria, abolifhed all pluralitie and difference of vertues, supposing that there was but one onely vertue, and the same knowed by sundry names: 50 For he faid, that it was but one and the fame thing, which men called Temperance, Fortitude, and Iustice: like as if one should say, A Reasonable creature and a man, he meaneth the felse fame thing. As for Ariston the Chian, he was of opinion likewife, that in fubstance there was no more but one vertue, the which he termed by the name of Health: mary, in fome divers respects, there were many vertues, and those different one from another: as namely for example, if a man should call our eie-fight, when it beholdeth white things Leucothea: when it feeth black Melanthie: and so likewise in other matters. For vertue, (quoth he) which concerneth and

confidereth what we ought either to do or not to do, beareth the name of Prudence: when it ruleth and ordereth our luft or concupifcence, limiting out a certaine measure, and lawfull proportion of time unto pleasures, it is called Temperance: if it intermedle with the commerce, contracts and negotiation betweene man and man, then it is named Inflice: like as (to make it more plaine) a knife is the fame still, although it cut, now one thing, and then another: and the fire notwithstanding it worketh upon fundry matters, yet it remaineth alwaies of one and the fame nature. It feemeth alfo, that Zeno the Citiean, inclined in some fort to this opinion, who in defining Prudence, faith, that when it doth distribute to every man his owne, it ought to be called Iustice when it is occupied in objects either to be chosen or avoided, then it is Temperance; and in bearing or fuffring, it should be named Fortitude. Now, they that defend and mainteine this opinion of Zeno, affirme, that by Prudence he understandeth Science or Knowledge. But Chry/yppus, who was of this minde, that ech vertue had a peculiar qualitie, and according to it, ought to be defined and fet downe, wift not how (ere he was aware) he brought into Philosophie, and as Plate faith, raised a swarme of vertues never knowne before, and wherewith the schooles had not beene acquainted. For like as of Valiant he derived Valour, of Iust Inflice, of Clement Clemencie: fo also of Gracious, he comes in with Gratiositie, of Good, Goodnes, of Great, Greatneffe, of Honest, Honestie, and all other such like Dexterities, assabilities and courtefies, he termed by the name of vertues, and so pestered Philosophie with new, ftrange and abfurd words, more iwis than was needfull.

Now these Philosophers agree jointly all in this, that they set downevertue to be a certeine disposition and power of the principall part of the soule, acquired by reason: or rather, that it is reason it selfe: and this they suppose as a truth confessed, certaine, firme and irrefragable, They hold also, that the part of the foule, subject to passions, sensuall, brutish and unreasonable, different not from reason by any effentiall difference, or by nature: but they imagine, that the very part and fubstance of the soule which they call understanding, reason, and the principal part, being wholy turned and changed, as well in fodaine passions, as alterations by habitude and disposition, becommeth either vice or vertue, and in it folse hath no brutishnesse at all : but is named onely unreasonable, according as the motion of the appetite and lust is so powerfull, that it becommeth mistresse, and by that meanes she is driven and caried forcibly to some dis-30 honest and abfurd course, contrary to the judgement of reason: For they would have that very motion or passion it selfe to be reason, howbeit depraved and naught, as taking her force and strength from false and perverse judgement. Howbeit, all these (as it may seeme) were ignorant of this one point; namely, that ech one of us (to speake truly) is double and compound: And as for one of these duplicaties, they never throughly saw; that onely which is of the twaine more evident, to wit, the mixture or composition of the soule and body they acknowledge. And yet, that there is befides a certeine duplicitie in the foule it felfe, which confifteth of two divers and different natures: and namely, that the brutish and reasonles part, in maner of another bodie is combined and knit into reason by a certeine naturall linke of necessitie: It seemeth that Pythagoras himselfe was not ignorant: And this we may undoubtedly gather and conjecture by his 40 great diligence which he emploied in that Mulicke and Harmonie which he inferred for the dulcing, taining & appealing of the foule: as knowing ful wel, that all the parts thereof were not obedient and subject to instruction, learning and discipline, me yet such as might by reason be altered and trained from vice to vertue: but required some other kinde of perswasive power cooperative with it, for to frame the same and make it gentle and tractable: for otherwise it would be hardly or never conquered by Philosophie, and brought within the compasse of obedience; fo obstinate and rebellious it is. And Plato verily was of this opinion (which he profesfed openly, and held as a firme and vindoubted trueth) that the foule of this univerfall world, is not simple, uniforme, and uncompounded, but mixed (as it were) of a certaine power of *Identitie and of Diverfity. For after one fort, it is governed and turned about continually in an *1. The fame.

50 uniforme maner, by meanes of one and the fame order, which is powerfull and prædominant over all: and after another fort againe, it is divided into circles, sphoeres, and motions, wandering and contrary in maner to the other: whereupon dependeth the beginning of diversitie in generation of all things in the earth. Semblably (quoth he) the foule of man, being a part and portion of that univerfall foule of the world, composed likewise of proportions and numbers answerable to the other, is not simple and of one nature or affection, but one part thereof is more spirituall, intelligible and reasonable, which ought of right and according to nature have the foveraigntie and command in man: the other is brutish, sensuall, erronious, and disorderly

of it selfe, requiring the direction and guidance of another. Now, this is subdivided againe into other two parts; whereof the one is alwaies called Corporall or Vegetative; the other Thy. mocides, as one would fay, Iracible and Concupifcible; which one while doeth adhere and flicke close to the foresaid groffe and corporall portion: and otherwhiles to the more pure and spirituall part, which is the Discourse of reason; unto which according as it doth frame and apply it felfe, it giveth strength and vigor thereto. Now the difference between the one and the other, may be known principally by the fight and relistance that often times is betweene understanding and reason on the one side, and the concupiscence and wrathfull part on the other; which theweth that these other faculties are often disobedient and repugnant to the best part, And verily, Aristotle used these principles and grounds especially above all others at the first, 10 as appeareth by his writings: but afterwards, he attributed the irafeible part unto the conceptfaible, confounding them both together in one, as if ire were a concupifcence or defire of revenge. Howbeit, this he alwaies held to the very end, That the brutish and sensual part, which is subject unto passions, was wholly and ever distinct from the intellectuall part, which is the fame that reason: not that it is fully deprined of reason, as is that corporall and groffe part of the foule, to wit, whereby we have fenfe onely common with beafts, and whereby we are nourithed as plants. But whereas, this being furd and deafe, and altogether uncapable of reason, doth after a fort proceed and fpring from the flesh, and alwaies cleave unto the bodie: the other senfuall partwhich is fo subject unto passions, although it be in it selfedestitute of reason, as a thing proper unto it: yetnevertheleffe apt and fit it is to heare and obey the understanding and dil- 20 courfing part of the minde; infomuch as it will turne vnto it, suffer it selfe to be ranged and ordered according to the rules and precepts thereof; unleffe it be utterly fpoiled and corrupted, either by blinde and foolish pleasure, or els by a loose and intemperate course of life. As for them that make a wonder at this, and do not conceive how that part being in some fort brutish and unreasonable, may yet be obedient unto reason, they seeme unto me as if they did not well comprehend the might and power of reason: namely, how great it is, and forcible, or how farre forth it may pearce and paffe in command, guidance and direction; nor by way of rough, churlith, violent, and irregular courses, but by faire and formall meanes, which are able to doe more by gentle inducements and perfuafions, than all the necessarie constraints and inforcements in the world. That this is so, it appeareth by the breath, spirits, sincwes, bones, and other parts of 30 the body, which be altogether void of reason: howbeit, so soone as there ariseth any motion of the will, which shaketh (as it were) thereines of reason never so little, all of them keepe their order, they agree together, and yeeld obedience. As for example, if the minde and will be dispofed to run, the feet are quickly stretched out and ready for a course; the hands likewise settle to their businesse, it there be a motion of the minde either to throw, or take holde of any thing. And verily, the Poet Homer most excellently expresses the fympathic and conformitie of this brutish part of the soule unto reason, in these verses;

Thus wept the chafte Penclope, and drench't her lovely face With dreary teares, which from her eyes rantrickling downe apace For tender heart, bewailing fore the losse of husband deere, Vlysses hight, who was in place let by her side full neere. And he himfelfe in foule, no leffe, didpitie for to fee His best beloved thus to weepe: but wife and craftie be Kept in his teares: for why? his eves within the lids were fet As stiffe as yron and sturdy horne, one drop would they not shed.

In such obedience to the judgement of reason he had his breath, spirits, his blood and his teares. An evident proofe hereof is to be seene in those, whose stell doth rise upon the first sight of saire and beautifull persons: for no sooner doth reason or law forbid to come neere and touch them, but presently the same salleth, lieth downe, and is quiet againe without any stirring or panting

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panting at all. A thing verie ordinarie and most commonly petceived in those, who be enamored upon faire women, not knowing at first who they were . For so soone as they perceive afterwards, that they be their owne fifters or daughters, their luft prefently cooleth, by meanes of reason that toucheth it and interposeth it selfe betweene: so that the bodie keepeth all the members thereof decently in order, and obedient to the judgement of the faid reason. Moreover, it falleth our oftentimes, that we cate with a good stomacke and great pleasure certaine meates and viands, before we know what they are: but after we understand and perceive once that wee have taken either that which was uncleane or unlawfull and forbidden : not onely in our judgement and understanding we finde trouble and offence thereby; but also our bodily faculties a-10 greeing to our opinion are difmaied thereat: fo that anon, there enfue vomits, ficke quawines, and overturnings of the stomake, which disquiet all the whole frame. And were it not, that I greatly feared to be thought of purpose, to gather and infert in my discourse such pleasant and youthfull inducements, I could inferre in this place Pfalteries, Lattes, Harpes, Pipes, Flutes, and other like muficall instruments, how they are devised by Art, for to accord and frame with humane paffions: for notwithstanding they be altogether without life, yet they cease not to apply themselves unto us, and the judgement of our minds, lamenting, singing, and wantonly disporting together with us, resembling both the turbulent passions, and also the milde affections and dispositions of those that play upon them. And yet verily it is reported also of Zeno himselfe, that he went one day to the Theatre for to heare the Musician Anabew, who sung unto the 20 Harpe: faying unto his scholers, Let us goe Sirs and learne what harmonic and musicke the entrailes of beafts, their finewes and bones: Let us fee (I fay) what resonance and inclodie bare wood may yeeld, being disposed by numbers, proportions and order. But leaving these examples, I would gladly demaund and aske of them, if when they fee dogs, horfes, and birds, which we nourish and keepe in our houses, brought to that passe by use, feeding and teaching, that they learne to render sensible words, to performe certaine motions, gestures, and divers seates, both pleafant and profitable unto us; and likewife, when they read in Homer, how Achilles encouraged to battell both horseand man; they doe marvell still and make doubt, whether that part and facultie in us, whereby we are angrie, do luft, joy or grieve, be of that nature that it can well obey reason, and be so affected and disposed thereby that it may give assent thereto: consi-30 dering especially, that it is not seated or lodged without, nor separated from us, ne yet framed by any thing which is not in us: no nor shapen by forcible meanes and constraint, to wit, by mold, stroke of hammer, or any fuch thing: but as it is fitted and forged by nature, so it keepeth to her, is conversant with her, and finally perfited and accomplished by custome and continuance. Which is the reason that verie properly Manners be called in Greeke by the name is to give us to understand, that they are nothing else (to speake plainely and after a groffe manner) but a certaine qualitie imprinted by long continuance of time, in that part of the foule which of it felfe is unreasonable: and is named 1906, for that the said reasonlesse part framed by reason, taketh this qualitie or difference (call it whether you will) by the meanes of long time and cuftom which they terme iffer. For reason is not willing to roote out quite all passions (which were nei-40 ther possible nor expedient) but onely it doth limit them within certaine bounds, and setteth downe a kinde of order: and thus after a fortcaufeth Morall vertues not to be impaffibilities, but rather mediocrities and regularities, or moderations of our affections: and this it doth by the meanes of prudence and wifedome, which reduceth the power of this fenfuall and patheticall part, unto a civill and honest habitude. For these things (they say) are in the soule of man, to wit, a naturall puiffance or facultie, a paffion or motion, and also an habitude. Now the faid facultie or power is the verie beginning, and (as a man would fay) the matter of paffions, to wit, the power or aptneffe to be angrie, to be ashamed, or to be confident and bold. The passion is the actuall mooving of the faid power: namely, anger it felfe, shame, confidence or boldnes. The habitude is a fettled and confirmed strength established in the sensual or unreasonable 50 part by continual use and custome: which if the passions be ill governed by reason, becommeth to be a vice: and contrariwife, a vertue; in case the same be well ordered and directed thereby. Moreover, forasmuch as Philosophers do not hold and affirme, that everie vertue is a mediocritie nor call it Morall: to the end therefore that we may the better declare and shew the difference, we had need to fetch the beginning of this discourse farther off.

Of all things then that be in the world, some have their effence and being of themselves abfolutely and simply: others respectively and in relation to us. Absolutely have their being the earth, the heaven, the stars, and the sea: Respectively and in regard of us, Good, evill, profita-

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ble, hurtfull, pleasant, and displeasant. Now it being so, that reason doth contemplate and behold, the one fort aswell as the other: the former ranke of those things which are simply and abfolutely so, pertaine unto science and speculation, as their proper objects: the second kinde of those things which are understood by reference and regard unto us, pertaine properly unto confultation and action. And as the vertue of the former fort is called Sapience: fo the vertue of the other is named Prudence. For a difference there is betweene Prudence and Sapience: in this, that Prudence confifteth in a certaine relation & application of the contemplative facultie of the foule unto Action, and unto the regiment of the fenfuall part according to reason: by which occasion, Prudence had need of the affistance of Fortune: whereas Sapience hath nothing to do with it, no more than it hath need of confultation, for to attaine and reach unto the 10 ende it aymethat. For that indeed it concerneth such things as be ever one and alwaies of the fame fort. And like as the Geometrician never confulteth as touching a triangle, to wit, whether it hath three angles equall to twaine that be right, or no? Because he knoweth affuredly that it hath (for all confultations are concerning things that varie and alter fometime after one fort, and otherwhiles after another, and never medleth with those that be firme, stable, and immutable) even fo, the understanding and contemplative facultie of the minde, exercising her functions in those first and principall things which be permanent, and have evermore the fame nature, not capable of chaunge and mutation, is sequestred and exempt altogether from confultation. But Prudence which descendeth to things full of varietie, error, trouble, and confusion, must of necessitie estsoones intermedle with casualties, and use deliberation in things 20 more doubtfull and uncertaine: yea and after it hath confulted to proceed unto action, calling and drawing unto it the reasonseise part also to be affishant and present, as drawen into the judgement of things to be executed. For need those actions have of a certaine instinct and motion to fet them forward, which this Morall habitude doth make in each passion, and the same in-Hinch requireth likewise the affistance of reason to limit it that it may be moderate, to the ende that it neither exceed the meane, nor come short and be defective: for that it cannot be chosen but this bruith and paffible part hath motions in it; fome overvehement, quicke and fudden, others as flow againe, and more flacke than is meet. Which is the reason that our actions cannot be good but after one manner: whereas, they may be evill after divers forts: like as a man cannot hit the marke but one way: marie he may miffe fundrie waies, either by overshooting 30 or comming thort. The part and dutie then, of that active facultie of reason according to nature, is to cut off and take away all those excessive or defective passions, and to reduce them unto a mediocritie. For whereas the faid inftinct or motion, either by infirmitie, effeminate delicacie, feare, or flothfulneffe, doth faile and come thort of dutie and the end required, there active reason is present ready to rouse, excite, and stirre up the same. Againe on the other side, when it runneth on end beyond all measure, after a diffolute and diforderly manner, there reason is prest, to abridge that which is too much, and to represse and stay the same: thus ruling and restraining these patheticall motions, it breedeth in man these Morall vertues whereof we speake, imprinting them in that reasonlesse part of the mind: and no other they are than a meane betweene excesse and defect. Neither must we thinke, That all vertues do consist in a 40 mediocritie: for Sapience or Wisedome, which stand in no need at all of the brutish and unreasonable part, and consist onely in the pure and sincere intelligence and discourse of underflanding, and not subject to all passions, is the verie height and excellencie of reason, perfect and absolute of itselfe: a full and accomplished power (I say) wherein is engendred that most divine, heavenly and happie knowledge. But Morall vertue which favoureth formewhat of the earth, by reason of the necessities of our bodie, and in which regard it standeth in neede of the inftrumentall ministerie of the patheticall part, for to worke and performe her operations, being in no wife the corruption or abolition of the fenfuall and unreasonable part of the soule, but rather the order, moderation and embelishment thereof, is the extremitie and height of excellence, in respect of the facultie and qualitie: but considering the quantitie is rather a medio- 50 critic, taking away the excesse on the one side and the defect on the other.

But now, forasmuch as this terme of Meane or Mediocritic may be understood diverse waies, we are to fet downe what kinde of meane this Morall vertue is. First and formost therefore whereas there is one meane compounded of two simple extremes, as a russet or brownecolour betweene white and blacke: also that which conteineth and is conteined, must need she the middest betweene the thing that doth conteine and is conteined, as for example, the number of 8. is just betweene 12. and 4. like as that, which taketh no part at all of either extreame, as

namely those things which we call Adiaphora, Indifferent, and do partake neither good nor ill : In none of these fignifications or senses can this vertue be called a meane or mediocritie. For furely it may not be in any wife a composition or mixture of two vices which be both worfer neither doth it comprehend the leffe and defective : or is comprehended of that which is overmuch above decencie, and exceffive, ne yet is it altogether void of passions and perturbations, subject to excesse and defect, to more and lesse than is meet. But this morall vertue of ours, as it is in deed, fo also it is called a Meane, especially in respect of that mediocritic which is observed in the Harmonic and accord of founds. For like as in Musicke there is a note or found called the Meane, for that it is the middes betweene the treble and base, which 10 in Greeke be called Hypate and Nete, and lieth just betwixt the height and loudnesse of the one, and the lownesse or basenesse of the other: Even so, morall vertue being a motion and facultie about the unreasonable part of the soule, tempereth the remission and intention, and in one word taketh away the excesse and defect of the passions, reducing ech of them to a certeine Mediocritie and moderation that falleth not on any fide.

Now, to begin with Fortitude, they fay it is the meane between Cowardife & rash Audacitie, of which twaine the one is a defect, the other an excesse of the yrefull passion. Liberalitie, betweene Nigardife & Prodigalitie: Clemencie & Mildneffe, betweene senselesse Indolence and Crueltie: Iuftice, the meane of giving more or leffe than due, in contracts and affaires betweene men:like as Temperance, a mediocritie betweene the blockish stupiditie of the minde mooyed 20 with no touch of pleasure, & an unbrideled loosenes whereby it is abandoned to all sensualitie. Wherein especially & most cleerly is given us to understand & see the difference between the brutish & the reasonable part of the soule: & thereby evident it is that wandring passions be one thing, & reason another: for otherwise we should not discerne Continency from Temperance, nor Incontinencie from Intemperance, in pleasure and lusts, if that facultie of the mind whereby we judge, and that whereby we covet and defire were all one and the fame: but now, Temperance is when reason is able to manage, handle and governe the sensual and passionate part (as if it were a beaft brought up by hand and made tame and gentle, fo as it will be readie to obey it in all defires and lufts, yea and willing to receive the bit) whereas Continencie is when reason doth rule and command concupifence as being the stronger, and leadeth it, but not without go fome paines and trouble thereof, for that it is not willing to thew obedience, but striveth, flingeth out fidelong, & goeth croffed, infomuch as it hathenough to do for to mafter it with stripes of the cudgell, and with hard bits of the bridle to hold it in and restreine it, whiles it refifterhall that ever it may, and putterh reason to much agonic, trouble and travaile: which Plato doth lively represent unto us by a proper similitude, saying, that there be two draught beasts which draw the chariot of our foules, whereof the woorst doth both winse and strive against the

otherwhiles glad to let him flacke and give him the head for feare, as symonides faith, Least that his purple reines full soone in the out of his hands should slip anone.

Thus your fee what the reason is, why they do not youch safe Continencie, the name of a prefeet verrue in itselfe butthinke it to be leffe than vertue. For there is not in it a certeine mediocritic arising from the Symphonic and accord of the worst with the better: neither is the excesse of passion cut away, ne yet doth the appetite yeeld it selfe obedient and agreeable to reason: but doth trouble and vexe, and is troubled and vexed reciprocally, being kept downe perforce and by constraint; like as in a seditions state, both parties at discord, intending mischiefe and warre one against another, dwell together within the precinct of one wall: insomuch as the foule of a continent person for the fight and variance betweene reason and appetite, may apply be compared as Sophocles faith unto a city,

other fellow in the fame yoke, and also troubleth the cochman or charioter, who hath the con-

duct of them; putting him to his shifts that he is faint alwaies to pull in and hold his head hard,

Which at one time is full of incense sweete Resounding mirth with loud triumphant song, And yet the fame doth yeeld in every fireete All signes of griefe, with plaints and grones among.

And hereppon it is also that they hold Incotinencie to be lesse than Vice: mary, Intemperance shey will have to be a full & compleat vice indeed: For that in it as the affection is ill, so the reafon also is corrupt & deprayed: and as by the one it is incited & led to the appetite of filthinesse & dishonestie, so by the other through perverse judgement it is induced to give consent unto

dishonest lusts, and withall groweth to be senselesse & hath no feeling at all of sinnes and faults which it comitteth: whereas Incontinencie reteineth still a right and found judgement by meanes of reason: Howbeit through the vehement and violent passion which is stronger than reason, it is caried away against the owne judgement. Moreover, in these respects, it differeth from Intemperance: For that the reason of the incontinent person is overmatched with pasfion : but of the other, it doth not fo much as enter combat therewith, He, albeit he contradict, gainsay, and strives a while, yet in the end yeeldeth unto lusts and followeth them; but the Intemperate man is led thereby, and at the first giveth consent, and approoveth thereof. Againe, the Intemperate person is well content, and taketh joy in having sinned: whereas the other is presently greeved thereat. Againe, he runneth willingly and of his owne accord to commit 10 finne and vilanie; but the incontinent man, maugre and full against his minde doth abandon honestie. And as there is this diffinct difference plainly scene in their deeds and actions, so there is no lesse to be observed in their words and speeches. For the fayings ordinarily of the Intemperate person be these and such like,

What mirth in life, what pleasure, what delight, Without content in Sports of Venus bright? Were those joies past, and I for them unmeet, Ring out my knell, bring foorth my winding sheet. Another faith,

To eat, to drinke, to wench, are principall All pleasures else, I Accessories call.

As if with all his hart and foule he were wholly given to a voluptuous life, yea and overwhelmed therewith. And no leffe than those, he also who hath these words in his mouth,

Now suffer me to perish by and by

It pleaseth nay is booteth me to dy. speaketh as one whose appetite and judgement both were out of order and diseased. But the speeches of Incontinent persons be in another key and farre different: For one faith,

My mind is good and thit her doth fway,

My nature bad, and puts it away. Another,

have fent tomen on earth this miferie Alas, alas, To fee, how Gods above To know their Good, and that which they should love

yet wanting grace, to do the contrarie!

Now plucks, now hales, of deadly yee a fire: but furely, hold my reason can no more: Than anchor slanke stay (hip from being split,

when grounded tu on Janas neere to the shore. He nameth unproperly and without good gracethe flanck of an anchor refting lightly upon 40 the loofe fand, to fignific the feeble hold that reason hath which is not resolute and firmely feated but through the weakneffe and delicacie of the foule, rejecteth and forfaketh judgement: And not much unlike heereunto, is this comparison also that another maketh in a contrarie Much like a flip which fastened is to land

With cordage strong whereof we may be bold, vrintor ange prong, were coj we may ve ovom The windes do blow, and yet she dot h with stand And checke them all, her cables take such hold: And checke them all, her cables take fuch hold:

He termeth the judgement of reason, when it resistest a dishonest act; by the name of Cable and Cordage; which notwithstanding afterwards may be broken by the violence of some 50 passion (as it were) with the continual gales of ablustring winde. For to say a very trueth, the intemperate person is by his lusts and desires caried with full saile to his pleasures, hee giveth himselfe thereto, and thither directeth his whole course: but the incontinent person tendeth thither also: howbeit (as a man would say) crookedly and not directly, as one desirous and endevouting to withdraw himselfe, and to repell the passion that draweth and moveth him to it, yet in the end he alfo flideth and falleth into some foule and dishonest act : Like as Timon by way of biting, scoffe, traduced and reproved Anaxarchus in this wife, Here

Here shew's it felfe the dogged force of Anaxarchus fell, So flubburne and fo perminent, when once he tooke apitch; And yet as wife as he would feeme, a wretch (I bear I folke tell) He judged was : for that to vice and pleasures overmich By nature prone he was : a thing that Sages most do skun; Which brought him backe out of the way and made him dote anon.

For neither is a wife Sage properly called continent, but temperate: nor a foole incontinent, but intemperate: because the one taketh pleasure and delight in good and honest things; and the other is not offended nor displeased with soule and dishonest actions. And therefore into continencie refembleth properly a minde (as I may to fay) Sophisticall, which hath some use of reason; but the same so weake, that it is not able to personer and continue sirme in that which it hath once knowen and judged to be right. Thus you may fee the differences betweene Intemperance and Incontinence: As for Continencie & Temperance, they differ also in certeine respects correspondent in some proportion unto those on the contrary side. For remorfe, forrow, displeasure and indignation, doe not as yet abandon and quit continence: whereas in the minde of a temperate person, all lieth plaine and even on every side; nothing there but quietnesse and integritie; in such fort, as who soever seeth the great obeisance and the marvellous tranquillitie whereby the reasonlesse part is united & incorporate together with the reasonable, might well fay,

And then anon the winds were downe, a calme ensued straightway: No waves were seene, some power divine

the sea aslee pe did lay.

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namely, when reason had once extinguished the excessive, furious, and raging motions of the lusts and defires. And yet these affections and passions which of necessity nature bath need of, the same hath reason made so agreeable, so obeisant, so friendly and cooperative, yea, and ready to fecond all good intentions and purpofes ready to be executed; that they neither run before it, nor come dragging behinde; ne yet behave themselves disorderly, no, nor shew the least disdisobedience: so as ech appetite is ruled by reason, and willingly accompanieth it,

Like as the sucking foale doth go And run with dam, both to and fro.

The which confirmeth the faying of Xenocrates, touching those who earnestly studie Philosophie, and practife it: For they onely (quoth he) doe that willingly, which others doe perforce and for dread of the law: who for beare indeed to fatisfie their pleafures, and turne backe, as if they were scared from them for feare of being bitten of some curst maltive or threwd cat, regarding nothing els but danger that may enfue thereupon. Now, that there is in the foule a fense and perceivance of that strength, firmity, and resolution to encounter finfull lusts and defires, as if it had a power to strive and make head againe, it is very plaine and evident: howbeit, some there be, who holde and maintaine, That Paffion is nothing different from Reason: neither (by 40 their faying) is there in the mind a diffention or fedition (as it were) of two divers faculties: but al the trouble that we feele, is no more but an alteration or change of one & the felfe fame thing to wit, reason both waies; which we our selves are not able to perceive, for that for sooth it changeth fuddenly and with fuch celeritie: never confidereth all the while, that the fame faculty of the minde is framed by nature to concupifcence and repentance both: to be angric and to feare : enclined to commit some soule and dishonest fact, by the allurement of pleasure, and contrariwise restrained from the same for feare of paine. As for lust, feare, and all such like passions, they are no other (fay they) but perverse opinions and corrupt judgements not arising and engendred in any one part of the fouleby it felfe, but foread over that which is the chiefe and principall, to wit, reason and understanding whereof they be the inclinations, assensions, mo-50 tions, and in one word, certaine operations, which in the turning of an hand be apt to change and paffe from one to another : much fike into the fudden braids, starts and runnings to and fro of little children, which how violent foever they be and vehement, yet by reason of their weaknesse are but slippery, unstedfast and unconstant.

But these affertions and oppositions of theirs, are checked and refuted by apparant evidence and common lenfe: For what man is he that ever felt in himfelfe a change of his luft and concupifcence into judgement: and contrariwife an alteration of his judgement into luft: neither doth the wanton lover cease to love when he doth reason with himselfe and conclude, That such

love is to be repressed, and that he ought to strive and fight against it: neither doth he then give over reasoning and judging, when being overcome through weaknesse, he yeeldeth himselse prisoner and thrall to lust: but like as when by advertisement of reason he doth relist in some fort a passion arising, yet the same doth till tempthim: so likewise when he is conquered and overcome therewith, by the light of the same reason at that verie instant, he seeth and knoweth that he finneth and doth amisse: so, that neither by those perturbations is reason lost and abolifield; nor yet by reason is he freed and delivered from them; but whiles he is toffed thus to and fro, he remaineth a neuter in the mids, or rather participating in common of them both. As for those who are of opinion, that one while the principall part of our foule is lust and concupiscence: and then anon that it doth resist & stand against the same: are much like unto them, 10 who imagine & fay, that the hunter & the wild beaft be not twaine, but one bodie, chaunging it felfe, one while into the forme of an hunter, and another time, taking the shape of a favage beast: For both they in a manifest and apparant matter should seeme to be blind and see nothing : and also these beare witnesse and depose against their ownesense, considering that they finde and feele in themselves really not a mutation or chaunge of one onely thing, but a sensible strife and fight of two things together within them. But heere they come upon us againe and object in this wife. How commeth it to passe then (say they) that the power and facultie in man which doth deliberate and consult is not likewise double (being oftentimes distracted, carried, and drawen to contrarie opinions, as it is, namely, touching that which is profitable and expedient) but is one still and the same? True, we must confesse, that divided it seemeth to be: But this com- 20 parison doth not hold, neither is the event and effect alike: for that part of our soule wherein prudence and reason is seated, fighteth not with it selfe, but using the helpe of one and the same facultie, it handleth diversarguments, or rather being but one power of discoursing it is emploied in fundry subjects and matters different: which is the reason that there is no dolor and griefe at one end of those reasonings and discourses which are without passion; neither are they that confult forced (as it were) to hold one of those contrarie parts against their minde and judgement; unlesse peradventure it so fall out, that some affection lie close to one part or other, as if a man should fecretly and under hand lay somewhat besides in one of the balances or skales, against reason for to weigh it downe. A thing (I affire you) that many times falleth out: and then it is not reason that is possed against reason; but either ambition, emulation, favour, jea- 20 lousie, feare, or some secret passion, making semblance as if in shew of speeches, two reasons were at varience and differed one from another. As may appeare by these verses in Homer:

They thought it shame the combate to reject, and yet for feare they durst not it accept.

Likewise in another Poët:

To suffer death is dolorous though with renownest meete: Death to avoide is cowardise: but yet our life is sweete.

And verily in determining of controversies betweene man and man in their contracts and suits of law, these passions comming betweene, are they, that make the longest delaies, & be the greatest enimies of expedition and dispatch : like as in the counsels of kings and princes, they that speake in favour of one partie and for to win grace, doe not upon any reason of two sentences encline to the one, but they accomodate themselves to their affectio, even against the regard of utility & profit. And this is the cause that in those States which be called Aristocraties, that is to fay, governed by a Senate or Counsel of the greatest men: the Magistrates who six in judgemet, will not fuffer Oratours & Advocates at the Barre to moove affections in all their Pleas: for in Truth, let not the discourse of reason be impeached and hindered by some passion, it will of it felfetend directly to that which is good and just. But in case there do arise a passion betweene, 50 to croffe the fame, then you shal see pleasure and displeasure to raise a combat and dissension, to encounter that which by confultation would have been judged and determined. For otherwife, how commeth it to passe that in Philosophicall discourses and disputations, a man shall never see it otherwise, but that without any dolor and griefe, some are turned and drawen oftentimes by others into their opinions, and subscribe thereto willingly? Nay even Aristotle himselse, Democrisus also and Chrysippus have beene knowen to retract and recant some points, which before time they held, and that without any trouble of mind, without griefe and remorfe,

but rather with pleasure and contentment of heart : because in that speculative or contemplative part of the foule, which is given to knowledge and learning onely, there raigne no paffions to make refiltance, infomuch as the brutish partbeing quiet and at repose, loveth not curioully to entermedle in these and such like matters : By which meanes it hapneth, that the reafon hath no fooner a fight of trueth, but willingly it enclineth thereto, and doth reject untruth and fallitie: for that there lieth in it and in no other partelle, that power and facultie to believe and give affent one way, as also to be perswaded for to alter opinion and goe another way. Whereas contrariwife, the counfels and deliberations of worldly affaires, judgements also, and arbitriments, being for the most partfull of passions, make the way somewhat difficult for reato fon to passe, and put her to much trouble. For in these cases, the sensual and unreasonable part of the foule is ready to flay and flop her course; yea and to fright her from going forward, meeting her either with the object of pleafure; or elfe cafting in her way flumbling blocks of feare, of paine, of lifts and defires. And verily the deciding and judgement of this diffutation lieth in the fenfe, which feeleth aswell the one as the other, and is touched with them both: For fay that the one doth furmount and hath the victorie, it doth not therefore defeit utterly and deftroy the other; but drawen it is thereto perforce, and making refultance the while. As for example, the wanton and amorous person when he checketh and reprooveth himselfe therefore, useth the discourse of reason against the said passion of his; yet so, as having them both, actually subfifting together in the foule: much like as if with his hand he repressed and kept downe the one 20 part, enflamed with an hot fit of paffion, and yet feeling within himfelfe both parts, and those actually in combat one against the other. Contrariwise, in those consultations, disputes, and inquisitions which are not passionate, and wherein these motions of the brutish part have nothing to do, such I meane as those be especially of the contemplative part of the soule: if they be equall and to continue, there enfueth no determinat judgement and refolution: but a doubt remaineth, as if it were a certaine paule or flay of the understanding, not able to proceed farther, but abiding in suspense betweene two contrarie opinions. Now if it chance to encline unto one of them, it is because the mightier hath overweighed the other & annulled it, yet so, as it is not displeased or discontent, no nor contesteth obstinately afterwards against the received opinion. To be short, & to conclude all in one generall word; where it seemeth that one discourse 30 and reason is contrarie unto another; it argueth not by and by a conceit of two divers subjects. but one alone in fundrie apprehensions and imaginations. Howbeit, whensoever the brutish and fenfuall part is in a conflict with reason, and the same such that it can neither vanquish, nor be vanquished without some sense of grievance; then incontinently this battell divideth the foule in twaine, fo as the warre is evident and fenfible. And not onely by this fight a man may know how the fource and beginning of these passions differeth from that sountaine of reason: but no leffe also by the consequence that followeth thereupon. For seeing that possible it is for a man to love one childe that is ingenuous and towardly disposed to vertue: as also affect another as well, who is ill given and diffolute: confidering also that one may use anger unjustly against his owne children or parents: and another contratiwise justly in the desence of children 40 or parents against enemies and tyrants. Like as in the one there is perceived a manifest combat and refistance of passion against reason; so in the other, there may be seene as evident a yeelding and obeifance thereof, fuffering it felfe to be directed thereby, yea and willingly running and offering her affiltance and helping hand. To illustrate this by a familiar example, it hapneth otherwhiles, that an honest man espouseth a wife according to the lawes, with this intention onely to cheriffi and keepe her tenderly, yea and to companie with her duly, and according to the lawes of chaftitie and honestie: howbeit afterwards in tract of time, and by long continuance and conversing together, which hath bred in his heart the affection of love, he perceiveth by discourse of reason, and findeth in himselfe that he loveth her more decrely and entirely, than he purposed at the first. Semblably, yoong scholars having met with gentle and 50 kinde masters, at the beginning, follow and affect them in a kinde of zeale, for the benefit onely that they reape by them. Howbeit afterwards in processe of time, they fall to love them; and so in stead of familiar and daily disciples, they become their lovers, and are so called. The same is usually to be seene in the behaviour and carriage of men toward good magistrates in cities, neighbours also, kinsfolke and allies: For they begin acquaintance one with another, after a civill fort onely, by way of dutie or necessitie and use: but afterwards by little and little cre they beaware, they grow into an affectionate love of them, namely, when reason doth concurre, perfivading & drawing unto it that part of the mind which is the feat of passions and affections. As for that Poet who loever he was, that first wrate this sentence,

Two forts there be of bashfulnes, the one we cannot blame, The other troubleth many an hower, and doth decay the same.

Doth he not plainely shew that he hath found in himselfe by experience oftentimes, that even this affection by meanes of lingting delay, and putting off from time to time, hath put him by the benefit of good opportunities, and hindred the execution of many brave affaires? Vitto these proofes and allegations precedent, the Stoikes being forced to yeeld, in regard they be so to cleere and evident: yet forto make some way of evasion and escape, they call shame, bashfulneffe; pleasure, joy; and seare, warinesse or circumspection. And I assure you, no man could justly finde fault with these disguisements of odious things with honest termes: if so be they would attribute unto these passions the said names when they be raunged under the rule of reafon, and give them their owne hatefull termes indeed, when they strive with reason and violently make refistance. But when convinced by the teares which they shed, by trembling and quaking of their joints, yea by chaunge of colour going and comming; in flead of naming Dolour and Feare directly, come in with (I wot not what) pretied eviled termes of Morfures, Contractions or Conturbations: also when they would cloke and extenuate the imperfection of other paffions, by calling luft a promptitude or forwardnes to a thing: it feemeth, that by a flourish of $_{20}$ fine words, they devise shifts, evasions, and justifications, not philosophicall but sophisticall, And yet verily they themselves againe do terme those joies, those promptitudes of the will, and warie circumspections by the name of Empathies, i. good affections and not of Apathies, that is to fay, Impassibilities: wherein they use the words aright and as they ought. For then is it truly called Eupathie, i. a good affection, when reason doth not utterly abolish the passion, but guideth and ordereth the same well in such as be discreet and temperate. But what befalleth unto vicious and diffolute persons? Surely, when they have set downe in their judgement and resolution, to love father and mother as tenderly as one lover may another, yet they are not able to performe fo much. Mary fay, that they determine to affect a courtifan or a flatterer, presently they can finde in their hearts to love such most decrely. Moreover, if it were so, that passion and judge- 30 ment were both one, it could not otherwise be, so some as one had determined that he ought to love or hate, but that prefently love or hate would follow thereupon, But now it falleth our clean contrarie; for that the passion as it accordeth well with some judgements and obeieth; so it repugneth with others, and is obstinate and disobedient: whereupon it is, that themselves enforced thereto by the truth of the thing, do affirme and pronounce that every judgement is not a passion, but that onely, which stirreth up and mooveth a strong and vehement appetite to a thing; confessing thereby, no doubt, that one thing it is in us which judgeth, and another thing that Inffereth, that is to fay, which receiveth passions: like as that which moveth, and that which is mooved be divers. Certes, even Chrysippus himselfe, defining in many places what is Patience and what is Continency, doth avouch, That they be habitudes, apt and fit to obey and fol- 40 low the choise of reason: whereby he sheweth evidently that by the force of truth, he was driven to confesse and avow, That there is one thing in us which doth obey and yeeld, and another which being obeied, is yeelded unto, and not obeied, is refifted.

Furthermore, as touching the Stoicks, who hold, That all finnes and faults be equall, neither will this place, nor the time now ferve to argue againft them, whether in other points they swerve from the trueth: howbeit, thus much by the way I dare be bolde to say, That in most things they will be found to repugner easion, even against apparent and manifest evidence. For according to their opinion, every passion or perturbation is a fault, and whosever grieve, feare or lust, do sinne: but in those passions great difference, there is seene, according to more or lefte: for who would ever be so grosse, as to say, that Dolons seare was equal to the searce of Ajax? who as Ho- so mer writeth.

As he went out of field did turne and looke behinde full oft: With knee before knee decently, and lo retired loft.

or compare the forrow of King Alexander, who would needs have killed himselfe for the death

of Clysm, to that of Plato for the death of Socrates? For dolours and griefs encrease exceedingly when they grow upon occasion of that which hapneth besides all reason; like as any accident, which falleth out beyond our expectation, is more grievous, and breedeth greater anguith than that whereof areason may be rendered, and which a man might suspect to follow. As for example, if he who ever expected to fee his fonne advanced to honour, and living in great reputation among men, should heare say that he were in prison, and put to all maner of torture, as Parmeno was advertised of his sonne Philotas. And who will eversay, that the anger of Nicocreon against Anaxarchus, was to be compared with that of Magas against Philemon, which arose upon the same occasion, for that they both were spightfully reviled by them in reprochful termes, 10 for Nicoreon cauled Anaxarchine to be braid in a morter with yron peffles : whereas Magas commanded the Executioner to lay a sharpe naked sword upon the necke of Philemon, and so to let him go without doing him any more harme. And therefore it is, that Plate named anger the finewes of the foule, giving us thereby to understand, that they might be stretched by bitterneffe, and let flacke by mildneffe. But the Stoicks, for to avoid and put backe thefe objections and fuch like, denie that these stretchings and vehement fits of passions be according to judgement, for that it may faile and erre many waies: faying, they be certaine pricks or ftings, contractions, diffusions or dilatations, which in proportion and according to reason, may be greater or lesse. Certes, what variety there is in judgement, it is plaine and evident. For some there be that deeme povertie not to be ill: others holde, that it is very ill: and there are againe, who 20 account it the worlt thing in the world; infomuch as to avoid it, they could be content to throw themselves headlong from high rocks into the sea. Also you thall have those, who reckon death to be evill, in that onely it deprive thus of the fruition of many good things: others there be, who thinke and fay as much, but it is in regard of the eternall torments & horrible punishments that be under the ground in hell. As for bodily health, some love it no otherwise than a thing agreeable to nature and profitable withall: others take it to be the foveraigne good in the world, as without which they make no reckoning of riches, of children,

Ne yet of crowne and regall dignitic, Which men do match even with divinitie.

Nay, they let not in the end to thinke and fay, That vertue it felfe ferveth in no flead, and avai-30 leth nought, unleffe it be accompanied with good health: whereby it appeareth, that as touching judgement some etre more, some lesse. But my meaning is not now to dispute against this evalion of theirs. Thus much onely I purpole to take for mine advantage out of their owne confession, in that themselves do grant, That the brutish and sensual part, according to which, they fay that passions be greater and more violent, is different from judgement: and howsoever they may feeme to contest and cavill about words and names, they grant the substance and the thing it selse in question, joining with those who mainteine that the reasonlesse part of the soule which enterteineth passions, is altogether different from that which is able to discourse, reason and judge. And verily Chryspe in thosebooks which he entituled, Of Anomologie, after he had written and taught, that angenis blinde, and many times will not permit a man to fee those 40 things which be plaine and apparent, and as often cafteth a darke mift over that which he hath already perfectly learned and knowen; proceedeth forward a little further: For (quoth he) the passions which arise, drive out and chase forth all discourse of reason, and such things as were judged and determined otherwife against them, urging it still by force unto contrary actions. Then he wieth the tellimonic of Menander the Poet, who in one place writeth thus, by way of exclamation:

Wo worth the sime, wretch that I am, how was my minde destraught
In body mine? where were my with?
Some folly (sure) mie eaught,
What sime I sell to this. For why?
Thereof I made no choise.
Fare better things they were, iwis,
which had my former voice.

The same Chrysppus also going on still: It being so (quoth he) that are alonable creature is by nature borne and given to use reason in all things, and to be governed thereby: yet notwithstanding we reject and cast it behinde us, being over-ruled by another more violent motion that carieth us away. In which words, what doth he else but confessee went that which happen upon

upon the diffention betweene affection and reason? For it were a meere ridiculous mockerie in deed, as Plato faith, to affirme that a man were better & worfe than himfelfe : or that he were able now to mafter himselfe, & anon ready to be mastered by himselfe, and how were it possible that the fame man should be better & worse than himselfe, and at once both master and servant, unleffe every one were naturally in some fort double, and had in him somewhat better and somewhat worfe? And verily by that meanes, he that hath the worfe part, obedient to the better. hath powre over himselfe, yea, and is better than himselfe: whereas he that suffreth the brutish and unreasonable part of his soule to command and go before, so as the better and more noble part doth follow, and is serviceable unto it, he no doubt is worse than himselfe: he is (I say) incontinent or rather impotent, and hath no power over himselfe, but disposed contrary to na- 10 ture. For according to the course and ordinance of nature, meet and fit it is that reason being divine and heavenly, should command and rule that which is fenfuall and voide of reason: which as it doth arife and fpring out of the very bodie, fo it refembleth it, as participating the properties and passions thereof, yea and naturally is full of them, as being deepely concorporate and throughly mixed therewith: As it may appeare by all the motions which it hath, tending to no other things but those that be materiall and corporall, as receiving their augmentations and diminutions from thence, (or to fay more properly) being stretched out and let flacke more or leffe, according to the mutations of the body. Which is the cause that young perfons are quicke, prompt, and audacious rath: alfo, for that they be full of bloud, and the fame hot, their lufts and appetites, are likewife firy, violent and furious: whereas contrariwife in old 20 folke because the source of concupiscence seated about the liver is after a fort quenched wwea and become weake and feeble: reason is more vigorous and predominant in them; as much as the sensuall and passionate part, doth languish and decay together with the body. And verily this is that which doth frame and dispose the nature of wilde beasts to divers passions: For it is not long of any opinions good or bad which arise in them, that some of them are strong, venterous and fearelesse, yea and ready to withstand any perils presented before them: others againe be fo furprised with feare and fright, that they dare not stirre or do any thing: but the force and power which lieth in the bloud, in the spirits and in the whole bodie, is that which causeth this diversitie of passions, by reason that the passible part growing out of the sless as from a roote, docth bud foorth and bring with it a qualitie and proneneffe femblable. But 30 in man that there is a sympathic and fellow mooving of the body, together with the motions of the paffions, may be prooved by the pale colour, the red flushing of the face; the trembling of the joints, and panting and leaping of the heart in feare and anger: And againe on the contrary fide by the dilations of the atteries, heart and colour, in hope and expectation of fome pleafures. But when as the divine spirit and understanding of man docth moove of it selfe alone without any passion, then the body is at repose and remaineth quiet, not communicating nor participating any whit with the operation of the minde and intendement, no more than it being disposed to studie upon any Mathematicall proposition or other science speculative, it calleth for the helpe and affiltance of the unreaf mable part: By which it is manifest, that there betwo diffinct parts in us, different in facultie and power one from another. In fumme, Go 40 through the univerfall world, althings (as they themselves affirme, and evident experience doth convince) are governed and ordred, fome by a certeine habitude : others by nature: fome by fenfuall and unreasonable soule: others by that which hath reason and understanding. Of all which man hath his part at once, yea, and was borne naturally with these differences above faid. For, conteined he is by an habitude: nourifhed by nature: reason & understanding he useth: he hath his portion likewife of that which is unreasonable and inbred; there is together with him the fource and primitive cause of passions, as a thing necessarie for him, neither doth it enter into him from without in which regard it ought not to be extirped utterly; but hath neede onely of ordering and government: whereupon Reason dealeth not after the Thracian maner, nor like king Lycurgus, who commanded all vines without exception to be cut downe, because 50 wine caused drunkennes: it rooteth not out (I say) all affections indifferently one with another, the profitable as well as the hurtfull: but (like unto the good gods Phytalmina and Hemorides, who teach us to order plants that they may fructifie, and to make them gentle which were favage) to cut away that which groweth wilde and ranke, to fave all the rest and so to order and manage the fame, that it may ferve for good use. For neither do they shed and spill their wine upon the floure, who are afraid to be drunke, but delay the fame with water: nor those who feare the violence of a passion, do take it quite away, but rather temper and qualifie the same:

like as folke use to breake horses and oxen from their slinging out with their heeles, their sliffeness & curstness of the head & stubburnes in receiving the bridle or the yoke, but do not restreine them of other motions in going about their worke and doing their deed. And even so verily, reason maketh good use of these passions, when they be well tamed and brought (as it were) to hand: without over weakning or rooting out cleane, that part of the soule which is made for to second reason, and do it good service: For as Pindar us saith,

The horfe doth ferve in chariot at the thill, The oxe at plough doth labour hardin field, Who list in chafe the wild Bore for to kill, The hardy hound he must provide with skill.

And I affure you, the entertainment of these passions and their breed, serve in farre better slead, when they doe affift reason and give an edge (as it were) and vigour unto vertues, than the beafts above named in their kind. Thus moderate ite doth second valour and fortitude: hatred of wicked persons helpeth the execution of Iustice: and indignation is just and due unto those, who without any merit or desert enjoie the felicitie of this life: who also for that their heart is puffed up with foolith arrogancie, and enflamed with difdainfull pride and infolence in regard of their prosperitie, have need to be taken downe and cooled. Neither is a man able by any meanes (would be never fo faine) to separate from true friendship, naturall indulgence, and kind affection: nor from humanitie, commiferation and pitie; ne yet from perfect benevo-20 lence and good will, the fellowthip in joy and forrow. Nowif it be true (as it is indeed) that they do groffely erre, who would abolifh all love, because of foolish and wanton love: surely they do amifle, who for coverousnes sake and greedines of money, do blame and condemne quire all other appetites and defires. They do (Ifay) afmuch as those, who would forbid running altogether, because a man may stumble and catch a fall as he runneth; or debarre shooting for that we may overshoot and misse the marke: or to condemne hearing of musicke, because a discord or jarre is offensive to the eare. For like as in founds, musicke maketh an accord and harmonie, not by taking away the loud and base notes: And in our bodies Physicke procureth health, not by destroying heat and cold, but by a certaine temperature and mixture of them both in good proportion: Even fo it fareth in the foule of man, wherein reason hath the pre-30 dominance and victoric: namely, when by the power thereof, the paffions, perturbations and motions are reduced into a kind of moderation and mediocritic. For no doubt exceffive forrow and heavines, immeasurable joy and gladnesse in the soule, may be aptly compared to a swelling and inflammation in the body, but neither joy nor forrow simply in it selfe. And therefore Homer in this wife fentence of his

Aman of woorth doth never colour change,

Exce sive feare in him is verie strange, doth not abolish feare altogether, but the extremitie thereof; to the end, that a man should not thinke that either valour is desperate follie, or confidence audacious temericie. And therefore in pleafures and delights, we ought likewife to cut off immoderate luft: as also in taking punish-40 ment, extreme hatred of malefactours. He that can do fo, shall be reputed in the one not indolent, but temperate, and in the other not bitter and cruell, but just and righteous. Whereas let paffions be tid cleane away (if that were possible to be done) our reason will be found in many things more dull and idle: like as the pilot and mafter of a ship hath little to do, if the winde be laid and no gale at all stirring. And verily (as it should feeme) wife Law-makers, feeing this well enough, have with great policie given occasion in cities and common-wealths of Ambition and Emulation among citizens one with another: and in the field against enemies devised to excite the courage of fouldiours, and to whet their ire and manhood by found of trumpets, fifes, drums, and other instruments. For not onely in Poetrie (as Plato faith verie well) he that is infpired and (as it were) ravished with the divine instinct of the Muses, wil make a rediculous soole 5000 him, who otherwise is an excellent Poet, and his crafts-master as having learned the exquisite knowledge of the art: but also in battels, the heat of courage let on fire with a certaine divine inspiration is invincible and cannot be withstood. This is that martiall furie, which (as Homer faith) the gods do infuse or inspire rather into warlike men:

Thu having faid he did in spire

The Princes hear with might andire.

And againe,

One godor other surely deth him a sist

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Else faring thus, he never could persist.

As if to the discourse of reason they had adjoined passion as a pricke to incite, and a chariot to fet it forward. Certes, even these verie Stoicks with whom now we argue, and who seeme to reject all passions, we may see oftentimes, how they stirre up yoong men with praises, and as often rebuke them with sharpe admonitions and severe reprehensions. Whereof there must needs enfue of the one part pleafure, and of the other part displeasure. For surely checkes and faultfindings, strike a certaine repentance and shame: of which two, the former is comprised under forrow, and the latter under feare: and these be the meanes that they use principally to chastice and correct withall. Which was the reason that Diogenes upon a time, when he heard Plato so highly praifed and extolled. And what great and woorthy matter (quoth he) finde you in that 10 man, who having been a Philosopher so long & taught the precepts thereof, hath not in all this time greeved and wounded the heart of any one person? For surely the Mathematicall sciences a man cannot fo properly call the eares or handles of Philosophie (to use the words of Xenoerates) as he may affirme that these affections of yoong men, to wit, bashfulnesse, desire, repentance, pleasure and paine are their handles, whereof reason and law together taking hold by a discreet aprand holesome touch, bring a yoong man speedily and effectually into the right way. And therefore the Lacedæmonian schoolemaster and governour of children said verie well, when he professed, that he would bring to passe that the child whom he tooke into his tuition, should joy in honest things, and grieve in those that were foule and dishonest. Then which there cannot possibly be named a more woorthy or commendable end of the liberall education 20 and bringing up of a yoong youth well descended.



OF VERTVE AND VICE.

The Summarie.

N this little weatife adjoyned aptly unto the former, the Author prooveth, that outward and corruptible things be not they that (et the soule inrepose, but reason well railed and governed: And after that he hath depainted the miserable estate of wicked and similarly persons stroubled and tormented with their passions both night and day, he prooveth by proper and apt similatudes, that Philosophic together with the love of versue, bring eth true conteniment and happinesse indeed unto a man.

OF VERTVE AND VICE.



The feemeth, and commonly it is thought, that they be the garments which do heat a man; and yet of themselves they neither doc heat nor bring any heat with them: for take any of them apart by it selfes, you shall finde it colde; which is the reason that men being verie, hote, and in a fit of a fever, love often to change their clothes, for to coole and refresh their bodies. But the trueth is this, Looks you what heat a man doth yeeld from himselfe, the clothese or garments! that cover the body do keepe in the same, and unite close together in and being thus included and held int, suffer it not to evaporate, breathe out, and vanish away. The same errour in the sate of this

life, hath deceived many man, who imagine that if they may dwell in stately and gorgeous great houses, be attended upon with a number of servants, retaine a fort of slaves, and can gather together huge summes of golde and silver, then they shall live in joy and pleasure whereas in verie south.

footh, the fweete and joifull life proceedeth not from any thing without. But contrariwife, when a man hath those goodly things about him; it is himselfe that addeth a pleasure and grace unto them, even from his owne nature and civill behaviour, composed by morall vertue within him, which is the very sountaine and lively spring of all good contentment.

For if the fire do alwaies burne out light, More stately is the house, and faire in sight.

Semblably, riches are more acceptable, glorie hath the better and more fining luftre, yea, and authoritic carieth the greater grace, if the inward joy of the foule be joined therewith: For furely men doe endure povertie, exile and banifirment out of their owne countries, yea, and to beare the burden of olde age willingly and with more ease, according as their maners be milde, and the minde disposed to meeknesse. And like as sweet odours, and Aromaticall perfumes, give a pleasant spiral unto three-bate and ragged clothes; but contrariwise, the rich robe of Anchyses yeelded from under it stincking matter and corrupt blood; which as the Poetsaith,

Ran downe by drops upon his cloke Of filke so fine, and is did soke.

Even fo, with vertue, any fort of life, and all maner of living is pleafant & void of forow: where as contrariwife, vice caufeth those things which otherwise seemed great, honourable, and magnificent, to be odious, lothsome and unwelcome to those that have them, if (I say) it be mingled therewith, according to the testimonic of these vulgar verses:

This man who whiles he walkes abroad in street
Or market place, is ever hippy thought:
No sooner sets within his owne house feet,
Thrice wretched but he is, and not for nought.
His wise (as master) hath of all the power,
She bids, commands, she chides and sights ech hower.

And yet one may with ease be rid and divorced from such a curst and shrewd wife, if he be a mattin deed, and not a bond-flave; but for thine owne vice, no meanes will serve to exempt the from it. It is not enough to command it to be gone, by sending a little script or bill of divorcement, and to thinke thereby to be delivered from troubles, and so to live alone in quiet and rego pose. For it cleavest close within the ribbes, it slicketh fast in the very bowels, it dwelleth there both night and day.

It burneth thee, yet fire-brand none is seene, And hastneth age apace before thouweene,

A troublefome companion it is upon the way, by reafon of arrogancy and prefumption: a costly and sumptious guest at the table for gluttonie and gourmandise; an unpleasant and combersome bedfellow in the night, in regard of thoughts, cares and jelousies which breake the sleepe, or trouble the same with santasies. For whiles men lie assemple, the bodie is at rest and repose; but the minde all the while is disquiered and affrighted with searefull dreames and tumultuous visions, by reason of superstitious seare of the gods,

If that I fleepe, when forrowes me surprise, Then fearefull dreames me kill before I rise.

faith one. And even so do other vices serve men: to wit, Envic, Feare, Wrath, Wanton love, and Vnbridled luft. For in the day time, vice looking out, and composing it selfe somewhat unto others abroad, is somewhat ashamed of herselse, and covereth her passions; the giveth not herselse wholly to her motions and perturbations, but many times doth strive againe and make refishance: but in sleepe, being without the danger of lawes and the opinion of the world, being farre remooved (as it were) from feare and shame: then it fetteth all lusts aworke, then it quickeneth and raifeth up all leaudnesse, and then it displaieth all lascivious wantonnesse. It tempteth (as Plate faith) a man to have carnall dealing with his owne mother, and to eat of forbilder 50 and unlawfull meats: there is no villanie that it forbeareth; executing (fo far forth as it is able) all abomination; and hath the fruition thereof, if it be but by illusions and fantasticall dreames, which end not in any pleasure, nor accomplishment of concupiscence, but are powerfull onely to excite, flirre, and provoke still the fits of secret passions and maladies of a corruptheart. Wherein lieth then, the pleasure and delight of sinne, if it be so, that in no place nor at any time it be void of pensivenesse, care and griefe rif it never have contentment, but alwaies in molestation and trouble, without repose ? As for carnall delights and fleshly pleasures, the good complexion and found constitution of an healthfull bodie, giveth thereby meanes, place, opportu80

nity and breeding. But in the foule it is not possible that there should bee engendred anie turth, joy and contentment, unlesse the first foundation be laied in peace of conscience, and tranquillitie of spirit, void of seare, and enjoying a seried calme in all assurance and considence, without any shew of tempest toward. For otherwise, suppose that some hope doe smile upon a man; or say, that delight tickle a little; the same anon is troubled, and all the sport is marred by some carefull cogitation breaking forth: like as the object and concurrence of one rocke troubleth and overthroweth all, though the water and weather both be never so calme.

Now gather gold and spare not by heapes, rake and scrape together masses of silver, builde faire, gallant and stately walking places, replenish all thy house with slaves, and a whole citie with debtours : unlesse withall thou doe allay the passions of thy minde; un-10 leffe thou stay and appeale thy infatiable lust and defires unlesse thou free and deliver thy felfe from all feare and carking cares: thou doft as much as streine wine, or make Ipocras for one that is ficke of a feaver, give honie to a cholericke person diseased with the raging motion of choler, offer meats and viands to those that be ficke of the flomachicall flux, continual laske, ulceration of the guts and bloudy flix, who neither take pleasure therein, nor are the better but the woorfe rather a great deale for them. See you not how ficke folkes are offended, and their stomacks rife at the most fine, costly and deintiest meats that be offred unto them? how they fpit them forth againe, and will none, though they be forced upon them? And yet afterwards, when the bodie is reduced againe into good temperature: when pure spirits and good fresh bloud is engendred, and when the naturall heate is restored and become familiar 20 and kind: then they rife up on their feete to their meat, then their stomacks serve to eate full savorly of course bread with cheese or cresses, and therein they take great pleasure and contentment. The like disposition in the minde doth reason worke. Then and never before shalt thou be pleased and at peace with thy selse, when thou hast once learned what is good and honest indeed. In povertie thou shalt live deliciously like a king : or in a private and quiet state sequestred from civill and publike affaires, thou shalt live as well as they who have the conduct of great armies, and governe the common weale. When thou hast studied Philosophie and profited therein, thou shalt never lead a life in discontentment, but shalt learne how to away with any estate and course of life, and therein find no small joy & harts ease. Thy riches thou wilt rejoice in, because thou thalt have better meanes to do good unto all men: In povertie likewise thou 20 wilt take joy in regard thou shalt have fewer cares to trouble thee: Glorie will turne to thy folace, when thou that fee thy felfe to honoured: and thy low estate and obscure condition will be no leffe comfort, for that thou shalt be fafe and secured from envie.



THAT VERTVE MAY BE TAUGHT AND LEARNED.

The Summarie.



Lutarch refuting heretheerror of those, who are of opinion, That by good and diligent instruction a man cannot become the better; recommendeth sufficiently the studie of vertue. And to proove this assertion of his, he sheweth that the apprentissact of of that, which is of small consequence in this world, witnesseth enough that a man ought to be trained from day to day to the knowledge of things that are bescening

andworthy his perjon: Afterwards, he declareth that as much travel foodld be emploied to make him comprehend fuch things as he far distant from the capacity and excellencie of his spirit: In which discourse he taxetheovertly those vaine and giddy heads, who (as they say) runne, after their owne shadow, whereas they should stay and rest upon that which is simme and permanent.

THAT

That vertue may be taught and learned.

THAT VERTUE MAY BE taught and learned.



E difpute of vertue, and put in question, whether Prudence, Iuftice, Loialtie and Honestie may be taught or no? And do we admire then the works of Oratours, Sailers and Shipmasters, Architects, Husbandmen and an infinite number of other such which be extant? Whereas of good men we have nothing but their bare and simple names, as if they were Hippo-Centaures, Gyants or Cyclopes; and mervaile we that of vertuous actions which be entire; perfect, and unblameable, none can be found: ne yet any maners so composed according to dutie, but that they be tainted with some passions and vicious perturbations? yea and if it happen that nature of

her selfe bring foorth some good and honest actions, the same straightwaies are darkened, corrupted and in a maner marred, by certeine strange mixtures of contrarie matters that creepe into them, like as when among good come there grow up weeds and wilde but hes that choke the fame; or when some kinde and gentle fruit is cleane altered by favage nourithment. 20 Men learneto fing, to daunce, to read and write, to till the ground, and to ride horses, they learne likewife to thew themselves, to do on their apparell decently; they are taught to wait at cup and trencher, to give drinke at the table, to feafon and dreffe meate: and none of all this can they skill to performe and do handsomely, if they be not trained thereto: and yet shall that, for which these and such like qualities they learne, to wit, good life and honest conversation, be reckoned a meere casuall thing, comming by chance and fortune, and which can neither be taught nor learned? Oh good firs, what a thing is this? In faying, That vertue cannot be taught, we denie withall that it is, or hath any being. For if it be true, that the learning of it, is the generation and breeding thereof, certes he that hindereth the one disanulleth the other: and in denying that it may be raught; we graunt that no fuch thing there is at all: And yet as Plato 30 faith, for the necke of a Lute normade in proportion to the rest of the bodie, there was never knowen one brother go to warre with another, nor a friend to quarrell with his friend, ne yet two neighbour cities to fall out and mainteinedeadly feud, to the interchangeable working and fuffring of those miseries and calamities which follow open warre. Neither can any man come forth and fay, that by occasion of an accent (as for example, whether the word Telchines should be pronounced with the accent over the second fyllable or no) there arose sedition and diffention in any city; or debate in a house betweene man and wife, about the warpe and wouse of any webbe: Howbeit never man yet would take in hand to weare a peece of cloth, nor handle a booke, nor play upon the lute or harpe, unleffe he had learned before; for albeit he were not like to sustein any great losse and notall dammage thereby, yet he would seare to be mocked 40 and laughed to fcorne for his labor, in which case as Heraclium faith, it were better for a man to conceale his owne ignorance; and may fuch an one thinke then, that he could order a house well, rule a wife, and behave himfelfe as it becommeth in mariage, beare migistracie, or governe a common weale as he ought, being never bound and brought up to it? Diogenes espying upon a time aboy eating greedily, and unmanerly gave his mafter or Tutour a good cuffe on the eare: and good reason he had so to do, as imputing the fault rather to him, who had not taught, than to the boy, who had not learned better manners. And is it fo indeed ? ought they of neceffitie, who would be manerly at the table, both in putting hand to a dith of meat, and taking the cup with a good grace, or as Aristophanes faith,

At board not feeding greedily, Nor laughing much undecently, Nor crossing feet full wantonly.

to be taught even from their infancie. And is it possible that the same should know how to behave themselves in wedlocke, how to manage the affaires of State, how to converse among men, how to beare office without touch and blame, unlesse they have learned first how to cary themselves one toward another? Arisippus answered upon a time, when one said unto him, And are you sir every where? I should (quoth he, laughing merily) cast away the fare for seriage, which I pay unto the mariner, if I were every where. And why might not a man say likewise, Is children

be not the better for their teaching, the falarie is loft which men bestow upon their Masters and Teachers. But wee fee that they taking them into their governance prefently from their nources, like as they did forme their limmes and joints featly with their hands, do prepare and frame their maners accordingly, & fet them in the right way to vertue. And to this purpose answered very wisely a Laconian Schoole-master to one who demanded of him, what good he did to the childe of whom he had the charge ? Mary (quoth he) I make him to take joy and pleafure in those things that be honest. And to say a trueth, these teachers and governours instruct children to holde up their heads straight as they go in the street, and not to beare it sorward: also, not to dip into fauce, but with one finger : not to take bread or fill but with twaine : to rubbe or ferarch after this or that maner: and thus and thus to truffe and holde up their clothes. What 10 shall we say then to him, who would make us beleeve that the Art of Physicke professeth to fcoure the morphew, or heale a whit-flaw: but not to cure a pleurifie, fever, or the phrenfie? And what differeth he from them, who holde that there be schooles and rules to teach petties and little children how to be manerly, and demeane themselves in small matters, but as for great, important and absolute things, it must be nothing els but use and custome, or els meere chance and fortune that doth effect them? For like as he were ridiculous, and worthy to be laughed at, who should fay, that no man ought to lay hand upon the oare for to row, but he that hath beene prentife to it; but fit at the sterne and guide the helme he may, who was never taught it: euen fo, he, who mainteineth, that in some inferiour arts there is required apprentisage, but for the attainining of vertue none at all, deserveth likewise to be mocked. And verily, he should doe con-20 trary unto the Scythians : For they, as Herodot so writeth, use to put out the cies of their flaves only, to the end that being blinde, they might turne round about with their milke, & fo stirre and shake it. But he for sooth putteth the eie of reason into these base and inferior arts, which are no better than fervants waiting upon others; but plucketh it from vertue. Iphierares answered contrariwife, being demanded of Calliss the fonne of Chabrias, by way of contempt and derifion, in this wife, What are you fir? An Archer? A Targetiere? A man at armes? or a light armed fouldiour? I am none (quoth he) of all these, but rather one of those who commandeth them all. Well, ridiculous then is he, and very abfurd, who would fay, There were an art to be taught, of drawing a bowe & shooting, of fighting close at hand being atmed at all pieces, of discharging bullets with a fling, or of fitting and riding an horse; but for sooth to leade and conduct an army, 30 there was none at all : as who would fay, that feat, were a thing not learned, but comming by chance, I know not how. And yet I mult needs fay, more fottish and foolish were he, who flould hold and affirme that Prudence onely could not be taught, without which no other Arts and Sciencesbe woorth ought, or availe any whit. That this is true, and that the is alone the guide which leadeth and guideth all other Sciences, Arts and Vertues, giving them every one their due place and honour, and making them profitable to mankinde, a man may know by this, if there were nothing els, That there would be no grace at a feaft,

owby this, if there were nothing els, That there would be no grace at a feaft, owby this, if there were nothing els, That there would be no grace at a feaft, though the meat were never fo well dreffed and ferved up by skilfull Cooks, though there were proper Escuirs or Shewers to set the dishes upon the boord, Carvers, Tasters, Skinkers, and other Servitours and Waiters enough, unlesse there besone good order observed among the said Ministers, to place and dispose everie

thing as it ought.



HOW

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HOW A MAN MAY DI-

SCERNE A FLATTERER

FROM A FRIEND.

The Summaric.



He traveller hath great occasion and cause to rejoice, if in his journey he goe with a good companion, who by his pleasant and prositable discourses may make him sor yet the tedious dissinguise of the way: even so in this life, happie is the man, who can finde and meet with those to beare him company, by whom he may both easily passe through the occurrent dangers that are presented unto him, and also advance sorward cheere-

20 fully unto vertue. In which regard, our author Plutarch having discoursed as touching the Nouviture, education, and instruction of youth, as also of Vice and Versue in generall, by good order and in great reason, sheweth in this Treatise, what fort of people we ought carefully to avoid, and with whom to joine and be acquainted. And as he was aman well experienced and practifed in the affaires of this world, he affirmeth and proovesh by very found and firme reasons, I hat there is nothing whereof we are to be more wary and heedfull than falfe friendship, which he calleth Flutterie. Moreover, this being a matter of so great importance, as every wife man may well thinke and perceive, he draweth out this present discourse in length: and for that his purpose is to instruct us in those meanes whereby we may be able to distinguish betweene a flatterer and a true friend; he sheweth in the first place, I hat the onely principall remedie to stop up the entrie against all flatterers, is to know our selves well: for other-30 wife, we shall have such array and ornaments hanged upon us, that we shall not easily perceive and discerne who we are. And contrart wife, it hapneth of sen times, that we esteeme them to be our perfect friends, so skilfull are they in counterfesting; and withall, when they finde us disposed to enterteine such companie, our owne indiferetion depriveth us of that true in fight and view, which our foule ought to have in discerning a false friend from a true. Being willing therefore to aid and helpe us in this point he describeth a crafty and wily flatterer, he discovereth his cumning casts, and depaintesh him in his colours, shewing the very draught of lineaments which may direct us to the knowledge of him, to wit, That he doth conforme and frame himselfe to the humor and nature of those whose companie he haunteth; how he is unconstant and mutable, changing and turning into many and sundry fashions, without any right and syncere affection, applying himselfe all the while to every thing els but vertue willing to 40 bereputed alwaies more leand and vicious, than those whom hee flattereth: without regard of doing them good any way, or feeking their profit, he onely aimeth at this, to please them and follow their veine in all things by custome and use, bringing him that will give eare unto his words, to this passe, That he shall thinke vice to be vertue: working covertly and under-hand for to deceive more cleanly, transforming vertue into vice, and making it nothing strange and coy to blame himselfe, for to do the more mischiese asterwards to another: then he flattereth most, when he maketh no semblance or shew at all that he mindeth any such thing, and exalteth up to the skie those that be most victors, and woorst of all others, so they will give him enterteinment. Likewise, for that flatterers shew themselves otherwhiles, very forward and bolde to speake their minds and to finde fault, which is one of the best and surest marks of true friendship, he treateth consequently of this libertie and freedome of speech, and how a 50 man may know whether there be any flatterie theremor no. He declares h therefore, how flatterers use this franke reprehension in vaine and frivolomethings, and never in those sinnes and grosse faults which are in deed blame-worthy: fo that this maner of reprehension, is a kinde of soothing them up, and lulling men ascepe in their notorious vices : or els they charge them with faults cleane contrarie. Now after he hath shewed how a man should take heed and beware of them, he discourset hof those services which may make flatterers, and wherein the fame differ from the offices and dueries of friends, and in purfaing and profecuting this Antithesis, he provet that a flatterer is prest and ready to do his plea-Sure in shamefull matters, where as a friend sheweth his good will in those that be honest: also that a

flatterer is envious, and so is not a friend. And for that our nature is proud and blinde withall, having need of good friends to guide and direct it, he describe th with what maner of cie, and care we ought to see and hearethose that procure our good, albeit they may seeme to carie with them a kinde of severitie. Meane while he exhorteth friends fo to temper and qualifie their libertie in reprehension shat all m pudencie and importunate rigor befarre from it. But for asmuch as this is (as it were) the principall thing in amitie he heweth. That first we must cut away selfe-love in all our reprehensions; and secondly all injurious, bitter and biting speeches; then he adjoineth moreover, in what seasons, and upon what occurrences, a man ought to reproove and say his minde frankly: and with what dexteritie he is to proceed: that is to say, that sometimes, yea, and more often, he ought to rebuke his friend apart, or under the person of another : wherein he is to looke unto this, That he eschue all vaine-glorie, and sea- 10 Son his reprehensions with some praise among to make them more acceptable and better taken. Confequently, he teacheth us, how we must receive the advertisements, admonitions, and reprehensions of a true friend: and returning to the very point in deed, of amitie and friend hip, he sheweth what meane a man Could keepe for to avert and turne away the neighbour vice, and to urge our friends forward to their devoir : adding morcouer, That all remonstrance and admonition oughs to be tempered with milaneffe and lemnie : wherein he conclude th this whole Treatife, which I affure you is to be well read and marked in these daies of all persons, but those especially, who are advanced above others in worldly wealth or honourable place.

HOW A MAN MAY DISCERNE a flatterer from a friend.



Lato writeth (ô Antiochus Philopappus) that all men do willingly pardon him, who professeth. That he loveth himselse best: Howbeit thereby (quoth he) is ingendred in us, this fault and inconvenience among may others the greatest: that by this meanes no man can be a just judge of himselse, but partiall and favourable. For the lover is ordinarily blinded in the thing that he loveth, unlesse have been etaught, yea and accustomed long before, to affect and esteeme things honest above those that be his owne properly, or inbred and familiar to hum. This is it, that giveth unto a statement harge field, under pretence of friendship, where he hath a fort (as it

were) commodioufly feated, and with the vantage to affaile and endammage us, and that is, Selfe-love: whereby everie man being the first and greatest statterer of himselfe, he can be verie well content, to admit a stranger to come necre and flatter him, namely, when he thinketh and is well willing withall, to witheffe with him and to confirme that good felfe-conceit and opinion of his owne. For even he, who is justly reproched to be a lover of Flatterers, loveth himselse notwithstanding exceeding well; and for that good affection that he hath, is both very willing, 40 yea and fully perfwaded also, that all good things are in himselse: and the desire whereof is not fimply, bad, and unlawfull: but the perfwasion is it, that is dangerous and slipperie, having need to be restrained with great heed and carefulnesse. Now if Truth be an heavenly thing, and the verie fource yeelding all good things (as Plato faith) as well to the gods as to men: we ought thus to judge, That a flatteter is an enemic to the gods, and principally to Apollo: For oppofite he is alwaies and contrarie to this precept of his Know thy felfe: causing a man to be abused and deceived by his owne felfe, yea and to be ignorant of the good and evill things that be in him; in making the good gifts which are in him to be defective & unperfect : but the evill parts incorrigible and fuch as cannot be reformed. Now if it were so, that flatterie (as the most part of other vices) touched either onely or especially, base, meane, and abject persons, it were perhaps 50 neither so hurtfull, nor so hard to be avoided as it is. But like as wormes breed most of all and soonest in frimme, tender and sweet wood: even so, for the most the part the generous and gentle natures, and those mindes that are more ingenuous, honest, amiable, and milde than others, are readient to receive and nourish the flatterer that hangeth upon him. Moreover, as Simonides was woont to fay, that the keeping of an elcuirie or stable of horses, followeth northe lampe or oile cruet, but the rich corne fields: that is, it is not for poore men to entertaine great horses, but those rather who are landed men and with their revennewes able to maintaine them:

Even so, we see it is ordinarie, that flatterie keepeth not companie nor forteth with poore folke, or fuch persons as live obscurely & are of no abilitie: but comonly it is the ruine and decay of great houses, & a maladie incidet to mighty States; which oftentimes undoeth & overthroweth whole Monarchies, Realmes, and great Seignories. In which regard it is no fmall matter, nor a thing that requireth little, or no forecast & providence to search & consider the nature thereof: least being so active and busic as it is, and readie to meddle in everie place (nothing so much) it do no hurt unto friendship, nor bring it into obloquie and discredit. For these flatterers refemble lice for all the world: And why? These vermine we see never haunt those that be dead, but leave and forfake the corps to foone as ever the blood (whereof they were woont to feede) is 10 extinct or deprived of vitall spirit: Semblably, a man shall never see flatterers, so much as approchunto fuch persons as are in decay, whose state is crackt and credit waxeth coole; but looke where there is the glorie of the world, where there is authoritie and power, thither they flocke. and there they grow: no fooner is there a chaunge of fortune but they fneake and flinke away, and are no more seene. But we ought not to attend so long and stay for this triall, being unprofitable, or rather hurrfull and not without some danger: For it goeth verie hard with a man, if at the verie inftant and not before, even when he hath most need of friendship, to perceive those to be no friends whom he tooke to be, and namely, when he hath not with him at hand, a good and faithfull friend, to exchange for him that is untruftie, difloyal and counterfeit. For if a man did well, he should be provided before hand of an approoved and tried friend, ere he have neede 20 to employ him, aswell as of current and lawfull money; and not then to make triall of him and finde him faultie, when he is in greatest necessitie and standeth in most need: For we ought not to make proofe with our loffe, and finde him to be falle to our cost and detriment; but contrariwife to be skilfull in the meanes of finelling out a flatterer, that we receive no damage by him: For otherwise, that might befall us, which happeneth unto those who for to know the force of deadly poilons, take the affay, and talte first themselves thereof: well may they indeed come to the judgement thereof; but this skill is deerely bought, when they are fure to die for it. And like as we do not commend fuch; no more can we praise and approove of those, who measure friendship onely by honestic and profit: thinking withall, That such as converse and company with them pleasantly, are straight waies to be attainted as flatterers, no lesse then if they were ta-30 ken in the very act of flatterie: For furely a friend should not be unpleasant & unsavorie, without any feafoning (as it were) of delightfome qualities: neither is friendfhip to be accounted venerable in this respect, that it is austere or bitter; but even that verie beauty and gravitie that it hath is fweet and defireable, and as the Poet faith,

About her almaies seated be
Delightsome Love and Graces three.
And not he onely who is in calamitie,
Doth great content and comfort find
To see the sace of trustic friend.

according as Euripides faith, but true amitie addeth no leffe grace, pleafure, and joy unto those 40 that be in prosperitie, than it easeth them of forrow and griefe who are in adversitie. Evenus was woont to fay, that of all pleafant fauce, fire was the best and most effectuall: And even so God having mingled friendship with this life of ours, hath made all things joious, sweete, pleasant and acceptable, where a friend is prefent and enjoieth his part. For otherwise a man can not devise nor expresse, how and in what fort a flatterer could infinuate himselfe and creepe into favour, under the colour of pleasure, if he saw that friendship in the owne nature never admitted any thing that was pleafant and delectable. But like as false and counterfeit peeces of gold which will not abide the touch, represent onely the lustre and bright glittering of gold: So a flatterer refembling the sweete and pleasant behaviour of a friend, sheweth himselse alwaies jocund, mery and delightsome, without croffing at any time. And therefore we ought not pre-50 fently to suspect all them to be flatterers who are given to praise others: For otherwhiles to commend a man, so it be done in time and place convenient, is a propertie no lesse besitting a friend, than to blame and reprehend: Nay contrariwife, there is nothing fo adverte and repugnant to amitie and focietie, than testinesse, thwarting, complaining, and evermore fault-finding: whereas, if a man knoweth the good will of his friend to be ever prest and readie to yeeld due praises, and those in full measure to things well done, he will beare more patiently and in better part another time, his free reprehensions and reproofe for that which is done amisse: for that he is verily perswaded of him that as he was willing ynough to praise, so he was as loth to dispraise, and therefore taketh all in good woorth. A difficult matter then it is, will some one say, to discerne a flatterer from a friend, seeing there is no difference betweene them, either in doing pleasure, or yeelding praise: for otherwise, we see oftentimes, that in many services, courtesies and kindnesses besides, a flatterer is more readic and sorward than a friend. True it is indeed we must needs say: a right hard matter it is to know the one from the other; especially if we speake of a right flatterer indeed, who is his owne crafts-master, and can skill how to handle the matter artificially, and with great cunning and dexteritie: if (I fay) we make no reckoning of them for flatterers, as the common people doe, who are these ordinarie smell-feasts, and as ready as flies to light in everiedifh: these parasites (I say) whose toong (as one said verie well) will be walking fo foone as men have washed their hands, and be readie to fit downe to meat, cogging and foo- to thing up their good masters at everie word, who have no honestie at all in them, and whose fcurrilitie, profane, and irreligious impuritie, a man shall soone finde with one dish of meat and cup of wine. For furely there was no great need to detect and convince the flatterie of Melanthim the Parasite and Tester of Alexander Pheraus the Tyrant, who being asked upon a time how Alexander his good Lord and mafter was murthered, Mary with a thrust (quoth he) of a fword, which went in at his fide, and ranne as farre as into my belly: neither of fuch as a man shall never fee to faile, but where there is a good house and plentifull table kept, they will be fure to gather round about it, in such fort as there is no fire nor iron grates, or brasse gates, can keepe them backe, but they will be readie to put their foot under the boord: no nor of those women who in times past were called in Cypres, Colacides. i. Flatteresses; but after they were come to 20 syria, men named them, Climacides, as one would fay, Laddereffes, for that they used to lie along, & to make their backs stepping stooles or ladders as it were for Queenes & Great mens wives to get upon when they would mount into their coatches. What kinde of flatterer then is it so hard and yet needfull to beware of? Forfooth, even of him who feemeth none fuch, and professeth nothing leffe than to flatter: whom a man shall never finde about the kitchin where the good meate is dreffed, nor take measuring of shadowes to know how the daie goes, and when it is dinner or supper time: ne yet see drunken and lying along the ground untowardly, and full like a beast: But for the most part sober he is enough; he loveth to bee a curious Polypragmon; he will have an oare in every boat, and thinks he is to intermedle in all matters; he hath a minde to be privie and partie in all deepe fecrets; and in one word he carrieth himselfe like a grave 30 Tragedian, and not as a Comicall or Satyricall player, and under that vision and habit he counterfeiteth a friend. For according to the faying of Plato, it is the greatest and most extreame injustice for a man to make semblance of being just when he is not: even so we are to thinke, that flatteric of all others to be most dangerous, which is covert and not apert or professed; which is ferious (I fay) and not practifed by way of jeft and sport. And verily such glozing and flatteric as this, caufeth men oftentimes to miltrust true friendship indeed, and doth derogate much from the credit thereof: for that in many things it jumpeth fo even therewith, unleffe a man take verie good heed and looke narrowly into it. True it is, that Gobrias being runne into a darke and secret roome, together with one of the usurping Tyrants of Persia, called Magi, whom he purfued hard, and at handy gripes strugling, grappling, and wrestling close together, 40 cried out unto Darim comming into the place with a naked fword, and doubting to thrust at the Vsurper, for feare he should runne Gobrias thorough also, Thrust hardly and spare not (quoth he) though you dispatch us both at once. But we who in no wife can allow of that common faying, Let a friend perish, so he take an enemie with him: but are desirous to plucke and parta flatterer from a friend, with whom he is coupled and interlaced by meanes of fo many refemblances: we (I fay) have great cause to seare and beware, that we doe not cast and reject from us the good with the bad: or least in pardoning and accepting that which is agreeable and familiar unto us, we fall upon that which is hurtfull and dangerous. For like as among wilde feeds of another kind, those that being of the same forme, fashion, and bignes with the graines of wheat are intermingled therewith, a man shall hardly trie out from the rest, for that they will not passe 50 thorough the holes of the fieve, ruddle or trie, if they be narrow; and in case they be large and wide, out goeth the good come together with them; even fo it is passing hard to separate flatterie from friendship, being so intermedled therewith in all accidents, motions, affaires, dealings, employment and convertation as it is. For confidering that a flatterer feeth well ynough, that there is nothing in the world so pleasurable as friendship, nor yeeldeth more contentment unto man than it doth: He windeth himselse into savour by meanes of pleasure, and wholy is imploied to procure mitth and delight. Also for that both grace and commoditie, doth alwaies

accompany amitie; in which regard the common Proverbe faith, that a friend is more necessarie than either fire or water. Therefore a staterer is readie to put himselfe forward, and offereth his service with all double diligence, striving in all occasions and businesses to be ever prompt and officious. And because the principall thing that linketh and bindeth friendship sure at the beginning, is the conformitie and likenes of manners, studies, endevours and inclinations, and in one word seeing that to be like affected, and to shew pleasure or displeasure in the same things, is the chiefe matter that knitteth amitie and both combineth, and also keepeth men together, by a certaine mutuall correspondencie in naturall affections: the flatterer knowing so much, composeth his nature (as it were) some unformed matter ready to receive all forts of into much, composeth his nature (as it were) some unformed matter ready to receive all forts of into another than and a commondate himselfe wholy to all those things that he taketh in hand; yea and to resemble those persons just by way of imitation whom he meaneth to set upon and deceive, as being souple, soft, and pliable, to represent them lively in everie point, so as a man may say of him after this manner.

Achillessonne thinke you he is? N ay, even Achilles himselse irvis.

But the craftieft cast of all other, that he hath, is this, That seeing (as he doth) libertie of speech, (both in trueth, and also according to the opinion and speech of the whole world) to be the proper voice of friendship (as a man would fay) of some living creature; insomuch, as where there is not this freedome of speaking frankely, there is no true friendship nor generositie in deed. In 20 this point alfo, he will not feeme to come short, nor leave it behinds for want of imitation; but after the fashion of fine and excellent cookes, who use to serve up tart, bitter and sharpe sauces together with sweet & pleasant meats, for to divert & take away the satietie and fulnesse which foone followeth them. These flatterers also use a certaine kind of plaine and free speech; howbeit, neither fyncere and naturall is it, nor profitable, but (as we commonly fay) from teeth outward, or (as it were) beckening and wincking flightly with the cie under the browes, nottouching the quicke, but tickling aloft onely, to no purpole. Well, in these respects above specified, hardly and with much adoe is a flatterer discovered, and taken in the maner; much like unto those beasts, who by nature have this propertie, To change their colour, and in hue to resemble that bodily matter or place whereon they fettle, and which they touch. Seeing then it is fo, that 50 he is so apt to deceive folke, and lieth hidden under the likenesse of a friend; our part it is, by unfolding the differences that are fo hidden, to turne him out of his masking habit, and being defooiled of those colours and habilements that he borroweth of others, for want of his owne (as Plate faith) to lay him naked and open to the eie: let us therefore enter into this discourse, and fetch it from the very first beginning.

We have already faid, that the original of friendship among men (for the most part) is our conformitie of nature and inclination, embracing the same customes and maners, loving the same exercises, affecting the same studies, and delighting in the same actions and imploiments: concerning which, these verses well and firly runne;

Olde folke love beft with aged folke to talke, And with their feeres yoong children to dispore: Women omee met, do let their tongues to walke, With such likewise, such persons best do sport: I hewretched man his miseries doth lament With those, whose state like sortunes do torment.

The flatterer then, being well aware that it is a thing naturally inbred in us, to delight in those that are like our selves, to converse with them, and to use and love them above all others, endevoureth first and formost to draw and approch, yea, and to lodge necre unto him whom he meaneth to enveagle and compasse, even as if he went about in some great passure to make tomatone beast, whom he purposeth to tame and bring to hand, by little and little joining close unto him, as it were, to be concorporated in the same studies and exercise, in the same affections, emploiments and course of life: and this he doth so long, untill the party whom he laieth for, have given him some advantage to take holde by, as suffering himselfe gently to be touched, clawed, handled and stroked; during which time, he letteth slip no opportunitie to blame those persons, to reproove those things, and courses of life; which he perceiveth the other to hate contrariwise, to praise and approove all that which he knoweth him to take delight in: and this he doeth not after an ordinary maner and in a meane, but excessively and beyond all measure, with a kinde of admiration and woonder; constraining this love or hatred of his, to a thing, not

as if he had received these impressions from some sudden passion, but upon a staicd and setled judgement. Which being fo: how, and by what different marks thall he be knowen and convinced, that he is not the like or the fame in deed, but onely a counterfeit of the like and of the fame? First, a man must consider well, whether there be an uniforme equalitie in all his intentions and actions or no? whether he continue and perfift still, taking pleafure in the same things, and praising the same at all times? whether he compose and direct his life according to one and the fame molde and paterne? like as it becommeth a man who is an ingenuous lover of that friendship and conversation which is ever after one maner, and alwaies like it selfe: for such a one in deed is a true friend. But a flatterer contrariwise is one who hath no one permanent seat in his maners and behaviour, nor hath made choife of any life for his owne content, but onely to to please another, as framing and applying his actions wholly to the humor of another, is never fimple, uniforme, nor like himfelfe, but variable and changing alwaies from one forme to another, much like as water which is powred out of one veffel into another, even as it runneth forth, taketh the forme and fashion of that vessell which receiveth it. And herein he is cleane contrarie to the ape; for the ape as it should seeme, thinking to counterfeit a man, by turning, hopping and dauncing as he doth, is quickly caught: but the flatterer, whiles he doth imitate and counterfeit others, doth entice and draw them, as it were, with a pipe or call, into his net, and fo beginleth them. And this he doeth not alwaies after one maner; for with one he daunceth and fingeth; with another he wil feeme to wreftle, or otherwise to exercise the bodie in feats of activitic; if he chance to meet with a man that loveth to hunt, and to keepe hounds, him he will fol- 20 low hard at heeles, fetting out a throat as loud in a maner as Hippolytus in the Tragedie Phadra, crying,

So ho, this is my joy and onely good, With cric to lure, with tooting horne to winde, By leave of gods to bring into the wood My hounds, to roule and chafe the dapple Hinde,

And yet hath he nothing to do at all with the wilde beafts of the forrest, but it is the hunter himfelse whom hee laieth for to take within his net and toile. And say that hee light upon a yoong
man that is a student & given to learning, then you shall see him also as deepe poring upon his
booke, and alwaies in his Studie; you shall have him let his beard grow downe to his foot, like a 30
grave Philosopher: who but he then, in his side thred-bare students cloake, after the Greeke fathion, as if he had no care of himselse, nor joy of any thing els in the world: not a word then in
mouth, but of the Numbers, Orthangles and Triangles of Placo. If peradventure there fall into
his hands an idle do-nothing, who is rich withall, and a good fellow, one that loveth to cat and
drinke and make good cheere,

That wily Fox Vlysses the Hisragged garments will off do.

off goes then his bare and overworne studying gowne, his beard he causeth to be cut & shorne as neere as a new mowen field in harvest, when all the corne is gone: no talke then but of flagons, bottels, pots, and cooling pans to keepe the wine cold: nothing now but merie con-40 ceits to moove laughter in everie walking place and gallerie of pleasure: Now hee letteth slie frumpes and fcoffes against schollers and such as studie philosophie. Thus by report it fell out upon a time at Syracufa: For when Plato thither arrived, and Denys all on a fodaine was fet upon a furious fit of love to Philosophie, his palace and whole court was full of dust and fand, by reason of the great recourse thither of Students in Geometrie, who did nothing but draw figures therein. But no fooner had Plato incurred his displeasure and was out of favor: no fooner had Denys the tyrant bidden Philosophie farewell, & given himselfe againe to belly-cheere, to wine, vanities, wantonnesse, and all loosenesse of life; but all at once, it seemed the whole court was transformed likewife, (as it were by the forcerie and enchantment of Cyrecs) into hatred and detestation of good letters; so as they forgat all goodnesse, and betooke themselves to 50 folly and fortul meffe. To this purpose it were not amisse for to alledge as testimonies, the fashions and acts of some notorious flatterers, such I meane as have governed Common-welths, and affected popularitie. Among whom the greatest of all other was Alcibiades, who all the while he was at Athens used to scoffe, and had a good grace in merrie conceits & pleasant jests: he kept great horses, and lived in jollitie, most gallantly, with the love and favor of all men: when he sojourned in Sparta, he went alwaies shaven to the bare skin, in an overworne cloke, or else the same very course, and never washed his bodie but in cold water. Afterwards, being

in Thrace, he became a foldior, and would carrouse and drinke lustily with the best. He came no sooner to Tisaphernes in Asia, but he gave himselfe to voluptuous and pleasure, to rior, wantonnes, and superstuous delights: Thus throughout the whole course of his life, he wan the love of all men, by framing himselfe to their humors and saffions wheresover he came. Such were not Eparainondas and Agestlaus: For albeit they conversed with many forts of people, travailed divers cities, and saw fundry fashions and maners of strange nations; yet they never changed their behavior, they were the same men still, reteining evermore a decent port which became them, in their apparel, speech, diet, and their whole cariage and demeanor. Plato likewise was no changeling, but the same man at Syntemssathat he was in the Academic or College at Athens: and looke what his cariage was before Dion, the same it was and no other in Denys his court.

But that man may very eafily finde out the variable changes of a flatterer, as of the fifh called the Pourcuttle, who will but straine a little and take the paines to play the diffembler himselfe, making thew as if he likewife were transformed into divers and fundry fathions; namely in mifliking the course of his former life, and fodainly seeming to embrace those things which he rejected before, whether it be in diet, action or speech: For then he shall soone see the slatterer also to be inconstant, and not a man of himselse, taking love or hatred to this or that, joying or greeving at a thing, upon any affection of his owne that leadeth him thereto, for that he receiveth alwaies as a mirrour the images of the passions, motions and and lives of other men. If you 20 chance to blame one of your friends before him, what will he fay by and by? Ah well, You have found him out I fee now at last though it were long fince: Iwis I liked him not long a great while ago: Contrariwife, if your minde alter, fo that you happen to fall a praifing of him againe: Very well done will he fay, and binde it with an oth, I con you thanke for that: I am very glad for the mans fake, and I believe no leffe of him. Do you breake with him about the alteration of your life, and beare him in hand that you meane to take another course, as for example, to give over State affaires, to betake your felfeto a more private and quiet life. Yea marie (quoth he) and then you do well, it is more than high time to to do: For long fince we should have beene disburdened of these troubles so full of envie and perill. Make him believe once that you will change your copie, and that you are about to shake off this idle life, and to betake 30 your selfe unto the Common-weale, both to rule and also to speake in publike place: you shall have him to footh you up, and fecond your fong, with thefe and fuch like responds : A brave mind (beleeve me) and befeeming a man of your worth and good parts: For to fay a truth, this idle and private life, though it be pleafant, and have eafe enough, yet it is but bafe, abject, and dishonorable; when you finde him there once, mussle his nose immediately with this posle,

Good sir me thinks you soone do turne your stile, You seeme much chang d from him you were erewhile.

I have no neede of fuch a friend, that will alter as I doe, and follow me every way (for my shadow can do that much better) I had rather have one that with me will follow the truth, & judge according to it and not otherwise. Avant therefore, I will have nought to do with thee. Thus 40 you see one one way to discover a statterer.

A fecond difference we ought to observe in his imitations and resemblances, for a true friend doth not imitate all that he feeth him whom he loveth to do; neither is he forward in praising everiething, but that onely which is best: For according to Sophecles,

In love he would his fellow be,

But not in hate and enmitte.

And verily one friend is ready and willing to affift another in well doing and in honeft life, and never will need to be companion in leauthoffe, or helpe him to commit any wicked and heinous fact; unlesse peradventure through the ordinarie conversation, and continuall acquaintance together, he be tainted with infection of some ill qualitie and vicious condition, even so against his will and such a beswell aware; much like as they who by contagion catch the winaticke and bleered cies; or as the familiar friends and schollers (by report) of Plandid invitate him in stopping soward; and those of Antitude in his stammering and massing speech; and the Constigit of Alexander, the Great, in bending of his necke, and rough voice when he spake. For even so some the contrariwise, it fareth with a flatterer even as with the Chamcelion; For as he can take upon him any colour save onely white; semblably, a flatterer cannot possibly frame himselfe to any thing that good is and of importance; but there is no naughtinesse and

badnesse in the world which he will not quickly imitate. And well I may compare such felfowes to ill painters, who when through infufficiencie in their art they be not able to draw to the life, the beautie and favour of a good face, will be fure yetto expresse the rivels, warts, moules, freckles, scarres and such like deformities. For even so a flatterer can imitate verie passing well, Incontinencie, foolish superstition, hastines and choler, bitternesse towards houshold servants, distrust and distidence in friends & kinsfolk, yea and treacherie against them: for that by nature he is alwaies inclined to the woorfe; and befides, fo far he would be thought from blaming vice, that he undertaketh to imitate the same. For those that seeke for amendment of life and reformation of manners are ever suspected: such (I say) as thew themselves displeased and offended at the faults and misdemeanors of their friends. And this was it that made Dion odious to Denys 10 the Tyrant, Samius to Philip, and Cleomenes to Ptolomans, and in the ende was their raine and overthrow. The flatterer who defireth to be both pleafant and faithfull at once, or at least wife to to be reputed, for excessive love and friendship that he pretendeth, will not seeme to be offended with his friend for any lewd parts, but in all things would be thought to carie the fame affection, and to be in manner of the fame nature and incorporate into him: whereupon it commeth to patle also, that even in casuall things and the occurrences of this life, which happen without our will and counfell, he will needes have a part, there is no remedie. This if he be disposed to flatter sicke persons, hee will make as though hee were sicke also of the same difease for companie; and if hee have to doe with such as bee dimme sighted or hard of hearing, hee will be thought neither to fee nor heare well for fellowship. Thus the flatterers 20 about Denys the Tyrants, when he had an impediment in his eies that he could not fee cleerely, faigned that themselves likewise were halfe blinde, and to make it good, hit one upon another at the board, and overthrew the diffies upon the table as they fate at supper. Others there be that proceed farther than fo, and because they would appeare more touched with a fellow-seeling of affections, will enter as farre as to the verie inward fecrets that are not to be revealed. For if they can perceive that they whom they do flatter, be not fortunate in their marriage, or that they are growen into diffrust, jealousie, and simister opinion, either of their owne children, or their neer kinsfolke and familiars; they spare not themselves but begin to complaine, & that with griefe of heart and forrow of their owne wives and children, of their kinred and friends, laying abroad fome criminous matters, which were better (iwis) to be concealed and finothered, 30 than intered and revealed. And this refemblance and likeneffe that they take upon themselves, causeth them to seeme more affectionate and fuller of compassion. The other then, thus flattered, thinking that by this means they have received from them a fufficient pawne and affurance of their fidelitie, thicke not to let fall from their mouth some matter of secrecicals; and when they have once committed it unto them, then they are ever after bound to use them, yea and be afraid to miftruft them in any thing. I my felfe knew one who feemed to put away his owne wedded wife, because his friend whom he flattered had divorced his before : and when he had so done, was knowen to go fecretly unto her, and messengers there were who passed to and fro betweene them under hand; which the divorced wife of the other perceived and found out well youngh. Certes little knew he what a flatterer was, and he had no experience of him who 40 thought these lambicke verses to expresse the Sea-crab better than him,

A beast whose body and belly are meet, The cie doth serve each way to see: With teeth it creepes, they stand for feet, A read now what creature this may be?

For this is the very portraiture and image of a parafite, who keepes about the frying pan (as Eupolis faith) of his good friends, and waiteth where the cloth is laid: But as touching thefe things, let us referre them to their proper place for to be discoursed more at large. Howbeit, for the prefent let us not leave behinde us one notable devise and cunning cast; that a flatterer hath in his imitations; to wit, that if he do counterfeit some good qualitie that is in him whom he doth starts, yet he giveth him alwaies the upper hand: For antiong those that be true friends; there is not emulation at al, no jealousse or envy betweene one & another: but whether they be equall in welding or come behinde; they take all in good part and never grieve at the matter. But the states rer bearing well in minde that he in everie place, is to play the second part, yeeldeth alwaies in his imitation the equalitie from himselfe, and doth affect to counterfeit another so, as he will be the inferiour, giving the superioritie unto the other in all things but those which are naught, for therein he chalengeth to himselfe the victoric over his friend. If he be somewhat mall-content

and hard to be pleafed, then will the flatterer professe himselse to be starke melancholike: if his friend be somewhat too religious or superstitious, then will he make semblance as though he were rapt and transported altogether with the seare of the gods: If the other be amorous, he wil be in love surious: when the other saith I laughed a good; but I (will he say againe) laughed until I was well necre dead. But in good things it is cleane contrarie, for when he speaketh of good soomnanship he wil say, I runne swiftly indeed, but you thy away. Againe, I sit a horse and rid reasonable wel; but what is that to this Hippo-Centaure here for good horsemanship? Also, I have a pretie gift in Poetrie (I must needs say) and am not the worst verifiser in the world; but

To thunder verses I have no skill, To Iupiter there leave that I will.

in these and such like speeches two things at once he doth: for first he seemeth to appropose the enterprise of the other as singular good, because he doth imitate him; and secondly he sheweth that his sufficiencie therein is incomparable and not to be matched, in that he consessed him felter to come short of him. And thus much of the different marks betweene a statterer and a

friend as touching their refemblances.

Now, forafmuch as there is a communitie of delectation and pleafure in them both (as I have faid before) for that an honest man taketh no lesse joy and comfort in his friends, than a lewd person in flatterers, let us consider likewise the distinction betweene them in this behalfe. The onely way to diffinguish them a funder in this point, is to marke the drift and end of the 20 delectation both in the one and the other; which a man may fee more electely by this example: There is in a liveete ointment an odoriferous smell; so is there also in an Antidote or medicine; but herein lieth the difference, for that in the ointment above faid, there is a reference to pleasure onely, and to nothing else; but in the Antidote, beside the delectation that the odor yeeldeth, there is a respect also of some medicinable vertue; namely either to purge and clense the bodie, or to heate and chafe it, or elfe to incarnate and make new flesh to come. Againe, Painters do grinde and mixe freth colours and lively tinctures; fo the Apothecarie hath drugs and medicines of a beautifull and pleafant colour to the cie, that it would do a man good to look upon them. But wherein is the difference? Is there any man to groffe that conceiveth not readily, that the ods lieth in the use or end, for which both the one and the other be ordained? Sem-30 blably the mutuall offices and kindneffes that paffe from friend to friend, befide the honeftie and profite that they have, bring with them also that which is pleasing and delectable, as if fome deinty and lively flowers grew thereupon: For fomerime friends use plaies and pastimes one with another: they invite one another, they eate and drinke together: yea and otherwhiles (beleeve me) you shall have them make themselves mery and laugh hartily, jesting, gauding, and disporting one with another; all which serve as pleasant fauces to season their other serious and honest affaires of great weight and consequence. And to this purpose serve wel these verses:

With pleasant discourses from one so another They made themselves mery, being mes sogether. Also,

And nothing elfedisjoined our amity, Nor parted our pleasures and mutually lity.

But the whole worke of a flatterer, and the onely marke that he shooteth at, is alwaies to devise, prepare and confect, as it were, some play or sport, some action and speech, with pleafure and to do pleasure. And to knit up all briefly in one word; he is of opinion that he ought to do all for to be pleasant: whereas the true friend doing alwaies that which his dutie requireth, many times pleasterh, and as often againe he is displeasant: not that his intention is to displease at any time; however he fee it expedient and better so to do; he will not sticke to be a little hardh and unpleasant. For like as a Physician when neede requireth, putterh in some Saffron or Spiknard into his medicine; yea and otherwhile perintiteth his patient a delicate bath, or liberall 50 and deinty dietro his ful contentment: but sometimes for it againe, leaving out all sweet odors, casteth in Castorem;

Or Polium which firing fent doth weeld And finkes most of all herbes in field.

or elle he brufeth and stampeth some Ellebore, and forceth his patient to drinke of that potion; not proposing either in the former medicine pleasure, nor in the latter displeasure for the end; but both by the one and the other; training the sicke person under his hand to one & the same effect of his cure, to wir, his good and the health of his body; even so it is with a true friend:

one while with praifes and gracious words he extolleth and cheereth up his friend, inciting him thereby alwaies to that which is good and honest, as he in Homer,

To discerne a flatterer from a friend.

Deere heart Sir Teucer worthie sonne of Telamon that Knight. Come Prince and floure of valiant knights, Shoot thus your arrowes flight. And another, How can I ever put out of minde Heavenly Vlysses a Prince so kinde?

Contrariwife, anotherwhile where there is need of chaftifement and correction, he will not 10 spare but use sharpe and biting words: yea, and that free speech which carrieth with it an affection carefull to do good, and fuch as in deed befeemeth a tutor and governour, much after this manner:

What Menelaus! how ever that from Iupiter you discend: You play the foole, for folly such I cannot you commend.

It falleth out so likewise, that sometime he addeth deeds to words. And thus Menedemus shut the doore against the sonne of Aslepiades his friend, and would not deigne once to falute him. because he was a riotous youth, and lived dissolutely and out of all order: by which meanes he 20 was reclaimed from loofe life, and became an honest man. Arcesslass in like maner excluded Battes out of his schoole, and would not suffer him to enter, because in a Comedie that he composed, he had made one verse against Cleanthes; but afterwards Battus repenting of that he had done, and making fatisfaction unto Cleanthes, was pardoned and received againe into his favor. For a man may offend his friend with intention to dochim good; but he must not proceed fo farre in displeasing him, that thereby he breake or undo the knot of friendship: he ought (I say) to use a sharpe rebuke, as a Physician doth some bitter or tart medicine, to save or peserve the life of his patient. And a good friend is to play the part of a Mulician, who to bring his inftrument into tune, and fo to keepe it, setteth up these strings, and letteth downe those: and so ought a friend to exchange profit with pleafure, and use one with another, as occasion serveth, obser- 10 ving still this rule often times, to be pleasing unto his friend, but alwaies profitable: whereas the flatterer being used evermore to sing one note, and to play upon the same string, that is to say, To please: and in all his words and deeds, to aime at nothing els but the contentment of him whom he flattereth, can not skill either in act to refift, or in speech to reproove and offend him; but goeth on still in following his humor, according alwaids with him in one tune, and keeping the same note just with him.

Now, as Xenophon writeth of king Agefiland, that he was well apaied to be commended of them who he knew would also blame him if there were cause; so we are to thinke well of friendthip when it is pleasant, delightsome and cheereful, if otherwhiles also it can displease and crosse againe; but to have in fuspition the conversation and acquaintance of such, as never doe or say 40 any thing but that which is pleafing, continually keeping one course without change, never rubbing where the gall is, nor touching the forc, without reproofe and contradiction. We ought (Ifay) to have ready alwaies in remembrance the faying of an ancient Laconian, who hearing king Charilaus fo highly praifed and extolled; And how possibly (quoth he) can be be good, who is never tharpe or levere unto the wicked? The gad-file (as they fay) which useth to plague bulles and oxen, letleth about their cares, and fo doth the tick deale by dogges: after the fame maner, flatterers take holde of ambitious mens cares, and possesse them with praises; and being once for fast there, hardly are they to be removed and chased away. And here most needfull it is, that our judgement be watchfull and observant, and doe discerne whether these praises be attributed to the thing or the person; wee shall perceive that the thing it selfe is praised, if so they commend men rather ablent than in place: also if they desire and affect that themselves which they do so like and approve in others: again, if they praise not us alone; but all others, for the semblable qualities: likewise, if they neither say nor do one thing now, and another time the contrary. But the principall thing of all other, is this; If we our felves know in our owne ferret conscience, that we neither repent nor be ashanged of that, for which they so commend usine yet wish in our hearts, that we had faid or done the contrary; for the inward judgement of our mind and foule bearing witnesse against such praises, and not admitting thereof, is youd of affections

and passions, wherby it neither can be touched nor corrupted and surprised by a flatterer, Howbeit, I know not how it commeth about, that the most part of men can not abide nor receive the confolations which be ministred unto them in their adversities, but rather take delight and comfort in those that weepe, lament and mourne with them : and yet the same men having offended or being delinquent in any ductie, if one come and find fault or touch them to the quicke therefore, do strike and imprint into their hearts remorfe and repentance, they take him for no better than an accuser and enemie: contrariwise, let one highly commend and magnific that which they have done; him they falute and embrace, him they account their wel-willer and friend in deed. Now, who loever they be that are ready to praise and extoll with applause and clapping to of hands, that which one hath done or faid, were it in catneft or in game; fuch (I fay) are dangerous and hurtfull for the prefent onely, and in those things which are next hand; but those, who with their praises pierfe as farre as to the maners within, and with their flatteries proceed to corrupt their inward natures and dispositions, I can liken unto those slaves or honsholde servants, who rob their masters, not onely of that come which is in the heape, & lieth in the garners, but also of the very seed; for the inclination and towardnesse of a man, are the seed that bring forth all his actions, and the habitude of conditions and maners, are the very fource and head from whom runneth the course of our whole life, which they pervert in giving to vices the names of vertues. Thucydides in his storie writeth: That during civill seditions and warres, men transferred the accustomed fignifications of words unto other things, for to justifie their deeds: for de-20 sparate rashnesse, without all reason, was reputed valour, and called Love-friend: provident delay and temporizing, was taken for decent cowardife: Modestie and temperance, was thought to be a cloke of effeminate unmanlinesse: a prudent and wary circumspection in all things, was held for a generall flouth and idlenesse. According to which precedent, we are to consider and observe in flatterers, how they terme prodigalitie by the name of liberalitie; cowardise is nothing with them but heedfull warinesse: brainsicknesse they entitle promptitude, quicknesse, and celeritie: base and mechanicall niggardise, they account temperate frugalitie. Is there one full of love and given to be amorous? him they call good fellow, a boun-companion, a man of a kinde and good nature. See they one halfie, wrathfull, and proud withall? him they will have to be hardie, valiant and magnanimous: contrariwife, one of a base minde and abject spirit, they 30 will grace with the attribute of fellow-like, and full of humanity. Much like to that which Plato hath written in one place: That the amorous lover is a flatterer of those whom he loveth. For if they be flat nofed like a shoing horne, such they call lovely and gracious: be they hawk nofed like a griffin, oh, that is a kingly fight fay they: those that be blacke of colour, are manly; white of complexion, be Gods children. And as for the terme Melichriis, that is, Hony-coloured, it is alwaics (verily) a flattering word, devised by a lover, to mitigate and diminish the odiousnesse of apale hue, which he seemeth by that sweet name, not to mislike, but to take in the best parr. And verily if hee that is foule & ill favoured, be borne in hand that he is faire and beautifull, or one of small & lowe stature made believe that he is goodly & tall; he neither continueth long in this his error, neither is the damage that he fufteineth thereby greevous & great, nor unrecove-40 rable: but the praises which induce & inure a man to beleeve, That vice is vertue, infomuch that he is nothing at all discontented in his sinne and greeved therefore, but rather taketh pleasure therein: those also which take away from us all thame and abashment to commitsaults; such were they that brought the Sicilians to ruine, and gave them occasion to beautifie or colour the tyrannie and crueltie of Denys and Phalaris, with the goodly names of Inflice and Hatted of wickednesse: These were the overthrow of Aeg ppt, in cloking the esseminate wantonnesse, the furious superstition, the yelling noises after a fanaticall maner of king Ptolomeus, together with the marks that he caried of Lillies and Tabours in his body, with the glorious names of Devotion, Religion, and the service of the gods. And this was it that at the same time went very neere, and had like to have corrupted and spoiled for ever the maners and fashions of the 50 Romanes, which before were so highly reputed, to wit, naming the riotousnes of Antonie, his loofenes, his fuperfluous delights, his fumptuous thewes & publike feafts, with their profusion and wasting of so much monie, by smooth and gentle termes of courtesies, and meriments full of humanitie, by which difguifements and pretexts, his fault was mollified or diminished in abusing so excessively the grandence of his puissance & fortune. And what was it else that made Ptolomaus to put on the malque or mussle (as it were) of a piper, and to hang about him pipes and fluited What was it that caused 2 groto mount up the Stage to act Tragedies, with a visour over his face, and buskins on his legs? was it not the praise of fuch flatterers as these? And are

not most of our kings being when they fing finall and fine, after a puling maner, saluted Apolloes for their mulicker and if they drinke untill they be drunke, honored with the names of Bacchus the god of wine: and when they seeme a little to wrestle or trie some feats of activitie, stiled by and by with the glorious addition of Hercules, brought (thinke you) to exceeding dishonour & shame by this groffe flatterie, taking such pleasure as they do in these gallant surnames. And therefore we had most need to beware of a flatterer in the praises which he giveth, which himfelfe is not ignorant of, but being carefull and very fubtill in avoiding all suspicion, if haply he meet with one of these fine fooles, and delicate minions, well set out in gay apparell: or some rusticall thicke-skin, carying on his backe a good leather pilch; or (as they fay) one that feedeth grofly: fuch he will not spare but abuse with broad flattery, and make common laughing 10 flocks of them: Like as Struthias, making a very affe of Bias, and riding him up and downe, yea & infulting upon him for his fottifhnesse with praises that he would seeme to hang upon him; Thou hast (quoth he) drunk more than king Alexander the great, & with that turning to Cyprius laughed as hard as ever he could till he was ready to finke againe. But if a flatterer chance to deale with them that be more civill and elegant, and do perceive that they have a speciall eie unto him in this point, namely that they stand well upon their guard in this place, for feare lest they be furprifed by him: then he goes not to worke directly in praifing of them, but he keepeth aloofe, he fetcheth about many compasses a great way off at first, afterwards by little and little he winneth some ground and approcheth neerer and neerer, making no noise untill he can touch and handle them, much after the maner of those that come about wilde beasts, assaying 20 how to bring them to hand and make them tame and gentle. For one while he will report to fuch a one the praifes that fome other give out of him; imitating herein the Rhetoricians, who many times in their orations speake in the third person, and after this maner he will begin: I was not long fince (quoth he) in the market place, where I had fome talke with certeine strangers, and other ancient personages of good worth, whom I was glad at the heart to heare, how they recounted all the good in the world of you, and spake wonderfully in your commendation. Otherwhiles he will devife and fetch out of his owne fingers ends fome light imputations against him, yet all forged and false, agreeable to his person and condition, making semblance as if he had heard others what they faid of him, and very cunningly will he close with him, and beare him in hand that he is come in all hafte to know of him, whether ever he faid or did fo as 30 was reported of him: And if the other do denie it, (as it is no other like but he will) thereupon he takes occasion to enter into the praise and commendation of the man in this wise: I mervaile truly how that you should abuse and speake ill of any of your familiars and friends, who were never woont formuch as to miscall or say otherwise than well of your very enimies? or how it possibly could be, that you should be ready to gape after other mens goods, who use to be so liberall and bountifull of your owne? Other flatterers there be, who like as Painters to fet up their colours and to give them more beautifull light and luftre unto them, lay neere unto them others that be more darke and shadowie: so they in blaming, reprooving, reproching, traducing &deriding the contrarie vertues to those vices which are in them whom the meane to flatter, covertly and underhand do praise and approove those faults and imperfections that they 40 have, and fo in praifing and allowing, do feede and cherish the same: As for example, if they be among prodigall ding-thrifts and walters, riotous persons, covetous misers, mischievous wretches, and fuch as have raked & scraped goods together by hooke and crooke, and by all indirect means they care not how; before them they will speake basely of Temperance and Abstinence, calling itrufficitie: and as for those that live justly and with a good conscience, contenting themselves with their estate, and therin reposing suffisance, those they will nickname, heartlesse, and base minded solke, altogether insufficient to do or dare any thing. If it fall out, that they converse and be in companie with such as be idle lusks, and love to sit still at home and do nothing, forbearing to meddle with ordinarie affaires abroad in the world: they will not bash to finde fault with policie and civill government, calling the managing of State matters and com- 50 mon weale, a thankleffe intermedling in other mens affaires, with much travaile and no profit. And as for the minde and defire to be a magistrate and to fit in place of authoritie, they will not let to fay it is vaine glory and ambition, altogether fruitleffe. For to flatter and claw an oratour, they will reproove in his presence a Philosopher. Among light huswives that be wantonly given, they winne the price, and are very well accepted, if they call honest matrons and chaste dames (who content themselves with their owne husbands, and them love alone) rude and rufficall women, untaught, ill bred, unlovely and having no grace with them. But herein is the

very height of wickedneffe, that these flatterers for advantage will not spare their owne selves: For like as wrestlers debase their owne bodies and stoupe downe low otherwhiles, for to overthrow their sellowes that wrestle with them, and to lay them along on the ground; so in blaming and finding many faults with themselves, they winde in, and creepe closely to the praise and admiration of others: I am (quoth one of them) a very coward, and no better than a verie slave at sea; I can away with no labour and travell in the world; I am all in a heat of choler, and raging mad, if I heare that one hath given me any bad termes; mary as for this man (meaning him whom he slattereth) he casteth doubts at no perill and danger, all is one with him, sea or land, he can endure all hardnesse, and he counteth nothing painfull, no hurt there is in him, a so fingular man he is, and hath not his fellow, he is angry at nothing, he beareth all with patience. But say he meet with one at aventure, which standeth upon his owne bottome, and hath some great opinion of his owne sufficiency for wit and understanding who hath a desire to be austere, and not to depend upon the conceits of others, but resteth in his owne judgement; and upon a certaine uprightnesse in himselse, efficiences hath these verses in his mouth:

Sir Diomede, do not me praife fo much to more or lesse, Nor out of measure me dispraise, I lowe not such excesse.

This flatterer then, who is his owne crafts-mafter and hath thoroughly learned his trade, goeth 20 not the old way to worke in fetting upon him, but he hath another engin and device in store to affaile fuch a grim fir withall. He will make an errand to him for counfell in his owne affaires, as being the man whom he effecmeth to have more wit and wildome than himselfe. There be divers others (quoth he) with whom I have better acquaintance and familiaritie than with your felfe: Howbeit, fir I am forced of necessitie to make bold and to importune you a little: For whither elfe should wee ingram men repaire, that have neede of advice? and to whom are we to have recourse in matters of trust and secresse. And then after he hath heard once what he will fay, and it makes no matter what it be; he will take his leave, faying, that he hath received not counfell from a man, but an oracle from some god. Now before he departeth, if haply he perceive that he taketh upon him good skill and infight in litterature, he wil present unto him some 30 compositions of his owne penning, praying him withall to peruse them, yea and to correct the fame. Mithridates the king, affected and loved the art of Phylicke veriewell: by reason whereof some of his familiar friends about him, came and offered themselves to be cut and cauterifed by him: which was a meere flatterie in deed and not in word. For it feemed that they gave great testimonie of his soule, in that they put their lives into his hands:

> Of subsile spirits, thus you may see, That many formes and shapes there be.

But this kind of diffimuled praifes, requiring greater and more warie circumspection to be taken heed of, if a man would detect and convince, hee ought of purpose when hee is tempted and affailed with such flatterie, to obtrude and propose unto the flatterer absurd counsell, if he 40 seeme to demand and aske it: advertisements also and properly of the same kinde, yea and corrections without all sense and to no purpose, when he shall offer his labours to be read and perused: In so doing, if he perceive the partie suspected to be a flatterer, doth not gaines and protradict any thing, but alloweth of all and receiveth the same, yea and more than that, when he shall to everie point crie out and say, Oh well said and sufficiently: O excellent wit: be sure, then he is caught in a trap: then I say it will be found plainely according to the common byword,

That when he did a watchword crave, Some other thing he fought to have: Or as we fay (in Proverb old) Draffe was bis errand, but drinke he would,

that is to fay, hewaited for some occasion and opportunitie, by praising to pushe him up with vanitie and overweening of himselse. Moreover, like as some have defined painting to be a mute Poësie; even so praising is a kind of silent and secret staterie. Hunters (we see) then somest deceive the poore bealts, when they seeme to do nothing lesse than to hunt, making semblance as though they either travelled like waysaring men, or tended their slocks, or else tilled the ground. Semblably staterers touch those whom they statter, neerest and enter to the verie quickeby praising, when they make no shew thereof, but seeme to do nothing lesse than praise.

For he that giveth the chaire and feat to another comming in place, or as he is making an oration either in publike place before the people, or in Councell house to the Senate, breaketh off his owne speech, and yeeldeth unto him his roome, giving him leave to speake or to opine, and remaineth filent himselse: by this his silence sheweth, that he doth repute the other a better man, and of more fufficiencie for wifedome and knowledge than himfelfe, much more than if he should pronounce and ring it out aloude to the whole audience. And hereupon it is that this fort of people who make profession of flatterie, take up ordinarily the first and highest seats, aswell at sermons and publike orations whither men flocke to heare, as at the Theaters and shewen places, not that they thinke themselves worthie of such places, but because they may rise and make roome for better & richer persons as they come, and thereby flatter them kindly. This 10 we see also, that in solemne assemblies and great meetings or auditories, they are by their good wils the first that put themselves forth, and make offer to begin speech; but it is for nothing else, but that afterward they would feeme to quit the place and give affent to their betters, foone retracting their owne opinions, when they heare a mightie man, a rich or noble personage in authoritie to contradict and say the contrarie. And here we ought most of all to be circumspect and warie, that we may evict them of this, That all this courting, this giving place, this yeelding of the victorie and reverence made unto others, is not for any more sufficiencie that they acknowledge in them, for their knowledge, experience and vertues; ne yet for their worthinesse *Plinie repor- in regard of elder age, but only for their wealth, riches, credit, and reputation in the world. *Meteth this of K. gaby fus a great Lord belonging to the kings court of Persia, came upon a time to visit Apelles 20 not of Mega- the painter : and fitting by him in his shop to see him worke, began of his owne accord to discourse I wot not what, of lines, shadowes and other matters belonging to his art: Apelles hearing him, could not hold but faid unto him; See you not fir thefelitle prentife boies here that grinde Oker and other colours? So long as you face still and faid never a word, they advised you well and their eie was never off, wondering to fee your rich purple robes, your chaines and jewels of gold, no fooner began you to speake, but they fell to teighing, and now they laugh you to skorne, talking thus as you doe of those things which you never learned. And solon being demaunded once by Crafus King of Lydia, what men he had seene whom he reputed most happic in this world? named unto him one Tellus, none of the great men of Athens, but a good plaine and meane citizen, Cleobis also and Biton: and these he said were of all others most fortu- 30 nate. But these flatterers will affirme that Kings and Princes, rich men and rulers, are not onely bleffed, happie and fortunate; but also excell all others in wisedome, knowledge and vertue. There is not one of them that can endure fo much as to heare the Stoicks, who hold, that the fage and wife man (fuch a one as they depaint unto us) ought all at once to be called, rich, faire, noble, yea and a king: whereas our flatterers will have the rich man onely, whom they are disposed to flatter, to be an Oratour and a Poet; yea and if he will himselfe, a painter, a good piper, passing light of foote and strong of limmes; infomuch, as who foever wrestleth with him, shall be sure to take the foile and lye along; and whomsoever he runneth with in the race, he shall come behinde him a faire deale, but how? Surely even as Criffon the Himeraan lagged for the nonce behind King Alexander the Great, when he ran with him for the best game: for which 40 the King was highly displeased & wroth at him, when he once perceved it. Carneades was woont to fay, that the fons of Kings and great rich men, learned to do nothing well and right, but onely to fit and ride an horse. For that their masters are woont to flatter and praise them in all their schooles where they be taught: for if they be at the exercise of wrestling, you shall have him that wreftleth with them, of purpose to take a fall and lie under them: Marie, the horse not knowing nor having the reason to discerne a private mans some from a prince; nor whether he be poore or rich that fits upon his backe, will be fure to cast him over his head and lay him along who foever he be, that cannot skill how to hold and rule him. Bion therefore was but a verie lob and foole in faying thus: If I wish that with praising a peece of ground I could make it good, rich and fertile, it should want for no praises; and rather would I commend it than toile and so moile in digging, tilling, & doing worke about it. And yet I will not fay, that a man is too blame and doth amisse in praising: if so be, that those who are praised be the better and more fruitfull in all good things for it. Howbeit to come againe into the ground before faid; a field being praised never so much is not the worse nor lesse sertile therefore: but I assure you they that

commend folke falfely, and beyond their defert and due, puffe them full of winde and vanitie,

and worke their overthrow in the end. But now having discoursed sufficiently upon this article

and point of praises, let us proceed forward to treat of franknes and libertie of speech.

And verily meete and reason it had beene, that as Patroelau when he put on the armour of Achilles, and brought forth his horses of service to battell, durst not meddle with his speare Pelias, but left it onely untouched; fo a flatterer alfo, although he maske and difguise himselse withother habits, ornaments and enlignes of a friend, should let this libertic onely of speech alone, and not once go about to touch or counterfeit it, as being indeed

Moston of Such poise and weight

So big withall so stiffe and streight, shot of all others it belongeth onely to friend hip for to be caried and welded by it. But for as much, as our flatterers now a daies are afraid to be detected in laughing in their cups, in their to jetts, scoffes, and gamefornemirth, therefore to avoide such discovery, they have learned for footh to knit and bend the browes, they can skill iwis, to flatter, and yet looke with a frowning face and crabbed countenance, they have the cast to temper with their glavering gloses some rough reprehensions, and chiding checks among: let us not overpasse this point untouched, but consider and examine the same likewise. For mine owne part I am of this minde; That as in a Comedie of Menander, there comes in a counterfeit Hercules to play his part upon the stage with a club on his shoulder, that is (you may bee sure) nothing massie, heavie, stiffe and strong, but some device and gawd, hollow and emptie within, made of browne paper or such like stuffe; Even so, that plaine and free speech which a flatterer useth, will bee found light, foft, and without any strength at all to give a blow: much like (to fav truly) unto the foft 20 bed pillowes that women lie on, which feeming full and plumpe to refift and beare out against their heads, yeeld and finke under the fame fo much the more: For after the fame maner, this counterfeit free speech of theirs puffed up full of winde, or else stuffed with some deceitfull light matter, feemeth to rife up, to swell, and beare out hard & stiffe, to the end that being preffed downe once (and both fides as it were comming together) it might receive; enlap and enfold him that chaunceth to fall thereupon, and so carie him away with it. Whereas the true and friendly libertie of speech indeed, taketh hold of those that are delinquent and do offend, bringing with it a kinde of paine for the time, which notwithstanding is holsome and healthfull: refembling heerein the nature of honie, which being applied to a fore or ulcerous place, at the first doth smart and sling; but it doth clense and mundifie withall, and otherwise is profitable, 30 sweete and pleasant. But as touching this plaine dealing and franke speech, I will write a part of purpose in place convenient. As for the flatterer he maketh shew at the first, that he is rough, violent, and inexorable in all dealings with others: For over his servants he carieth a hard hand, and is not pleased with their service, with his familiars, acquaintance and kinsfolke he is sharpe and eager, ready to finde fault with every thing; he maketh no reckoning nor account of any man but himselse; he despiseth and disdaineth all the world besides; there is not a man living that he will pardon and forgive; he blameth and accuse the every one; and his whole studie is to win the name & reputation of a man that hateth vice, & in that regard careth not whom he doth provoke, and whose displeasure he incur: as who, for no good in the world would he hired to hold his toting, nor willingly forbeare to fpeake plainly the truth; who with his good will would 40 never speake or do any thing to sooth up and please another: Then will he make semblance as though he neither faw nor tooke knowledge of any great and groffe finnes indeed: but if peradventure there be some light and small outward faults, he will make soule a doo thereat, he will keepe a woondring and crying out upon them: then shall you have him in good earnest exclaime and reproove the delinquent with a loud and founding voice: As for example, if hee chance to espie the implements or any thing esseabout the house lie out of order; if a man be not well and neately lodged; if his beard be not of the right cut, or his haire grow out of fa-Thion; if a garment fit not handfomly about him, or if a horse or hound be not so carefully tended as they should be. But say that a man set nought by his parents, neglect his owne children, miluse his wife, disdaine and despise his kinred, spend and consume his goods; none of all 50 these enormities touch and moove him: Heere he is mute and hath not a word to fay; he dares not reprove these abuses: much like as if a Master of the wrestling schoole, who suffreth a wrestler that is under his hand to be a drunkard and a whooremonger, should chide and rebuke him sharpely about an oile cruse or curry-combe; or as if a Grammarian should finde fault with his scholar and chide him for his writing tables or his pen, letting him goe away cleere with folæcismes, incongruities and barbarismes, as if he heard them not. Also I can liken a flatteter to him, who will not blame an ill authour, or ridiculous Rhetorician in any thing as touching his oration it felfe; but rather reprooveth him for his utterance, and sharpely taketh him

And

up for that by drinking of cold water he hath hurthis winde-pipe, and fo marred his voice; or to one who being bidden to reade over and perufe a poore feely Epigram or other writing that is nothing woorth, taketh on and fareth against the paper wherein it is written, for being thicke, course or rugged; or against the writer, for negligent, flovenly or impure otherwise. Thus the claw-backs and flatterers about king Prolomato, who would feeme to love good letters, and to be desirous of learning, used ordinarily to draw out their disputations and conferences at length, even to midnight, debating about some glosse or signification of a word, about a verse, or touching fome historie: but all the while there was not one among fo many of them; they munder-would tell him of his crueltie, of his wrongs and oppressions; ne yet of his hidranning; tame in the son cex-bouring, and other enormious indignities, under the colour of religion; and steke to reforme pound it, beat him. Certes a foolith fellow were he, who comming to a man difeated with tumors, fwellings, impostumes, or hollow ulcers, called Fistulaes, should with a Chirurgians launcet, or Barbers endgels, and rufor, fall to cut his haires, or pare his nailes; even fo it fareth with these flatterers; who applie oppositing the their libertie of speech to such things, as neither are in paine, nor yet do any hurt. Moreover, fome others there bee of them, who being more cunning and craftic then their fellowes, and use this plainnesse of language and reprehension of theirs, for to please and make sport withall. Thus Agis the Argive, feeing how Alexander the great, gave very great rewards and gifts to a certaine pleafant and odde fellow that was a jefter, cried out for verie envie and dolour of heart; O great abuse and monstrous absurditie: The King hearing it, turned about unto him in great displeasure and indignation, demaunding of him what he had to say? I confesse (quoth se) indeed, that I am grieved, and I thinke it a great indignitie, when I see all you that are descended from *Impiter* and his fonnes, to take pleasure in flatterers and jesters about you, for to make you merric. For even fo Hercules tooke adelight to have in his company certaine ridiculous Cecropes, and Bacchus had ever in his traine the Silenes. In your court likewife, a man may fee fuch to be in credite and highly efteemed. When Tiberius Cafar the Emperor upon a certeine day was come into the Senate house of Rome, one of the Senators who knew how to flatter, arose and stood up, and with a good loud voice; Meete it is (quoth he) ô Cafar that men free borne, should likewife have the libertie of speech, and speake their minds frankly, without diffimuling or concealing any thing which they know to be good and profitable: with this speech of his, he stirred up the attention of the whole house, so as they gave 30 good care unto him, and Tyberius himselfe listened what he would say. Now when all was still and in great filence; Hearken (quoth he) ô Cafar, what it is that we all accuse and blame you for, but no man dare be so bolde as to speake it out : You neglect your selfe, and have no regard of your owne person; you consume and spoile your body with continual cares and travels for our fake, taking no rest nor repose either day or night. Now when he had drawen out a long traine of words to this purpose, Cassus Severus a Rhetorician, stood up, and by report said thus; Such libertic of speech as this, will be the utter undoing of this man. But these flatteries are of the lighter fort, and doe leffe hurt: there be other more dangerous, which worke the mischiefe and corruption of those who are not wife, and take no heed unto them; namely, when flatterers set in hand to reproove them whom they flatter, for the contrary vices to those that be in them. 40 Thus Himerius the flatterer reproched a certaine rich man of Athens, the veriest pinching inifer and the most covetous withall, that was in the whole city, with the imputations of prodigality, and negligence about his owne profit and gaine; charging him that one day he would fmart for it, and both he and his children be hunger-sterved for want wherwith to susteine themfelves, if he looked no better to his thrift: or when they object miferable niggardife and beggerie, unto those that are knowen to be prodigall spenders, and consume all. After which maner, Titus Petronius reprooved Nero. Againe, if they come to princes and great lords, who deale cruelly and hardly with their subjects and tenants, faying unto them. That they must lay away this overmuch lenity and foolish pitty of theirs, which neither is seemely for their persons, nor yet profitable for their state. And very like to these, is he who maketh semblance to him who is 50 avery senselesse for and soolish soole, that he stands in great seare and doubt of him, lest hee should be circumvented by him, as if he were some cautelous, crafty and comping person. He alfo, that doth rebuke another, who is an ordinary flanderer, who taketh pleafure (upon fpight and envie) to be ever railing on all men, and backe-biting them, if hee chance any one time to breake out into the praise of some woorthy and excellent personage, saying in this maner unto him; This is a greatfault that you have, and a disease that followeth you, thus to praise men of no woorth: What is he (I pray you) whom you thus commend? what good parts be in him?

hath he at any time done any doughty deed, or delivered any fingular speech that might deserve fuch praises? But in amatorious and love matters they passe: there you shall have them most of all to come over those whom they flatter and lay on load; to them they will joine close, and fet them on a flaming fire. For if they fee brethren at some variance, or setting nought by their parents, or els to deale unkindly with their owne wives, and to fet no store by them, or to be icalous and fuspicious of them; they never admonish, chastice or rebuke them for it, that they may amend; but rather they will kindle more coales betweene, and encrease their anger and discontentment on both sides: Nay, it is no great matter (will they say,) it is even well enough; you will never fee and know who you are you are the cause of all this your owne selfe; and selfe do, felfe have; you evermore have borne your felves so pliable, submisse and lowly toward them, that you are but rightly ferved. But fay there be some itching heat of love, or smart anger upon jealoufit, in regard of a courtifan or married wife, whom the party is amourous of; then shall you see a flatterer ready at hand to display his cunning openly, and to speake his minde freely unto him, putting fire to fire and feeding his love; you thall have him to lay the law upon this lover, accusing and entring processe against him in these termes: You have broken the lawes of love; you have done and faid many things not fo kindly as beformed a true louer, but rather dealt hardly with your love, and enough to lofe her heart, and incurre her hatred for euer;

> Vnthankefull person that thou art. For kisses so many of thy sweet hart.

Thus the flattering friends of Antoniu, when he burned in love of the Aegyptian queene Cleopatra, would perfivade and make him beleeve, that the it was who was enamoured upon him, and by way of opprobrious imputation they would tell him to his face, that he was proud, difdirally hard hearted, and void of all kinde affection. This noble queene (would they fay) for faking fo mighty and wealthy a kingdome, so many pleasant palaces, and stately houses of blessed abode, such meanes and opportunities of happinesse, for the love of you pineth away, and consume therselfe, trudging after your campe to and fro, for to doe your Honour content and pleasure with the habit and title of your Concubine,

Whiles you in brest do eary an hart Which will not be wrought by any art.

30 neglecting her (good lady) and fuffering her to perish for sorow and hearts griefe. Whereupon he being well enough pleafed to heare himfelfe thus charged with wrong doing to her, and taking more pleasure in these accusations of theirs, than if they had directly praised him, was so blinde that he could not fee how they that feemed thus to admonish him of his duetie, perverted and corrupted him thereby so much the more. For this counterfeit liberty of plaine dealing and plaine speech, may be very well likened to the wanton pinches and bitings of luxurious women, who tickle and ftirre up the lust and pleasure of men by that which might seeme to cause their paine. For like as pure wine, which otherwise of it selse is a fure remedy against the poifon of hemlocke, if a man doe mingle it with the juice of the faid hemlocke, doth mightily enforce the poison thereof, and make it irremediable, for that by meanes of the heat it conveieth 40 the fame more speedily unto the heart; even so these lewd and mischievous slatterers, knowing full wel that franke speech is a singular helpe and remedy against flattery, abuse it to flatter withall. And therefore it seemeth that Bias answered not so well as he might have done, to one that asked of him, which was the shrewdest and most hurtfull beast of all other: If (quoth he) your question be of wilde and savage, a Tyrant is worse; if of tame and gentle, a Flatterer. For hec might have faid more truely; that of Flatterers some be of a tame kinde, such (I meane) as these paralites are who haunts the baines and ftouphes; those also that follow good cheere and keepe about the table. As for him, who (like as the Pourcuttle fish stretcheth out his clawes like branches) reacheth as farte as to the secretchambers and cabinets of women, with his busic intermedling, with his calumniations and malicious demeanors, such a one is savage, fell, intractable 50 and dangerous to be approched.

Now one of the meanes to beware of this flatterie, is to know and remember alwaies, that our foule confilteth of two parts, whereof the one is addicted to the truth, loving honeftie and reason; the other more brutility, of the owne nature unreasonable, given to untruth and withall passionate. A true friend assisted the vermore the better part, in giving counsell and comort, even as an expert and skilfull Physition, who hath ancie that aimeth alwaies at the maintenance and encrease of health; but the flatterer doth apply himselse, and settleth to that part which is voide of reason and full of passions: this he scratcheth, this he tickleth continually, this

he stroketh and handleth in such fort, by devising some vicious and dishonest pleasures, that he withdraweth and turneth it away quite from the rule and guidance of reason. Moreover, as there be some kind of viands, which if a man eate, they neither turne unto blood, nor ingender spirits, ne yet adde vigor and strength to the nerves and the marrow; but all the good they do is haply to cause the flesh or genitall parts to rise, to stirre and loose the belly, or to breed some foggie, fantom and halfe rotten flesh, which is neither fast nor found within; even so, if a man looke necrely and have good regard unto a flatteror, he shall never finde that all the words he useth, minister or procure one jot of good to him that is wife and governed by reason; but feed sooles with the pleafant delights of love; kindle and augment the fire of inconfiderate anger; provoke them unto envie; breed in them an odious and vaine prefumption of their owne wit; increase 10 their forrow and griefe, with moaning them and lamenting with them for companie; feton worke and exasperate their inbred naughtinesse and lewed disposition; their illiberall minde and covetous nature; their diffidence and distrustfulnesse of others; their base and servile timiditie, making them alwaies worfe, and apt to conceive ill; more fearefull; jealous and suspicious, by the meanes of fome new accusations, false furmises and conjecturall suggestions, which they be ready to put into their heads. For evermore it getteth closely into some vicious passion and affection of the minde, and there lurketh; the fame it nouriffeth and feedeth fat, but anon it appeereth like a botch, rifing eftfoones upon the corrupt, difeafed or inflamed parts of the foule. Arythou angrie with one? punish him (faith he:) Hast thou a minde to a thing & buy it, and make no more adoc: Art thou never fo little afraid? let us flie and be gon: Sufpe creft thou this 20 or that? believe it confidently (faith he.) But if peradventure, he can hardly be feene and discovered about these passions, for that they be so mightie and violent, that oftentimes they chase and expell all use of reason, he will give some vantage to be sooner taken in others that be not fo ftrong and vehement, where we shall find him alwaies the same and like himselfe. For say, a man do suspect that he hath taken a surfeit, either by over liberall feeding or drinking headie wine, and upon that occasion make some doubt to bathe his bodie, or to eate presently againe and lay gorge upon gorge (as they fay:) A true friend wil advice him to forbeare & abstaine; he will admonifh him to take heed to himfelfe and looke to his health: In comes a flatterer, and he will draw him to the baine in all halte; he will bid him to call for some noveltie or other to be fer upon the boord, willing him to fall fresh to it againe, and not to punish his body and do himfelfe injurie, by falting and refusing his meate and drinke: Also if he see him not disposed to take a journey by land or voyage by tea, or to go about any enterprise whatsoever it be, slowly and with an ill will, he will fay unto him; either that there is no fuch great need, or the time is not fo convenient, but it may be put off to a farther daie, or it will ferve the turne well enough to fend others about it. Now if it fall out fo, that he having made promife to fome familiar friend, either to lend or let him have the use of some money, or to give him it freely, do change his minde and repent of his promife; but yet be somewhat abashed and ashamed thus to breake his word; the flatterer by and by will put himfelfe to the worfe and lighter end of the ballance. and make it weigh downe on the purse side, soone excluding and cutting off all shame for the matter: What man! (will be fay) Spare your purse and save your silver; you are at a great 40 charge; you keepe a great house, and have many about you which must be maintained and have fufficient; in such fort, that if we be not altogether ignorant of our felves, and wilfully blinde, not feeing that we be coverous, fhameleffe, timorous and bafe minded, we cannot choose but flart and finde out a flatterer; neither is it possible that he should escape us. For surely he will evermore defend and maintaine these impersections, and frankly will be speake his minde in favour thereof, if he perceive us to over passe our selves therein. But thus much may suffice as touching these matters.

Let us come now to the uses and services that a flatterer is employed in: For in such offices he doth confound, trouble, and darken much the difference betweene him and a true friend; shewing himselfe in apparence, alwaies diligent, ready and prompt in all occurrences, without 50 feeking any colourable pretenses of shifting off, and a resulting to do any thing As for a faithfull friend, his whole carriage and behaviour is simple, like as be the words of truth, as faith Eurypides, without wells and gards, plaine without plaits, and nothing counterfeit: whereas the conditions of a flatterer to say a truth,

By nature are difeafed much,

And medicines needfull are for fuch,
not only with wildome to be ministred and applied, but also many in number, and those (I affire

vou) of a more exquisite making and composition than any other. And verily as friends many times when they meet one another in the street, passe by without good-morrow or god speed, or any word at all betweene them; onely by fome lightfome looke, cheerefull fmile, or amiable regard of the eie reciprocally given and taken, without any other token els, there is tellified the good-will and mutuall affection of the heart within : whereas the flatterer runneth toward his friend to meet him, followeth apace at his heeles, fpreadeth foorth both his armes abroad, and that afarre off, to embrace him: and if it chance that he be faluted and spoken to first, because the other had an eie on him before, he will with brave words excuse himselfe, yea, and many times call for witneffes, and bind it with great oathes good store, that he saw him not. Even so likewise 10 in their affaires and negociations abroad in the world, friends omit and overflip many fmall and light things, not fearthing narrowly into matters, not offering or expecting againe any exquiquisit service; nothing curious and busie in ech thing, ne yet putting themselves forward to everie kinde of ministerie: but the flatterer is herein double diligent, he will be continually emploied and never rest, without seeming at any time to be weary, no place, no space nor opportunity will he give the other to do any service; he looketh to be called unto and commanded; and if he be not bidden, he will take it ill and be displeased; nay you shall have him then out of heart and discouraged, complaining of his ill fortune, and protesting before God and man, as if he had fome great wrong done unto him. These be evident marks and undoubted arguments to such as have wit and understanding, not of a friendship found, sober & honest, but rather smelling of 20 wanton and whorish love, which is more ready to embrace and clip, than is decent and seemely. Howbeit, to examine the fame more particularly, let us confider what difference there is betweene a flatterer and a friend, as touching the offers and promifes that they make. They who have written of this theame before us, say very well, that a friends promite goeth in this forme,

If that I can, or if it may be done, Fulfil I will your minde, and that right foone. but the offer of a flatterer runneth in this maner, What would you have? fay but the word to me,

Without all doubt, effected it shall be.

For such franke promisers and braggers as these, the Poets also use to bring unto the Stage in 30 their Comedies, after this sort;

Now of all loves, Nicomachus, this I crave, Set me against this souldier here so brave, I will so swinge his cost, you shall it see, I hat like a pompion his sless shall tender be: His sace, his head I shall much softer make, Than is the spunge that growes in sea or lake.

Moreover, you shall not see a friend offer his helping hand or aide in any action, unlesse he were called before to counsell, and his opinion asked of the enterprise, or that he have approoved and set downe the same upon good advisement, to be either honest or profitable: whereas as the flatterer, if a man should do him so much credit, as to require his consent and approbation, or otherwise request him to deliver his opinion of the thing, he, not onely upon a desire to yeeld unto others and to gratific them; but also for seare to give any suspicion that he would seem to draw backe and avoid to set his hand to any worke or businesse whatsoever, is readie with the formost to applie himselse to the appetite and inclination of another, yea and withall, pricketh and inciteth him sorward to enter upon it. And yet lightly you shall find even of rich men and kings, but sew or none who can or will come forth with these words;

Would God some one that needy is and poore, Tea, woorse than be that begs from doore to doore, Would come to me (so that he were my friend) Without all feare, and speake to me his mind.

But now adaies it is farre otherwise; for they are much like unto composers of Tragedies, who will be provided of a quire or dance of their friends to sing with them, or desire to have a Theatre of purpose to give applause and clap their hands unto them. And verily whereas Merope in a certeine Tragedie giveth these sage and wise advertisements;

Take those for friends, I reed, and holde them so, Whose speech is sound, and waves not to and fro: But those that please thy minde in word and deed,

13

Count

Count leved, and such locke forth of doore with speed.

Our Potentates and Grand Seigneurs doe cleane contrary; for fuch as will not follow their humors, and foothe them up at every word, but gain-fay their courses, in making remonstrance of that which is more profitable and expedient; such they disdaine and will not vouchsafe them a good looke. But for those wicked wretches, base minded varlets, and coosening impostors, who can curry favor, they not onely fet their doores wide open for fuch, and receive them into their honses, but they admit them also to conferences with their inward affections and the very secrets of their heart. Among whom you shall have one more plaine perhaps and simple than the rest, who will say, that it is not for him, neither is he woorthy to deliberate and consult of so great affaires; mary he could be content, and would take upon him, to be a poore fervitour and 10 minister, to execute whatsoever were concluded and enjoined him to doe: another more craftie and cunning than his fellowes, is willing enough to be used in counsell, where he will heare all doubts and perils that be cast; his eie-browes shall speake if they will, his head and eies shall nod and make figures, but his tongue shall not speake a word: Say that the partie whom he mindeth to flatter, do utter his minde and what he thinketh good to do: then will he crie out aloud and fay, By Hercules I sweare, it was at my tongues end to have faid as much, had you not prevented me and taken the word out of my mouth, I would have given you the veriefame counsell. For like as the Mathematicians do affirme, that the superficial and outward extremities, the limmes also of the Mathematicall bodies, doe of themselves and in their owne nature, neither bend nor firetch, ne yet moove at all: for that they be intellectuall onely or imaginatie, and not corporal, 20 but according as the bodies do bow, reach or stirre, so do they; so you shall ever finde that a statterer, will pronounce, opine, thinke and be mooved to anger, according as he feeth another before him. And therefore in this kind, most easie it is to observe the difference between a flatterer and a friend. But yet more evident you shall see it in the manner of doing service. For the offices and kindneffes which come from a friend, are ever best, and (as living creatures) have their most proper vertues inwardly, carrying least in shew, and having no outward oftentation of glorious poince. And as it falleth out many times a Physitian cureth his patient, and saieth little or nothing at all unto him, but doth the deed ere he be aware; even fo, a good friend whether hebe present or departed from his friend, doth him good still, and taketh care for him when he full little knoweth of it. Such a one was Arcefilant the Philosopher, who befide many o-30 ther kind parts which he shewed unto his friend Apelles, the painter of Chios, comming one day to visite him when he was sicke, & perceiving how poore he was, went his way for that time : and when he returned againe, brought twentie good drachmes with him: and then fitting clofe unto Apelles by his beds fide: Here is nothing here (quoth he) I fee well, but these foure bare Elements that Empedocles writeth of,

Hot Fire cold Water, freere and foft: Grosse Earth, pure Aire that spreads aloft.

But me thinkes you lie not at your case; and with that he remooved the pillow or bolfter under his head, and so conveighed underneath it privily, the small pieces of coine aforesaid. The old woman his nourfe and keeper, when the made the bed, found this money: whereat the marvel-40 led not a little, and told Apelles thereof, who laughing thereat: This is (quoth he) one of Arcefiland his theevish easts. And for that it is a Maxime in Philosophie, that children are borne like their parents, one Lacydes a schollar of Arcesilans aforesaid, being affistant with many others to afriend of his named Cephifocrates, when he came to his triall in a case of treason against the State: in pleading of which cause, the accuser his adversarie called for Cephisocrates his ring, a pregnant evidence that made against him, which he had cleanly slipped from his finger & let it fall to the ground; whereof the faid Lacydes being advised, fet his foote presently over it, and so kept it out of fight: for that the maine proofe of the matter in question lay upon that ring. Now after fentence passed on Cephisocrates his side, and that he was cleerely acquit of the crime, he went privately to everie one of the judges for to give them thanks: One of them who (as it 50 should seeme) had seene what was done, willed him to thanke Lacydes: and with that told how the case stood, and how it went with him as it did: but all this while Lacydes himselfe had not faid a word to any creature. Thus I thinke verily, that the gods themselves doe bestow many benefits and favours upon men fecretly, and whereof they be not aware; being of this nature to take joy and pleafure in bountifulneffe and doing good. Contrariwife, the office that a flatterer feemeth to performe, hath nothing in it that is just, nothing true, nothing simple, nothing liberall: onely you shall see him sweat at it; you shall have him runne up and downe; keepe a loude

crying & a great ado, and fet his countenance upon the matter, fo as that he maketh right good femblance & thew that he doth especiall service, taketh much care & paines about his business & maketh half to dispatch it: and much like are all his doings to a curious picture, which with ftrange colours, with broken plaits, wrinkles and angles, affecteth and ftriveth (as it were) to fnew fome lively refemblance. Moreover, much ado he maketh, & is troublefome in telling how he went to and fro, wandring here and there about the matter; also what a deale of care he tooke therein; how he incurred the evill wil & displeasure of others; and a thousand hinderances, troubles & dangers, as befides he reckoneth up; infomuch as a man that heareth, would fay; All that ever he did was not worth fo much as the twittle twattle that he maketh. For furely a good turne to that is upbraided in that wife, becometh burthenfome, odious, & not thankfully accepted, but intollerable. In all the offices & fervices of a flatterer, you shall find these upbraidings and shamefull reports, that would make one blufh to heare them, and those not onely after the deed done, but at the verie instant when he is about it. But in steed hereof, a true friend, if it fall out so, that he be forced and urged to relate what is done, maketh a plaine report and narration in modest manner; but of himselse he will neuer say word. After which fort did the Lacedæmonians in timespaft, when they had fent come unto the Smyrnæans, which, in their extreme necessitie they craved at their hands: For at what time as the men of Smyrna magnified, and wonderfully extolled this liberalitie of theirs, they returned this answere againe: This is not so great a matter that it should deferve so highly to be praised or wondered at: for (say they) gathered we have 20 thus much, and made this supply of your necessities, onely by cutting our selves and our labouring beafts (hort of one daies pittance and allowance. Bountie in this wife performed, is not onely gentleman-like and liberall indeed, but also more welcome and acceptable to the receivers; in as much as they thinke it was no great damage, nor much out of their way that did it. Furthermore, not onely this odious faithion of doing any fervice with fuch paine and trouble, or the readinesse to make offer and promise so quickly, doth principally bewray the nature of a flatterer: but herein also much more he may be discovered: for that a friend is willingly employed in honest causes: but a flatterer in shameful and dishonest: as also in the divers ends that they purpose; for the one seeketh to profit his friend, the other to please onely a friend; as Gorgias was woont to fay, will never require that his friend should do him a pleasure, but in just 30 things onely: whiles a flatterer ferveth his turne in many things that are unjust: For why?

To do good deeds friends should be joint,

But not to sinne in any point. whereas he should endevour to avert and withdraw him from that which is not decent, or seemly: Now if it happen that the other will not be perswaded by him, then were it not amisse to say unto him, as Antipater once answered Phocion; You cannot have me to be a friend and flatterer too (that is to fay) a friend, and no friend. For one friend is to frand to another, and to affift him in doing, and not in mildoing, in confulting, and not in completting and conspiring, in bearing witnesse with him of the truth, and not in circumventing any one by falshood, yea and to take part with him in fuffring calamitie, and not to beare him company in doing injurie: For 40 fay that we may chance to be privie unto some shamefull and reprochfull deeds of our friend; yet we ought not to be partie unto them therein, nor willing to aide them in any undecent action. For like as the Lacedemonians being defaited in battell by king Untipater, and treating with him about the capitulations and articles of peace, made request unto him, That he would impose upon them what conditions he would himselfe, were they never so chargeable and disadvantageous unto them, but in no wife enjoine them to do any shamefull indignitie; even so a faithfull friend ought to be so disposed, that if his friends occasions do require any matter of expence, danger, or travaile, he shew himselfe at the first call and holding up of his singer, ready to come, and cheerefully to take his part and undergo the same, without any shifting off, or allegation of any excuse whatsoever:mary, if there be never so little shame or dishonor that may 50 accrew thereby, he shall then refuse and pray him to hold him excused; he shall request pardon and defire to have leave for to be difiniffed and depart in peace. The flatterer is quite contrary; for in painfull, difficult and dangerous affaires, which require his helpe and affiftance, he draweth backe, and is ready to plucke his necke out of the collar: if (I fay) in this case you seeme for triall fake to knocke (as it were upon a pot) to fee whether he be right, he will not ring cleere; but you shall see by the dead found of his pretended and forged excuses, that he is full of cracks and flawes: contrariwife, in dishonest, vile, base and shamefull ministeries, I am for you (will he fay) I am yours to command; doe with me what you will, tread me under your foot, abuse me at

your pleafure: to be fhort, he will thinke nothing to be an ignominious indignity unto him. See you not the ape? good he is not to keepe the house and to give warning of thieues, as dogs do; cary upon his backe any burdens he can not, like the horse; neither yet is he sit to draw or to plough the ground, as the oxedoth; and therefore he beareth all kinde of abuse and misusing, all wrongs, all unhappy sports and trickes that can be devised, serving onely as an instrument of mockerie, and a meere laughing stocke. Even so it fareth with a flatterer, being not meet to plead at the barre for a friend, to affift him in counfell, to lay his hand to his purse and supply his wants that way, nor to fight as his champion in maintenance of his quarrell, as one that can away with no labour, no paines taking, or ferious emploiment; and in one word, fit for nothing, that good is: mary in such affaires as may be done under the arme, that is to say, which be close to fecret and filthy fervices, he is the forwardeft man in the world, and maketh no excuses. A truftie currier he is betweene, in love matters, in finding favour with a bawd and bringing a wench or harlot to your bedde, he is excellent, and hath a marvellous gift; to make the shot, and cleare the recknoning of any fumptuous feast or banket hee is ready and perfect; in providing for a great dinner or fupper, and fetting the fame foorth accordingly, he is nothing flow, but nimble enough. To give enterteinment unto concubines he is very handsome, obsequious and serviceable; if one bid him to speake audaciously and malapertly against a father in law, a guardian, tutour, or any fuch, or to put away his true espoused wife, like as he seeth his good malter do before him, he is without all shame & mercy: so that even heerein also it is no hard matter to fee what kinde of man he is, and how much he different from a true friend: For com-20 maund him to commit what villanie and wickedneffe you will, ready he is to execute the fame, and so he may gratific and pleasure you that set him on worke, he careth not to do any injurie to

There is moreover another meanes not of the least consequence, whereby a man may know how much a flatterer differeth from a friend indeed, namely, by his disposition and behaviour towards his other friends: for a true friend sindeth contentment in nothing so much as to love many, and likewise to be loved of many; and herein he laboureth especially with his friend to procure himselse many others to love and honor him: for being of this opinion, that among good friends all things are common, he thinketh that nothing ought to be more common than friends themselves. But the supposed, false and counterfeit friend, being privit to his owne conscience, that he doth great injurie to true amitie and friendship, which he doth corrupt in manner of a base piece of money: as he is by nature envious, so he exercises that envie of his, upon such as be like himselfe, striving with a kinde of emulation to surpasse that envie of his, upon such as be like himselfe, striving with a kinde of emulation to surpasse that himselfe, he trembleth and is afraid, and in truth darenot come neere nor shew his face to such an one, no more (I assure you) than a footman to go and keepe pace (according to the Proverb) with a Lydian chariot, or rather (as Simonides faith,

Laidto fine goldsried cleane from droffe, He hathnot so much as lead so groffe.

Being compared with true, found and grave friendship, which (as they fay) will endure the ham-40 mer, he cannot choose but finde himselse to be but light, falsified and deceitfull: seeing then that he must needs be detected and knowen, for such an one as he is, what doth he thinke you? Surely he plaieth like an unskilfull painter, who had painted certaine cockes, but verie badly: For like as he gave commandement to his boy for to keepe away naturall and living cockes in deed, farre ynough off from his pictures; so a flatterer will doe what he can to chase away true friends, and not luffer them to approch neere; or if he be not able fo to do, than openly and in publike place, he will feeme to currie favour with them, to honor and admire them, as farre better than himfelfe: but fecretly, underhand, and behinde their backs, he will not let to raife fome privie calumniations, & fowe flanderous reports tending to their discredit: but if he see that by fuch privie girds and pinches which will fret and gall the fore, he cannot at the first bring his 50 purpose about: yet hee remembreth full well and observeth the saying of Medius. This Medius was the chiefe captaine of the troupe, or the master rather of the quire (if I may so fay) of all those flatterers that used the court of king Alexander the great, & came about his perfon; the principall Sophister also that opposed himselfe and banded against all good men, and never rested to slander and backbite them: This rule and lesson he taught his scholars and quirifters that were under his hand, To cast out flanders boldly, and not to spare, therewith to bite others: For (quoth he) although the fore may heale up againe, yet the scarre will remaine

and be ever feene. By these cicatrices and scarres of falle imputations, or (to speake more properly and truly) by fuch gangrenes and cankerous ulcers as thefe, Alexander the king being corroded and eaten, did to death Calisthenes, Parmenion, and Philotas, his fast & faithfull triends: but to fuch as Agnon, Bagoas, Agefias and Demetrius were, he abandoned and gave himtelfe wholy to be supplanted and overthrowen at their pleasure, whiles he was by them adored, adorned, arraied gorgeously with rich robes, and set out like a Barbarian image, statue or idoll. Loc what is the force and power of flatterie to win grace and favor; and namely in those, who would be reputed the mightiest monarches and greatest potentates of the world, it beareth most sway: For fuch are perswaded, and desirous also, that the best things should be in themselves; and this 10 is it, that giveth both credite and also boldnesse unto a flatterer. True it is I must confesse, that the highest places and forts situate upon the loftiest mounts, are least accessible and most hard to be gained by those who would surprise and force them; but where there is an high spirit and haughtic minde by nature, not guided by the fame judgement of reason, but lifted up with the favors of fortune, or nobilitie of birth, it is the eafieft matter in the world even for most base and vile persons to conquer such, and the avennes to them lie ready and open, to give the vantage of eafiest entrance. And therefore as in the beginning of this Treatife I gave warning; fo now I admonish the Readers againe in this place; That every man would labour and strive with himselfe to roote out that selfe love and overweening that they have of their owne good parts and woorthinesse: For this is it that doth flatter us within, and possesses our minds before 20 hand, whereby we are exposed and lie more open unto flatterers that are without, slinding us thus prepared already for to worke upon. But if we would aboy the god Apollo, and by acknowledging how much in all things we ought to effective that oracle of his, which commandeth us To know our felves, fearch into our owne nature, and examine withall our nouriture and education : when we finde there an infinite number of defects, and many vanities, imperfections and faults, mixed untowardly in our words, deeds, thoughts and paffions, we would not to eafily fuffer these flatterers to tread us under their feete, and make a bridge of us as they do at their pleasure. King Alexander the great was woont to say; that two things there were especially which mooved him to have leffe beleefe in them, who faluted and greeted him by the name of a God: The one was Sleepe, & the other the use of Venus: in both which he found that he was 20 worle than himfelfe, that is to fay, subject to infirmities and passions more than in any thing els: But if we would looke into our felves and ever and anon confider, how many groffe vices, troublefome paffions, imperfections and defects we have, furely we shall finde that we stood in great neede, not of a false friend to flatter us in our follies, and to praise and extoll us; but rather of one that would frankely finde fault with our doings, and reproove us in those vices that ech one privately and in particular doth commit. But very few there be among many others; who date freely and plainely speake unto their friends, but rather sooth them up and seeke to please them in every thing: And even in those, as few as they be, hardly shall you find any that know how to do it well, but for the most part they thinke that they speake freely, when they do nothing but reproove, reproch and raile. Howbeit, this libertie of speech whereof I speake, is 40 of the nature of a medicine, which if it be not given in time convenient and as it ought to be, befides, that it doth no good at all, it troubleth the body, worketh greevance, and in stead of a remedie prooveth to be a mischiese: For even so, he that doth reprehend and find fault unseafonably, bringeth foorth the like effect with paine, as a flatterer doth with pleafure. For men ate aptto receive hurt and damage, not onely by overmuch praise; but also by inordinate blame when it is out of due time: for it is the onely thing that of all others maketh them foonest to turne fide unto flatterers, and to be most easily surprised by them; namely, when from those things that stand most opposite and highest against them, they turne aside like water, and run downe those waies that be more low, easie, and hollow. In which regard it behooveth that this libertic in fault finding, be tempered with a cettaine amiable affection, and accompanied with 50 the judgement of reason, which may take away the excessive vehemencie and sorce of sharpe words, like the over-bright shining of some glittering light, & for feare lest their friends being dazeled as it were and frighted with the flashing beames of their rebukes, seeing themselves so reprooved for ech thing, and blamed every while, may take fuch a griefe and thought thereupon, that for forrow they be ready to flie unto the shadow of some flatterer, and turne toward that which will not trouble them at all. For we must avoid all vice, (ô Philopappus) and seeke to correct the fame by the meanes of vertue (& not by another vice contrary unto it) as fome do; who for to shun foolish and rusticall bashfulnesse, grow to be overbold and impudent; for to eschew

rude incivilitie, fall to be ridiculous jesters and pleasants; and then they thinke to be farthest off from cowardife and effeminate tendernesse, when they come neerest to extreme audacitie and boalting braverie. Others there be, who to proove the infelves not to be superstitious, become theere Atheists; and because they would not be thought and reputed idiots and fooles, proove artificiall conny-catchers. And furely in redreffing the enormities of their maners, they do as much as those, who for want of knowledge and skill to fet a peece of wood streight that twineth and lieth crooked one way, do curbe and bend it as much another way. But the most shamefull means to avoid & flum the fulpicion of a flatterer, is to make a mans felfe odious & troublefom without profit; and a very rude and rulticall fashion this is, of feeking to win favor, and that with favour of no learning, skill, and civilitie, to become unpleafant, harfh, and fowre to a friend, for 10 to shunne that other extreame, which in friendship seemeth to be base and servile; which is as much, as if a freed flave newly franchifed, should in a Comedie thinke that he could not use and enjoy his libertie of speech, unlesse he might be allowed licenciously to accuse another without controlment. Confidering then, that it is a foule thing to fall to flatterie, in studying to please, as also for the avoiding of flatterie, by immoderate libertie of speech, to corrupt and marre, aswell the grace of amitie and winning love, as the care of remedying and reforming that which is amisse: and seeing that we ought to avoid both the one and the other: and as in all things else, fo freespeaking, is to have the perfection from a meane and mediocritie; reason would, and by order it were requifit; that toward the end of this Treatife, we should adde somewhat in maner of a corollarie and complement, as touching that point.

For a finuch as therefore we fee that this libertie of language and reprehension hath many vices following it, which doe much hurt: let us affay to take them away one after another, and begin first with blinde selfe-love and private regards: where we ought especially to take heed that we be not seene to do any thing for our owne interest, and in respect of our selves; and namely, that we feeme not, for wrong that we have received our felves, or upon any griefe of our owne, to reproch, upbraid, or revile other men: for they will never take it as done for any love or good will that we beare unto them, but rather upon some discontentment and heart-burning that we have, when they fee that our speech tendeth unto a matter wherein we are interessed our selves; neither will they repute our words spoken by way of admonition unto them, but rather interpret them as a complaint of them. For furely the libertie of speech whereof we treat, as it respe-30 cheth the welfare of our friend, foit is grave and venerable; whereas complaints favour rather of felfe-love and a base minde. Hereupon it is that we reverence, honour and admire those who for our good deliver their minds frankly unto us: contrariwife, we are fo bolde as to accuse, chalenge and charge reciprocally, yea, and contemne those that make complaints of us. Thus we reade in Homer, That Agamemnon, who could not beare and endure Achilles, when he feemed to tell him his minde after a moderate maner; but he was well enough content to abide and suffer 11/y/[es, who touched him neere, and bitterly rebuked him in this wife:

Ah wretch, would God some abject hoast

befide w, by your hand Conducted were; fo that in field you did not us command.

As sharpe a checke as this was, yet being delivered by a wise man, proceeding from a carefull minde, and tendering the good of the common weale, he gave place thereto, and kicked not againe: for this ulysts had no private matter, nor particular quarell against him, but spake frankly for the benefit of all Greece: whereas Achilles seemed to be offended and displeased with him principally, for some private matter between them twaine. And even Achilles also himselfe, although he was never knowen for to be a man of a gentle nature and of a milde spirit,

But rather of a stomacke full, and one who would accuse A guiltlesse person for no cause, and him full soone abuse.

endured Patroclus patiently, and gave him not a word againe, notwithstanding he taunted and tooke him up in this wife:

Thoumercilesse and cruell wretch, fir Peleus valiant knight Was never (sure) thy father true, ne yet dame Thetis bright Thy mother kinde: but fea so greene, or rocks so steepe and hard Thee bare, (thy heart of pittle hath of small or no recard.)

For like as Hyperides the Oratour required the Athenians (who complained that his orations were bitter) to confider of him, not onely whether he were sharpe & eager simply, but whether he were so upon no cause, nor taking any see; even so, the admonition and reprehension of a friend, being fyricere and cleanfed pure from all prinate affection, ought to be reverenced: it carieth (I fay) authoritie with it, and no exceptions can well be taken, nor a man dare lift up an eie 10 against it: in such fort, as if it appeare that he who chideth freely, and blameth his friend, doeth let paffe and reject all those faults which hee hath committed against him, and maketh no mention therof, but toucheth those errours & mildemeanors only which concerne others, and they fpare him nor, but pierce & bite to the quicke: the vehemency of fuch free speech is invincible, and can not be challenged, for the mildnes & good will of the chaftifer, doth fortific the aufteritie & bitternes of the chaftifement. Well therefore it was faid in old time; That when foever we are angry, or at some jarre & variance with our friends, then most of all we ought to have an cic unto their good, and to fludy how to do fornewhat that is either profitable unto them, or honorable for them. And no leffe materiall is this also to the maintenance of friendship, if they that thinke themselves to be despised and not well regarded of their friends, do put them in mind, and 20 tell them frankly of others, who are neglected by them, and not accounted of as they should be. Thus dealt Plato with Denys, at what time he was in difgrace, and faw how he made no reckoning at all of him: For he came unto the Tyrant upon a time, and requested that he might have a day of audience and leave to conferre with him: Denys graunted his request, supposing verily that Plate had a purpose to complaine and expostulat with him in his owne behalfe, and thereupon to discourse with him at large: But Plato reasoned and debated the matter with him in this manner: Sir (quoth he) ô Denys, if you were advertised and knew that some enemic or evill willer of yours were arrived and landed in Sicilie, with a full intention to do you some difpleasure, although he had no opportunitie or meanes to execute and effect the same, would you let him faile away againe & depart from Sicily, with impunity, and before he were talked with all? 30 I tro not ô Plato (quoth Denys) but I would looke to him well enough for that: For we ought to hate & punish not the actions onely, but the verie purposes and intentions also of enemies. But how and if (quoth Plate againe) on the contrarie fide; fome other being expressely and of purpose come for meere love and affection that he beareth unto you, and fully minded to doe you fome pleasure, or to advice you for your good, you will give him neither time nor opportunitie therfore; is it meet (think you) that he should be thus unthankfully dealt withal, or hardly entreated at your hands? With that Dionysius was formewhat mooved, and demanded who that might be? Aeschines (quoth Plato) is he, a man faire conditioned, and of as honest carriage and behaviour, as any one that ever came out of Socrates schoole, or daily and familiarly conversed with him; fufficient and able by his eloquence and pithic speech to reforme the maners of those 40 with whom he keepeth companie: This Aeschines (I say) having taken a long voyage over fea and arrived here, intending for to conferre with you philosophically is nothing regarded, nor fet by at all. These words touched Denys so to the verie quicke, that presently he not onely tooke Plato in his armes, embracing him most lovingly, and yeelding him great thankes for that kindnesse, highly admiring his magnanimity; but also from that time forward, entreated Aeschines right courteously, and did him all the honor that he could,

Secondly, this libertie of fpeech which now is in hand, we ought to cleere and purge cleane from all contumelious and injurious words, from laughter, fcoffes, and feurrile taunts, which are the hurtfull and unholefome fauces (as I may fay) wherewith many use to season their free language. For like as a Chirurgian, when he maketh incision and cutteth the sless of his patisoner, had need to use great dexteritie, to have a nimble hand and an even; yea and every thing near and sine belonging to this worke and operation of his; as for all dauncing, gesticulations besides of his singers, toyish motions, and superfluous agitation thereof, to shew the agilitie of his hand, he is to torbeare for that time: So this libertie of speech unto a friend, doth admit well a certaine kind of elegancie and civilitie, provided, alwaies that the grace thereof retaine still a decent and comely gravitie, whereas if it chaunce to have audacious braverie, saucie impuritie, and insolencie, to the hurt or hinderance of credit, it is utterly marred and looseth all authoritie. And therefore it was not an unproper and unclegant speech, wherewith a mustitian upon a time

ftoppe:

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stopped King Philips mouth that he had not a word to fay againe: For when he was about to have disputed and contested against the saide minstrell, as touching good fingering, and the found of the feverall strings of his instrument: Oh fir (quoth he) God forbid that ever you should fall to so low an estate, as to be more cunning in these matters than I. But contrariwise Epicharmus spake not so aptly and to the purpose in this behalfe: For when King, Hiero who a little before had put to death some of his familiar acquaintance, invited him not many daies after to supper. Yea marie sir, but the other day when you facrificed, you bad not your friends to the feast. And as badly answered Antiphon, who upon a time when there was some question before Denys the Tyrant, what was the best kinde of brasse: Marie that (quoth he) whereof the Athenians made the Statutes of Harmodius and Aristogiton. Such speeches as these, are tart, 10 and biting, and no good can come thereof, neither hath that fcurrilite and fcoffing manner any delight, but a kinde of intemperance it is of the toong, mingled with a certaine maliciousnes of minde, implying a will to do hurt and injurie, and shewing plaine enmitie, which as many as use, worke their owne mischiefe and destruction, dauncing (as the Proverb faith) a daunce untowardly about a pits brinke, or jefting with edged tooles. For furely it cost Antiphon his life, who was put to death by the faid Denys. And Timagenes loft for ever the favour and friendthip of Augustus Cafar, not for any franke speech and broad language that ever he used against him; but onely because he had taken up a foolish fashion at everie feast or banket, whereunto the Emperor invited him, and whenfoever he walked with him, eftfoones and to no purpose he would come out with these verses in Homer,

For naught else but to make some sport Among the Greekeshe did resort.

pretending that the cause of that favour which he had with the Emperor, was the grace and gift that he had in flouring and reviling others: and even the verie comicall Poëts in old time, exhibited and represented to the Theaters, many grave, austere and serious remonstrances, and those pertaining to policy & government of State: but there be scurrile speeches intermingled among, for to moove laughter, which (as one unfavorie dish of meate among many other good viands) marre all their libertie of speech and the benefit thereof; so as it is vaine and doth no good at all: And even so the Authors and Actors of such broad jests get nothing thereby, but an opinion and imputation of a malicious disposition and impure scurrilitie: and to the hearers there 30 accreweth no good nor profit at all. At other times and in other places, I hold well with it, and grant, that to jell with friends and moove laughter is tolerable enough: but furely the libertie of speech then, ought to be serious and modest, shewing a good intention without any purpose to gall or fting. And if it do concerne weightie affaires indeed, let the words be so set and couched, the affection to appeare, the countenance be to composed, and the gesture so ordred, and the voice so tuned, that all concurring together may win credite to the speech, and be effectuall to moove. But as in all things els, fit opportunity overflipt and neglected doth much hurt; fo especially it is the occasion that the fruit of free speech is utterly lost, in case it be omitted and forgotten. Moreover this is evident, that we must take heed how we speake broad at a table where friends be met together to drinke wine liberally and to make good cheere: for he that 40 amid pleafant discourses and mery talke mooveth a speech that causeth bending and knitting of browes, or others, maketh men to frowne and be frowning, he doth as much as overcast faire weather with a blacke and darke cloud; opposing himselfe unto that God * Lyam, who by good right hath that name, as Pindarus the Poet faith,

For that the cord he doth untie Of cares that breed anxietie.

Befides, this neglect of opportunitie bringeth with it great danger; for that our minds and spirits, kindled once with wine, are easie enslamed with cholar; yea and oftentimes it falleth out, that a man after he hath taken his drinkewell, when he thinketh but touse his freedome of tongue for to give some wholesome advertisement and admonition, ministreth occasion of so great enmitie. And to say all in few words, it is not the part of a generous, confident, and resolute heart, but rather of a craven kind and unmanly, to for beare plaines speech when men are sober, and to keepe a barking at the boord, like unto those cowardly cur dogs who never snarle but about a bone under the table. And now of this point, needlesse it is to discourse any longer.

But forasinuch as many men neither will nor dare controll and reforme their friends when they do amisse, so long as they be in prosperitie; as being of opinion that such admonition can not have accessed nor reach into a fortunate state that standeth upright; and yet the same per-

fons when men are falling, are ready to lay them along, and being once downe, to make a football of them, or tread them under feet, or elfe keepe them fo when they be once under the hatehes, giving their libertie of speech full scope to run over them all at once; as a brooke-water which having been kept up perforce against the nature and course thereof, is now let go, and the sloud-gates drawen up; rejoicing at his change and infortunitie of theirs, in regard as well of their pride and arrogancie, who before dissained and despised them; as also of themselves, who are but in meane and lowestate: it were not impettinent to this place for to discourse a little of this matter, and to answere that verse of Euripides,

> When forsune doth upon men smile, What need have they of friends the while?

Namely, that even then when as they feeme to have fortune at command, they fland in most necessitie, and ought to have their friends about them, to plucke downe their plumes and bring under their haughtiness of heart, occasioned by prosperitie: for few there be who with their outward selicitie continue wise and sober in mind, breaking not soorth into insolence; yea & many there are who have need of wir, discretion and reason to be put into them from without, to abate and depresse them being fer a gog and pussed up with the favors of fortune: But say, that the Divine power do change and turne about, and overthrow their state, or clip their wings and diminish their greatnesse and authoritie, then these calamities of themselves are scourges sufficient, putting them in minde of their errors, and working repentance; and then in such diagons therefore there is no use at all either of friendsto speake unto them frankly, or of pinching and bitting speeches, to moless, and trouble them, but to say a truth, in these mutations

It greatly doth content our minds

To see the face of pleasant friends. who may yeeld confolation, comfort and strength to a distressed heart, like as Xenophon doth write, that in battailes and the greatest extremities of danger, the amiable visage and cheerefull countenance of Clearthus being once feene of the fouldiors, encouraged them much more to play the men and fight luftily: whereas he that ufeth unto a man diffressed, such plaine speech as may gall and bite him more, doth as much as one who unto a troubled and inflamed cie applieth some quicke eie-salve or sharpe drug that is proper for to electe the fight: by which 30 means he cureth not the infirmitie before faid, neither doth he mitigate or alay the paine, but unto forrow and griefe of mindealready addeth anger moreover, and doth exasperate a wounded heart. And verily so long as a man is in the latitude of health, he is not so testie, froward, and impatient, but that he will in some fort give eare unto his friend, and thinke him neither rough nor altogether rude and uncivill, in case he tell him of his loosenesse of life, how he is given too much either unto women or wine; or if he finde fault with his idlenesse and fitting still, or contrariwife his excessive exercise; if he reproove him for haunting so often the baines or hot-houses, and never lying out of them, or blame him for gourmandise and belly cheere, or eating at undue houres. But if he be once ficke, then it is a death unto him and a griefe infupportable, which doth aggravate his maladie, to have one at his bedfide founding ever in his 40 eares; See what comes of your drunkennesse, your idlenesse, your surfetting and gluttony, your wenching and leacherie, these are the causes of your disease. But what will the sicke man fay againe: Away good fir with these unseasonable words of yours: you trouble me much, and do me no good iwis: I am about making my last will and testament; my Physicians are busic preparing and tempering a potion of Scammonie, or a drinke of Castorium for me: and you come preaching unto me with your Philosophicall reasons and admonitions to chastise me: I have no need of them now, nor of fuch friends as you. Semblably it fareth with those who are fallen to decay & be downe the winde; for capable they be not of fententious fawes; they have no need as the case now stands of free reprehensions: then lenitie and gentle usage, aide and comfort are more meet for them. For even fo, kinde nurses when their little babes and infants so have caught a fall, run not by and by to rate or chide them, but to take them up, wash and make them cleane where they were berayed, and to still them by all meanes that they can; afterwards, they rebuke and chaltife them for looking no better to their feet. It is reported of Demetrius the Phalerian, when being banished out of his countrey, he lived at Thebes in meane estate and very obscurely, that at the first he was not well pleased to see Crates the Philosopher, who came to vifit him, as looking ever when he would begin with fome rough words unto him, according to that libertie of speech which those Cynicke Philosophers then used: but when he heard Crates once speake kindly unto him, and discoursing after a milde maner, of the state of his banishment: namely, That there was no miserie fallen unto him by that meanes, not any calamitie at all, for which he should vexe and torment himselfe; but rather that he had cause to rejoice, in that he was sequestred and delivered from the charge and management of such affaires as were ticklish, murable and dangerous; and withall exhorting him to plucke up his heart, and beer good cheere, yea, and repose all his comfort in his owne selfe and a cleere conscience. Then Demetrius being more lightsome, and taking better courage, turned to his friends and faid, Shame take those affaires and businesses; out upon those troublesome and restlesse occupations, which have kept me from the knowledge and acquaintance of such a worthy man: For

To discerne a flatterer from a friend.

If men be in diffresse and griefe, Sweet words of friends do bring reliefe: But foolsh sots in all their actions, Have need estsoones of sharpecorrections.

And verily this is the maner of generous and gentle friends; but other base minded and abject fellowes, who statter and fawne whiles fortune doth smile; like unto olde ruptures, spasses and cramps (as Demostheres saith) do then stirre and shew themselves, when any new accident hapneth unto the bodie, so they also sticke close to every change and alteration of fortune, as being glad thereof, and taking pleasure and contenument therein. For, say that a man afflicted, were to be put in mind of his fault and misgovernment of himselfe, by reason that he hath taken lews courses and followed ill counsell, and so fallen into this or that inconvenience, it were sufficient to say thus unto him,

You never tooke by mine advice this course, Against the same how oft did I discourse?

In what cases and occurrences then, ought a friend to be earnest and vehement? and when is he to use his libertie of speech, and extend it to the full? even then, when occasion is offered, and the time ferveth best to represse excessive pleasure, to restraine unbridled choler, to refraine intollerable pride and infolencie, to stay infatiable avarice, or to stand against any foolish habitude and inconfiderate motion. Thus solon spake freely unto king Crassu, when hee saw how he was cleane corrupted, and growen beyond all measure arrogant upon the opinion that he had of his felicitie in this world, which was vncertaine, advertifing him to looke unto the end. Thus Socrates clipped the wings of Alcibiades, and by convincing his vice and errour, caused 30 him to weepe bitterly, and altered quite the disposition of his heart. Such were the remonstrances and admonitions of Cyrus to Cyaxares, and of Plato to Dion, even when he was in his greatest ruffe, in the very height of his glory: when (I fay) all mens eies were upon him, for his worthie acts and great fuccesse in all affaires, willing him even then to take heed and beware of arrogancie and felfe-conceit, as being the vice that dwelleth in the fame house together with solitude, (that is to fay) which maketh a man to live apart from the whole world. And to the same effect wrote Speulippus also unto him, when he bad him looke to himselfe, and not take a pride and prefume much ypon this; That there was no talke among women and children, but of him; rather that he should have a care so to adorne Sieilie with religion and pietie towards the gods, with justice and good lawes in regard of men, that the schoole of the Academie might have honour 40 and credit by him. Contrariwife, Euctaw and Eulaw, two minions and favourites of king Perfem, who followed his veine and pleafed his humor in all things, like other courtiours of his, all the while that he flourished, and so long as the world went on his side: but after he had lost the field in a battell against the Romans, fought neere the citie Pydna, and was fled, they let flie at him groffe tearmes and reprochfull speeches, bitterly laying to his charge all the misdemeanors and faults that he had before committed, casting in his dish those persons whom he had evill intreated or despised; which they ceased not to doe so long, untill the man (partly for forrow, and partly for anger) was so mooved, that he stabbed them both with his dagger, and slew them in the place. Thus much in generall may fuffice, to determine and define as touching the opportunity of free speech to friends: meane while a faithfull and carefull friend must not reject such so occasions as many times are presented unto him by them, but to take hold thereof quickly, and make good use of them: for otherwhiles it falleth out, that a demand or question asked, a narration related, a reprehension or commendation of like things in other persons, open the doore and make way for us to enter, and giveth us leave to speake frankly. After this maner it is faid, that Demaratus tooke his vantage to utter his minde freely; who comming upon a time from Corinth to Macedonie, when as King Philip was in some termes of diffension with his wife and sonne, was friendly received by Philip and bidden kindly welcome. Now after salutations and

other complements paffed betweene; the King asked him whether the Greekes were at accord and unitic one with another? Demaratus, as he was a friend verie inward with him, and one that loved him hartily, answered thus 3 It becommeth you well in deed fir to enquire of the concord and agreement betweene the Athenians and the Peloponnesians, when in the meane while you fuffer your owne house to be full of domesticall quarrels and debates. Well did Diogenes likewife, who being come into the campe of King Philip, when he had an expedition or journey against the Greekes, was taken and brought before the King, who not knowing what hee was, demaunded of him, If hee were not a spie: Yes marie (quoth hee) and come I am to fpie out your inconfiderate folly (ô Philip) and want of forecast, who being not urged nor 10 compelled by any man, are come thus farre to hazard in one hower the State of your kingdome and your owne life, and to lav all upon the chance and cast of a die. But some man peradventure will fay, This was a speech somewhat with the sharpest, and too much biting. Moreover, another fit time and occasion there is of admonition, when those whom we minde to reproove, having been ereproched and taunted already by others for fome faults which they committed, are become submiffe and cast downe to our hands. Which opportunitie a wife and skilfull friend will not omit, but make especial good use of: namely, by seeming in open place to check those that thus have slandered them, yea and to repulse and put backe such opprobrious imputations, but privatly he will take his friend apart by himfelfe, and put him in minde to live more warily and give no fuch offence, if for no other thing elfe; yet because his enemies should not 20 take vantage, and beare themselves infolently against him: For how shall they be able to open their mouthes against you, & what missword can they have to say unto you, if you would leave thesethings and cast them behinde you, for which you heare ill and are growen to some obloquie? In this fortif the matter be handeled, all the offence that was taken finall light upon the head of the first slanderer, and the profit shall be attributed unto the other that gave the friendly advertisement, and he shall goe away with all the thankes.

Somethere be more over who after a more cleanly and fine maner in speaking of others, admonish their owne familiar friends: for they will accuse strangers in their hearing for those faults which they know them to commit, and by this meanes reclaime them from the fame. Thus Ammonius our mafter perceiving when he gave lecture in the after-noone that some of us 30 his scholars, had taken a larger dinner, and eate more than was meet for students, commanded a fervant of his a franchifed, to take up his owne fonne and to boate him, and why fo? He cannot for footh make his dinner (quoth he) but he must have some vineger to his meat. And in saying fo, he cast his eie upon us, in such fort, that as many as were culpable, tooke themselves to be rebuked, & thought that he meant them. Furthermore, this good regard would be observed, that we never use this fashion of free speech, and reprooving our friend in the presence of many persons, but we must remember that which befell unto Plato: for when upon a time, Socrates in a disputation held at the table, inveighed somwhat too bitterly against against one of his familiars before them all: had it not beene better (quoth Plato) to have told him of this privately, but thus to shame him before all this companie? But Socrates taking him presently therewith. 40 And you also might have done better to have saide this to my selfe, when you had found me alone. Pythagoras by report gave fuch hard tearmes by way of reproofe to one of his scholars, and acquaintance in the hearing of many, that the yoong man for very griefe of heart was weary of his life and hanged himselfe. But never would Pythagor as after to his dying day, reproove or admonish any man, if another were in place. And to say a truth, as well the detection as the correction of a finne ought to be fecret, and not in publike place, like as the discoverie and cure also of some filthie and foule disease: it must not I say be done in the veiw of the world (as if some thew or pompe were to be exhibited unto the people) with calling witnesses or spectators thereto. For it is not the part of a friend, but a tricke of some Sophister, to seeke for glorie in other mens faults, and affect outward shew and vaine oftentation in the presence of others: much like 50 to these Mount-bank Chirurgians, who for to have the greater practise, make shew of their cunning casts, and operations of their art in publike Theatres, with many gesticulations of their handy-worke. Moreover, befides that there should no infamie grow to him that is reprooved (which in deed is not to be allowed in any cure or remedie) there ought also to be some regard had of the nature of vice and finne, which for the most part of it selfe is opinionative, contentious, stubborne and apt to stand to it, and make meanes of defence. For as Euripides faith,

We daily see, not onely wanton love Doth presset he more, when one doth it reprove. But any vice whatfoever it be and everie imperfection, if a man do reproove it in publike place before many, and spare not at all, putteth on the nature of impudence and turneth to be shamelesse: like as therefore Plato giveth a precept, that elder solke, if they would imprint shame and grace in their yoong children, ought themselves sirft to shew shamefast behavior among them; even so, the modelt and bashfull libertie of speech which one friend useth, doth strike also a great shame in another. Also to come and approach by little and little unto one that offendeth, and after a doubting maner with a kind of seare to touch him, is the next way to undermine the vice that he is prone and given unto, and the same, whiles he can not choose but offendethy disposed, who is so modeltly and gently entreated. And therefore it would be alwaies verie good in those reprehensions to observe what he did, who in like case reprooving a friend,

Held head full close unto his eare, That no man els but he might heare.

But leffe feemly and convenient it is for to discover the fault of the husband before his wife; of a father in the presence of his sonnes; of a lover before his love; or of a schoolmaster in the hearing of his scholars: that were enough to put them beside their right wits, for anger and griefe when they shall see themselves checked and discredited before those of whom they define to be best esteemed. And verily of this mind I am, hat it was not the wine so much that set king Alexander in such a chase & rage against Clitus who he reproved him, as for that he did it in the presence and hearing of so many. Aristomenes also, the master and tutor of king Prolomans, for that in the sight of an embassador he awaked him out of a sleepe, & willed him to give care unto the 20 embassage, who thereupon tooke occasion to seem discontented in the kings behalse, and thus to say: What if after so many travels that your Majestie doth undergo, and your long watching for our sakes, some sleep do overtake you otherwhiles; our part it were to tell you of it privatly, & not thus rudely to lay hand as it were upo your person in the presence of so many men. Whereupon Prolomans being mooved at these suggestions, sent unto the man a cup of poison, with comandement that he should drinkeit off. Aristophanes also, casteth this in Cleon his teeth,

For that when strangers were in place The towne with termes he did disgrace,

and thereby provoke the Athenians & bring their high displeasure upon him. And therfore this 30 regard would be had especially above all others, that when we would use our libertie of speech. we do it not by way of oftentation in a vaine glorie to be popular, and to get applause, but onely with an intention to profit and do good, yea and to cute some infirmitie thereby. Over and befides that which Thueydides reporteth of the Corinthians, how they gave out of themselves and not unfitly, that it belonged unto them, and meet menthey were to reproove others; the fame ought they to have in them that will take upon them to be correctours of other persons. For like as Lyfander answered to a certeine Megarian who put himselfe forward in an assemblie of affociates and allies to speake frankely for the libertie of Greece: These words of yours (my friend) would befeeme to have beene spoken by some puissant State or citie; even so it may be faid to every one that will seeme freely to reprehend another, that he had need himselfe to be in 40 maners wel reformed. And this most truly ought to be inferred upon all those that wil seeme to chastice and correct others, namely, to be wifer and of better government than the rest: for thus Plato protested that he reformed Spensiopus by example of his owne life: and Xenocrates likewise casting but his eie upon Polemon, who was come into his schoole like a Ruffian, by his very looke onely reclaimed him from his loofe life: whereas on the contrary fide, if a light and lewd person, one that is full of bad conditions himselse, would sceme to finde fault with others and be buffe with his tongue, he must be fure alwaies to heare this on both sides of his eares,

Himselfe all full of sores impure Will others seeme to heale and cure.

Howbeit, forassimuch as oftentimes the case standeth so, that by occasion of some affaires webe 50 driven to challice those with whom we converse, when we our selves are culpable and no better than they: the most cleanly & least offensive way to do it, is this, To acknowledge in some sort that we be likewise faulty and to include and comprehend our owne persons together with them: after which maner is that reproofe in Homer,

Sir Diomedewhat aileth w? how is it come about? That we should thus forget to fight, who ear st were thought so sout?
Also in another place:
And now we all unwoorthy are
With Hector onely to compare.

Thus Socrates mildly and gently would feeme to reproove yoong men, making semblance as if himselse were not void of ignorance, but had need also to be instructed in vertue, and professing that he had need with them to fearch for the knowledge of trueth: for such commonly do win love and credit; yea and sooner shallbe beleeved, who are thought subject to the same faults, and seeme willing to correct their friends like as they do their owne selves; whereas he who spreadeth and displainth his owne wings, in clapping other mens, justifying himselse as if he were pure, sincere, saultlesse, and without all affections and instruities, unlesse he much elder than we, or in regard of some notable and approoved vertue in farre higher place of authoritie and in greater reputation than our selves, he shall gaine no profit nor do any good, but be reputed a busse oby and troublesome person. And therefore it was not without just cause that good Phanix in speaking to Achilles alledged his owne missortunes, and namely how in a fit of choler he had like one day to have killed his owne father, but that sodeinly he bethought himselse and changed his minde,

Least that among the Greekes I fould be nam'd

A parrieide and ever after sham'd: hich he did no doubt to this end, because h

20 which he did no doubt to this end, because he would not seeme in chiding him to arrogate this praise unto himselfe, that he was not subject to anger, nor had ever done amisse by occasion of that infirmitie and passion. Certes such admonitions as these enter and pierce more effectually into the heart, for that they are thought to proceed from a tender compassion; and more willing are we to yeeld unto such as seeme to have suffred the like, than to those that despise and contemne us. But forasmuch as neither the cie when it is inflamed can abide any cleere and shining light, nor a passionate minde endure strake speech, or a plaine and bare reprehension, one of the best and most profitable helps in this case, is to intermingle therewith a little praise, as we reade thus in Homer,

Now (fure) me thinks you do not well, thus for to leave the field,
Who all are knowen for doughty knights, and be fi with speare and skield.

A coward if I saw to slee, him would I not reproove:
But such as you, thus for to shrinke, my heart doth greatly moove.
Likewise,
O Pandar, where is now thy bowe,

O Pandar, where is now thy bowe, where are thine arrowes flight: Where is that honour, in which none with thee dare strive in fight?

And verily such oblique reprehensions also as these, are most effectuall and woonderfull in reclaming those that be ready to run on end, and fall to some grosse enormities: as for example, What is become of wise Oedipus,

In riddles areeding who was so famous.

Also,

And Hercules, who hath endur'd fuch paine, Speakes he these words, so soolish and so vaine?

For this kinde of dealing doth not onely affwage and mitigate the roughnesse and comman50 ding power that is in a reprehension and rebuke, but also breedeth in the partie in such fort reprooved, a certeine emulation of himselse, causing him to be abashed and assamed for any
follies and dissoness the pranks, when he remembresh and callests to minde his other good parts
and commendable acts, which by this meanes he setteth before his cies, as examples, and to betweene him and others, to wit, his equals in age, his fellow-citizens, or kinsesoks; then his vice,
which in the owne nature is stubburne and opinionative enough, becommets by that meanes
more froward and exasperate, and often times he will not sticke in a sume and chase to sling

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away, and grumble in this wife, Why goe you not then to those that are so much better than I? why can you not let me alone, but thus trouble me as you do? And therefore we must take heed especially, that whiles we purpose to tel one plainly of his faults, we do not praise others, unlesse haply they be his parents: as Agamemnon did unto Diomedes,

A fonne (iwis) fir Tideus left behinde,
Unlike himselse, and much growen out of kinde.
And ulysses in the Tragedic entituled Segris,
Tou sir, whose father was a knight,
the best that ever drew
A sword, of all the Greeks, in steld,
and many a capraine slew,
Sit you heere carding like a wench,
and spinning wooll on rocke,
Thereby the clorious light to quench

of your most noble stocke? But most unseemely it were and undecent of all other, if when one is admonished by his friend, he should fall to admonish him againe; and being tolde freely of his fault, ferve him the like, and quithim with as much: for this is the next way to kindle coales, and to make variance and discord; and in one word verily, such a rejecting & spurning againe as this, may seeme in effect to bewray, not a reciprocall libertie of rendring one for another, but rather a peevish minde that 20 can abide no maner of reproofe. Better therefore it is, to endure patiently for the time, a friend that telleth us plainly of our faults; and if himselfe afterwards chance to offend and have need of the like reprehension, this after a fort giveth free libertie unto him that was rebuked afore, to use the same libertie of speech againe unto the other: For calling to minde by this occasion, without any remembrance of old grudge and former injurie, that himfelfe also was woont not to neglect his friends when they did amisse and forgat themselves, but tooke paines to reproove, redreffe, and teach them how to amend, he will the fooner yeeld a fault, and receive that chaflifement and correction, which he shall perceive to be a retribution of like love and kindnesse, and not a requitall of complaint and anger. Moreover, like as Thucidides faith, That the man is wife and well advifed, who incurreth the envie of men for matters of greatest weight and impor-30 tance; even fowe fay: That if a friend will adventure the danger and heavy load and ill will for blaming his friends, hee must make choise of such matters as be of great moment and much consequence: for if he will take exceptions at every trifle and little thing indifferent; if he will feeme evermore to be finding fault, and cary himselfe not like a kind and affectionate friend, but a precise, severe and imperious schoole-master, to spie all faults, and correct every point and tittle; certes he shall finde afterwards, that his admonitions even for the greatest offences, shall not be regarded, nor any whit effectuall: for that he hath used already to no purpose, his franke reprehention (the foveraigne remedie for groffe and maine faults) in many others that are but flight, and not woorthy reproofe: much like unto a Physician, who hath emploied and spenta medicine that is strong and bitter, howbeit, necessary and costly, in small infirmities, and of no 40 reckoning to speake of. A friend therefore is to looke unto this; That it be not an ordinary matter with him to be alwaies quarrelfome, and defitous to finde one fault or other. And if peradventure he meet with fuch a companion as is apt to fearch narrowly into all light matters, to cavill and wrangle for every thing, and ready to raise calumniations like a petty Sycophant for toics and trifles, he may take the better advantage and occasion thereby for to reproove him againe, in case he chance to faile in greater and more grosse faults.

Philotimus the Physician answered pretily unto one, who having an impostume growen to suppuration about his liver, shewed unto him a finger that was fore, and troubled with some blifter or whitssaw, and desired his counsell for the same: My good friend (quoth he) the disease that you are to looke unto, is not a whitssaw nor about your naile roote; even so, there may be 50 occasion and opportunitie offered unto a friend, to say unto one that ever and anon is finding fault, and reprooving small errors not woorth the noting, to wit, sports and pastimes, feasting and merric meeting, or such like trifling trickes of youth: Good fir, let us finde the meanes rather, that this man whom you thus blame, may cast off the harlot that hekeeps, or give over his dice playing; for otherwise, he is a man of excellent and woonderfull good parts. For he that perceiveth how he is tolerated or winked at, yea and pardoned in small matters, will not be unwilling, that a friend should use his libertie in reprooving his greater vices: whereas he that is

evermore urgent upon one, preffing and lying hard unto him; alwaies bitter and unpleafant, prying and looking into everie corner, and taking knowledge of all things: fuch an one (I fay) there is neither childe nor brother will endure; nay, he is intolerable to his verie fervants: But like as Euripides faith,

All is not naught that old age brings, We may in it finde some good things.

10

No more is the folly of friends to bad but that we may picke fome goodnes out of them: we ought therefore to observe diligently, not onely when they do amisse, but also when they doe well: and verily at the first to be willing and most readie to praise; but alterwards we must doe as 10 the Smithes who temper yron: For when they have given it a fire, and made it by that meanes (oft, loose and pliable, they drench and dip it in cold water, whereby it becommeth compact and hard, taking thereby the due temperature of stiffs steele; even so, when we perceive that our friends be well heat and relaxed (as it were) by hearing themselves praised by us, then we may come upon them by little and little with a tincture (as I may so say) of reproofe, and telling them of their faults. Then will it be a fit time to speake unto a friend thus: Howsay you, are these prants woorthic to be compared with those parts? See you not the fruits that come of vertue? Loe what we your friends require of you: these are the duties and offices which are besceming your person: for these hath nature made and framed you. As for those lewd causes, see upon them,

Send fuch away, sonfine them farre, unto the mountaine wild, Or into rowing feafrom land let them be quite exil'd.

For like as an honest minied and discreet Physitian, will choose rather to cure the maladie of his patient by rest and sleepe, or by good nutriture & dict, than by Casterium or Scammonium: even so, a kinde & courteous friend, a good father and gentle schoolemaster, taketh pleasure and joyeth more to use praises than reproofes, in the reformation of manners. For there is nothing that maketh the man, who boldly sindeth sault with his friends to bee so little offensive unto them, or to do more good and cure them better, than to be voide of anger, and to seeme after a milde fort in all love and affectionate good will to address himselse unto them, when they doe amisse. And therefore neither ought he to urge them overmuch, and seeme too eagerly to convince them if they denie the thing, ne yet to debarre them of libertie to make their answere and cleere themselves: but rather to helpe them out, and after a fort to minister unto them some honest and colourable pretenses, to excuse and justifie their facts: and when a man seeth them do amisse by reason of some woorse cause indeed, to lay the fault upon another occasion that is more tolerable: As Hestor when he said unto Paris.

Unhappie man alas, you do not well To beare in brest a heart fo fell.

As if his brothers retire out of battell and refulall to combat with Menelaus, had not beenea 40 meere flight and running away, but verie anger and a curft flomake. Likewife Nestor unto Agamemnon,

But you gave place unto your haughty mind: And feed those fits which come to you by kind.

For in mine advice a more milde reprehension is this than to have said: This was injuriously done of you, or this was a shamefull and vilanous part of yours? As also to say unto one, You could not tel what you did; you thought not of it; or you were altogether ignorant what would come thereof, is better and more civill, than bluntly to charge him and say: This was a meere wrong, and a wicked act of yours. Also thus, Do not contest and quarrell in this wise with your brother, is lesse offensive than to say: Deale not thus enviously and spitefully against your broso ther: Likewise it were a more gentle manner of reproofe to say unto a man: Avoid this woman that spoileth and abuseth you; than thus: Give over this woman, spoile and abuse her no more, Thus you see what meanes are to be used in this libertie of speech, when a friend would cure a maladie.

But for to prevent the same, there would be practifed a cleane contrarie course: for when it behoovesh to avert and turne our friends from committing a fault, whereto they are prone and enclined; or to withstand some violent and disordinat passion, which carrieth them a cleane contrarie way; or when we are desirous to incite and stirre them forward unto good things, be-

ing of themselves slow and backward: when, I say, we would give an edge unto them, who are otherwise dull, and heat them being cold, we ought to transferre the thing or act in hand to some abfurd causes, and those that be unseemely and undecent. Thus ulysses pricked on Achilles in a certaine Tragedic of Sophoeles, when he said thus unto him: It is not for a supper Achilles that you are so angrie, but

For that you have already seene The wals of Troy, your fearfull teene.

And when upon these words Arbilles tooke greater indignation, and chased more and more, faying, that he would not faile forward but be gone backeagaine, he came upon him a second time with this rejoynder:

I wote well why you gladly would depart: Tis not because at cheeks or taunts you chase, Bus Hector is not far: he kils your hart; For dread of him to stay it is not safe.

By this meanes when we scar a valiant and hardy man with the opinion of cowardise; an honest, chaste and civill person, with the note of being reputed loose & incontinent; also a liberall and fumptuous Magnifico, with the feare to be accounted a niggard or a mechanicall micher; we do mightily incite them to wel doing, and chase them from bad waies. And like as when a thing is done and past, and where there is no remedic, there should be borne a modest and temperate hand, in such fortthat in our libertie of speech we seeme to shew more commissration, pittie 20 and fellow griefe of minde for the fault of a friend, than eager reprehension; so contrariwise where it stands upon this point that he should not fault, where (I say) our drift is to fight against the motion of his paffions, there we ought to be vehement, inexorable and never to give over nor yeeld one jot into them. And this is the very time when we are to shew that love of ours and good will which is conflant, fetled, and fure, and to use our true libertie of speech to the full. For to reproove faults already committed, we see it is an ordinary thing among arrant enmics. To which purpose faid Diogenes very well; That a man who would be an honest man ought to have either very good friends, or most shrewd and bitter enimies: for as they do teach and instruct; so these are ready to finde fault and reproove. Now far better it is for one to abstaine from evill doing, in beleeving and following the found counsell of his friends, than to 10 repent afterwards of ill doing, when he feeth himselfe blamed and accused by his enimies. And therefore if it were for nothing els but this, great discretion and circumspection would be used in making remonstrances & speaking freely unto friends: and so much the rather, by how much it is the greater and stronger remedie that friendship can use, and hath more need to be used in time and place convenient, and more wifely to be tempered with a meane and mediocrity. Now forafmuch as I have faid fundry times already, that all reprehensions whatfoever are dolorous unto him that receiveth them; we ought in this case to imitate good Physicians and Chirurgians: for when they have made incifion or cut any member, they leave not the place in paine and torment still, butuse certeine fomentations and lenitive infusions to mitigate the anguish: No more do they that after a civill maner have chid or rebuked, run away prefently to 40 foone as they have bitten and pricked the partie, but by changing their maner of speech, entertainetheir friends thus galled and wounded, with other more mild and pleasant discourses; to aswage their griefe and refresh their hartagaine that is cast downe and discomforted; and I may well compare them to these cutters and carvers of images, who after they have rough hewen and fcabbled over certeine peeces of stone for to make their statures of do polish and smooth them faire, yea and give them a lightforme lustre. But if a man be stung and nipped once, or touched to the quickeby some objurgatorie reprehension, and so left rough, uneven, disquieted, swelling and puffing for anger, he is ever after hardly quieted or reclaimed, and no confolation will

g and putting for anger, he is ever after fatting quieted of techanica, and no confidential ferve the turne to appeale and comfort him againe. And therefore they who reproove & admonish their friends, ought to observe this rule above all others; Not

to for fake them immediately when they have fo done, nor to breake off their conference fodainly, or to conclude their fpeech with any word that might greeve and provoke them.

Of



OF MEEKENES, OR HOW

A MAN SHOVLD RE-

FRAINE CHOLER.

A TREATISE IN MANER of a Dialogue.

The persons that be the Speakers:
SYLLA and Fundanus.

The Summarie of the Dialogue.

Fier we are taught how to discerne a flatterer from a friend it seemeth that this Treatife, as touching Mildneffe and how we ought to bridle Anger, was fet heere in his proper place. For like as we may soone erre grosty in choise of those whom we are willing and well content to have about us, and in that respect are to be circumspect, and to stand upon our quard; so we have no lesse cause to consider how we should converse among our neighbours. Now of all those vices and imperfections which defame mans life, and cause the race & course thereof to be difficult & wondrow painfull to passe, anger is one of those which are to 20 be ranged in the first ranke; in such sort, that it booteth not to be provided of good friends, if this surious humor get the mastery over us: like as contrariwise flutterers & such other pestilent plagues have not so easie entrance into us nor such ready meanes to be possessed of us, so long as we be accopanied with a certaine wife and prudent mildneffe. In this discourse then, our authour doing the part of an expert Physician, laboureth to purge our mindes from all choler, and would traine them to modestie and humanitie, so farre foorth as Philosophie morall is able to performe. And for to attaine unto so great a benefit, he sheweth in the first place, that we ought to procure our friends for to observe and marke our impersections, that by long continuance of time we may accustome our selves to holde in our judgement by the bit of reason. After certaine proper similitudes serving for this purpose, and a description of the inconveniences and harmes that come by wrath, he prooveth, that it is an easie matter to restraine and 40 represse the same : to which purpose he setteth downe divers meanes, upon which he discourseth after his ufuall maner, that is to fay, with reasons and inductions, enriched with notable similitudes and examples: afterwards, having spoken of the time and maner of chastising and correcting those who are under our power and governance, he proposeth aswell certaine remedies to cure choler, as preservalives to keepe us from relapse into it againe: Which done, he represente thire lively, as in a painted table, to the end that those who suffer themselves to be surprised therewith, may be abashed and ashamed of their unhappy state: and therewith he giveth five notable advertisements for to attaine thereto, which be as it were prefervatives : by meanes whereof we (hould not feele our selves attaint any more



with this maladie.

OF MEEKENES, OR HOW A man should refraine choler.

A TREATISE IN MANNER of a Dialogue.



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T feemeth unto me (ô Fundanus) that painters doe verie well and wifely, to view and confider their workes often and by times betweene, before they thinke them finished and let them go out of their hands: for that by fetting them fo out of their fight, and then afterwards having recourse thither agains to judge thereof, they make their cies (as it were) new judges, to fpie and discerne the least fault that is, which continuall looking thereupon, and the ordinarie view of one and the fame thing doth cover and hide from them. But forasmuch as it is not possible that a man should depart from himselfe for a time, and after a certaine space returne againe; nor 20

that he should breake, interrupt and discontinue his understanding and sense within (which is the cause that each man is a worse judge of himselfe than of others.') A second meanes and remedie therefore in this case would be used: namely, to review his friends fundrie times, and estfoones likewise to yeeld himselfe to be seene and beheld by them; not so much to know thereby whether he aged apace and grow foone old; or whether the constitution of his bodie be better or worse than it was before, as to survey and consider his manners and behaviour, to wit, whether time hath added any good thing, or taken away ought that is bad and naught. For mine owne part, this being now the fecond yeere fince I came first to this citie of Rome, and the fifth month of mine acquaintance with you, I thinke it no great woonder, that confidering your towardnes and the dexteritie of your nature, those good parts which were alreadie in you, have gotten so 30 great an addition and be so much increased, as they are : but when I see how that vehement inclination, and ardent motion of yours to anger, whereunto by nature you were given, is by the guidance of reason become so milde, so gentle and tractable, it commeth into my minde to say thereunto, that which I read in Homer,

O what a woondrous change is here? Much milder are you than you were.

And verily this gentlenes and meekenes of yours is not turned into a certaine floth, and generall diffolution of your vigour: but like as a peece of ground well tilled, lieth light and even, and besides more hollow than before, which maketh much for the sertilitie thereof; even so, your nature hath gotten in stead of that violent disposition and sudden propension un-p to choler, a certaine equalitie and profunditie, ferving greatly to the management of affaires, whereby also it appeareth plainely that it is not long of the decaying strength of the bodie, by reason of declining age; neither yet of the owne accord, that your hastinesse and cholericke passion is thus faded, but rather by meanes of good reasons and instructions well cured. And yet verily (for unto you I will be bold to fay the truth) at the first I suspected and could not well believe Eros our familiar friend, when he made this report of you unto me; as doubting that he was readie to give this testimonie of you in regard of affection and good will, bearing me in hand of those things which were not indeed in you, but ought to be in good and honelt men: and yet (as you know well ynough) he is not fuch a man, as for favour of any person, and for to pleafe, can be eafily persuaded and brought to say otherwise than he thinketh. But now as so he is freed and acquit from the crime of bearing falle witnesse: so you (fince this journey and travell upon the way affoordeth you good leafure) will (I doubt not) at my request, declare and recount unto us the order how you did this cure upon your felfe; and namely what medicines and remedies you used, to make that cholericke nature of yours, so gentle, so tractable, so soft and supple, so obeifant (I say) and subject wholy to the rule of reason?

Fundanus. But why do you not your felfe (ô Sylla) my decreft and most affectionate friend, take heed,

that for the amitie and good will which you beare unto me, you be not deceived and fee one thing in me for another? As for Eros, who for his owne part hath not alwaies his anger stedfaltly stated with the cable and anchor of Homers Pei/a (that is, obedient and abiding firme in one place) but otherwhiles much mooved and out of quiet, for the hatted that he hath of vice and vicious men it may verie wel be, and like it is that unto him I feeme more milde and gentle than before: like as we fee in changing and altering the notes of prick-fong, or the Gam-ut in muficke, certaine Netæ or notes which are the base in one S, being compared which other Netæ morelow and bale, become Hypatæ, that is, the Trebles.

It is neither fo nor fo (ô Fundamu) but of all loves, do as I defire you, for my fake.

Fundanus. Since it is so (Sylla) among many good advertisements of Musonius which come to my minde, this is one; That who foever would live fafe and in health, ought all their life time to looke to themselves, and be as it were in continual Physicke. For I am not of this minde, neither doe I thinke it convenient that like as Elleborm, after it hath done the deed within a ficke mans bodie and wrought a cure, is cast up againe together with the maladie; so reason also should be sent out after the passion which it hath cuted, but it ought to remaine still in the mind for to keepe and preferve the judgement. For why? reason is not to be compared with medicines and purgative drugs, but rather to holefome and nourifhing meates, engendring mild-20 ly in the minds of them unto whom it is made familiar, 2 good complexion and fast habit together with some perfect health: whereas admonitions and corrections applied or ministred unto passions when they swell and rage, and bee in the height of their heat and inflammation, hardly and with much adoe worke any effect at all, and if they doe, it is with much paine. Neither differ they in operation from those strong odors which well may raise out of a fit those who are fallen and be subject to the Epilepsy or falling sicknes; but they cure not the discase, nor fecure the patient for falling againe: True it is that all other passions of the minde, if they be taken in hand at the very point and instant when they are in their highest furie, do yeeld in some fort, and they admit reason comming from without into the minde for to helpe and succour, but anger not onely, as Melanthius faith,

Commits lewd parts, and reason doth displace

Out of her feat, and proper resting place. but also turneth her cleane out of house & home, shutteth and locketh her out of doores for altogether; nay it fareth for all the world like to those who set the house on fire over their owne heads, and turne themselves and it together: it filleth all within full of trouble, smoke, and confused noises, in such fort that it hath neither eie to see, nor eare to listen unto those that would, & might affift and give aide: and therefore fooner will a ship abandoned of her master in the mids of the sea, and there hulling dangerously in a storme and tempest receive a pilot from some other ship without; than a man to seed with the waves of furic and anger, admit the reason and remonstrance of a stranger; unlesse his owne reason at home were before-hand well prepared: 40 But like as they who looke for no other but to have their citie befreged, gather together and lay up fafe their owne store and provision, and all things that might ferve their turne, not knowing nor expecting any aide or reliefe abroad during the fiege; even so ought we to have our remedies ready and provided long before, and the same gathered out of all parts of Philosophie and conveied into the minde for to withfland the rage of choler: as being affured of this, that when neede and necessitie requireth to use them, wee shall not easily admit the same, and suffer them to have entrance into us. For furely at fuch a time of extremitie, the foule heareth not a word that is faid unto it without, for the trouble and confusion within, unlesse her owne reafon be affiftant ready both to receive and understand quickly every commandement and precept, and also to prompt the same accordingly unto her. And say that she doth heate: looke 50 what is faid unto her after a milde, calme, and gentle maner, that the despiseth; againe, if any be more instant, and do urge her somewhat roughly, with those she is displeased, and the woorse for their admonitions : for wrath being of the owne nature proud, audacious, unruly, and hardly suffering it selfe to be handled or stirred by another, much like unto a tyrantattended with a strong guard about his person, ought to have something of the owne which is domesticall, familiar, and (as it were) in-bred together with it, for to overthrow and diffolve the same. Nowe the continuall custome of anger and the ordinary or often falling into a chase, breedeth in the minde an ill habit called wrathfulnesse, which in the end groweth to this passe, that it maketh a

man cholericke and halty, apt to be mooved at every thing; and besides, it engendeeth a bitter humor of revenge, and a tellinesse implacable, or hardly to be appealed; namely, when the mind is exulcerate once, taking offence at every small occasion, quarteling and complaining for toies and trifles, much like unto a thin or a fine edge that entreth with the least force that the graver putteth it to. But the judgement of reason opposing it selfe streightwaies against such motions and fits of choler, and readie to suppresse & keepe them downe, is not onely a remedia for the present mischiese, but also for the time to come doeth strengthen and fortifie the mind, cauting it to be more firme and ftrong to refift fuch passions when they arise. And now to give some instance of my selfe: The same hapned unto measter I had twice or thrice made head aguinft choler, as befell fometimes to the Thebanes; who having ones repelled and put to flight 10 the Lacedamonians (warriors thought in those daies invincible) were never in any one battell afterward defeated by them. For from that time forward I tooke heart and courage, as feeing full well, that conquered it might be with the discourse of reason. I perceived moreover, that anger would not onely be quenched with cold water powred and cast upon it, as Arthotle hath reported unto us, but also that it would go out and be extinguished, were it never so light a fire before, by prefenting necre unto it fome object of feare: nay (I affure you) by a fudden joy comming upon it unlooked for, in many a man, according as Homer faith, choler hath melted, diffolved & evaporated away. And therefore this resolution I made, that anger was a passion not incurable, if men were willing to be cured: for furely the occasions and beginnings thereof are not alwaies great and forcible; but we fee that a jeft, a feoffe, fome fport, fome laughter, a winke of the cie, as or nod of the head, and fuch finall matters, hath fet many in a peling chafe: even as Lady Helena faying no more but thus unto her niece or brothers daughter at their first meeting,

Electra wirgin, long time fince 1 you faw &c. drawe her in such a fit of choler, that therewith she was provoked to breake off her speech with this answer,

Wife now at last, though all too late, you are I may well fay, Who whilom left your husbands houfe, andran with shame away.

Likewise Calisthenes mightily offended Alexander with one word, who when a great bole 39 of wine went round about the table, refused it as it came to his turne, saying: I will not (I trow) drinke so to your health Alexander, that I shall have need thereby of Arfulapius (i. a Physician.) A fire that newly hath caught a slame with hares or conies haire, drie leaves, hunds and light straw, stubble and rakings, it is an easte matter to pur out and quench; but if it have once taken to sound sewell and such matter as hath solidity, substance and thicknesse in it, soone it burneth and consumeth as Arfebylus saith:

By climbing up and mounting hie The stately works of Carpentrie.

Semblably, he that will take heed unto choler at the beginning, when he feeth it once to finoke or flame out by occasion of fome merry speech, flouting scoffes, and foolish words of no more ment, needs not to strive much about the quenching of it: for many times if he do no more but hold his peace, or make simall account or none at all of such matters, it is enough to extanguish and make it go out. For he that ministreth not sewell to fire, putteth it out; and who foever feedeth not his anger at the first, and bloweth not the coales himselfe, doth coole and represse the same. And therefore Hieromman the Philosopher, although otherwise he have taught us many good lessons and instructions; yet in this point he hath not pleased and fatisfied me, when he saith; That a man is not able to perceive in himselfe the breeding of anger, (so quicke and sodden it is) but onely when it is bred, then it may be felt: for furely, there is no vice or passion in us, that giveth such warning, or hath either so evident a generation or so manisest an augment whiles it is stirred and mooved, as anger, according as Homer himselfe right stilly, 50 and as a man of good experience, giveth us to understand, who bringeth in Achilles fore mooved to forrow and griefe of heart, even with a word, and at the very instant, when he heard the speeches of Maamemon: for thus reporteth the Poet of him:

Out of the king his fower eignes mouth, the word no fooner paft, But straight a blacke and mistic cloud of ire him over east.

But of Aguneimon himselfe, he saith, that is was long ere he was angrie; namely, after he had beene kindled with many hard speeches, that were dealt to and fro, which if any third person stepping betweene, would have staied or turned away, certes their quarrell and debate had not growen to such tearnies of extremity as it did. And therefore Socrates so often as he felt him. felfe somewhat declining and more mooved than he should, against any one of his friends, and avoiding as it were a rocke in the fea, before the tempelt came and the billowes arofe, would let fall his voice, thew a smiling countenance, and compose his looke and visage to mirth and lenitie, and thus by bending and drawing another away to that whereunto his affection enclined, and opposing himselfe to a contrary passion, he kept upright on his feet, so that he fell not, nor o was overthrowen. For there is (my good friend) a ready meanes in the very beginning, to breake the force of choler, like as there is a way to diffolve a tyrannicall rule and dominion, that is to fay, not to obey at the first, not to give eare and be ruled by her commandement, when the thal bid thee to speake & cry out aloud, or to looke with a terrible countenance, or to knocke or beat thy felfe; but to be still and quiet, and not to re-enforce and encrease the passion, as men do exasperate a sicknesse with strugling, striving, tossing and roaring out aloud. For those things which ordinary lovers and amourous young men practife, that is to fay, to go in a wanton and merry maske, to fing and daunce at the doores of their fweet hearts and miftreffes, to bedecke their windowes with coronets & floure-garlands, bring some ease and alleviation (such as it is) of their paffions, and the fame not altogether undecent and uncivill, according to that which 20 we reade in the Poet:

How to bridle anger.

And when I came, aloud I cried not, And asked who she was, or daughter whose? But kist my love full sweetly, that I wot: If this be sinne? but sinne I can not choose.

Also that which we permit those to doe who are in forrow, namely, to mourne, to lament and weepe for loffes or mithaps; certeinly with their fighs which they fetch, & teares that they flied, they do lend out and discharge a good part of their griese and anguish. But it is not so with the passion of anger: for furely, the more that they stirre and speake who are surprised therewith the more hote it is, and the flame burneth out the rather; and therefore the best way is, for a man to 30 be quiet, to flie and keepe him out of the way, or els to retire himselfe into some haven of furety and repose, when he perceiveth that there is a fit of anger toward, as if he felt an accesse of the falling evill comming. This (I fay) we ought to do, for feare left we fall downe, or rather runne and ruth upon some one or other. But who be they that we run upon ? Surely our very friends, for the greatest part, & those we wrong most. As for our affection of love, it standeth nor to all things indifferently, neither do we hate ne yet feare we everything alike: But what is it that ire fetteth not upon? nothing is there but it doth affaile and lay hands on; we are angry with our enemies; we chafe with our friends; with children, with parents are we wrath; nay, the very gods themselves we for beare not in our cholericke mood; we sie upon dumbe and brute beasts; we spare not so much as our utensile vessels and implements which have neither sense nor life at 40 all, if they stand in our way, we fare like Thampris the Musician,

Who brake his cornet, finely bound And tipt with golde: his late he hent, Well firung and sun a to pleafant found, And it anon to fitters rent.

Thus did Pandarm also, who cursed, and betooke himselse to all the siends in hell, if he did not burst his bowe and arrowes with his owne hands, and throw them into the fire when he had so done. As for Xerxes, he stucke not to whip, to lash and sourge the sea, and to the mountaine Abos he sent his minatoric letters in this forme; Thou wretebed and wicked Athos, that beare stup thy bead aloss into the skie; see thou bring soorth no great craggie stones, I advise thee, for my so works, and such as be hard to be cut and wronght: atherwise, if thou doe, I shall cut thee through and tumble thee into the maine sea. Many fearetull and terrible things there be that are done in anger, and as many for them againe, as foolish and ridiculous, and therefore of all passions that trouble the minde, it is both hated and despised most. In which regards expedient it were, to consider diligently as well of the one as the other: so mine owne part, whether I did well or ill, I know not; but furely, when I began my cure of choler in my selfe, I did as in olde time the Lacedemonians were woont to do by their llotes, men of base and servile condition: For as they taught their children what a soule vice drunkennesse was, by their example when they were

drunke, fo I learned by observing others, what anger was, and what beaftly effects it wrought, First and formost therefore, like as that maladic according to Hippernaes, is of all others, woorst and most dangerous, wherein the visage of the sicke person is most dissingured and made unlikest it felles; so, I seeing those that were possessed of cholers and (as it were) beside themselves there by, how their sace was changed, their colour, their countenance, their gate and their voice quite altered, I imagined thereupon unto my selse accretine forme and image of this maladie, as being mightily displeased in my minde; is shaply at any time I should be seene of my friends, my wise and the little girles my daughters, so terrible and so farre mooved and transported beside my selse; not onely fearefull and hideous to beholde, and farre otherwise than I was woont, but also unpleasant to be heard; my voice being rough, rude and churlish: like as it was my hap to so so my familiar friends in that case, who by reason of anger could not reteine and keepe their ordinary fashions and behavior, their force of visage, nor their grace in speech, ne yet that affability and pleasantnesse in company and talke as they were woont.

This was the reason that Caius Gracehus the Oratour, a man by nature blunt, rude in behaviour, and withall over-earnest and violent in his maner of pleading, had a little flute or pipe made for the nonce, such as Musicians are woomt to guide and rule the voice gently by little and little up and downe, betweene base to treble, according to everie note as they would themselves, teaching their scholars thereby to have a tunable voice. Now when Gracehus pleaded at the barrest any time, he had one of his servants standing with such a pipe behinde him: who observing when his master was a little out of tune, would sound a more mild and pleasant note unto a him, whereby he reclaimed and called him backe from that loude exclaiming, and so taking downe that rough and swelling accent of his voice,

Like as the N cat-heards pipes foshrill made of the marrish reeds fo tight; The joints whereof with waxe they fill, refound a tune for their delight: Which while the heard ain field they keepe, Brings them at length to pleasant sleepe.

dulced and allaied the cholericke palition of the orator. Certes my felle, if I had a pretie page to attend upon me, who were diligent, necessarie and handsome about me, would not be offended at but verie well content, that when he saw me angrie he should by and by present a mirror or looking glasse unto me, such a one as they use to bring and shew unto some that newly are come out of the baine, although no good or profit at all they have thereby. But certainely for man to see himselfe at such a time, how disquieted he is, how farre out of the way and beside the course of nature, it were no small meanes to checke this passion, and to set him in hatted the tewith for ever after. They who are delighted in tales and fables, doe report by way of metric speech and passime, that once when Minerva was a piping, there came a Satyre and admonished bet, that it was not for her to play upon a slute; but she for the time tooke no heed to that advertisement of his, notwithstanding he spake thus unto her:

This forme of face becomes you not, lay up your pipes, take armes in hand: But fir it this would not be forgot, your cheekes to lay shat puft now fland,

But afterwards when she had seene her face in a certaine river, what a paire of cheekes she had gotten with her piping, she was displeased with her selfe and slung away her pipes: And yet this art and skill of playing well upon the pipe, yeeldeth some comfort and maketh amends for the deformitte of a disfigured visage, with the melodious tune and harmonie that it affoordeth; yea and afterwards, Marsyas the Minstrell (as it is thought) devised first with a certaine hood and muzzle sastened round about the mouth, as well to restraine and keepe downe the violence of the blast enclosed thus by force, as also to correct and hide the deformitie and undecent inequa-50 little of the visage;

With glittring gold both cheekes as farre as temples he did binde: The tender mouth with thongs likewife, fust knit the necke behinde.

But anger contratiwile, as it doth puffe up and firetch out the vilage after an unfeemely maner, fo much more it fendeth out undecent and unpleafant voice,

And stirs the strings at secret note of heart Which touched should not be, but by a part.

The fea verily, when being troubled and difquieted with bluftring winds, it caffeth up moffe, reits, and fuch like weeds (they fay) it is cleanfed andpurged thereby : but the diffolute, bitter, fourrile, and foolish speeches, which anger sendeth out of the minde when it is turned upside downe, first pollute and defile the speakers themselves, and fill them full of infamy, for that they be thought to have their hearts full of fuch ordure and filthinesse at all times; but the same lurketh there, untill that choler discovereth it: And therefore, they pay most decrely for their speech, the lightest matter of all others (as Plato faith) in that they suffer this heavie and grie-10 your punishment, to be held and reputed for malicious enemies, curfed speakers, and ill conditioned persons. Which I seeing and observing well enough, it falleth out that I reason with my felfe, & alwaies call to mind, what a good thing it is in a feaver, but much better in a fit of choler to have a tongue faire, even and fmooth: For in them that be ficke of an ague, if the tongue be not fuch as naturally it ought to be, an ill figne it is, but not a cause of any harme or indisposition within. Howbeit, if their tongues who are angry, be once rough, foule, and running diffolutely at random to abfurd speeches, it casteth foorth outragious and contumelious language, the verie mother and work-mistresse of irreconciliable enmitte, and bewraieth an hidden and fecret maliciousnes. As for wine, if a man drinke it, of it selfe undelaied with water, it putteth foorth no fuch wantonnesse, no disordinate and lewd speeches, like to those that proceed of ire. 20 For drunken talke ferveth to make mirth, and to procure laughter rather than any thing elfe : but words of choler are tempered with bitter gall and rankor. Moreover, he that fitteth filent at the table when others drinke merrily, is odious unto the companie and a trouble: whereas in choler there is nothing more decent and befeeming gravitie, than to be quiet and fay nothing: according as Sappho doth admonish.

> When furious choler once is up, disperst and spred in brest, To keepe the tongue then apt to barke, and let it lie at rest.

The confideration of these things collected thus together, serveth not onely to take heede 30 alwaies unto them that are subject to yre and therewith possessed, but also besides to know throughly the nature of anger: how it is neither generous or manfull, nor yet hath anic thing in it that favoreth of wifedome and magnanimitie. Howbeit the common people interpret the turbulent nature, thereof to be active and meet for action: the threats and menaces thereof, hardineffe and confidence, the peevish and froward unrulinesse to be fortitude and ftrength. Nay some there be who would have the crueltie in it, to be a disposition and dexteritie to atchieve great matters; the implacable malice thereof to be constancio and firme resolution: the morofitie and difficultie to be pleafed; to be the hatred of finne and vice; howbeit herein they do not well but are much deceived, for furely the very actions, motions, geftures, and countenance of cholerike persons do argue and bewray much basenesse and imbecilitie: 40 which we may perceive not onely in these brain-sicke fits that they fall upon little children, and them pluck, twitch, and mifule; flie upon poore feely women, and thinke that they ought to punish and beat their horses, hounds and mules, like unto Cresiphon that samous wrestler and professed champion, who stucke not to spurne and kicke his mule; but also in their tyrannicall and bloudly murders, wherein their crueltie and bitterneffe which declareth their pufillanimity &bale mind; their actions which shew their passions & their doing to others, bewraying a suffering in themselves, may be compared to the stings and bitings of those venemous serpents which be very angrie, exceeding dolorous and burne most themselves when they do inslict the greatest inflamation upon the patients, and put them to most paine: For like as swelling is a fympfome or accident following upon a great wound or hurtin the fleth: even fo it is in the 50 tenderest and softest minds, the more they give place and yeeld unto dolor and passion, the more plentie of choler and anger they utter foorthas proceeding from the greater weaknes. By this you may fee the reason why women ordinarily be more waspish, curst and shrewd than men; ficke folke more testiethan those that are inhealth; old people more waiward and froward than those that be in the floure and vigor of their yeeres; and finally such as be in adversitie and upon whom fortune frowneth, more prone to anger than those who prosper and have the world smiling upon them. The covetous mizer and pinching peni-father is alwaics most angrie with his steward that laieth foorth his monie; the glutton is ever more displeased with

his cooke and cater; the jealous husband quickly falleth out and brawleth with his wife; the vaine glorious foole is foonest offended with them that speake anything amisse of him; but the most bitter and intollerable of all others, are ambitious persons in a citie, who lay for high places and dignities, fuch also as are the heads of a faction in a fedition; which is a trouble and mischiefe (as Pindares faith) conspicuous and honorable. Loe, how from that part of the mind which is wounded, greeved, fuffreth most and especially upon infirmitie and weakenesse, arifeth anger, which paffion refembleth not (as one would have it) the finewes of the foule, but is like rather to their stretching spreines and spalmatick convulsions, when it streineth and striveth overmuch in following revenge.

How to bridle anger.

Well, the examples of evill things yeeld no pleafant fight at all, onely they be necessary and I profitable, and for mine owne part supposing the precedents given by those who have caried themselves gently and mildly in their occasions of anger, are most delectable, not onely to be-

hold, but also heare: I begin to contemne and despise those that fay thus:

To man thou hast done wrong : be fure At mans hand wrong for to endure.

Likewise

Downe to the ground with him, fare not his coate,

Spurne him and fet thy foote upon his throate, and other fuch words which ferve to provoke wrath and whet choler; by which fome go about to remoove anger out of the nurcery, and womens chamber into the hall where men do fit and 16 keepe; but heerein they do not well: For prowesse and fortitude according in all other things with juffice, and going fellow-like with her, me thinkes is at strife and debate with her about meekenesse and mildnesse onely, as if the rather became her, and by right apperteined unto her: For otherwhiles it hath beene knowne that the woorst men have gone beyond and surmounted the better. But for a man to erect a Trophee and fet up a triumphall monument in his owne foule against ire (with which as Heractinus faith the conflict is hard and dangerous: for what a man would have he buieth with his life) it is an act of rare valour and victorious puissance, as having in trueth the judgement of reason, for sinewes, tendons, and muskles to encounter and refift passions. Which is the cause that I studie, and am desirous alwaies to reade and gather the fayings and doings, not onely of learned clearks and Philosophers; who asour to Sages and wife men fay, have no gall in them, but also and much rather of Kings, Princes, Tyrants, and Potentates: As for example, such as that was of Antigonus, who hearing his fouldiors upon a time revile him behinde his pavilion, thinking that he heard them not, put forth his ftaffe from under the cloth unto them and faid: A whorfon knaves, could you not go a little farther off, when you meant thus to raile upon us. Likewise when one Arcadian an Argive or Achean never gave over reviling of King Philip, and abufing him in most reprochfull tearnes, yea and to give him warning

So far to flie, untill he thither came Where no man knew nor heard of Philips name.

And afterwards the man was seene (I know not how) in Macedoma; the friends and courtiers 40 of king Philip were in hand with him to have him punished, and that in any wife he should not let him go and escape: Philip contrariwise having him once in his hands, spake gently unto him, used him courteously, sending unto him in his lodging gifts and presents, and so sent him away. And after a certeine time he commanded those courtiours of purpose to enquire what words he gave out of him unto the Greekes: but when everie one made report againe and tellified that he was become another man, and ceafed not to speake woonderfull things in the praise of him; Lo (quoth Philip) then unto them: Am not I a better Phylician than all you, and can I not skill how to cure a foule tongued fellow? Another time at the great folemnitie of the Olympian games, when the Greekes abused him with verie bad language, his familiar friends about him faid they deserved to be sharply chastised and punished, for so miscalling and revi-so ling him, who had beene so good a benefactor of theirs: what would they doe and say then (quoth he) if I should deale hardly by them and doe them shrewd turnes? Semblably, notable and excellent was the carriage of Pilifratus to Thrafibulus : of king Porfenna to Mutius, and of Magas to Philemon, who in a publike and frequent Theatre, had mocked and scoffed at him in this maner,

Magas, there are some letters come unto you from a king

But letter Magas none can reade, nor write for any thing.

Now it chanced afterwards that by a tempest at sea he was cast upon the Port-towno Paratonium, whereof Magas was governor, and so fell into his hands, who did him no other harme, but commaunded one of his guard or officers about him, onely with his naked fword to touch his bare necke, and fo gently to goe his waies and do no more to him: marie afterwards, he fent unto him little bones for cock-all, and a pretie ball to play withall, as if he had beene a childe that had no wit nor discretion, and so fent him home againe in peace. King Prolomans upon a time gelting and fcoffing at a simple and unlearned Gramarian, asked him, who was the father of 10 Peleus: I will answere you fir (quoth he) if you tell me first who was the father of Lague: This was a drie flout and touched King Ptolomaus very neere, in regard of the meane parentage from

whence he was descended: whereat, all about the King were mightily offended, and thought it was too broad a jest and from pintolerable. But Prolomaus, if it be not seemely for a King to take and put up a scorne: surely as little decent it is for his person to give a scorne *

Alexander the Great was more bitter and cruell (than otherwise his ordinarie manner was to that here and charmed a world could be a supply of the beautiful formerwhat others) towards Callifthenes and Clytus. But King Porus being taken prifoner by him in a bat-wanung. tell, befought that he would use him royally, or like a King. And when King Alexander de-

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maunded moreover what he had more to fay, and what he would have elfe? No more (quoth he) for under this word Royally is comprised all. And therefore I suppose it is, that the Greeks 20 call the King of the gods, by the name of Miliehius, that is to fay, Milde and sweete as honic. And the Athenians named him Mumactes, which is as much as, Readie to helpe and fuccour: For to punish and torment, pertaineth to divels and the furious fiends of hel: there is no celeftiall, divine, and heavenly thing in it. And like as one faid of King Philip, when he had rafed & destroyed the citie Olynthus: Yea marie, but he is notable to fet up fuch another citie in the place: even so, a man may well say unto Anger; Thou canst overthrow, demolish, marre and pull downe: but to reare and erect againe, to fave, to pardon, and to endure; be the properties of meekneffe, clemencie, mildnes, patience, and moderation: they be the parts (I fav) of Camillus, Metellus, Aristides and Socrates: whereas to Hicke close unto the fleth, to pinch, pricke and bite, are the qualities of pifmires, flies and mice. Moreover and befides, when I looke unto Re-30 venge, and the manner thereof, I finde for the most part, that if men proceede by way of choler, they miffe of their purpose : for commonly all the heat & defire of revenge is spent in biting of lips, gnashing and grating of teeth, vaine running to and fro, in railing words with foolish threats and menaces among, that favour of no wit at all: By which meanes it fareth with them afterwards, as with little children in running of a race, who for feebleneffe being not able to hold out, fall downe before they come unto the goale, whereunto they made fuch ridiculous and foolish haste. And therfore in my conceit, it was not an improper answere which a certaine Rhodian made unto one of the Lictours and officers of a Romane Generall or Lord Proctor, who with wide mouth bauled at him, and made a glorious bragging and boafting. I paffe not (quoth he) one whit what thou failt; I care rather for that which he thinkerh there, that faith nothing, 40 In like manner Sophocles when he had brought in Eurypylus and Neoprolemus all armed, speaketh bravely in their commendation thus,

They dealt nothreates in vaine, no taunts they made, nor boasting words: But to t they went and on their skeelds they laid on load with fwords.

And verily, some barbarous nations there are who use to poison their swords, & other weapons of iron; but valour hath no need at all of the venim of choler, for dipped it is in reason & judgement; whereas whatfoever is corrupted with ire and furie is brittle, rotten, and easie to be broken into pieces. Which is the reason that the Lacedæmonians doe allay the choler of their 50 fouldiors, when they are fighting with the melodious found of flutes and pipes; whose manner is also before they goe to battell, to facrifice unto the Muses, to the ende that their reason and right wits may remaine in them still, and that they may have use thereof: yea, and when they have put their enemies to flight, they never pursue after nor follow the chase, but reclaime and hold their furious anger within compaffe, which they are able to weld and manage as they lift; no lesse than these daggers or courtlaces which are of a meane size and reasonable length. Contrariwife, anger hath beene the cause that many thousands have come short of the execution of vengeance, and milearried by the way. As for example, Cyrus and Pelopidas the Thebane among

the reft. But Agathaeles endured patiently to heare himselfe reproched and reviled, by those whom hee besteged: and when one of them said: You Potter there? Heare you? Where will you have silver to pay your mercenarie souldiers and strangers their wages? Hee laughed againe and made answere; Even out of this citie when I have once forced it. Some there were also that mocked and scorned Anigonas from the verie walles, and twitted him with his deformitie and evill savoured face. But he said no more than thus, Why! And I tooke my selfe before to have beene verie faire and well savoured. Now when he had woon the towne he sold in open port-sale those that had so southed him, protesting withal unto them, that if from that time forward they mocked him any more, he would tell their masters of them and call them to account.

Moreover, I doe fee that hunters, yea, and oratours also commit many faults in their choler. And Ariftotle doth report, that the friends of Satyrus the Oratour, in one cause that he had to plead for them, stopped his eares with waxe, for feare lest that he, when he heard his adversaries to raile upon him in their pleas, thould marre all in his anger. And do not (I pray you) we our felves many times miffe of punishing our fervants by this meanes, when they have done fome faults: for when they heare us to threaten, and give out in our anger, that we will doe thus and thus unto them, they be so frighted that they runne away farre enough off from us. Like as nurfes therefore, are wont to fay unto their little children: Crie not, and you shall have this or that; fo we shall do very wels to speake unto our choler in this wife; Make no such haste, soft and faire, keepe not fuch a crying, make not fo loud a noife, be not fo eager and urgent upon the point; 20 fo shall you see every thing that you would have, sooner done and much better. And thus a father, when he feeth his childe going about to cut or cleave any thing with a knife or edge toole, taketh the toole or knife out of his hand, and doth it himselfe; even so he that doth take revenge out of the hands of choler, punisheth not himselfe, but him that deserveth it: and thus he doth furely, putting his owne person in no danger, without damage and losse, nay, with great profit and commodity. Now, whereas all passions whatsoever of the minde had need of use and cuflome, to tame (as it were) and vanquish by exercise, that which in them is unruely, rebellious and disobedient to reason: certes, in no one point besides had we need to be more exercised, (I meane as touching those dealings that we have with our housholde servants) than in anger: for there is no envy & emulation that arifeth in us toward the, there is no feare that we need to have 30 of them, neither any ambition that troublethor pricketh us against them; but ordinary and continual fits of anger we have every day with them, which breed much offence and many errours, causing us to tread awry, to slip and do amisse sundry waies, by reason of that licentious libertie unto which we give our felves, all the whiles that there is none to controll, none to flay, none to forbid and hinder us : and therefore being in fo ticklish a place, and none to sustaine and holde us up, soone we catch a fall, and come downe at once. And a hard matter it is (I may say to you) when we are not bound to render an account to any one, in fuch a passion as this, to keepe our felves upright, and not to offend; unleffe we take order before-hand to restraine and empale (as it were) round about, fo great a libertie with meeknesse and elemencie, unlesse (I say) we be well inured and acquainted to beare and endure many shrewd and unhappy words of our wives, 40 much unkinde language of friends and familiars, who many times do chalenge us for being too remisse, over-gentle, yea, and altogether carelesse and negligent in this behalfe. And this in tructh, hath bene the principall cause that I have bene quicke and sharpe unto my servants, for feare lest they might proove the woorse for not being chastised. But at the last, though lateit were, I perceived; First, that better it was by long sufferance and indulgence, to make them formewhat woorfe, than in feeking to reforme and amend others, to diforder and spoile my felfe with bitternesse and choler: Secondly, when I saw many of them often-times, even because they were not so punished, scarc and shame to do evil, and how pardon and forgivenesse was the beginning of their repentance and conversion, rather than rigour and punishment; and that I affure you, they would ferve fome more willingly with a nod or winke of the eie, and without a 50 word spoken, than others with all their beating and whipping: I was at last perswaded in my minde and refolved, that reason was more woorthy to command and rule as a master, than ire and wrath. For true it is not that the Poet faith:

Where ever is feare, Shame also is there:

but cleane contrary: Looke who are bashfull and ashamed; in them there is imprinted a certaine searce that holdesh them in good order: whereas continual beating and laying on without

mercy, breedeth not repentance in fervants for evill doing, but rather a kinde of forecast and providence, how they should not be spied nor taken in their evill doing. Thirdly, calling to remembrance, and confidering evermore with my felfe, that he who taught us to shoot, forbad us notto draw a bowe or to shoot an arrow, but to misse the marke: no more will this be any let or hinderance, but that we may chaftife and punish our servants, if we be taught to do it in time and place, with moderation and measure, profitably, and decently as it apperteineth. And verily I do enforce my felfe, and strive to master my choler and subdue it principally, not denying unto them who are to be punished, the libertie and meanes to justifie themselves, but in hearing them to speake what they can for their excuse. For as time and space doeth in the meane time finde 10 the paffion occupied another way, and withall bring a certaine delay, which doeth flacke and les downe (as it were) the vehemencie and violence thereof; fo judgement of reason, all the while meeteth both with a decent maner and also with a convenient meane and measure of doing punifhment accordingly. And besides, this course and maner of proceeding, leaveth him that is punished, no cause, occasion or pretense at all, to resist and strive againe, considering that he is chastised and corrected not in choler and anger, but being first convinced, that he had well deferved his correction: and (which were yet woorfe than all the rest) the servant shall not have vantage to speake more justly and to better reason than his master. Well then, like as Phocion after the death of Alexander the great, having a care not to fuffer the Athenians to rife overfoone, or make any infurrection before due time, ne yet to give credit rafhly unto the newes of 20 his death: My mafters of Athens (quoth he) if he be dead to day, he will be dead to morow alfo and three dates hence to; even so thould a man (in mine opinion) who by the impulsion and infligation of anger, maketh hafte to take punishment, thus fuggest and secretly say to himselfe: If this servant of mine hath made a fault to day, it will be as true to morrow, and the next day after that he hath done a fault; neither will there be any harme or danger at all come of it, if hee chaunce to be punished with the latest: but believe me, if he be punished over-soone, it will be alwaies thought that he had wrong, and did not offend: a thing that I have known to happen full often. For which of us all is so curst & cruel, as to punish and scourge a servant, for burning the roalt five orten daies ago? or for that follong before he chanced to overthrow the table? or was somewhat with the flowest in making answer to his Master; or did his errand or other busi-30 nes not so soone as he should? and yet we see these & such like be the ordinary causes for which (whiles they be fresh and new done) we take on, we stampe and stare, we chase, we frowne, we are implacable and will heare of no pardon: And no marvaile, for like as any bodies feeme bigger through a mist; even so every thing appeareth greater than it is, through anger, And therefore at these and such like faults, we should winke for the time, and make as though we fawthem not, and yet thinke upon them nevertheleffe, and beare them in minde. But afterwards when the storme is well overblowen, we are with out passion, & do not suspect our selves, then we may do well to confider thereof: and then if upon mature deliberation, when our mind is staied and our senses settled, the thing appeare to be naught, we are to hate and abhor it, and in no wife either to for-let and put of, or altogether to omit and forbeare correction, like as 40 they refuse meats who have no stomacke nor appetite to eat. For certeinly it is not a thing so much to be blamed, for to punish one in anger, as not to punish when anger is past and alaied, and so to be retchlesse and desolute: doing as idle mariners, who so long as the sea is calme and the weather faire, loiter within the harbor or haven, but afterwards when a tempest is up, fpread failes and put themselves into danger. For even so we, condemning and neglecting the remissionesse and calmnesse of reason in case of punishment, make haste to execute the same during the heat of choler, which no doubt is a bluftring and turbulent winde. As for meat he calleth for it in deed, and taketh it naturally who is a hungrie; but furely he executeth punishment best, who neither hungreth nor thirsteth after it: neither hath he need to use choler as a fance or deintie di(h for to get him a ftomacke and appetite to correct: but even when he is farso thest off from desire of revenge, then of necessitie he is to make use of reason and wildome to direct him : for we ought not to do, as Aristotle writeth in his time the maner was in Tuskane; To whip fervants with found of flutes and hauthoies; namely to make a sport and pastime of punishing men, and to folace our felves with their punishment for pleasures sake, and then afterwards when we have done, repent us of it: for as the one is brutish and beastlike; so the other is as womanish and unmanly: but without griefe and pleasure both, at what time as reason and judgement is in force, we ought to let justice take punishment, and leave none occasion at all for choler to get advantage. But peradventure some one will say, that this is not properly the

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way to remedie or cure anger; but rather a putting by or precaution that we should not commit any of those faults which ordinarily follow that passion: Unto whom I answere thus; That the swelling of the Spleene is not the cause but a symptome or accident of a sever-showbeit if the said humour be fallen and the paine mitigated, the seaver also will be much eased, according as Hieronymus saith. Also when I consider by what meanes choler is engendred: I see that one falleth into it upon this cause, another upon that; but in all of them, it seemeth this generall opinion there is, that they thinke themselves to be despised and naught set by. And therefore we ought to meet with such as seeme to defend and mainteine themselves, as being angry for just cause, and to cure them after this maner; namely, by diverting and remooving from them, as fat as ever we cau, all sufficion of contempt and contumacie in those that have offended them and no oved their anger; in laying the fault upon inconsiderate follie, necessitie, sicknesse, infirmitie and miscrie, as Sophocles did in these verses,

For those my Lords whose state is in destresse, Have not their spirits and wits as heretosore: As sortune frownes, they waxen ever lesse, Nay gone are quite, though fresh they were besore.

And Agamemon, albeit he laid the taking away of Brifeit from Achilles upon Ate (that is to fay) forme fatall infortunitie, yet

He willing was and proft him to content,

And unto him rich gifts for to prefent. For to befeech and intreat, are figures of a man that despiseth not, and when the partie who hath given offence becometh humble and lowly, he remooveth all the opinion that might be conceived of contempt. But he that is in a fit of choler must not attend and waite until he see that, but rather helpe himselfe with the answer of Diogenes. These sellowes here said one unto him, do deride thee Diogenes; but I (quoth he againe) do not finde that I am derided; even so ought a man who is angry not to be perswaded that he is contemmed of another, but rather that himfelfe hath just cause to contemne him, and to thinke that the fault committed did proceed of infirmitie, error, heady-raffinesse, sloth and idlenesse, a base and illiberall minde, age or youth. And as for our fervants and friends we must by all meanes quit them hereof, or pardon them at leastwife: For furely they cannot be thought to contemne us, in regard that they thinke us 10 unable to be revenged, or men of no execution if we went about it: but it is either by reason of our remissenes and mildnesse, or else of our love and affection that we seeme to be smally regarded by them, whiles our fervants prefume of our tractable nature, easie to be pacified, and our friends of our exceeding love that cannot be soone shaken off, But now we are provoked to anger, not onely against our wives, or servitors and friends, as being contemned by them; but also many times in our choler we fall upon In-keepers, Mariners and Muliters, when they be drunke, supposing that they despite us. And that which more is, we are offended with dogs when they bay or barke at us; and with affes if they chance to fling out and kicke us. Like unto him who lifted up his hand to strike and beat him that did drive an affe; and when the man cried that he was an Athenian: But thou I am fure art no Athenian (quoth he) to the affe, and laid up-40 on the poore beaft as hard as he could, and gave him many a blow with his cudgell. Butthat which chiefly cauleth us to be angrie, and breedeth a continuall disposition thereto in out minds, caufing us to often to breake out into fits of choler, which by little and little was ingendred and gathered there before, is the love of our owne felves, and a kinde of froward furlineffe hardly to be pleafed, together with a certaine daintineffe and delicacie, which all concurring in one, breed and bring foorth a swarme (as it were) of bees, or rather a waspes neaft in us. And therefore there cannot be a better meanes for to carrie our felves mildly and kindly towards our wives, our fervants, familiars and friends, than a contented minde, and a fingleneffe or fimplicitie of heart, when a man resteth satisfied with whatsoever is present at hand, and requireth neither things superfluous nor exquisite,

But he that never is content
With rost or fod, but cooke is shent:
How over he be serv'd, I meane
With more with lesse, or in a meane:
He is not pleas d, nor one good word
Can give of viands set on board,
Without some snow who drinks no draughs,

Nor eatesh bread in market bought.
Who tasses meate, b'it never lo good,
Serv'd up in dish of earth or wood:
And shinkes no bed nor pillow soft,
Unlesse with downe like sea alost
Stird from beneath; if trut and swell;
For otherwise he sleepes not well.

who with rods and whips plieth and haftneth the fervitors at the table, making them to runne untill they fweat againe, crying and bawling at them to come away apace, as if they were not catorial rying diffuse of meat, but platters and cataplasmes for some instanmation or painfull importance: subjecting himselfe after a slavish manner to a service kinde of diet and life, full of discontenument, quarrels and complaints: little knoweth such an one how by a continual cough, or many concussions & distemperatures, he hath brought his soule to an ulcerous and rheumatike disposition about the seat and place of anger. And therfore we must use the body by frugalitie to take up and learne to be content with a competent meane (forasmuch as they who define but a little, can never be disappointed nor frustrat of much) finding no fault, nor keeping any stir at the beginning about meat, but standing satisfied without saying a word, with that which God sendeth whatsoever it be, not fretting, wexing and tormenting our selves at the table about everiething, and in so doing, serving both our selves and our companie about us of friends, with the most unsavorie messe of meat, that is to wit, choler:

A supper woorse than this I do not see

How poft bly one can devifed bee. Namely, whiles the fervants be beaten, the wife chidden and reviled for the meat burnt, for smoke in the parlor, for want of salt, or for the bread over stale and drie. But Arcestaus upon a time with other friends of his, feafted certaine strangers and hosts of his abroad, whose guest he had beene; and after the supper was come in, and meat fet upon the boord, there wanted bread, by reason that his servants had forgotten and neglected to buy any: for such a fault as this, which of us here would not have cried out that the walles should have burst withall, and beene readie to have throwen the house out of the window? And he laughing at the matter: He had 30 need be a wife man (quoth he) I fee well, that would make a feast and set it out as it should be. Socrates also upon a time, when he came from the wreftling schoole, tooke Enthydemin home with him to supper: but Xantippe his wife fel a chiding and scoulding with him at the boord, reviling him with most bitter tearmes, so long, until at last in an anger downe went table and all that was upon it: Whereupon Euthydemm arose, and was about to depart; but Socrates: Will you be gone (quoth he?) Why, do you not remember that the other day as we fat at supper in your house, there flew up to the boord a hen and did as much for you? and yet were not we offended nor angrie for the matter. And in verie truth, we must entertaine our friends and guests, with courtefic, mirth, a fmiling countenance, and affectionate love : and not to brow-beat them, nor yet put the fervitors in a fright, and make them quake and tremble with our frowning 40 lookes. Also we ought so to accustoine our selves that we may be content to be served with any kinde of veffels what foever, and not upon a daintine ffe to have a minde to this, rather then to that, but to like all indifferently. And yet there be some so divers, that although there be manie cups and goblets standing upon the boord, choose one from the rest, and cannot drinke forfooth but out of that one : according as the Stories doe report of Marine , who loved one mazar, and could drinke our of no other. Thus they doe by their oile cruets and currying combs or rubbers, when they are at the baines or flouphes, taking a fancie and affection to fome one above the reft; but if it chaunce that one of them be cracke, broken, or be loft and miscarie any way, then they are exceeding largerie and fall to beating of their fervants. Such men therefore as finde themselves to be cholerike, should do well to torbeare all rare and exquisite things, 50 to wit, pots, cups, feale rings of excellent workmanship and pretious stones. For that such costly jewels if they be marred or lost, breed more anger and fermen out of order, more than those which be ordinarie and easie to be comeby. And therefore when Nero the Emperour had caused to be made a certaine pavilion or rabernacle eight square, which was both for the beautie and cost, exceeding faire and sumptuous, and indeed an admirable piece of worke. In this Tabernacle (quoth Seneca) unto him, you have bewraied of Cafar that you are but a poore man: for if you lole this once, you shall never be able to recover and get the like againe. And to it fell out indeed, for the thip, wherein the fame Tabernacle was, chanced to be cast away upon the fea, and all was drowned. But Nero calling to minde the words of Senten, tooke the loffe more patiently.

Moreover, this contentment of mind, and eafineffe to be pleafed with any thing in the house, causeth a man also to be more gentle, milde, and better contented with his servants and people about him: now if it worke this effect in us toward our housholde fervants, evident it is that we shalbe likewise affected to our friends & those that be under our government. We see also, that flaves new bought, are inquifitive as touching him who hath bought them; not whether he be Superflitious and envious; but whether he be cholerike and hasty or no. And to be briefe, neither can husbands endure the pudicity and honesty of their wives; nor wives the love of their husbands; ne yet friends the mutual conversation one with another, if there doe an angry and 10 cholerike humor goe withall. Thus we see, that neither mariage nor amity be tollerable with choler. Contrariwife, if anger be away, even drunkennesse it selfe is tollerable and we can easily abide it: for the very ferula of god Bacchus is a sufficient punishment of drunkennesse, if so be there be not choler therewith, which may cause Baschus, that is, Strong wine, in stead of Lyam and Chorius, that is to fay, The Loofer of cares and Leader of daunces (which are his furnames) to be called Omesses and Manoles, which signific Cruell and Furious. As for simple madnesse of it selfe alone, the Ellebore growing in Anyeira, is sufficient to cure: but if it be mingled with choler, it causeth Tragicall fits, and those so strange, that a man would repute them for meete fables. And therefore we must not give place to anger, neither in sport and pastime; for in lieu of good will it breedeth enmitie: nor in conference and disputations; for it turneth the love and a crefire of knowledge into debate and contention; nor in deciding and judging causes; because to authority it addeth violence and infolency : nor in the teaching and inftruction of our children; for it maketh them desperate and haters of learning: nor in prosperity; for it encreaseth the envy and grudge of men: ne yet in adverfity, because it taketh away pitty and compassion, when they who are fallen into any misfortune, thew themselves testie, froward and quarellous to those who come to moane and mourne with them. This did Priamm, as we reade in Homer:

Avant (quoth he) you chiding quests; you odious mates be gone : Have you no forrowes of your owne, but you come me to monne?

On the other fide, faire conditions and milde behaviour, yeeldeth fuccour and helpe in some cases; composeth and ordereth matters aright in others; dulceth and alaieth that which is tart and fowre: and in one word, by reason of that kinde, meeke and gentle quality, it overcommeth anger and all waiward testinesse whatsoever. Thus it is reported of Euclides in a quarrell or variance betweene him and his brother: For when his brother had contested and said unto him; I would I might die; if I be not revenged of thee : he inferred againe; Nay, let me die for it, if I perswade thee not otherwise before I have done; by which one word he presently woon his brothers heart, fo that he changed his mind, and they parted friends. Polemon likewife, at a certaine time, when one who loved precious stones, & was sicke for faire & costly rings & such like curious jewels, did raile at him outragiously; answered not a word againe, but looked very wistly up-40 on one of the fignets that the other had, and well confidered the fathion and workemanship thereof: which when the party perceived, taking as it should seeme no small contentment, and being very well pleased that he so perused his jewell; Not so Polemon (quoth he againe) but looke upon it thus, betweene you and the light, and then you will thinke it much more beautifull. Aristippus fell out upon a time (I know not how) with Aeschines, and was in a great choler and fit of anger: How now Ariftippes (quoth one who heard him to high & at fuch hot words) where is your amity & friendship all this while? Mary, asteepe (quoth he) but I wil waken is anon. With that he stept close to Aeschines, and said : Thinke you me so unhappy every way and incurable, that I described not one admonishment at your hands? No marvell (quoth Aeschines againe) if I thought you (who for naturall wit in all things ols excel me) to see better in this case 50 also than I, what is meet and expedient to be done. For true it is that the Poet saith; we the

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R. Hours

The boare so wilde, whose necke withbristles strong Is thicke befet, the tender hand and foft Of woman nice, yea and of infant yong, By stroking faire, shall bend and turne (full oft) Much sooner farre, and that with greater ease in ... Than wrestlers strong with all their force and peise.

And we out selves can skill how to tame wilde beasts, we know how to make yoong woolves gentle, yea, and lions whelps other-whiles we cary about with us in our armes: but fee, how we againe afterwards in a raging fit of choler, be ready to fling from us and cast out of our fight, our owne children, our friends and familiars, and all our houdhold fervants, our fellow citizens and neighbours, we let loofe our ire like fome favage and furious beaft, and this rage of ours we disguise and cloke for sooth with a colourable and false name, calling it Hatted of vice. But heerein (I suppose) we doe no otherwise than in the rest of our passions and diseases of the minde; tearming one, Providence and forecast; another Liberalitie; and a third Pietie and religion: and yet for all these pretentes of goodly names, we can not be cured of the vices which

10 they palliate; to wit, Timorousnesse, Prodigalitie and Superstition.

And verily, like as our naturall feed (as Zeno faid) is a certeine mixture and composition, derived and extracted from all the powers and faculties of the foule; even fo, in mine opinion, a man may fay that choler is a mifcellane feed (as it were) and a dregge, made of all the paffions of the mind: for plucked it is from paine, pleafure and infolent violence: Of envie it hath this qualitie to joy in the harmes of other men: it standeth much upon murder, but woorse it is fimply than murder: for the wrathfull person striveth and laboureth not to defend and save himselfe from taking harme; but so he may mischiefe and overthrow another, he careth not to come by a hurt and threwd turne himfelfe. It holdeth likewife of concupifcence and luft, and taketh of it the worfe and more unpleafant part, in cafe it be(as it is indeed) a defire and appetite 20 to greeve, vexe, and harme another. And therefore when we approach and comencere to the houses of luxurious and riotous persons, we heare betimes in the morning a minstrel-wench, founding and playing the Morrow-watch by breake of day: we fee the muddy-grounds and dregs(as one was wont to fay) of the wine, to wir, the vomits of those who cast up their stomacks: we behold the peeces and fragments of broken garlands and chaplets: and at the dore we finde the lackies and pages of them who are within, drunken and heavie in the head with tipling strong wine. But the signes that tell where hastie, cholericke, and angry persons dwell, appeare in the faces of their fervants, in the marks and wales remaining after their whipping, and in their clogs, yrons, and fetters about their feete. For in the honfes of haftie and angrie men, a man shall never heare but one kind of musicke; that is to say, the heavie note of wailing grones 30 and piteous plaints; whiles either the ftewards within are whipped and fcourged, or the maidens racked & put to torture, in fuch fort that you would pitte to fee the dolors & paines of yre which the fuffreth in those things that the lusteth after & taketh pleasure in. And yet as many of us as happen to be truly & justly surprised with choler oftentimes, for the hatred & detestation that we have of vices, ought to cut off that which is exceffive therein and beyond measure, together with our over-light beleefe and credulitie of reports concerning fuch as converse with us: For this is one of the causes that most of all doth engender and augment choler, when either he whom we tooke for an honest man proove th dishonest, and is detected for some naughtineffe, or whom we reputed our friend is fallen into fome quarrell and variance with us: as for my felfe, you know my nature and disposition, what small occasions make me both to love men ef-40 fectually, and also to trust them confidently; and therefore (just as it falleth out with them who go over a false floore where the ground is not fast, but hollow under their feete) where I leane most and put my greatest trust for the love that I beare, there I offend most and soonest catch a fall: there (I fay) am I grieved most also, when I see how I was deceived: As for that exceeding inclination and frowardnes of mind, thus to love and affect a man, could I never yet to this day weane my felfe from, so inbred it is and fetled in me: mary to stay my felfe from giving credit over-halfily and too much, I may peradventure use that bridle which Plato speaketh of, to wit, wary circumspection: for in recommending the Mathematician Helicon, I praise him (quoth he) for a man, that is as much to fay, as a creature by nature mutable and apt to change. And even those who have beene well brought up in a citie, to wit, in Athens, he saith that he is 50 afraid likewife of them, left being men, and comming from the feed of man, they do not one time or other bewray the weaknesse and infirmitie of humane nature: and Sophocles when he fpeaketh thus,

Who list to fearch through all deeds of mankind More badthen good he shall be sure to find.

feemeth to clip our wings, and disable us wonderfully. Howbeit this difficultie and caution in judging of men and pleasing our felves in the choise of friends, will cause us to be more tractable and moderate in our anger: for whatfoever commeth fodainly and unexpected, the fame

some transporteth us beside our selves. We ought moreover as Panatius teacheth us in one place to practife the example of Anaxagoras, and like as he faid when newes came of his fons death; I know well (quoth he) that I begat him a mortall man; fo in every fault of our fervants or others that shall whetten our choler, ech one of us may fing this note to himselfe: I knew wel that when I bought this flave, he was not a wife Philosopher: I wist also, that I had gotten for my friend not one altogether void of affections and passions: neither was I ignorant when I took a wife, that I wedded a woman. Now if withall a man would evermore when he feeth others do amisse, adde this more unto the dittie as Plate teacheth us, and sing thus: Amnot I also such an other? turning the discursion of his judgement from things abroad, to those which are with! in himfelfe, and among his complaints and reprehensions of other men, come in with a cer- to teine caveat of his owne, and feare to be reproved himselse in the like; he would not haply be so quicke & forward in the hatred and detellation of other mens vices, feeing that himselfe hath so much need of pardon, But on the contrary fide, every one of us when he is in the heat of choler and punisheth another, hath these words of severe Aristides and precise Cato ready enough in his mouth : Steale not Sirrha: Make no more lies : Why art thou so idle then? &c. To conclude (that which of all others is most unseemely and absurd) we reproove in anger, others for being angry; and fuch faults as were committed in choler, those our selves will punish in choler; not verily as the Phylicians useto do, who

A bitter medicine into the body poure,

When bitter choler they meane to purge and scoure.

But we rather doe encrease the same with our bitternesse, and make more trouble than was before. And therefore when I thinke and discourse with my selfe of these matters, I endevour with all and assay to cut off somewhat from needlesse curiositie. For surely this narrow searching and streight looking into everie thing, for to spie and find out a fault; as for example to sift thy servant and call hum into question for all his idle houres; to prie into every action of thy friend; to see where about thy some goeth, and how he spendeth all his time; to listen what whispering there is betweene thy wise and another, be the verie meanes to breed much anger, daily braules, and continuall jarres, which grow in the end to the height of curstnesse and towardnes, hard to be pleased with any thing whatsoever. For according as Europides saith in one place, we ought in some fort to do:

All great affaires God ay himselfe directeth, But matters small, to Fortune he committesh.

For mine owne part, I do not thinke it good to commit any busines to Fortune; neither would Thave a man of understanding to be retchlesse in his owne occasions: But with some things to put his wife in trust; others to make over unto fervants, and in some matters to use his friends, Herein to beare himselfe like a Prince and great commaunder, having under him his Deputies, Governours, Receivers, Auditors, and Procurators; referving unto himfelfe and to the dispofition of his owne judgement, the principall affaires, and those of greatest importance. For like as little letters or a small print do more offend and trouble the eies then greater, for that the eies be verie intentive upon them; even fo, small matters doe quickly moove choler, which thereup- 40 on soone getteth an ill custome in weightier matters. But above all, I ever reckon that saying of Empedocles to be a divine precept and heavenly oracle, which admonished us To fast from sin. I commended also these points and observations, as being right honest, commendable, and befeeming him, that maketh profession of wisedome and philosophie, which we use to you unto the gods in our praiers: Namely, To forbeare both wine and women, and so to live sober and chaste a whole yeere together, and in the meane while to ferve God with a pure and undefiled heart: Alfo, to limit and fet out a certaine time, wherein we would not make a lie, observing precisely not to speake any vaine and idle word, either in earnest or in bourd. With these and such like observations also, I acquainted and furnished my foule, as being no lesse affected to religion and godlines, than fludious of learning and philosophic: Namely, first enjoined my selfe to passe a certaine sew so Holy-daies without being angrie, or offended upon any occasion what loever; no leffe than I would have yowed to forbeare drunkennesse, and abstaine altogether from wine, as if I sacrificed at the feast Nephalta [wherein no wine was spent] or celebrated the solemnitie Melisponda, [in which Honie onely was used.] Thus having made an entrance; I tried afterwards a moneth or two by little and little what I could do, and ever I gained more and more time, exercising my felfe still to forbeare sinne with all my power and might. Thus I proceeded and went forward daily, bleffing my felfe with good words and striving to be milde, quiet and voide of malice, pure and cleane from evill speeches and lend deeds: but principally from that passion which for a little pleasure, and the same not verie lovely, bringeth with it great troubles and shamefull repentance in the end. Thus with the grace of God, affishing me somewhat (as I take it) in this good resolution and course of mine, experience it selfe approved and confirmed my first the and judgement, whereby I was taught, That this mildnesse, clemency, and debonaire humanitie, is to none of our samiliars who live and converse daily with us, so sweete, so pleasant and agreeable, as thour selves who have these vertues and good qualities within us.



OF CVRIOSITIE.

The Summarie.

HE former Treatife hath sewed unto us, how many mischiefes and inconveniences Anger causeth, teaching us the meanes how to beware of it. Now Plutarch dealeth with another vice no lesse dangerous than it, which bendesh to the opposite eventy. For whereas ire doth so bereave aman of the use of reason during the accessed and six thereof, that the cholericke and suitous persons after not one from another, but in the theorem, that the cholericke and suitous persons after not one from another, but in the

pace of time. This curioficie which now is in hand, being masked under the name of wifedome and habilitie of spirit is (to say a trueth) a covert and hidden furie, which carrieth the minde of the curious person past himselfe, for to gather and heape from all parts the ordere and suthingse of another, and afterwards to bring the same into himselfe, and to make thereof a verie store-house, for to infect his owne felfe first, and then others, according as the malignitic and malice, the follies, backbiting, and 30 flanders of these curious folke do sufficiently declare. To the ende therefore that everie man who loveth vertue should divert from such a maladie, our author sheweth that the principall remedie for to preserve us from it, is to turne this curiostic to our owne selves; namely, to examine our owne persons more diligently than others. Which point he amplifieth by setting downe on the contrary side, the blindneffe of those who are over-busic and curious. Then comment he to declare, why a curious person goesh foorth alwaies out of his owne house for to enter into another mans; to wit, because of his owne filthineste which by that meanes he cannot smell and perceive; but whiles he will needs go to stirre and rake into the life of others, he fnareth and entangleth himselfe, and so perisheth in his owne folly and indifcretion. Afterwards proceeding to preferibe the remedies for the cure of curiositie, when he had deciphered the villanies and indignities thereof, together with the nature of curious persons, and the 40 enormous vices which accompanie them, he requireth at our hands, that we should not be desirous to know things which be vile, base, lewdor unprofitable; that we should hold in our eies, and not cast them at random and aventure within the house of another, that we should not seeke after the bruite and rumours that are fread in meetings and companies; that we otherwhiles should forbeare even (uch things, whereof the use is lawfull and permitted: also to take heed that we doe not enter

nor found too deepe into our owne affaires; Finally, not to be rash and heady in those things that we do, be they never so small. All these points premised, he advene to with inductions, simulitudes and choise examples, and kmitteth up all with one conclusion, which prooves by that curious solk ought to be ranged among the most mischievous and dangerous persons in the world.



OF CVRIOSITIE.



He best way haply it were altogether to avoid an house and not therein at all to dwell, which is close without fresh aire, darke, standing bleake and colde, or otherwise unhealthfull: Howbeit, if a man by reason that he hath beene long used to such an house, delight in that seat, and will there abide, he may either by altering the prospects and remooving the lights, or by changing the staires in to another place, or essentially opening the dores of one side, & shutting them upon another, make the house more lightsome, better exposed to the wind for to receive fresh aire, & in one word more

holfome than before. And verily fome have much amended whole cities by the like alterations: as for example, men fay that one Charon in times past turned my native citie and place of nativitie Charonea to lie castward, which before looked toward the westerne winde Zephyrus, and received the funne fetting from the mount Pernaffus. And Empedocles the natural Philofopher, by flopping up the mouth or deepe chinke of a certeine mountaine between two rocks, which breathed out a noisome and pestilent southerne winde upon all the champian countrey and plaine underneath, was thought to have put by the plague, which by occasion of that wind a reigned ordinarily before in that countrie. Now for a finuch as there be certeine hurtfull and pelliferous passions, which fend up into our soule tempestuous troubles and darknesse, it were to be wished, that they were chased out quite, and throwne downe to the very ground; whereby we might give our felves a free prospect, an open and cleere light, a fresh and pure aire; or if we be not so happie, yet at least wife endevour, we ought by all meanes possible to change, alter, translate, transpose and turne them so about, as they may be found more fit and commodious to serve our turnes. As for example, and to go no farther for the matter, Curiositie, which I take to be a defire to know the faults and imperfections in other men, is a vice or difease which feemeth not cleere of envie and maliciousnesse: And unto him that is insected therewith may very well be faid,

Most spignsfull and envious man, why doest shou ever finde Wishpiercing cies thy neighbours faults, and in thine owneart blinde?

avert thine cies a little from things without, and turne thy much medling and curiofity to those that be within. If thou take so great a pleasure and delight to deale in the Knowledge and Historie of evill matters, thou halt worke enough iwis at home, thou shalt finde plentie thereof within to occupie thy selfe;

For looke what water run's along an 18thus or Islewe see, Or leaves lie spred about the Oke, which numbred cannot be.

Such a multitude shalt thou finde of sinnes in thy life, of passions in thy soule, and of overfights in thy duties. For like as Xenophon saith, That good stewards of an houshold have one proper roome by it selfe for those utensiles or implements which serve for sacrifice; another for vessell that cometh to the table; in one place he laieth up the instruments & tooles for tillage and husbandry, and in another apart from the rest, he bestoweth weapons, armour, and furniture for the wars; even so shalt thou see within thy selfe a number of manifold vices how they are digested: some proceeding from envie, others from jealousse; some from idlenesse, others from nigardise: take account of these (I advise thee) survey and peruse them over well: shut all the dores so and windowes that yeeld prospect unto thy neighbors: stop up the avennes that give accesse and windowes that yeeld prospect unto thy neighbors: stop up the avennes that give accesse and other lodgings for men, into thy wives cabinet & the nourcery, into the roomes where thy fervants keepe: There shalt thou meet wherewith to amuse and busic thy selfe: there may curiositie and desire to know every thing be emploied in exercises, neither unprofitable nor malicious: nay, in such as be commodious, holsome and tending to salvation: namely, whiles every one calleth himselse to account, saying thus,

Where

Where have I beene, what good I have done, or what have I missione? Where have I slipt, what duty begun is left by me undone?

But now according as fables make report, that Lamia the Witch whiles the is at home is starke blind, & doth nothing but sing, having her cies thut up close within a little boxe; but when the meanes to go abroad, the takes them foorth, and setteth them in their right place, and seeth well enough with them; even so, every one of us when we go foorth; fet unto that evill meaning and intention which we have to others, an cie to looke into them, and that is curiosity and overgo much medling; but in our owne errors, saults and trespasse we thunble and faile through ignorance, as having neither cies to see, nor light about them whereby they may be seene. And therefore it is, that a busic sellow and curious medler, doth more good to his enimies than to himself; for their faults he discoveres & bringesh to light, to them he shewesth what they ought to beware of, and what they are to amend; but all this while he overseeth, or rather seeth not the most things that are done at home; so deeply antised he is and busic in spying what is amiste abroad. Howheir wise using would not abide to speake and confer with his owne mother; before he had enquired of the Prophet those things for which he went downe into hel; and when hee had once heard them; then he turned to his mother and other women also, asking what was Tyro? what was Chloris? and for what was the occasion and cause that Eperaste came by her of the starts.

Who knit her necke within a deadly string, And so from beame of losty house did hing.

But we quite contrary, fitting still in supine idlenesse, and ignorance, neglecting and never regarding that which concerneth our felves, goe to fearch into the genealogie and pedigrees of others; and we can tell readily, that our neighbours grandfather was no better than a base and fervile Syrian; that his nourse came out of barbarous Thracia; that such an one is in debt, and oweth three talents, and is behinde hand befides, and in arrerages for non-paiment of interest for the use thereof. Inquisitive also we are in such matters as these: From whence came such a mans wife? what it was that such a one and such a one spake when they were alone together in o an odde corner? Socrates was cleane of another quality; he would goe up and downe enquiring and casting about what were the reasons wherewith Pythagoras perswaded men to his opinion. Aristippus likewise, at the solemnitie of the Olympian games, falling into the companie of Ifchomachus, asked of him, what were the perswasions that Socrates used to yong folk, wherby they became so affectionate unto him; and after he had received from him some small seeds (as it were) and a few famples of those reasons & arguments, he was so mooved and passionate therewith, that prefently his body fell away, he looked pale, poore and leane, untill he having failed to Athens in this woonderfull thirst and ardent heat, had drunke his fill at the fountaine and wellhead it selfe, knowen the man, heard his discourses and learned his Philosophie; the summe and effect whereof was this: That a man should first know his owne maladies, and then the meanes o to be cured and delivered of them. But some there be, who of all things can not abide to see their ownelife, as being unto them the most unpleasant fight of all others; neither love they to bend and turne their reason as a light to their owne selves : but their minde being full of all sorts of evill, searing and ready to quake for to beholde what things are within, leapeth foorth (as one would fay) out of doores, and goeth wandring to and fro, searching into the deeds and words of other men, and by this meanes feedeth and fatteth (as it were) her owne malicious naughtinesse. For like as a hen many times having meat enough within house set before her, loveth to go into some corner, and there keepeth a pecking and scraping of the ground,

To finde perhaps one feely barley corne As she was woont on downg hill beertoforne;

so even for these busine Polypragmons, passing by those ordinary speeches and matters which are exposed and open for every man; not regarding (I say) the reports and narrations which are free for each one to discourse of, and which neither any man hash to doe, to forbid and warne them for to aske and enquire of, nor will be displeased if peradventure hee should be demanded and asked the question of them, goe up and downe in the meane time to gather and learne all the secret and hidden evils of every house. Certes, a prety answere it was of an Aegyptian, and pertinent to the purpose, who when one asked him, what it was that he caried covered all over, and so enwrapped within a cloth: Mary (quoth he) covered it is even for this cause, that

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thou shouldest not know what it is : And thou likewise, that art so busie, why does thou inter. meddle in that which is concealed ? Be fure, that if there were no evill therein, keptclosen should not be. And verily, it is not the maner and custome for any body to enter boldly into the house of another man, without knocking at the doore; for which purpose we use Porters in these daies; whereas in olde time there were rings and hammers which served the turne, and by rapping at the gates, gave warning to those within, to the end that no stranger might meet the miltreffe at unawares in the hall or mids of the house; or come suddenly upon a virgin or yong damofell her daughter, and find her out of her chamber; or take fome of the fervants a beating, or the wenches and chambermaids chiding and fooulding aloud: whereas a bufie fellow loveth a-life to step secretly into a house, forto see and heare such disorders; and you shall never know him willingly to come and fee an honeft house and well governed (though one should call and pray him never fo faire,) but ready he is to discover and set abroad in the view of the whole world fuch things; for which we use locks, keies, bolts, barres, portals and gate-houses. Those windes (faith Ariston) are we most troubled and offended with, which drive open our cloaks and garments that cover us, or blow and whiske them over our heads: but buffe Polypragmons doth lay abroad and display not the cloaks of their neighbours nor their coats; but discovereth their walles, setteth wide open their doores, and like a winde, pierceth, creepeth and entrethso farre, as to the tender bodied and foft skinned maiden, fearching and inquiring in every bacchi. nall, in all dauncings, wakes and night fealts, for some matter to raise flanders of her. And as one Clean was noted by an olde Comicall Poet upon the Stage,

Whose hands were both in Actolic,

But heart and minde in Clopidic; Even so the spirit of a curious and busic person, is at one time in the stately palaces of richard mighty men, in the little houses of meane and poore folke, in Kings Courts, and in the bedchambers of new wedded wives; it is inquisitive in all matters, searching aswell the affairesof strangers and travellers, as negotiations of Lords and Rulers, and other-while not without danger of his owne person. For much like as if a man upon a kinde of wanton curiositie, will needs be talting of Aconite or Libard baine, to know (for footh) the quality of it, commeth by a milchiefe, & dieth of it before he can know any thing therof; fo they that love to be prying into the faults of great persons, many times overthrow themselves before they come to any knowledge. For fuch as can not be content with the abundant raies and radiant beames of the Sunne which are spread so cleere over all things, but will needs strive and force themselves impudently to looke full upon the circle of his body, and audaciously will presume and venture to pierce his brightnesse, and enter into the very minds of his inward light, commonly dazzle their eies, and become starke blinde. And therefore well and properly answered Philippides the writer of Comedies upon a time when King Lysimachus spake thus unto him; What wouldest thou have me to impart unto thee of my goods, Philippides? What it pleafeth your Maiesty (quoth he) so it be nothing of your fecrets. For to fay a truth, the most pleasant and beautifull things simply, which belong to the estate of Kings, do show without, and are exposed to the view and sight of every man; to wit, their fumptuous feafts, their wealth and riches, their magnificent port and 40 and pompe in publike places, their bountifull favours, and liberall gifts: But is there any thing fecret and hidden within. Take heed I advise thee how thou approchand come neers, beware (I fay) that thou do not stirre and meddle therein.

The joy and mirth of a Prince in prosperitie can not be concealed; shee cannot laugh when he is disposed to play and be merry but it is seene; neither when he mindeth and doth prepareto shew some gracious favour or to be bountifull unto any is his purpose hidden; but marke what thing he keepeth close and secret, the same is terrible, heavie, stearne, unpleasant, yea ministring no access on cause of laughter: namely the treasure house (as it were) of some ranckor and session of the sowne some sor distinction of project of trevenge; Jealousie of his wife, some suspicion of his owne some jor distincted and distrust in some of his minions, sayorites and friends. Flie some this blacke cloud that gathereth so thicke; for when soever that which is now hidden shall breake foorth, thou shalt see what cracks of thunder and stashes of lightning will ensue thereupon. But what be the meanes to avoid it? mary (even as I said before) to turne and to withdraw thy curiositie another way; and principally to see his minions, the creatures in heaven, in earth, in the aire, & in the sea, Art thou delighted in the contemplation of great or small things if thou take pleasure to behold the greater, busse thy selfe about the Sunne; seeke where he go

eth downe, and from whence he rifeth? Search into the cause of the mutations in the Moone, why it should so change and alter as it doth, like a man or woman? what the reason is that the looseth so conspicuous a light? and how it commeth to passe that the recovereth it againe?

How is it, when she hath beene out of sight
That fresh she seemes and doth appeer with light?
First yoong and faire whiles shat she is but new
Till yound and full we see her lovely hew:
No sooner is her beautic at this height
But fade she doth anon, who was so bright,
And by degrees she doth decrease and waine
Untill at length she comes to naught againe.

And these truly are the secrets of nature, neither is the offended and displeased with those who can find them out. Distrustest thou thy selfe to atteine unto these great things then search into smaller matters, to wit, what might the reason be that among trees and other plants, some he alwaies fresh and greene, why they flourish at all times, and be clad in their gay clothes, thewing their riches in every featon of the yeere; why others againe be one while like unto them in this their pride and glorie; but afterward you thall have them againe like unto an ill husband in his house; namely, laying out all at once, and spending their whole wealth and substance at onetime, untill they be poore, naked, and beggerly for it? Also what is the cause that some 20 bring foorth their fruit long wife, others cornered, and others round or circular? But peradventure thou halt no great mind to busie thy selfe and meddle in these matters, because there is no hurt nor danger at all in them. Now if there be no remedie, but that Curiofitie should ever apply it selfe to fearch into evill things after the maner of some venemous serpent, which loveth to feed to live and converse in pestilent woods, let us lead & direct it to the reading of histories, and prefent unto it abundance and ftore of all wicked acts, leawd and finfull deeds. There shall Curiofitie finde the ruines of men, the walting and confuming of their flate, the spoile of wives and other women, the deceitfull traines of fervants to beguile their mafters, the calumniations and flanderous furmifes raifed by friends, poisoning calts, envie, jealousie, shipwracke and overthrow of houses, calamities and utter undoing of princes and great rulers: Satisfie thy selfe herewith to the full, and take thy pleafure therein as much as thou wilt; never shalt thou trouble or grieve any of thy friends & acquaintance in fo doing. But it should seeme that curiosity delighteth not in fuch naughtiethings that be very old and long fince done; but in those which befresh, fire new, hot and lately committed, as joying more to beholde new Tragedics. As for Comedies and matters of mitth, the is not greatly defirous to be acquainted with fuch. And therefore, if a man do make report of a mariage, discourse of a solemne sacrifice, or of a goodly shew or pompe that was set foorth, the curious busie-bodie (whom we speake of) will take small regard thereto and heare it, but coldly and negligently. He will fay that the most part of all this he heard alreadie by others, and bid him who relateth fuch narrations, to passe them over or be briefe, and cut off many circumstances. Marie if one that fits by him chance to set tale on end, o and begin to tell him there was a maiden defloured, or a wife abufed in adulterie : if he recant of fome processe of law or action commenced, of discord and variance betweene two brethren; you shall see him then not to yawne and gape as though hee had list to sleepe; you shall not perceive him to nod; hee will make no excuse at all that his leisute will not serve to heare out the tale.

But bids say on, and tell us more:

And close he holds his earetherefore.

So that this sentence,

How somer much are ill nemes under the

How sooner much are ill newes under stood, And heard by men (also) than tiding s good!

50 is well and truely verified of these curious Polypragmons. For like as cupping glasses, boxes, and ventoses, draw the woorst matter out of the stells; even so, the cares of curious and busic folke, are willing to receive and admit the most lewd and haughtiest speeches that are: or rather, to speake more properly, as townes and cities have certaine curied and unluckie gates, at which they send out malesactors to execution carrie and throw foorth their dung, ordure, filthines, and cleansings whatsoever, but never commeth in or goeth out that way, any thing that pure is and holy; semblably, the cares of these curious intermediers be of the same nature; for thereentreth and passeth into them nothing that is honest, civill, and lovely; but the bruit and

rumours of cruell murders have acceffe unto them, and there make aboad, bringing therewith wicked, abominable, profane and curfed reports: and as one faid:

The onely bird that in my house doth ever sing Both night and day, u dolefull moane, much sorrow and wailing.

So this is the Mule, Syrene, & Mere-maid alone, that Busie folke have; neither is there any thing that they heatken to more willingly: for Curiofitie is an itching defire to heare fecrets and hidden matters: and well you wot that no man will lightly conceale any good thing that he hath; confidering that manie times we make semblance of good parts that be not in us. And therefore the buffe intermedler who is so desirous to know and heare of evils, is subject to that which the Greekes call in Jugerrania, a vice, coosen germaine or sister rather to envie and eie-biting, 10 Forasmuch as envie is nothing else, but the griefe for another mans good: and the foresaide Em gaugerania, the joy for his harme: and verily both these instrmities proceed from an untoward roote, even another untamed vice and favage disposition, to wit, malignitie or malice. And this we know well, that so irkesome and odious it is to everie man for to bewray and reveale, the fecrets, evils and vices which he hath, that many men have chosen to die, rather than to discover and open unto Phylicians any of their hidden maladies, which they carrie about them. Now suppose that Heraclitus or Erosistratus the physicians; nay AEsculapius himselfe whiles he was a mortall men, should come to an house furnished with drugs, medicines and instruments requisite for the cure of diseases, and aske whether any man their had a Fistula in Ano, that is, an hollow and hidden ulcer within his fundament? Or if the be a woman, whether the have a can-to kerous fore within her matrice: (albeit in this art fuch inquifitive curiofitie is a speciall meanes, making for the good and the health of the ficke) each one I suppose would be readie to hunt and chase away from the house such a Physician, who unsent for, and before any neede required, came upon his owne accord and motion in a braverie to enquire and learne other folks maladies. What shall we say then to these busic medlers, who enquire of another the selfesame infirmities and worfe too? Not of any minde at all to cure and heale the same, but onely to detect and fet them abroad; In which respect they are by good right the most odious persons in the world. For we hardly can abide Publicanes, Customers, and Tol-gatherers, but are mightily offended with them, not when they exact of us, and cause us to pay toll for any commodities or wares that are openly brought in; but when they keepe a firetting and fearthing for fuch 30 things as be hidden, and meddle with the wares and carriages of other men: notwithstanding that law granteth and publike authoritie alloweth them fo to do; yea and if they doe it not, they fustaine losse and dammage themselves. But contrariwise, these curious sellowes let their owne businesse alone, and passe not which ende go forward, caring not to hinder themselves, whiles they be intentive to the affaires of other men. Seldome go they into the countrie, for that they cannot endure the quietnes and still silence of the wilde and solitarie fields. But if haply after long time they make a cast thither, they cast an eie to their neighbours vines, rather than to their owne; they enquire how many beeves or oxen of his died or what quantity of wine fowred under his hand? and no fooner are they full of these newes, but into the citie they trudge and make haste againe. As for the good farmer and painefull husbandman indeed, he is not verie4 willing to give eare unto those newes, which without his heatkning after come from the citie of the owne accord, and are brought unto him, for his faying is:

My ditcher will anon both tell and talke upon what points concluded was the peace, For now the knave about fuch newes doth walke, And bussie he sto listen doth not cease.

But in tructh, the source of living, which bringeth forth no great and tragicall matter, intrude and thrust themselves into the high courts of Justice, the tribunal seats, the market place and publike pulpits where speeches be made unto the people, great assemblies, and the most frequented quarter of the haven where the ships ride at ankor, what: No newes? saith one of them. How now? Were you not this morning at the market or in the common place? What then: How thinke you, is not the citie mightily changed and transformed within these three hourses? Now if it channee that some one or other make a overture, and have something to say as touching those points, downe he alights on foot from his horse, he embraceth theman, kissen him, and there stands attending and giving eare unto him. But say that the partie whom he thus encountreth and meeteth upon the way, tell him that he hath no newes to report: what

failt thou? (will be infer againe and that in displeasure and discontentment:) Wert not thou in the market place of late? Didft not thou paffe by the Princes court? Hadft thou no talke or conference at all with those that came out of Italie? In regard of such therefore as these, I hold well with the Magistrates of the citie Loeri, and commend a law of theirs: That if any citizen had heene abroad in the countrey, and upon his returne home demanded what newes? he should have a fine fet on his head. For like as Cookes pray for nothing, but good store of fatlings to kill for the kitchin, and Fishmongers plentie of fishes; even so curious and busic people with for a world of troubles and a number of affaires, great newes, alterations and changes of State: to the ende that they might evermore be provided of gaine, to chase and hunt after, yea and to to kill. Well and wifely therefore did the Law-giver of the Thurians, when he gave order and forbad expressely, That no citizen should be taxed, noted by name, or scoffed at upon the Stage in any Comedie, save onely adulterers and these busie persons. For surely adulterie may be compared well to a kinde of curiofitie, fearching into the pleafures of another: feeking (I fay) and enquiring into those matters which are kept secret, and concealed from the view of the whole world, And as for curiofitie, it teemeth to be arefolution or loofenes, like a palfie or corruption, a detection of fecrets and laying them naked: For it is an ordinarie thing with those who be inquisitive and desirous of many newes, for to be blabs also of their tongues, and to be pratting abroad; which is the reason that Pythagor as injoyned young men five yeeres silence, which he

called Echemychia, Abstinence from all speech, or holding of their tongue. Moreover, it can not otherwise be chosen, but that foule and cursed language also should accompany curiofity; for looke what thing foever bufie bodies heare willingly, the fame they love to tell and blurt out as quickly; and fuch things as with defire and care they gather from one, they utter to another with joy: Whereupon it commeth to paffe, that over and above other inconveniences which this vice ministreth unto them that are given to it, an impediment it is to their owne appetite. For as they defire to know much, so every man observeth them, is beware of them, and endevoureth to conceale all from them. Neither are they willing to doc any thing in their fight, nor delighted to speak ought in their hearing, but if there be any question in hand to be debated, or bufineffe to be confidered and confulted of, all men are content to put off the conclusion and resolution unto another time; namely, untill the curious and busic 30 person be out of the way. And say, that whiles men are in sad and secret conserence, or about fome serious businesse, there chance one of these busie bodies to come in place, presently all is husht, and every thing is remooved aside and hidden, no otherwise than solke are woont to let out of the way victuals where a cat doth haunt, or when they fee her ready to run by; infomuch as many times those things which other men may both heare and see fasely, the same may not be done or faid before them onely. Therefore also it followeth by good consequence, that a bulic and curious person is commonly so farre out of credit, that no man is willing to trust him for any thing; in such fort, that we commit our letters missive and signe manuell, sooner to our fervants and meere strangers, than to our friends and familiars, if we perceive them given to this humor of much medling. But that woorthy knight Bellerophontes was so farre from this, that 40 he would not breake open those letters which he caried, though they were written against himfelfe, but forbare to touch the Kings epiftle, no leffe than he abstained from the Queen his wife, even by one and the same vertue of Continence. For surely, curiosity is a kinde of incontinency, aswel as is adultery; and this moreover it hath besides, that joined there is with it, much folly and extreame want of wir: For were it not a part (thinke you) of exceeding blockish senselesseneffe, yea, and madneffe in the highest degree, to passe by so many women that be common, and every where to be had; and then to make meanes with great cost and expense, to some one kept under locke and key, and befides furnptuous: notwithstanding it fall out many times that fuch an one is as ill-favored as she is foule? Semblably, and even the same do our curious folke: they omit and cast behinde them many faire and goodly sights to beholde, many excellent le-30 ctures woorth the hearing, many disputations, discourses, honest exercises and pastimes ; but in other mens letters they keepe a puddering, they open and reade them, they stand like cavesdroppers under their neighbours walles, hearkening what is done or faid within, they are readie to intrude themselves to listen what whispering there is betweene servants of the house; what fecret talke there is among feely women when they be in fome odde corner, and, as many times they are by this meanes not free from danger; fo alwaies they meet with shame and infamie. And therefore very expedient it were for fuch curious folke, if they would shift off and putby this vice of theirs, eftloones to call to mind (as much as they can) what they have either knowen

or heard by fuch inquifition: for if (as Simonides was woont to fay) that when hee came (after fome time betweene) to open his desks and coffers, he found one which was appointed for gifts and rewards alwaies full, the other ordeined for thanks and the graces void and empty: fo, a man after a good time past; fee open the store-house of curiofity, and looke into it what is therein, and see it toppe full of many unprofitable, vaine and unpleasant things; peradventure the very outward fight and face thereof will discontent and offend him, appearing in every respect to lovelesse and toyish as it is. Goe to then: if one should fet in hand to turne over lease by lease the books of ancient writers, and when he hath picked forth and gathered out the woors, make one volume of all together, to wit, of those headlesse and unperfect verses of Homer, which haply beginne with a short syllable, and therefore be called **exa**a**: or of the solutions and incongruities which be found in Tragedies: or of the undecent and intemperate speeches which **a**locking trained against women, wherby he defamed and shamed himselse: were he not (I pray you) woorthy of this Tragicall curse:

A Foule ill take thee, thou lewd wretch, that love st to collect The faults of mortall men now dead, the living to infect.

but to let these maledictions alone, certes this treasuring and scoring up by him of other mens errors and misdeeds, is both unseemly, and also unprofitable: much like unto that city which Philip built of purpose, and peopled it with the most wicked, gracelesse, and incorrigible persons that were in his time, calling it Point populs when he had so done. And therefore these curious meddlers in collecting and gathering together on all sides the errours, imperfections, defaults, and solveismessas I mays fo say) not of verses or Poëmes, but of other mens lives, make of their memorie a most unpleasant Archive or Register, and uncivile Record, which they ever catie about them. And like as at Rome, somethere be who never caste ic toward any sine pictures, or goodly statures, no nor so much as make any account to cheapen beautifull boies and faire wenches which there stand to be fold, but rather go up and downe the market where monsters in nature are to be bought, seeking and learning out where be any that want legs, whose armes and elbowes turne the contrary way like unto cats; or who have three eies apeece in their heads, or be headed like unto the Oftrich: taking pleasure (I say) to see if there be borne 30

Amungrell mixt of divers forts, False births, unkinde or strange aborts.

But if a man should bring them to see such sights as these ordinarily, the very thing it selfe would soone give them enough, yea and breed a lothing in them of such ugly monsters; even so it fareth with those who busic themselves and meddle in searching narrowly into the impersections of other mens lives; the reproches of their stocks and kinned, the saults, errors, are troubles that have hapned in other houses, if they call to mind what like desects they have found and knowen before time, they shall soone finde that their former observations have done them sintall pleasure, or wrought them as little profit.

But the greatest meanes to divert this vicious passion, is use and custome; namely, if webe 40 gin a great way off, and long before to exercise and acquaint our selves in a kind of continencie in this behalfe, and so learne to temper and rule our selves; for surely use it was and custome that caused this vice to get such an head, encreasing daily by little and little, and growing from worse to worse. But how and after what maner we thould be inured to this purpose, we shall see and

understand as we treat of Exercise withall.

First and formost therefore, begin we will at the smallest and most slender things, and which most quickly may be effected. For what matter of difficultie is it for a man in the way as he travelleth, not to enuse and busse his ead in reading Epitaphes or inscriptions of Sepulchres? or what paine is it for us as we walke along the galleries, to passe over with our eies the writings upon the walles; supposing thus much secretly within our selves, as a maxime or generall rule; so That there is no goodnes, no pleasure, nor profit at all in such writings for there you may reade, That some one doth remember another, and make mention of him by way of hearty commendations in good parts or such a none is the best friend that I have, and many other such like more toes, are there to be seen and read, full of toies and vanistes, which at first seeme not to do any lurt if one reade them, but in trueth, secretly they do much harme, in that they breed in us a custome and desire to seeke after needlesse and impertinent matters. For like as hunters suffer not their hounds to range out of order, nor to follow everies sent, but keepe them up and hold them

in by their collars, referving by that meanes their fmelling pure and neat, altogether for their proper worke, to the end that they should be more eager and hot to trace the footing of their game, and as the Poetfaith,

With sent most quicke of nosethrils after kind, The tracts of beast so wild inchase to find;

even so, we ought to cut off these excursions and soolish traines that curious solke make to heare and see everie thing; to keepe them short(I say) and turne them another way to the seeing and hearing onely of that which is good and profitable. Also, as we observe in Eagles and Lions, That whiles they go upon the ground they draw their talons and clawes inward, for seare to less they should all the sharpe edge and weare the points thereof; so considering that curiositie hath a certaine quicke conceit and fine edge (as it were) apt to apprehend and know many things, let us take heed that we do not imploy and blunt the same in the woorst and vilest of all others.

Secondly, we are to accustome our felves as we passe by another mans doore, not to looke in, not to cast our eies to any thing whatsoever that there is: for that the eie is one of the hands that curiositie useth. But let us alwaies have in readinesse and thinke upon the Apothegme of **Xemerates**, who was woont to say, That it skilled not, but was all one, whether we set our teet, or eies within the house of another man. For it is neither meet and just, nor an honest and pleasant sight, according to the old verse,

My friend or stranger, what ever you be, You shall within, all things deformed see.

And what be those for the most part which are seene in houses? dishes, trenchers, and such like utenfiles and finall veffels lying on the bare ground, of one upon another diforderly: the wenches fet and doing just nothing: and lightly a man shall not finde ordinarily ought of importance or delight. Now the verie cast of the eie upon such things, doth therewith turne away the minde; the intentive looking thereupon is unfeemely, and the using thereof starcke naught. Diogenes verily upon a time feeing Dioxiopas, when he entred in his triumphant chariot into the citie for winning the best prife at the Olympian games, how as he rode he could not chuse but set his cie upon a certaine faire damozell, who was in place to behold this pompe and so. 30 lemne entrance of his, but evermore his cie followed her, whether the were before or behinde him: Behold (quoth he) our victorious and triumphant champion, how a yoong wench hath him fure enough by the necke, and doth writhe him which way she list! Semblably, see you not how these curious folke have their neckes bended aside at everie foolish sight, and how they turne about with each vanitie that they heare and fee, after once they have gotten an habit or custome, to looke everie way and to carie a rouling eie in their heads? But in mine opinion, it is not meet that our fenses should gad and wander abroad, like a wilde and untaught girle, but when reason hath sent it foorth to some businesse; after it hath beene there emploied and done the errand about which it was fer, to returne speedily agains unto her mistresse the soule, and make report how the hath sped and what the hath done? and then afterwards to stay at home 40 decently like a modeft waiting maiden, giving attendance upon reason, and readic alwaies at her command. But now hapneth that which Sophoeles faith,

The headstrong jades that will no bit abide, Hate him persorce who should them reine and guide.

The senses awing perjoit e with good instructions (as I said before) not beene trained to right waies, tunne before reason upon their owne accord, and draw with them many times the understanding, and send it headlong after such things as are not seemely and decent. And therefore sails is that which is commonly reported of Democrisms the Philosopher: namely, that willingly he dimmed and quenched (as it were) his owne sight, by fixing his cies sast upon a fiery and ardent mirror, to take the reverberation of the light from thence, to the end that they should not disturbe the minde, by calling out essential the light from thence, to the end that they should not within, and to be emploied in objects intellectuall, as if the windowes that regard to the secret and high way were shut up. Howbeit most true it is, that those who for the most part occupie their understanding have least use of their senses: which is the reason that in olde time they both builded the temples of the Muses, that is to say, houses ordained for students, which they named Assigna, as sarre as they could from cities and great towness; and also called the night Emphrone, as one would say, a friend to sage advice and counsell; as supposing that quiet rest, re-

pose, and stilnes from all disturbance make verie much for contemplation, and invention of

those things that we studie and seeke for.

Moreover, no harder matter is it nor of greater difficultie than the rest, when in the open market place or common hall, men are at high words, reproching & reviling one another, not to approch and come neere unto them. Also if there be any great concurse and running of people together upon some occasion, not to stirre at all but sit still, or if thou art not able to containe and rule thy felfe, to rife up and goe thy waies. For furely gaine thou shalt no good at all by intermedling with fuch buffe and troublefome perfons; but contrariwife, much fruit maift thou reape by turning away fuch curiofitie, in repressing the same and constraining it by use and custome to obey reason. Having made this good entrance & beginning, to proceed now unto to farther and stronger exercise, it were verie good, when soever there is any play exhibited upon the Stage in a frequent Theater, where there is affembled a great audience to heare and fee fome woorthic matter for to passe by it, and to put backe thy friends who follicite thee to goe thither with them, for to see either one daunce excellent well, or to act a Comedie; nor so much as to turne backe when thou hearest some great shout and outcrie, either from out of the race or the grand-cirque, where the horse-running is held for the prize. For like as Socrates gave counsell to forbeare those meates which provoke men to eate when they are not hungrie, and those drinkes which incite folke to drinke when they have no thirft; even fo, we ought to avoide and beware, how we either fee or heareany thing whatfoever, which may either draw or hold us thereto, when there is no need at all thereof. The noble Prince Cyrus would not fo much as see 20 faire Ladie Panthea, and when Araspes one of his courtiours and minions made report unto him, that the was a woman of incomparable beautie, and therefore woorthie to be looked on: Nay rather (quoth he) for that cause I quest to forbeare the fight of her; for if by your perswafion I should yeeld to goe and see her, it may peradventure fall out so, that she her selfe might tempt and induce me againe to repaire unto her; even then haply when I shall not have such leafure, yea and fit by her and keepe her company, neglecting in the meane time the weightic affaires of the State. In like manner Alexander the Great, would not come within the fight of King Darius his wife, notwithstanding that she was reported unto him for to be a most gallant and beautifull Ladie: Her mother an auncient Dame and elderly matrone he did not sticke to vifite, but the young gentlewoman her daughter (fresh, faire and young) he could not be 30 brought so much as once to see. As for us, we can cast a wanton eie secretly into the coatches and horse litters of wives and women as they ride, we can looke out of our windowes, and hang with our bodies halfe foorth, to take the full view of them as they paffe by: and all this while we thinke that we commit no fault, suffering our curious eie and wandring minde to slide and run to everiething.

Moreover, it is meet and expedient for the exercise of justice, otherwhiles to omit that which well and justly might be done; to the end that by that meanes a man may acquaint himselse to keepe farre off from doing or taking any thing unjustly. Like as it maketh much for temperance and chastitie, to abstaine otherwhiles from the use of a mans owne wife, that thereby he might be never mooved to lust after the wife of his neighbour; taking this course likewisea-40 gainst curiosity, strive and endevour sometimes to make semblance as though thou didst neither heare nor fee those things that properly concerne thy selfe: And if a man come and bring thee a tale of matters concerning thine owne housholde, let it passe, and put it over, yea, and those words which seeme to have beene spoken as touching thine owne person, cast them behinde, and give no care thereto. For default of this discretion, it was the inquisitive curiosity of King Oedipus, which intangled and enwrapped him in exceeding great calamities and miseries: for when he would needs know who himselse was, as if he had beene not a Corinthian, but a ftranger, and would needs goe therefore to the Oracle for to be refolved, he met with Laise his owne father by the way, whom he flew, and so espoused his owne mother, by whose meanes he came to be King of Thebes: and even then when he seemed to be a most happy man, he could so not fo ftay, but proceeded further to enquire concerning himfelfe, notwithftanding his wife did what the possibly could to dissinade him from it; but the more earnest she was with him that way, the more instant was he with an old man who was privie to all, using all meanes to enforce him for to bewray that fecret: at length when the thing it felfe was fo pregnant, that it brought him into farther fuspicion, and withall when the faid old man cried out in this maner,

Alas, how am I at the point perforce

To utter that which will cause remorfe?

the king furprifed ftill with his humor of curiofitie, notwithstanding he was vexed at the veric heart, answered,

And I likewise for my part am as neere To beare as much, but yet I must it heare.

Sobitter-sweet is that itching-smart humor of curiositie, like unto an ulcer or fore, which the more it is rubbed and scratched, the more it bleedeth and bloodieth it selfe. Howbeit he that is delivered from this disease and besides of nature milde and gentle, so long as he is ignorant and knowth not any evill accident, may thus say,

O bleffed Saint, when evils are past and gone How fage and wife art thou, oblivion.

And therefore we must by little and little accustome our selves to this, that when there be anie letters brought unto us, we do not open them presently and in great haste, as many do, who if their hands be not quicke enough to doe the feat, fet their teeth to, and gnaw in funder the threds that fewed them up fast. Also if there be a messenger comming toward us from a place with any tidings, that we run not to meete him, nor fo much as once rife and flir for the matter; and if a friend come unto thee faying, I have some newes to tell you of : yea mary (must you fay againe) but I had rather that you brought me fomething indeed that were profitable, fruitfull and commodious. I remember upon a time when I declaimed and read a lecture at Rome, 20 that Oratour Rustius whom afterwards Domitian put to death for envie that he bare to his glory, hapned to be there to heare me: Now in the mids of my lecture there came into the place a Soldiour with letters from the Emperour, which he delivered to Rustim aforefaid, whereupon there was great filence in the schoole, and I my felfe made some pause, whiles he might reade the letter, but he would not reade it then, nor fo much as breake it open before I had made an end of my discourse, and dismissed the auditory: for which all the company there present, highly praised and admired the gravitie of the man. Now if one do feed and nourish all that he can, (beit but in lawfull and allowable things) this veine and humor of curiofitie, fo as thereby it becommeth in the end mighty and violent, it will not be an eafie matter to restraine and hold it in when it shall breake out & run on end to such things as be unlawful & forbidden, by reason that 30 it is so used already to intermeddle & be doing. But such men as these, breake open and unseale letters (as I faid) intrude themselves into the secret counsels of their friends; they will needs discover and see those facred mysteries, which it is not lawfull for to see; in place whereunto there is no lawfull acceffe they love to be walking; enquire they do into the secret deeds and words of kings and princes; and notwithstanding there be nothing in the world that causeth tyrants, who must of necessitie know all, so odious as this kinde of people, who be called their cares; (promoters I meane, and spies) who heare all and bring all unto their eares. The first that ever had about him these Otaconstes (as a man would say, Princes eares) was Dartus the yoonger; a prince distrusting himselfe, suspecting also and fearing all men. As for those which were called Profagogidæ, that is to fay, Courries, Spies, and Enformers, the Diony fu, tyrants of 40 Sicilie, intermingled fuch among the Syracufians : wherupon, when the State was altered, those were the first that the Syracusians apprehended and massacred. Also those whom we call Sycophants, are of the confraternitie, house and linage of these curious persons, save onely this difference there is, that Sycophants enquire what evill any man hath either deffeigned or committed; whereas our Polypragmons hearken after and discover the very calamities and misadventures of their neighbours, which happen even against their will and purpose; and when they have so done, set them abroad to the view of the whole world. Furthermore, it is said, that the name Aliterius came up first by occasion of this over-much medling, called Curiosity. For when there was (by all likelihood) a great famine at Athens, they that had corne, kept it in and would not bring it abroad to the market, but privily & in the night, ground the same into meale o within their houses: Now these sellowes, named Alitery, would go up and downe closely hearkening where the querne or mill went, and thereupon tooke the faid name. Semblably, as it is reported, the name of Sycophants arose upon the like occasion: for when there was a law made, forbidding that any figges should be carried foorth out of the land, such promoters as bewrated the delinquents, and gave information against those that conveied figges away, were also thereupon called Sycophants. To conclude therefore, it were not unprofitable for the securious Polypragmons (of whom we have discoursed all this while) to know thus much; That they might

be assumed in themselves to be noted for maners and profession to be like unto those who are accounted the most odious and hatefull persons in the world.



OF THE TRANQVILLITY AND CONTENTMENT OF MINDE,

The Summarie.

N this Treatife a man may fee the excellent discourses and most sound arguments of Morall Philosophie; the scope whereof is to make the scholars and students therein refolute, and to keepe them from wavering and tottering to and fro; not with standing we that either the skie were ready to fall upon their heads, or the earth to chinke and open and under their feet. True it is, that in this place Plutarch sheweth sufficiently what blust under their feet. True it is, that in this place Plutarch sheweth sufficiently what blust.

nesset bereis in humane wisedome, when the question is to pronounce and speake precisely, Wherein con sifteth true repose and assin ed felicitie? For to teach a man whom he calleth vertuous to search for con. tentment and quiet rest in his owne reason, were as much as to fetch light out of darknes, and life out of death it selfe. And therefore (for this time) needle fe is to treat long upon this point, considering that we minde not to dispute or declare how insufficient humaine learning and Philosophy is in comparisonof true Divinity & Theology. For the present shinmay suffice shat seeing he was no better than a pagas, who bash diffured of this theame, let us receive both this difcourfe and other fuch, wherein he endevous reth to withdraw us from vice, and bring us unto vertue, as written and penned by a man, guided and conducted by a dimme and darke light : in which not with flanding appeare certaine farks of the truth, which as they are not able to shew the way sufficiently, so they give them to under stand, who be sane remote from the true light, how miferable and wretched they are every way. Prooved he had befor, that Flattery, Choler, and Curiostie are vices that overturne the soulcup-side downe, and transfort it so surre of that it is not at home, nor mistresse of herselse : and after he had taught how a man might reclaime and reduce her agains to her owne house, be treateth now of those meanes, wherebyshemay be kept quiet peaceable joious and contented within. For the effecting hereof, at the very entry of the Treassle, he proposet hone expedient meane to attaine thereto, requiring that a man frout a fortific and defend his minde with reasons against the evils and dangers to come : then he consureth the Epica reans, who for to fet amanin peace, would make him blockish, fenfeleffe and good for nothing : he an ap fivereth likewife to those who are of opinion that a man may finde a certaine kinde of vacation and impassibilisie without all trouble and molestation: which done he sheweth that reason well ruled & orde red, is the foundation and ground of our tranquillity: and all in one and the same traine, he teached how a man may be furnished & assisted with this reason. Having thus sufficiently in general tearnes als coursed of these premisses, he doth particularise and descipher the same point by point, groing fifteen severall counsels, whereby a manimay attaine to this contentment and repose of Spirit; the which we have distinguished particularly, and shewed in ech one the substance of them, which I shought not good to infers in this place, because the Summary should not exceed over-much. Furthermore, the said consels be enriched with notable examples, similitudes and sentences; which (no doubt) would have bent much more forcible and effectuall, if the principall in deed had bene joined therewith, to wis, true pitti 9 andreligion : which hat b beene cleane omitted by the authour, who in deed never knew what was the onely true and perfect tranquillitie of the soule. Howbest, woonderfull it is, how he should proceed so farre as he docth, having no other helpe and meanes but his owne felfe: which may so much the bet ter serve our turnes, considering that we have aides and guides farre more excellent to bring up farre, as to make entrie, and take assured possession of that soveraigne good and felicity, whereof his here speaket b. OF

OF THE TRANQVILLITY AND contentment of minde.

PLUTARCH to PACCIUS Sendeth greeting:



Verlate it was before I received your letter; wherein you requested me to write somehat as touching the Tranquillity of the Soule, and withall of certaine places in Platoes Dialogue Timans, which seeme to require more exact exposition: but so it happened, that at the very same time, your friend and mine Eros, had occasion to faile with speed to Rome, upon the receit of certeine letters from that right worthipfull gentleman Fundams, by vertue whereof he was to depart suddenly and to repaire unto him with all expedition. By which occasion having not sufficient time and leasure to performe your request in such maner as I purposed, & yetunwilling that the

man coming from me, should be seene of you emptie-handed; I have collected certaine notes, cholen out of those commentaries, which for mine owne memorie & private use I had compi-20 led long before, concerning this argument, to wit, The Tranquillity & contentment of fpirit: supposing that you also demaund this present discourse, not for any pleasure that you take to read a treatife penned curioufly, and affecting or hunting after fine phrases and exquisite words; but onely in regard of some doctrine that may serve your turne and helpe you to the framing of your life as you ought; knowing withall full well (for the which I doe congratulate and rejoice heartily on your behalfe) that not with standing your inward acquaintance, friendship and favor with the best and principall persons of the citie, and that for eloquence you come behind none that plead causes at the bar in open court, but are reputed a singular Oratour, yet for all that, you do not as that Tragicall Merops, fuffer your felfe foolishly and beyond the course of nature to be carried away as he was with the vaine-glorie and applause of the multitude, when 30 they do admire and account you happie therefore; but still you keepe in memorie that which oftentime you have heard from us; That it is neither a rich Patritians shooe that cureth the gout in the feet; nor a costly and pretious ring that healeth the whitslaw or felon in the fingers; nor yet a princely diademe that eafeth the head-ach. For what use is there at all of goods and riches to deliver the foule from griefe and forrow, or to lead a life in rest and repose without cares and troubles? What good is there of great honors, promotions, and credit in court? unlesse they that have them know how to use the same well and honestly; and likewise if they be without them, can skill how to finde no miffe of them, but be alwaies accompanied with contentment; never covering that which is not? And what is this else but reason accustomed and exercifed before hand, quickly to reftreine and efficiences to reprehend the paffionate and unreafo-40 nable part of the foule, which is given oftentimes to breake out of her bounds; and not to fuffer her to range and vague at her pleasure, and to be transported by the objects presented unto her? Like as therfore Xenophon giveth us good counfell: Alwaies to remember the gods, and most of all to worthip and honor them when we are in prosperitie, to the end that when soever we stand in neede, we may more boldly invocate and call upon them, with full affurance that they will supply our necessities, being thus before hand made propirious and gratious unto us; even so, wifemen and fuch as are of good conceit, ought alwaies to be furnished and well provided of reasons sufficient to serve their turne for to encounter their passions before they arise, to the end that being once laide up in flore, they may doe most good when time serveth. For as curst and angric maltives by nature, which are very mode that they heare keepe an eager baying and to barking as if they were affrighted, become quier and appealed by one onely voice which is familianing othern, and wherewith they have beene acquainted; foir is no finall paine and trouble to still and compose the passions of the mindes skittish as they be and growne wilde) unlesse a man have ready athand proper and familiar teafons to represse the fame to soone as ever they begin to flir and grow out of orders and resemble all and lighter publisher in a marak Now as touching those who affirme that if a man would live intranquillity and rest, he ought

Now as roughing those who affirme that if a man would live in tranquillity and reft, he ought not to meddle nor deale in many affaires, either in publike or private: First and formost thus I say, that they would make us pay deere for tranquillitie of minden when they would have us buy 148

when he was bidden to stand up, but cavilled with him after a mocking and jesting maner, what (quoth he) and if you fold a fifth would you bid it rife up ? Likewife Socrates discoursed familiarly with his fellowers and followers as touching Philosophie, even when he was in prison. Wheras Phaethon, notwithstanding he was mounted up into heaven, wept for anger and despight that no man would give him the rule and regiment of the charriot-fleeds belonging to the funne his father. And as a floc is wrested and turned according to the fashion of a crooked or splay-soot, but never doth the foot writhe to the forme of a shoe; even so it is for all the world with the dif. politions of mensminds; they frame their lives and make them like thereto. For it is not use and cultome that causeth the best life to be pleasant also unto them that have made choise thereof, as some one haply is of opinion; but wisedome rather and discretion maketh that life. which is best to be also sweetest and most pleasant. Since that therefore the source and sountaine of all tranquillitie and contenment of spirit is in our selves, let us cleanse and purifie the fame fpring, as cleane as possibly we can, that all outward and casuall occurrences whatsoever, may be made familiar and agreeable unto us knowing once how to use them well.

If things go croffe, we ought not, iwis, To fret; for why? fuch choler will not boot : But he that know's when ought is done amiffe, To let all Araight, hall chieve full well, I wot.

Plato therefore compared our life to a game at Tables; wherein the plaier is to wish for the luckieft cast of the dice, but whatsoever his chance is, he must be sure to play it well, and make 10 the best of it: Now of these two points, the former, to wit, a good throw, is not in our power and choise; but the other resteth in us, namely, whatsoever our lot is, to take in good woorth, and to dispose every thing in that place where it may profit most if it fortuned well: and contraand contrariwife, if it fell out croffe, where it may doe least harme. This (I fay) is our part and duety to performe, if we be as wife as we should be. As for brain-sicke sooles, and such as know not how to carrie themselves in this life (like unto those that have crasse and diseased bodies, who neither can abide burning heat nor chilling colde) as in prosperity they spread and set up their failes too high, fo in adversitie they strike them as low. Troubled they are mightily with both extremities; or to speake more truely, with themselves, as much in the one as the other, and no leffe in that state which yeeldeth those things that we call and repute Goods. Theodorm to that infamous Philosopher, who for his profane opinion was furnamed Atheos, that is to fav, The Atheift, was woont to fay: That he delivered his speeches with the right hand to his auditours and scholars, but they tooke the same with their left; even so ignorant and untaught perfons many times when fortune presenteth herselfe unto them on the right hand, receive her awkly, turning to the left fide undecently, and by that meanes commitmany untoward & lewd parts. But those that be wife doe farre better : for as Thyme yeeldeth unto Bees the quickest and drieft hony; even so they out of the most unfortunate accidents that be, can skill often-times to get somewhat which is agreeable and commodious unto themselves. This is then the first and principall point, wherein a man ought to be trained and exercised, upon this must be study and meditate. And like as that fellow, when he flung a stone at a curst bitch, missed her, and chan-40 ced to hit his step-mother, faying withall: It makes no matter; for it hath not light amisse seven fo we, may turne all our fortune to our owne purpose, and make the best use of it, in case things fall out otherwise than we would or meant. Diagenes his hap was to be banished and driven out of his owne countrey; yet this exile of his prooved not ill to him; for by that meanes and thereupon he beganne to studie and professe Philosophie. Zeno the Cittiwan had but one frigator flie-boat left him, and hearing newes that both it and all therein was cast away, drowned and perished in the midsof the sea : o Fortune (quoth he) thou hast done well, to drive us againeto put on our poore and simple scholars habit, and to send us to our galletie and schoole of Philofophie. What should hinder us then, but that we may follow the examples of these men. At thou deprived and put out of some publike office or magistracie which thou didst exercise 2. Go 50 and live in the countrey; there follow thine owne businesse; and plie thy private affaires. Half thou made fute and great meanes to be entertained in the Court, and to winde into speciallavour with some Prince and Potentate, and after all thy travell suffered repulse? Well, thou shak live privately at home, without danger, without trouble. Againe, Art thou entred into action, and doest thou manage State affaires, wherein thou hast cares enough, and no time to breathe

The holfome waters and hot baines

Do not fo much alay our paines: And if our limmes be dull or ficke, Refresh the same and make them quicke: As when aman him elfe doth fee Advanc't to bonour and high degree, His glory, care and paine doth eafe, No travell then will him difplease.

as pindarus faith very well: Art thou in some disgrace, and cast out of favour with reproch, by reason of some flanderous calumniation or envie? Thou hast a gale of fore-wind at the poope, to which will foone bring thee directly to the Muses and to the Academic; that is to say, to follow thy booke, and study Philosophic: for this was Platoes helpe, when he was in disfavour with Demy the tyrant. And therefore one meanes this is (of no small importance) to worke contentment in a mans mind; namely, to looke backe unto the state of famous and renowmed persons, and to fee whether they (haply) have not fuffered the like at any time; as for example: Art thou discontented with thy childlesse estate, for that thy wife hath brought thee no children? Doe but marke the Kings of Rome, how there was not one of them that left the crown unto his fonne. Is it povertie that pincheth thee, so as thou art notable to endure it ? Tell mee which of all the Bootians wouldest thou chuse to resemble, sooner than Epaminondas? or what Romane wouldest thou be like unto rather than Fabricius? But fay thy wife hath plaied false by thee, and made 20 thee weare hornes? Didst thou never reade that Epigram of King Agis at Delphos?

'Υγρας κું * τεαφεράς βασιλούς Αγις μ' ανέθνικεν. Agis, of fea and land a crowned king, Gave me sometime a sacred offering.

moly printed,

And yet as mighties Prince as he was , you have heard (I am fore) that Aleibiades by with his to which Endated have hather all wife Tunea, and the would not bath to call the fonne that the had by him in adulteric, Alcibia-latedit, and des, especially amongst her women & waiting-maidens, whispering and speaking as much softly madeno sense unto them: But what of all that? This crooked croffe was no bar unto K. Agis, but that he proof But in Homer ved the greatest and most renowmed personage of all the Greeks in his time. No more was it the same maany hinderance to Stilpo, but that he lived all the daies of his life most merrily, and no Philoso as used Hood 2 30 pher like to him in those daies, notwithstanding he had a daughter that plaied the harlot : and in diseases when Metroeles the Cynick reproched him therewith; Is this (quoth he) my fault or hers? To dispersely which when Metrocles answered againe: The fault is indeed hers, but the infortunity and mishad is yours: What now, (replied Stilpo again) how can that be? Are not (I pray you) all faults and lea. rightly named Slips or falles? Yes truely, faid the other: And are not falles (quoth Stilpo) mifchances or misfortunes? Metrocles could not denic it: Why then (inferred Stilpo at laft) what are mischances or misfortunes, other than infortunities and mishaps to them whose mischances they are. By this milde kinde of Sorites and Philosophicall reasoning thus from point to point, he shewed that the reprochfull language of this Cynicall Metrocles, was nothing els, but a vaine and foolish baying and barking of a cur-dogge. But on the contrary side, the most part to of men are provoked and troubled not onely for the vices of their friends, familiars, and kinffolke, but also of their very enimies. For reprochfull taunts, anger, envie, malice, and spightful jealousies, are the mischiefes and plagues (I must needs say) of such especially that have them; howbeit they molest and vexe those also that are witlesse and without discretion, no otherwise than the halty and cholericke fits of our neighbors, the peevish and froward dispositions of our familiar acquaintance, and fome shrewd demeanors of our servants in that they go about: with which me thinks you also troubling and disquieting your selfe as much as with any thing else,

like unto those Physicians of whom Sophoeles thus writeth; Who buter choler clense and scoure With Drugs as bitter and as foure.

so do unseemely and not iwis for the credite of your person, thus to chase and fret at their passions and imperfections beyond all reason, and shew your selfe as passionate as they. For surely the affaires and negotiations wherewith you are put in truft, and which be managed by your direction, are not executed ordinarily by the ministerie of such persons whose dealings be plaine, simple and direct, as instruments most incer and fit for such a purpose; but for the most part by crooked, rough, and crabbed pieces. To reforme and amend these enormities, I would not have you thinke that it is either your worke and dutie, or an enterprise otherwise easily performed. But if you making use of these, being such by nature as the Chirurgians do of tooth-drawing

pincers,

pincers, and those instruments wherewith they doe bring the edges of a wound together; will Thewyou felfe milde, moderate, and tractable in every respect, according as the present occa. fion will give leave; furely you shall not receive so much discontentment and displeasure at the untoward and unhappie dealings of others, as joy in the conscience of your owne good disposition, as making this account, that such ministers of yours do but their kind, like as does when they barke: But if you feed and cheriff this pufillanimitie and weakneffe of yours, as other follies, you shall be fure to heape up many troubles and follies of other men ere you be aware, which will be ready to fall and run as into fome low ground and hollow trench, unto that weake netic of yours. For what should I say, that some Philosophers reproove the pittie and commiferation which we have for them that are in distresse & miserie, acknowledging that it is a good to and charitable deed to helpe and fuccour fuch as be in calamitie, but not commending that condolence and fellow-feeling with our neighbours, as if we yeelded with them unto Fortune? And more than fo, the same Philosophers will not permit and give us leave, in case we be sub. ject to some vice and ill disposed, for to be seene and knowen for to grieve and sorrow there. fore: but rather to correct and amend what is amisse, without any shew at all of sad cheere and heavinesse; which being so, consider then how little reason and small cause we have, nay how abfurd it were, that we thould fuffer our felves to be troubled, vexed and angry, in case all those who commerce and converse with us, deale not so well and kindly as they should? But above all things my good friend Paccius, let us fee to this, that our felfe love deceive and feduce us not; let us beware (I fay) that we do not fo much shewan hatred and detestation of wickedneffe and finne in generall; as bewray fome private and particular regard of our owne, in that we feeme so to abhorre and dread the naughtinesse of those that have to do with us. For to be exceeding much mooved and beyond all measure affectionate at some time to such and such affaires; to covet (I fay) and purfue the fame over hotly, and otherwise than is meete and befee ming; or contrariwife, to loth, despite, and abhor the same, must needs breed discontentments. fulfpitions, and offences in those persons by whom we seeme either to have beene prevented & disappointed of some things, or to have runne and fallen too some upon other: But he that is used to carie himselfe cheerefully and with moderation in his affaires, (fall out as they will) and can frame to their events, he will soone learne to negotiate and converse with any man in all dexteritie and gentle behaviour. Well then, let us fet in hand againe to discourse of those matters which we have intermitted for a while: for like as in a feaver all things that we tafte feeme at the first bitter and unsavorie; but when we see others take without any shew and signification of diflike the same which we spit out, then we blame no more either meats or drinks, but lay the fault upon our disease; even so, when we perceive that other menhave entred upon and gone through the fame affaires with great alacritie, and without any paine at all, whereof we complained and made much adoe; let us for shame cease to find fault and bee offended so much at the things. And therefore if at any time there shall befall unto us some adverse and crooked accident against our wils, it will be very good for the working of our contentment in minde, not to passe over but to regard such things as at other times have hapned to our minds and as we could with them; but to conferre them together, and by a good medly of them both to darken a and dor the worst with laying the better to. But now, whereas we are wont when our cies be dazzeled and offended with beholding that which is too bright &glittering, we refresh & comfort our fight againe with looking upon pleasant colours of flowers, and greene graffe; herein contrariwise wee direct our mindes and cogitations upon heavie and dolorous objects, and violently force our thoughts to be amuzed upon the remembrance of calamities and adverse fortunes, plucking them perforce as it were from the confideration of better. And heere in this place me thinks I may very fitly applie that sentence to our present purpose, which was said to a busic and curious person,

Ab pirefull minde and most envious hart Why others faults do'st thou fo quickly flie With eagles light, but in thine owne thou art Starke blinde or elfe do'st winke with howlets eie?

Even so good sir, How is it that you regard and advise so wistly your owne miserie and calamitie, making it alwaies apparent and fresh in remembrance, but upon your present prosperitie you let not minde? And like as ventoles, cupping glasses or boxes draw the must corrupt humors to them out of the flesh; even so you gather against your selfe the worst things you have, being no better than the merchant of Chies, who when he fold to others a great quantity of

the best wine, fought up and downe tasting every vessell untill he met with that for his owne dinner, which began to fowre and was little better than starke naught. This man had a servant who ranne away, and being demaunded what his man had done unto him, for which hee should shew him a paire of heeles? Because (quoth hee) when hee had plentie of that which was good, he would needes feeke for naught. And most men verily are of the same nature, who paffing by good and defireable things, which be (as a man would fay) the pleafant and potable liquors that they have, betake themselves to those that bee harsh, bad, and unsavourie. But Aristippus was of another humour; for like a wise man and one that knew his owne good, hee was alwaies disposed to make the best of everie occurrence, raito fing and lifting up himselfe to that end of the ballance which mounted aloft, and not to that which went downeward. It fortuned one day that he loft a faire mannor or Lordship of his owne, and when one of his friends above the rest made most semblance to lament with him, and to be angrie with Fortune in his behalfe; Heare you (quoth he) know you not that your selfe have but one little farme in the whole world, and that I have yet three houses more left, with good lands lying to them? Yes marie do I (quoth the other:) Why then (quoth Aristipus againe) wherefore doe not we rather pittie your case, and condole with you? For it is meere madneffe to grieve and forrow for those things that are lost and gone, and not to rejoice for that which is faved. And like as little children, if a man chance to take from them but one of their gauds, among many other toies that they play withall, throw away the rest for verie curst-20 heart, and then fall a puling, weeping and crying out aright; semblably, as much folly and childishnesse it were, if when fortune thwarteth us in one thing, we be so farre out of the way and disquieted therewith, that with our plaints and moanes we make all her other favours improfitable unto us. But wil fome one fay, What is it that we have? Nay, What is it that we have not? might he rather fay: One man is in honour, another hath a faire and goodly honse; one hath a wife to his minde, and another atrustie friend.

Antipater of Tar/us the Philosopher, when he drew toward his end and the houre of his death, in recounting and reckoning up all the good and happie dates that ever he faw in his life time, left not out of this roll fo much as the Bon-voiage that he had when he failed from Cilicia to Athens. And yet we must not forget nor omit those bleffings and comforts of this life 30 which we enjoy in common with many more, but to make some reckoning & account of them. and namely to joy in this, that we live; that we have our health; that we behold the light of the funne; that we have neither warre abroad nor civill fedition and diffension at home; but that the land yeeldeth it felfe arable and to be tilled, and the fea navigable to everie one that will, without feare of danger; that it is lawful for us to speake, and keepe filence at our pleasure; that we have libertie to negotiate and deale in affaires, or to rest and be at our repose. And verily the enjoying of these good things present, will breed the greater contentment in our spirit, if wee would but imagine within our felves that were absent; namely, by calling to minde eftioones, what a miffe and defire those persons have of health, who bee sicke and diseased? How they wish for peace, who are afflicted with warres? How acceptable it is either to a stranger or 40 a meane person and unknowen, for to bee advaunced unto honour, or to bee friended in fome famous and puissant citie? And contrariwise, what a great griefe it is to forgoe these things when a man once hath them? And furely a thing cannot bee great or precious when we have lost it, and the same of no valour and account all the while wee have and enjoy it: for the not being thereof, addeth no price and woorth thereto. Neither ought wee to holde these things right great and excellent, whiles wee stand alwaies in seare and trembling to thinke that we shall be deprived and bereft of them, as if they were some woorthie things: and yet all the time that they be fure and fafe in our possession, neglect and little regard them as if they were common and of no importance. But we ought to make tile of them whiles they be ours, and that with joy, in this respect especially, that the losse of them if it shall so fall out, wee 30 may beare more meekly and with greater patience. Howbeit, most men are of this opinion (as Arcefilans was woont to fay) that they ought to follow diligently with their eie and cogitation the Poemes, Pictures, and Statues of others, and come close unto them for to behold and peruse exactly each of them; yea, and consider everie part and point therein from one ende to the other: whiles in the meane time they neglect and let alone their owne lives and manners; notwithstanding there be many impleasant fights to be spied and observed therein: looking evermore without, and admiring the advancements, welfare and fortunes of others: much like as adulteters who have an eie after their neighbours wives, but loath and fet naught by their owne.

And verily this one point also is of great consequence, for the selling of amans minde in sure repose; namely, to consider principally himselse, his owne estate and condition; or at least wise (if he do not so) yet to looke backe unto those that be his inferiours and under him; and not as the most fort do, who love alwaies to looke forward and to compare themselves with their betters and superiors. As for example, slaves that are bound in prison and lie in irons, repute them happy who are abroad at libertie; such as be abroad and at libertie, thinke their state blessed who be manumised and made free; being once a franchised, they account themselves to be in verie good case if they were citizens; and being citizens they esteem rich men most happie; the rich imagine it a gay matter to be Lords and Princes; Lords and Princes have a longing desire to be Kings and Monarchs; Kings and Monarchs aspire still higher and would be Gods; and so yet they rest not so, unlesse they may have the power to slash lightnings and shoot thunderbolts, aswell as Jupiter. Thus whiles they evermore come short of that which is above them and coverstill after it, they enjoy no pleasure at all of shose things that they have, nor be thankfull therefore.

The treasures great I care not for of Gyges King so rich in gold;
Such accarice I do abhor, nor money will I touch untold.
I never long'd with gods above, in their high works for to compare:
Grand seignories I do not love, far from mine cies all such things are.

A Thrafian he was that protested thus. But some other, that were a Chian, a Galatian or a Bithynian (I dare warrant you) not contenting himsels with his part of honor, credit & authoritie in his owne countrie and among his neighbours and sellow-etrizens, would be ready to weepe and expossulate the matter with teares, if he might not also weare the habite and ornaments of a Patritian or Senatour of Rome. And say it were graunted and allowed him to be a noble Senatour, he would not be quiet untill he were a Romaine Lord Pretor: Be he Lord Pretor, he will assure to a Consulship; and when he is created Consuls, whine he will and crie if he were not nominated and pronounced the former of the twaine, but elected in the second place. And I pray you yo what is all this? What doeth a man herein but gather pretended excuses of ingratitude to Fortune, in punishing and chastising himselse after this manner? But the man who is wise and of found judgement, in case some one or two among so infinite thousands of us mortall men

Whom funne from heaven so daily doth behold, Who feed on fruits of earth so manifold,

be either more honoured or richer than himselfe, will not therefore be cast downe straight way, and fit mourning and lamenting for forrow: but rather in the way as he goeth, and whenfoever he commeth abroad, falute & bleffe with praise and thanksgiving, that good fortune of his and bleffed angell that guideth his life, for that his lot is to live farre better, more at hearts case, and 40 in greater reputation than many millions of millions of other men. For true it is, that in the folemne games at Olympia, no champion may choose his concurrents with whom he is to wrestle or enter into combat for a prize: but in this life, our state standeth so, and our affaires bee in that manner composed, that everie man hath meanes to match, yea and excell many others, and so to beate himselfe aloft, that he be rather envied than envious; unlesse haply he be fuch an one, as will prefume to deale with Briareus or Hereules for the Mastrie. Well, when thou shalt behold some great Lord or honorable personage borne alost in a litter upon mens shoulders, stand not wondring so much at him, but rather cast thine eies downea little lower, & looke upon the poore porters that carrie him. Againe, when thou shalt repute that great Monarch Xerxes a right happy man, for that he made a bridge of thips over the Streights of Helle front; \$0 confider withall, those painfull flaves who under the verie whip and for feare of scourging, digged thorough the mountaine Atlas, and made passage that way for an arme of the sea; as also those miserable wretches, who had their eares cropt and their noses cut off, for that the foresaid bridge by a mightie tempest was injointed and broken; and therewith imagine with thy selfe what those seely soules might thinke, and how happie they would repute thy life and condition in comparison of their owne. Socrates upon a time when one of his familiar friends seemed to complaine and fay: What a costly place is this? How deere are things sold in this citie? The

wine of Chios will cost a pound; purple is fold for three, and a pinte of honie is held at five dragmes: Tooke him by the hand and led him to the Meale-hall. Loe (quoth he) you may buy here halfe a fexture of good meale for an half-penie. The market (God be thanked) is cheape: from thence he brought him into an Oile-cellar, and where they fold Olives: Here you thall have (quoth he) a measure called Chanix, for two brasen dodkins (a good market believe me.) He tooke him then with him to the Brokers shops that fold clothes, where a man might buy a fuite of apparell for ten dragmes. You see (quoth he) that the peni-woorths are reasonable, and things be bought and fold good cheape throughout the citie; even fo we, when we shall heare other men fay; Our state is but meane, we are exceeding bare, & our condition is passing base: to For why? We can not come to be Confuls, we shall never be rulers & governors of Provinces, nor rife to the highest places of authoritie. We may verie well answere in this wise; Nay maric.but our case is right good; we live gallantly, and lead a blessed and happie life: we beg not; we go not from doore to doore to crave folks almes; we are no porters; we beare no burdens; neither like parasites and smell-seasts, do we get our bread by flatterie. But forasmuch as we are for the most part growen to this folly, that we are accustomed to live rather according to others than our felves, and our nature is fo far corrupted with a kinde of jealous affectation and envie, that it joyeth not so much in her owne proper goods, as grieveth at the welfare of another) I would advise you not onely to regard those things that be resplendent, glorious and renowmed in those whom you admire and esteeme so happie; but also to set open and lift up the vaile 20 a little, and to draw (as it were) that glittering courtaine of outward flew, apparance and opinion that men have of them which covereth all, and so to looke in. Certes, you shall finde that they have within them many matters of trouble, many grievances and discontentments. That noble Pittaem, fo famous for his valor and fortitude, and as much renowmed alfo for wifedome and justice, feasted upon a time certaine of his friends that were strangers: and his wife comming in at mids of the dinner, being angry at fomewhat els, overthrew the table, and there lay all under foot. Now when his guests and friends were woondcrously dismaied and abashed hereat: Pitracus made no more ado at the matter, but turning unto them. There is not one of usall (quoth he) but he hath his croffe, and one thing or other to exercise his patience: and for mine owne part this is the onely thing that checketh my felicitie: for were it not for this shrow 30 my wife, I were the happiest man in the world: So that of me may these verses be well verificd:

This man who while he win street or publike place is happiet hought, No sooner sets in house his seet but wo is him: and not for nought. His wife him rules and that's a singlet She chides, he sights, from morne to night.

Well my mafters, you have many occations (I am fure) that vexe you: as for my felfe I grieve at nothing. Many fuch fecret fores therebe that put them to anguifh and paine who are rich 40 and it high authoratic, yea and trouble Kings and Princes themfelves; howfoever the common people fee no fuch matter; and why, their pompe and outward glorie covereth and hideth all. For when we read thus in *Homer*,

O happy King, fir Agametanon hight The foune of Atreus that mount by knight Borne in good howre, and that din fortunes lap, World Most puffant, rich, and thrall to no milhap.

This is a tehearfall furely of an outward beatitude onely, in regard of his armes, horses, and men of war about him: for the voices which are breathed out and uttered from his passions, which do fallisse that opinion of him; and beare witnesse of the contrarie: as may appeare by this testisomonic of himsels in Homer,

The Great Jupiter god Saturnes sonne, and Hathplung'd me deepe in the begon.

Empides allo to the like effect;

to be Your fate, old fir, I happy deeme,

old and him oleffe I do admire

who leabil life anknowne unseene,

from danger far, from vaine de fire,

By these and such like meditations, a man may by litle & litle spend & diminish that quaressome and complaining discontentment of the minde against Fortune, in debasing and casting downe his owne condition with the wonderfull admiration of his neighbors state. But there is nothing that doth so much hurt unto our tranquillitie of minde as this, when our affection and will to a thing is disproportioned unto our might and power; as if we set up greater failes then our vessel will beare, building our hopes and defires as castles in the aire without a found foundation, and promiting our felves more than reason is; for afterwards when by proofe we see, that we can not reach thereto, and finde that the successe is not answerable to our conceit, we grumble by and by against fortune, and we blame our destinie; whereas we should accuse our owne sollie and raftines. For neither he that would feeme to shoote an arrow out of a plough; or ride upon to an Oxe backe to hunt the Hare; can fay that he is unluckie; nor hee that goeth about to catch the Hart and Hinde with fithers drag-nets, or with grins, fnares and traps, may justly finde fault with his fortune, and give out that fome wicked angel doth croffe him, or malignant spirit haunt him, if he faile and miffe of his purpose: but furely such are to condemne their owne foolishneffe and inconfiderate temeritie, in attempting things impossible. And what might be the cause of such errors and groffe overfight? furely our fond and blinde selfe love. This is it that causeth men to affect ever to be foremost; this mooveth them to strive and contend for the highest place; this maketh them opinonative in every thing, aiming and reaching at all things unfatiably, and never rest contented. For it suffices them not to be both rich and learned; eloquent withall and mightie; good fellowes at the table and pleafant companions; minions and 20 tavorites of Kings and Princes; rulers of cities and governors of provinces; unleffe they maybe masters also of the swiftest and hotest hounds for running; the principall horses for service and stomacke; quailes and cocks of the best game for fight; If they faile in any of these, they be call downe, and their hearts are done. Denys the elder of that name, not being contented and fatisfied in minde that he was the most mighty and puissant tyrant in his time; but because hee was not a better Poet than Philoxenus; nor able to discourse and dispute so learnedly as Plato; in great choler and indignation, he cast the one into a dungeon within the Stone quarries, where malefactors, felons, and flaves were put to punishment; and confined the other as a caitife, and fent him away into the Isle Aegine. Alexander the great was not of that disposition, who when Brifon the famous runner in the race contended with him for the best game in foot-man 10 ship, and for the nonce to please the King, seemed to faint and lag behinde, and so to yeeld the honour of the course unto him; being advertised thereof, was mightily offended and displeafed with him for it. Very wifely therefore and aptly to this purpose the Poet Homer when he had given this commendation of Achilles,

Like unto him there is not one in field
Of all the Greekes that ferve with speare and shield.
He inferred presently upon it,
In seats of armes: but for to speake and plead
Others there be who can him teach and lead.

Megabyzus the Persian, a great lord, went up one day into the shop of Apelles, where he used to 40 paint; and when he was about to speake (I wot not what) as touching painting-craft, Apellesnot enduring to heare him talke fo foolifhly, thaied him and stopped his mouth, laying precily thus unto him: So long fir as you held your tongue, you were taken to be some great man, by reason of your chaines, corquans, and brooches of gold; your purple robes also, which together with your filence commended your person: but now the very prentise boies here, who grinde oker and fuch like colours, are ready to laugh at you, hearing you talke fo foolithly, you knownot what. And yet some there be who thinke that the Stoicks do but mocke and jest when they heare them hold this opinion: That the wife man (fuch as they imagine to themselves) is not onely Prudent, Just and Valiant, but ought also to be called an Oratour, a Captaine and a Poet, a rich and mightie man, yea and a very King, whiles they themselves will needs be invested in 10 these titles, and if they be not, then they are displeased and miscontent by and by; what reason they have so to be let them answere. Sure I am that among the gods themselves, some have power one way, and some another; and thereupon tooke their fundry denominations accordingly,&rest contented therewith: as for example, one is, surnamed Engalism, i. the god of was, another Mantous, i. the prefident of Prophefies; and a third Cerdons, which is as much to fays as the patron of those that gaine by trafficke. And heercupon it is that lapiter in Homer for bidding Venus to meddle in warlike and martiall affaires, as nothing pertinent unto her, fendeth

her to weddings and bride-chambers, and bids her attend them. Moreover fome qualities and things there be, that we feeme to affect and wifh; the which are in nature contrary, and will not concurand fort well together: as for example, the profession of eloquence, and the studie of Arts Mathematicall require rest and quietnesse, neither have the students therein neede tobe emploied in any affaires. Contrariwife, policie and managing of the State and weale publicke, the favors of princes and potentates, are not compaffed without much adoo; neither can a man be idle at any time, who either is emploied in the service of his countrey, or attendant in the Court. Much feeding upon flesh and liberall drinking of wine, maketh (I must needs fay) the bodie able and ftrong, but the minde feeble and weake. Likewife, the continuall o and excellive care both in getting and keeping goods, may well augment riches and increase our substance: but surely it is the contempt and despisement of worldly wealth, that is a great helpe and meanes to learning and Philosophy. And therefore wee may well conclude; that every man is not fir for every thing: but heerein ech one must be ruled by the sage sentence of Pythius Apollo, and first learne, To know himselfe; then marke and observe to what one thing he is most framed and enclined; and thereto both apply and employ his wits, and not to offer violence to nature, and draw her perforce, as it were, against the haire, to this or that course of life, which the liketh not.

The horfe serv's best in chariot at the thill, The oxe as plough, the ground to eare and sill: Ships under saile the dolphins when they sight Asoft froistly then do swim their sides sail by: Who would in wood the wilde bore chase and slay, Must bring with him the hardie hound away.

Now if there be one that thall bee angry with himfelfe and displeased, that he is not at once both a savage lion of the forrest, bolde and venturous of his owne strength, and with all a daintie fine puppie of Malta, cherished and softered in the lappe and bosome of some delicate dame and rich widdow; commend me to him for a senseless foole of all sooles, and to say a sooth, I holde him also as very an affe and doltish sop, who will needs bee such an one as Empedocles, Plato and Democritus; namely, to write of the world, of the nature and true effence of all things therein, and with al, to keepe a rich olde trot and sleepe with her every night, as Euphorius did; or els like unto those who kept company with Alexander the great, in drinking and gaming (as one Medius did) and yet thinke it a great abuse and indignity (torsooth) if he may not be as much admired for his wealth as Isomerius, and esteemed no lesse for his vertue than Epaminondus. We see that the runners in a race be not discontented at all, if they weare not the garlands and coronets of wrestlers, but rest pleased with their owne rewards, and therein delight and rejoice, It is an olde said saw, and a common proverbe: Sparta is thy lor and Province, looke well to it, and adorne the same. For it is a saying also of wise Solon;

And yet we will not change our boone With them, for all their wealth and golde: Goods passe from man to man full soone, Ours versue is, a sure free bolde.

Strato the naturall Philosopher, when he heard that Menedemus his Concurrent had many more scholars by far than he: What marvel is that (quoth he) if there more that defire to be wathed and bathed, than are willing to be anointed & rubbed. Ariffetle writing to Antipater : It is not meet (quoth he) that Alexander alone should thinke highly of himselfe, in that he is able to command so many men; but they also have good cause to be aswell conceited of themselves, who have the grace to believe of the gods as they ought. For furely, they that thus can make the best use of their owne estate, shall never be vexed, nor at their neighbours wel-farepine away for very envie. Which of us now doeth require or thinke it fit, that the vine-tree should beare figges, or the olive grapes? and yet we our felves, if we may not have all at once, to wit, the superiority and preeminence among rich men, among eloquent orators and learned clearks, both athome and abroad, in the schooles among Philosophers, in the field among warriors; aswell among flattering claw-backs as plaine spoken and tel-troth friends: to conclude, unlesse we may goe before all pinching peny-fathers in frugalitie; yea, and furpalle all spend-thrists in riot and prodigallity; we are out of our little wits; we accuse our selves daily like sycophants; we are unthankeful; we repine and grumble as if we lived in penury and want. Over and belides, do we not lee that Nature herfelfe doeth teach us fufficiently in this point? For like as she hath provided for fundry kinds of bruit and wilde beafts, divers forts of food: for all feed not upon fieth, all pecke not upon feeds and graines of plants, neither doe all live upon roots which they worke from under the ground; even fo the hath bestowed upon mankinde many meanes to get their living, while some live by graffing and feeding of cattell, others by tillage, some be Fowlers, others Fishers: and therefore ought every man to chuse that course of life which sorten best with his owne nature, and wholly to apply and set his minde thereto; leaving unto others that which pertaineth to them, and not to reprove and convince Hessiam when he thus speaketh, although not to the full and sufficiently to the point:

The Potter to Potter doth beare envie, One Carpenter to another hath a spightfull eie.

For jealous we are not onely of those who exercise the same art, and sollow that course of life which we do; but the rich also do envie the learned and eloquent; noble men the rich; advocates and lawiers, captious and litigious fophisters; yea, and (that which more is) gentlemen freeborne, and descended from noble and auncient houses, envie Comedians when they have acted well and with a good grace upon the stage in great Theaters; danneers also and jesters in the court, whom they see to be in favor and credite with Kings and Princes; and whiles they do admire thefe, and thinke them happie for their good speed and successe in comparison of their owne doings, they fret and grieve, and out of measure torment themselves. Now, that evene one of us hath within himselfe treasuries laid up of contentment and discontentment, and certeine tunnes of good things and evil; not bestowed as Homer said: Unto the doore-fill and entrie of Jupiters house; but placed in each of our owne mindes, the divers passions whereunto we are hibject do fufficiently proove and thew. For fuch as are foolish and unadvised doe neglect and let go the very good things that prefently they have, and never care to enjoy them, to intentive and earneftly bent are their mindes and spirits alwaies to that which is comming, and future expectation: whereas wife men on the contrary fide, call to their fresh remembrance those things that are past, so as they seeme to enjoy the same as if they were present, yea and in make that which is no more, to be as beneficiall unto them, as if they were ready and at hand, For furely that which is present, yeelding it selfe to be touched by us but the least moment of time that is, & immediately passing our senses, seemeth unto sooles to be none of ours, nor any more to concerne us. But like as the Roper which is painted in the teple of Pluto, or description, of Hell, suffereth an affe behind him to gnaw & cate a rope as fast as he twisteth it of the Spartbroome; even so the unthankfull and tenselesse oblivion of many ready to catch and devoureal good things as they paffe by, yea and to diffipate and cause to vanish away every honest and no table action, all vertuous deeds, duties, delectable recreations and pleafant pastimes, all good fellowship and mutuall societie, and all amiable conversation one with another, will not pennit, that the life be one and the same, linked (as it were) and cheined by the coppulation of things paffed and prefent; but deviding yesterday from to day, and this day from the morrow, as if they were fundry parts of our life, bringeth in fuch a forgetfulnesse, as if things once past had never beene. As for those verily who in their disputations and Philosophicall discourses admit 110 augmentation of bodies, affirming that every substance continually fadeth and vanisheth, would as make us beleeve in word, that each one of us every howre altereth from himfelfe, and no man is the same to day, that he was yesterday: but these for fault of memorie not able to reteine and keepe those things that are done and past, no nor to apprehend and estsoones call them against to minde, but fuffer every thing to passe away and runne as it were through a sieve, doe not in word but in deed and effect, make themselves voide and emptie every day more than other, depending onely upon the morrow, as if those things which were done the yeere past, of late, and yesterday, nothing appertained unto them, nor ever were at all. This is therefore one thing that hindreth & troubleth that equanimity & repose of spirit which we seeke for : & yet there is another that doth it more; and that is this; Like as flies creeping upon the smooth places of glasses or mirrors, cannot hold their feet but must needs fal down, but cotrariwise they take hold where they meet with any roughnes, & flick fast to rugged flawes, that they can find even so the semen gliding & glanfing over al delectable & pleafant occurrences, take hold of any adverse & heavy calamities, those they cleave unto & remember very wel; or rather as (by report) there is about the city Olynthus a certain place, into which if any fliescalled Beetles enter in once, they cannot get forth againe, but after they have kept a turning about, and fetching compaffes round tono purpose a long time, they die in the end, wherupon it tooke the name of Cantharolethron; senblably, men after they fal to the reckoning up & commemoration of their harmes & calamities

palt, are not willing to retire backe, nor to breath themselves and give over multiplying thereupon still. And yet contratiwise, they ought to do after the maner of Painters, who when they paint a table to lay upon the ground, or by a course of dead and duskish colours such as be fresh, gay and gallant, for to palliat & in some sort to hide the unpleasantnes of the other, they ought I fay) to fmother and keepe downe the heavinesse of the heart occasioned by some crosse milhaps, with those that have fallen out of their minde, for to obliterate and wipe them out of their minde quite, and to be freed cleane from them it is not possible: and furely the harmonic of this world is reciprocall and variable, compounded (as it were) of contraries, like as we do fee in an harpe or bow; neither is any earthly thing under the cope of heaven, pure, fimple, and to fincere without mixture. But as Musicke doth consist of base and treble sounds; and Grammar of letters, which be partly vocall, & partly mute, to wit, vowels and confants, and he is not to be counted a Grammarian and Mulician, who is offended and displeased with either of those contrarie elements of the arte, but he that affecteth the one as well as the other, and knoweth how to use and mixe both together with skil for to serve his purpose; even so considering that in the occurrences of mans life there be fo many contrarieries, and one weigheth against another in maner of counterpoile; for (according to Eurypides)

Is cannot stand with our affaires, that good from had should parted bee: A medley then of mixed paires doth well, and serves in each degree.

It is not meet that we should let our hearts fall and be discouraged with the one fort when soever it hapnest, but we ought according to the rules of harmonie in Musicke, to stop the point alwaies of the woorst, with strokes of better, and by overcasting missfortunes (as it were) with a vaile and cuttaine of good haps, or by setting one to the other, to make a good composition and a pleasant accord in our life, sitting and sorting our owneturnes. For it is not as Menander said.

Each man so soone as he is borne, one spirit good or angell hath, Which him assists both even and morne, and quides his steps in every path.

but rather according to Empedacles: No fooner are we come into the world, but each one of us hath two angels, called Damones: two Destinies (I say) are allotted unto us, for to take the charge and government of our life, unto which he attribute th divers and fundry names,

Here Chthonic was a downward looket hat hath, Heliope eke, who turneth to the sunne, And Deris shee, that loves in blood to bath, Harmonic smiles ever and anon, Califto faire and Aeschre soule among, Thoola frie, Dinca stout and strong, Nemertes who is lovely white and pure, But Asaphic with fruit black and observe.

Infomuch, as our Nativitie receiving the feeds of each of all thefe paffions blended and confufed together, and by reason thereof the course of our lise not being uniforme, but full of disordered and unequall dispositions, a man of good and sound judgement ought to wish and desire at Gods hand the better, to expect and looke for the woorse, and to make an use of them both, namely by abridging and cutting off that which is excessive and too much: For not he onely (as Epicurus was woont to say) shall come with most delight and pleasure to see the morrow-sunne, who made least account thereof on the eeven; but richesalso, glorie, authoritie and rule doth most rejoice their hearts who least search the contrarie; for the whennent and ardent desire that a man hath to any of these things, doth imprint likewise an exceeding seare of forgoing and loosing the same, and thereby maketh the delight of enjoying them to be feeble and nothing stream and constant; even as the blase and stame of the fire which is blowen and driven to and fro with the wind. But the man who is so much affisted with reason, that he is able without seare and trembling to say unto Fortune:

ห็บ) เม่ง ฉทัก ธุระทุธ, อังโรคง 5" ฉัวส ทั้ง รักรกับสหุร. Wel come to me, if good shou bringe st ought, Andif shou fuile, I will take little thought.

Or thus: Well maist shou take from me some jey of mind, But little griefe, thou fralt me leave behind.

hath this benefit by his confidence and resolution: that as he taketh most joy of his good fortimes when they are prefent; so he never feareth the losse of them, as if it were a calamitie insupportable. And herein we may aswell imitate as admire the disposition and affection of Anaxa. goras, who when he heard the newes of his fons death I know full well (quoth he) when I begot him that die he must: and after his example, when soever any infortunitie hapneth, to be readie with these & such like speeches: I know that riches were not permanent, but transitorie and for a day: I never thought other, but that they who conferred these dignities upon me both might to and could deprive me of them I wift: that I had a good wife and vertuous dame, but withall a woman and no more: I was not ignorant that my friend was a man(that is to fay) a living creature by nature mutable, as Plato used to fay. And verily, such preparations and dispositions of our affections as these, if peradventure there shall be fall unto us any thing against our intent and minde, but not contrarie to our expectation, as they will never admit fuch paffionate words as these (Ineverthought it would have fallen out so, I was in great hope of other matters, and little looked I for this) fo they thall be able to rid us of all fudden pantings and leapings of the hart, of unquiet & disorderly beating of the pulses, and soone stay and settle the furious & tronblefome motions of impatience. Carnesdes was woont in time of greatest prosperitie to put men in minde of a change; for that the thing which hapneth contrarie to our hope and expect to tation, is that which altogether and wholy doth breed forrow and griefe. The kingdome of the Macedonians was not an handfull to the Romaine Empire and dominion; and yet king Perfew when he had loft Macedonie, did not only himfelfe lament his owne fortune most piriously, but in the ciesalfo of the whole world he was reputed a most unfortunate and miserableman, But behold Paulus Aemelius whose hap it was to vanquish the said Perseus, when he departed our of that Province, and made over into the hands of another his whole atmie, with fo great commaund both of land and sea, was crowned with a chaplet of flowers, and so did sacrifice unto the gods with joy and thankf-giving in the judgement of all men, woorthily extolled and reputed as happie. For why? when he received first that high commission and mightie power withall, he knew full well, that he was to give it over and refigne it up when his time was expired; whereas Perfeus on the contrarie fide, lost that which he never made account to lose. Certes even the Poet Homer hath given us verie well to understand, how forcible that is, which hapneth belides hope and unlooked for, when he bringeth in ulyfes upon his returne, weeping for the death of his dog; but when he fate by his owne wife who shed teares plentifully, wept not at all; for that he had long before at his leafure against this comming home of his, prevented and broughtinto subjection (as it were) by the rule of reason, that passion which otherwise heeknew well enough would have broken out; whereas, looking for nothing leffe than the death of his dog, he fell fuddenly into it, as having had no time before to repreffe the fame. In fumme, of all those accidents which light upon us contrarie to our will; fome grieve and vexe us by the course and instinct of nature; others (and those be the greater part) we are woont to be offended and difcontented with, upon a corrupt opinion and foolith custome that we have taken: and therefore we should do verie well, against such temptations as these, to be ready with that sentence of Me-

No harme nor losse thou dost sustaine: But that thou list so for to faine. And how (quoth he) can it concerne thee? For if no flesh without it wound,

Nor soule within, then all is sound. As for example, the base parentage and birth of thy father; the adulterie of thy wife; the lost or repulle of any honor, dignitie or preeminence: for what should let, not with standing all these croffes, but that thy bodie and minde both may be in right good plight and excellent effate? And against those accidents which seeme naturally to grieve and trouble us, to wit, maladic, paines and travels; death of deere friends and toward children, we may oppose another saying of Euripides the Poët:

Alas,alas and well a-day: But why alas, and well away? Nought elfe to us hath yet beene delt,

But that who daily men have felt. For no remonstrance nor reason is so effectuall to restraine and stay this passionate and sensus Por no remoundance when it is readic to flip and be carried headlong away with our affections, as that which call also remembrance the common and naturall necessitie; by meanes whereof and in regard his bodie, being mixed and compounded, doth expose and offer this handle amanusce and vantage whereby fortune is to take hold when the wreftleth against him; for otherwife, a the greatest and most principall things, he abideth fast and sure. King Demetrim ometwing freed and woon the citie Megara, demanded of Stilpo the wife Philosopher, whether naving oftany goods in the fackage and pillage thereof? Sir (quoth he) I faw not fo much as no man carrying any thing of mine away; femblably, when fortune hath made what spoile one can, and taken from us all other things, yet fomewhat there remaineth fill within our felves,

Which Greeks do what they can or may, Shall neither drive nor beare away.

In which regard we ought altogether fo to depreffe, debase and throw downe out humaine nature, as if it had nothing firme, stable and permanent, nothing above the reach and power of fortune: but contrariwife, knowing that it is the leaft and woorst part of man, and the same sraile, brittle, and subject to death, which maketh us to lie open unto fortune and her affaults; whereas in respect of the better part we are masters over her, and have her at command, when there be-20 ing feated and founded most furely the best and greatest things that we have, to wit, found and honest Opinions, Arts and Sciences, good discourses tending to vertue, which be all of a subflance incorruptible, and whereof we can not be robbed: we (I fay) knowing thus much, ought in the confidence of our felves to cary a minde invincible and fecure against what foever shall happen, & be able to fay that to the face of Fortune, which Socrates addressing his speech indeed covertly to the Judges, feemed to speake against his two accusers, Anytus and Alehtus: Well may Anytus and Melitus bring me to my death, but hurt or harme me they shall never be able. And even so Fortune hath power to bring a disease or sicknesse upon a man, his goods she can take away, raife the may a flander of him to tyrant, prince or people, and bring him out of grace and favour; but him that is vertuous, honest, valiant and magnanimous, she can not make wic-30 ked, dishonest, base-minded, malicious & envious : and in one word, she hath not power to take from him a good habitude, fetled upon wifdome and diferetion, which wherefoever it is alwaies present, doth more good unto a man for to guide him how to live, than the pilot at sea for to direct a thip in her courfe; for furely the pilot, be he never to skilfull, knoweth not how to still the rough and furging billowes when he would, he can not allay the violence of a tempett, or bluftering winde, neither put into a fafe harbor and haven, or gaine a commodious bay to anker in at all times and in every coast, would be never so faine, nor resolutely without feare and trembling when he is in a tempest, abide the danger and under-goe all; thus farre foorth onely his art ferveth, folong as he is in no despaire, but that his skill may take place;

To strike main-saile, and downe the lee To let ship hull, untill he see The foot of mast no more above The fea: while he doth not remove, But with one hand in other fast Quaketh and panterball agast.

But the disposition and staied minde of a prudent man, over and besides that it bringesh the body into a quiet and calmeestate, by diffipating and dispatching for the most part the occasions and preparatives of diseases, and that by continent life, sober diet, moderate exercises, and travels in measure; if haply there chance some little beginning or indisposition to a passion, upon which the minde is ready to runne it felfe, as a thip, upon fome blinde rocke under the water, 50 it can quickly turne about his nimble and light croffe-faile yard, as Afelepiades was woont to fay, and so avoid the danger.

But fay there come upon us some great and extraordinary accident, such as neither we lookedfor, nor be able by all the power we have, either to overcome or endure 3 the haven is neere at hand, we may fwim fafely thither out of the body, (as it were) out of a veffell that leaketh and taketh water, and will no longer holde a passenger: as for foolish folke, it is the seare of death, and not the love of life that caufeth them to cling and flicke so close to the body, hanging and

clasping thereunto no otherwise than ulysses to the wilde figge tree, why hee feared with great horror, the gulfe Charybdes roaring under him;

Whereas the winds would not permit to stay, Nor suffer him to rowe or saile away:

displeased infinitely in the one, and dreading fearefully the other. But he that fome measure (be it never so little) knoweth the nature of the soule, and casteth this with him life: That by death there is a paffage out of this life, either to a better state, or at least-wife not a woorse; certes he is furnished with no meane way faring provision to bring him to the security of mind in this life, I meane the feareleffe contempt of death: for he that may (fo long as vertue adthe better part of the foule (which indeed is proper unto man) is predominant) live pleafantly; a when the contrary passions, which are enemies to nature, doeprevaile, depart resolutely and without feare, faying thus unto himfelfe:

> God will me suffer to be gone When that I will my felfe, anon,

What can we imagine to happen unto a man of this resolution, that should encumber, trouble or terrifichim ? for whofoever he was that faid: I have prevented thee (ô Fortune) I have ftop. ped up all thy avenewes, I have intercepted and choked all the waies of accesse and entry; surely he fortified himfelfe, not with barres and barricadoes, not with locks and keies, ne yet with mures and walles, but with Philosophicall and fage lessons, with sententious fawes, and with discourses of reason, whereof all men that are willing, be capable. Neither ought a man to discredit the, tructh of these and such like things which are committed in writing, and give no beleefe unto them, but rather to admire, and with an affectionate ravishment of spirit embrace and imitate them; yea, and withall to make a triall and experiment of himfelfe; first in smaller matters, proceeding afterwards to greater, untill he reach unto the highest, and in no wife to shake off such meditations, nor to flift off and feeke to avoid the exercife of the minde in this kinde, and info doing, he thall haply finde no such difficultie as he thinketh. For as the effeminate delicacy and niceneffe of our mind, amused alwaies and loving to be occupied in the most easie objects, and retiring eft-foones from the cogitation of those things that fall out erosse, unto such as tend unto greatest pleasure, causeth it to be soft and tender, and imprinteth a certaine daintinessenot able to abide any exercise; so if the same minde would by custome learne and exercise it selse in, apprehending the imagination of a maladic, of paine, travell, and of banishment, and enforceit felfe by reason to withstand and strive against ech of these accidents, it will be found and seene by experience, that fuch things which through an erronious opinion were thought painefull, grievous, hard and terrible, are for the most part but vaine in deed, deceitfull and contemptible: like as reason will show the same if a man would consider them each one in particular. Howbeit the most part mightily feare and have in horror that verse of Menander,

> No man alive can lafely lay, I his case shall never me affar.

as not knowing how material litis to the exempting and freeing of a man from all griefe and forrow, to meditate before-hand, and to be able to looke open-eied full against fortune, and not 40 to make those apprehensions and imaginations in himselfe soft and effeminate, as if hee were fostered and nourished in the shadow, under many foolish hopes which ever yeeld to the contrarie, and bee not able to refift fo much as any one. But to come againe unto Menander, we have to answer unto him in this maner: True it is indeed, there is no man living able to fay: This or this shal never happen unto me; howbeit, thus much may a man that is alive fay and affirme: So long as I live I will not do this, to wit, I will not lie; I will never be a cousiner, nor circumvent any man; I will not defraud any one of his owne; neither will I fore-lay and furprise any man by a wile. This lieth in our power to promife and performe, and this is no fmall matter, but a great meanes to procure tranquillitie and contentment of minde. Whereas contrariwife, the remorfe of confcience when as a man is privite to himfelfe, and must need sconfesses and fay: These and these wicked parts I have committed, sestereth in the soule like an ulcer and fore in the flesh, and leaveth behind it repentance in the foule, which fretteth, galleth, gnaweth, and fetteth it a bleeding fresh continually. For, whereas all other forrowes, griefes, and anguishes, reason doth take away; repentance onely it doth breed and engender, which together with shame biteth and punisherh it selfe; for like as they who quiver and shake in the seavers called Epioli; or contrariwife burne by occasion of other agues, are more afflicted and more at

ease than those who suffer the same accidents by exterior causes, to wit, winters cold or summers heat; even fo all mischances and casuall calamities, bring with them lighter dolors and paines ascomming from without. But when a man is forced thus to confesse,

My seife I may well thanke for this, None els for it blame woorthy is.

which is an ordinary speech of them who lamentably bewaile their sinnes from the bottome of their hearts, it causeth griefe and forrow to be so much more heavy, and it is joyned with thame and infamie: whereupon it commeth to passe, that neither house richly and finely surnithed, nor heapes of gold and filver, no parentage or nobilitie of birth, no dignitic of estate and autho-10 ritie how high foever, no grace in speech; no force and power of eloquence; can yeeld unto a mans life fuch a caline (as it were) and peaceable tranquillitie; as a foule and confcience cleere from wicked deeds, finfull cogitations and leaud defleignes, which having the fource & founraine of life (I meane the inward disposition of the heart) not troubled & polluted, but clere and clented; from whence all good and laudable actions do flowe and proceed, and the fame doe give a lively, cheerefull, and effectuall operation, even by fome divine inflinet and heavenly inipiration, together with a bold courage and haughty minde, and with all yeeld the remembrance of a vertuous and well led life, more sweete, pleasant, firme and permanent, than is that hope . Or Rose. whereof Pindarus writeth, the nurse and fostresse of old age: for we must not thinke, that (as marie banks Carneades was wont to fay) the * Cenfers or perfuming pannes wherin fiveet incenfe is burned, after they be 20 reteine and render the pleasant odor along time after they be emptie, and that the vertuous and left word, deeds of a wife and honest man, should not alwaies leave behinde them in the foule an amiable, as some exdelightful, and fresh remembrance thereof; by meanes whereof, that inward joy being watered, pounds is ever greene, buddeth and flourisheth still, despising the shamefull errour of those who with their plaints, moanes, and wailings, diffame this life of ours; faying: It is a very hell and place of torments, or else a region of confined and exiled foules, into which they were fent away and banithed forth of heaven. And heere I cannot choose but highly commend that memorable saying of Diogenes, who feeing once a certeine stranger at Lacedamon dressing and trimming himfelfe very curioufly against a feastivall & high day: What meanes all this (quoth he) my good friend? to a good and honest man is not everie day in the yeere a feast and holy day? yes verily, 30 and if we be wife we should thinke all daies double feasts, and most solemne gaudie daies for furely this world is a right facred and holy temple, yea and most divine, befeeming the majestie of God, into which man is inducted and admitted at his nativitie, not to gaze and looke at flatues and images cut and made by mans hand, and fuch as have no motion of their owne, but to behold those works and creatures which that divine spirit and almightic power in woonderfull wifedome and providence hath made and fhewed unto us fenfible; and yet (as Plato faith) representing and resembling intelligible powers, from whence proceed the beginnings of life and mooving, namely the lunne, the moone, the starres; what should I speake of the rivers which continually fend out fresh water still; and the earth which bringeth foorth nourishment for all living creatures, and yeeldeth nutriment likewife to every plant? Now if our life be the 40 imitation of fo facted myfteries, and (as it were) a profession & entrance into so holy a religion of all othersmost perfect, we must need sesteeme it to be full of contentment & continuall joy: neither ought we (as the common multitude doth) attend & wait for the feafts of Saturne, Bacchus, or Minerva, and fuch other high daies wherein they may folace themselves, make metric and laugh, buying their mirth and joy for money, giving unto plaiers, jefters, dauncers, & fuch like their hire and reward for to make them laugh. In which fealts and folemnities, we use to fit with great contentment of minde, arraied decently according to our degree and calling, (for no man useth to mourne and lament, when he is professed in the mysteries of Ceres, and received into that confraternitie; no man forroweth when he doth behold the goodly fights of the Pythian games; no man hungreth or fafteth during the Saturnals:) what an indignitic and 50 shame is it then that in those feasts which God himselfe hath instituted, and wherein (as a man would fay) he leadeth the daunce, or is perfonally himselfe to give institution and induction, men should contamminate, pollute and profane as they do, dishonoring their life for the most part, with weeping, wailing, fighing and groning, or at the leastwife in deepe thoughts & penfive cares. But the greatest shame of all other is this; that we take pleasure to heare the organs and instruments of musicke found pleafantly; we delight to heare birdes singing sweetly; we behold with right good will, beafts playing, sporting, dauncing, and skipping featly; and contratiwise wee are offended when they houle, roare, snarle, and gnash their teeth, as also

when they shew a fierce, sterne, and hideous looke; and all this while seeing our owne lives heavie, fad, travailed and oppreffed with most unpleasant passions, most intricate and inexplicable affaires, and overwhelmed with infinite and endleffe cares; yet we will not affoord our felves fome reft and breathing time; nay (that which more is) we will not admit the speech and remonstrances of our friends and familiars, whom if we would give eare unto, we might without fault finding receive the present, remember with joy and thanksgiving that which is past, and without diffrust, suspition and searc, expect with joyfull and lightsome hope that which is to come.

Of naughtie bashfulnesse.



VNSEEMELY AND NAVGHTY BASH-

FVLNESSE.

The Summarie.

Lithough st be needlesse to stand curiously upon the concatenation and coherence of these matters handled by Plutarch, how they be knit and linked together, considering that he penned these discourses of his at sundree times; and both they who have reduced them into one volume; and those also who have translated them out of Greekeinto other languages, have not all followed one order: yet I thinke verily that this present

Treatise, as concerning Naughtie Bashfulnes, is fitly joined next to the former, as touching the repose and tranquillitie of the spirit. For one of the greatest shaking cracks that our soule can receive in her tranquillitie, in when he fecretly and by stealth may be lifted from her feat, for to drive a man to those things which may trouble him immediately, and much more afterwards. Now this evill bashfulnesse bath this vicious and dangerous qualitic, to know how to feduce and draw us by faire femblant, and nevertheleffe to trouble & confound after a strange fastion the contemment of our spirits, as appereth plainely in this little booke, which deserveth to be well perused and considered by all forts of people. Now after he hath flewed what this evill shamefastnes is; he declareth that it is no lesse permicious and hurtfull then impudencie; adding moreover that wee ought to take good heed, lest in avoiding it, we fall into contrarie extremities, as they do who are envious. I hamelesse, obstinate, idle and dissolute. Then he proceedeeh to teach us, that the first a. A principall preservative against this poison is to holde it for to be most dangerous and deadly, which he doth verifie and proove by notable examples. Which 40 done, he describeth particularly and from point to point, the incommodities, perils, and mufortunes that come by naughty ball fulnes, applying thereto good and proper remedies, giving withall many fage and wife counsels drawen out of Philosophie, tending to this stop and marke; that neither the regard of our friends, kinsfolke and familiars, nor yet therespect of any thing else besides, ought to draw from our thought, our mouth or hands, any thing contrarie to the dutie of an honest man: which both

for the present, and also all the rest of our life may leave in our soule, the cicatrice or skar of repentance forrow and heavineffe. In conclusion, to the end that we should not commit those deeds in haste, which afterwards we may repent at leafure; he freweth that we ought to have before our eies the hurts and inconveniences caused before by evil ball fulneffe, that the consideration thereof might keepe us from falling into fresh and new

faultes.

OF UNSEEMELY AND naughtie bashfulnesse.



Mong those plants which the earth bringeth foorth, some there are which not onely by their owne nature bee wilde and favage, and withall bearing no fruit at all; but (that which woorse is) in their growth doe hurt unto good feeds and fruitfull plants: and yet skilful gardiners and husbandmen, judge them to be arguments and fignes, not of bad ground, but rather of a kinde and fat foile; semblaby the passions and affections of the minde, simply and in themselves are not good, howbeitthey spring as buds and flowers from a towardly nature, and fuch as gently can yeeld it felfe to be wrought, framed, and brought into order by reason. In this kinde I 163

may raunge that which the Greekes call Autoria, which is as much to fay, as a foolifh and rufticall shamefastnes; no evill signe in it selfe, how beit the cause and occasion of evill and naughtinesse. For they that be given to bash and shame over-much and when they should not, commitmany times the fame faults that they doe, who are shamelesse and impudent: heere onely is 20 the difference, that they, when they trespasse and do amisse, are displeased with themselves, and grieve for the matter, whereas thefe take delight & pleasure therin : for he that is gracelesse and palt shame, hath no sense or feeling of griefe when he hath committed any foule or dishonest act; contratiwife, who foever be apt to bath & be afhamed quickly, are foone moved & troubled anon, even at those things which seeme onely dishonest, although they be not indeed. Now, lest the equivocation of the word might breed any doubt. I meane by Dy/opia, immoderate bathfulneffe, whereby one blutheth for thame exceedingly and for every thing, whereupon fuch an one is called in Greeke Dyloperm, for that his vilage and countenance together with his mind changeth, falleth and is cast downe: for like as Karifein in Greeke is defined to be a facred heavinesse, which causeth a downe-looke; even so, that shame and dismaiednesse which maketh 30 us that we dare not looke a man in the face as we should and when we ought, the call Automatic. And hereupon it was that the great Oratour Demosthenes said of an impudent fellow, that he had inhis cies not weeks, but mercus, i. harlots, playing pretily upon the ambiguity of the word weeks, which fignifieth both the round apple in the cies, and alfoa maiden or virgine : but contrariwife the over-bashfull person (whom wee speake of) sheweth in his countenance a minde too fort, delicate and effernmente, and yet he flattereth himselfe therein, and calleth that fault (wherein the impudent person surpaffeth him) Shamefaltnesse. Now Cato was woont to say, That he loved to fee yoong folke rather to bluth than to looke pale; as having good reason to acquaint and teach youth to dread shame and reproch more than blame and reproofe; yea, and suspition or obloquie, rather than perill or danger.

Howbeit, we must abridge & cut off the excesse and over-much, which is in such timidity and feare of reproch; for that often-times it commeth to passe in some, who dreading no lesse to heare ill and be accused, than to be chastised or punished; for false hearts are frighted from doing their duty, and in no wife can abide to have an hard word fooken of them. But as we are not to neglect these that are so tender, nor ought to feed them in their seeblenesse of heart; so againe, we must not praise their disposition who are stiffe and instexible: such as the Poet describeth, when he faith:

Who feareleffe is, and basheth not all men fast to beholde; In whom appeares the dogged force of Anaxarchus bolde:

but we ought to compound a good mixture and temperate medley of both extremities, which may take away this excessive obstinacie which is impudence, and that immoderate modestie which is meere childithnesse and imbecilitie. True it is that the cure of these two maladies is difficult; neither can this excelle both in the one and the other be cut off without danger. For like as the skilfull husbandman when he would rid the ground of some wilde bushes and fruitleffe plants, he laieth at them mainely with his grubbing hooke or mattocke, untill he have fetched them up by the roote; or else sets fire unto them and so burneth them; but when he comes

to proine or cut a vine, an appletree, or an olive, he carrieth his hand lightly for feare of woun. ding any of the found wood, in fetching off the fuperfluous and ranke branches, and so kill the heart thereof; even so the Philosopher, entending to plucke out of the mind of a yoong man, either envie, an unkind and favage plant, which hardly or unneth at all may be made gentle and brought to any good use; or the unseasonable and excessive greedines of gathering good, or diffolute and difordinate lust; he never feareth at all in the cutting thereof, to draw blood, to presse and pierce hard to the bottom, yea and to make a large wound and deepe skarre. But when he fetteth to the keene edge of remonstrance and speech, to the tender and delicate part of the foule, for to cut away that which is excessive or overmuch, to wit, wherein is seated this unmeasurable and sheepish bashfulnesse, he hash a great care and regard, lest ere he be aware he to cut away therewith, that ingenuous and honest shamefaltnesse that is so good and commendable. For we fee that even nourfes themselves when they thinke to wipe away the filth of their little infants, and to make them cleane; if they rub any thing hard, otherwhiles fetch off the skin withall, make the flesh raw and put them to paine. And therefore we must take heed, that in seeking by all meanes to do out this excellive bathfulneffe utterly in yoong people, we make them not brasen faced, such as care not what is faid unto them, and blush thereat no more than a blackdog, and in one word standing stiffe in any thing that they do; but rather we ought to doe, as they, who demolish and pull downe the dwelling houses that be necre unto the temples of the gods; who for feare of touching any thing that is holy or facred, suffer those ends of the edifices and buildings to stand still, which are next and joined close thereto; yea and those they 20 underprop and stay up, that they should not fall downe of themselves; even so (Isay) beware and feare we must, whiles we be tempering about this immoderate shamefacednesse for toremoove it, that we do not draw away with it grace and modesty, gentlenes and debonarity which be adjacents and lie close unto it; under which qualities lieth lurking and sticketh close to, the forefaid naughtic bathfulneffe, flattering him that is poffeffed therewith, as if he were full of humanitie, courtefic, civilitie and common fenfe; not opinionative, fevere, inflexible and untractable : which is the reason, that the Stoicke Philosophers when they dispute of this matter, have diffinguished by severall names, this aptnes to blush or over-much bashfulnesse, from modestie and shamefacednesse indeed: for feare lest the equivocation and ambiguitie of one common word, might give fome occasion and vantage to the vicious passion it selte to do some 30 hurt. As for us, they must give us leave to use the tearmes without calumniation, or rather permit us to diffinguish according to Homer, when he faith,

Shame is a thing that doth mickle harme, and profiteth as much.

neither without good calle is it, that in the former place he putteth downe the harme and discommoditie thereof: for furely it is not profitable but by the meanes of reason, which cutteth off that which is superfluous, and leaveth a meane behinde.

To come then unto the remedies thereof; it behooveth him first and formost, who is given to blushing at every smal matter, to believe & be perswaded, that he is possessed with such an huttfull passion: (now there is nothing hurtfull, which is good and honest) neither ought he to take pleasure and delight when he shall be tickled in the care with praises and commendations, when 40 he shall heare himselfe called gentle, jolly and courteous, in steed of grave, magnanimous and just; neither let him do as Pegasu the horse in Euripides, who

When mount his back Bellerophontes should,

that is to fay, give place and yeeld after a bafe manner to the demannds and requests of everie man; or object himselfe to their wil and pleasure, for feare (for footh) lest one should say of him Lo what a hard man is this? See how inexorable he is. It is reported of Boechorus a king of Egypt, that being rough, sell & austere, the goddesself the sent the serpent called Assia, for to wind and wreath about his head, and so to cast a shadow over him from above, to the ende that hee might be put in minde to judge aright: but this excessive shamefastnesse which alwaies over so spreadeth and coverest them, who are not manly but faint-hearted and esseminate, not suffering them once to date, to deny, or gainfay any thing, surely, would avert and withdraw judges from oding justice close up their mouthes, that in counsels and consultations should deliver their opinion stankly yea and cause them both to say and do many things inconsiderately against their minde, which otherwhiles they would not. For looke whosover is most unreasonable and importunate, he will ever tyrannize and dominier over such an one, forcing by his impudencie the bashfulnesse of the other; by which meanes, it commett to passe that this excessive

fhame, like into a low piece of foft ground which is ready to receive all the water that comes, and apt to be overflowed and drowned, having no power to withfland and repulse any encounter; nor say a word to the contrarie what soever is proposed, yeeldeth accesse to the lewdest deficiences, acts and passions that be. An evill guardian and keeper of childhood and yoong age, is this excessive bath fulnesse, as brut me well faid, who was of this minde, that neither he nor she could well and honesstly passe the flower of their fresh youth, who had not the heart and sace to refuse and denie any thing; even so likewise, a bad governesse is of the bride-bed and womens chamber, according to that which shee saide in sephoeles to the adulterer, who repented of the said.

Thy flattering words have me feduced,

And foper [waded, I am abufed. Infuch fort as this bathfulnes, over and befides, that it is vicious and faultie it felfe, spoileth and marreth cleane the intemperate & incontinent person, by making no resistance to his appetites and demaunds, but letting all ly unfortified, unbard, and unlockt, yeelding eafie accesse and entranceto those that will make affault and give the attempt, who may by great gifts and large offers catch and compaffe the wickedest natures that be: but furely by perswaffons and inductions, and by the meanes withall of this exceffive bashfulnesse, they often times conquer and get the mastric even of such as are of honest and gentle disposition. Here I passe-by the detriments and damages that this bashfulnesse hath beene the cause of, in many matters and that of profit 20 and commoditie: namely, how many men having not the heart to fay nay, have put forth and lent their money even to those whose credite they distrust; have been furcties for such as otherwife they would have beene loth and unwilling to engage themselves for, who can approove and commend this golden sentence (written upon the temple of Apollo) Be surety thou mailt, but make account then to pay: howbeit, they have not the power to do themselves good by that warning, when they come to deale in the world. And how many have come unto their end and died by the meanes of this foolish qualitie, it were hard to reckon. For Creen in Euripides when he spake thus unto Medea,

For me Madame it were much better now by flat deniall your minde to discontent, Thin baving once thus yeelded unto you sigh after wards full sore, and ay repent.

gave a very good leffon for others to follow; but himselfe overcome at length through his foolith bashfulnesse, graunting one day longer of delay at her request, overthrew his owne state, and his whole house. Some there were also who doubting and suspecting that they were laide for, to be bloodily murdered, or made away by poison, yet upon a foolish modestie not refusing to go into the place of daunger, came to their death and were foone destroied. Thus died Dion; who notwithstanding hecknew well enough that Callippus laide wait for him to take away his life, yet(forfooth)abashed he was to distruit his friend and host, and so to stand upon his guard. Thus was Antiparer the sonne of Cassander massacred; who having first invited Demetrius to 40 supper, was bidden the morrow after to his house likewise; and for that he was abashed to misttult Demetrius, who the day before had trusted him, refused not to go, but after supper he was murdered for his labour. Moreover, when Polysperchon had undertaken and promised unto Cassander for the summe of one hundred talents to kill Hercules (a base sonne of king Alexander by lady Barfine) he fent and requested the faid Hercules to sup with with him in his lodging, theyoong gentleman had no liking at all to fuch a bidding, but miftrufting and fearing his curtesie, alleaged for his excuse that he was not well at ease: whereupon Poly sperchon came himfelfe in person unto him, and in this maner began to perswade: Above all things my good childe (quoth he) studie and endevour to imitate the humanitie and sociable nature of your noble father, unlesse haply you have me in jealousie and suspition as if I went about to com-⁵⁰ passe your death. The youth was abashed to heare him say so, and went with him 5 well, supper was no fooner ended, but they made an end of the yoong gentleman also, and strangled him outright: fo that it is no ridiculous and foolish advertisement (as some let not to say) but a wise and fage advise of Hesiodus when he faith;

Thy friend and lover to supper do invite,

Thy foe leave out, for he will thee require.

Benot in any wife bashfull and ashamed to refusehis offer whom thou knowest to hate thee:
but never leave out and reject him once who seemeth to put his trust and considence in thee:
for

for if thou do invite, thou shalt be invited againe; and if thou be bidden to a supper and go, thou canst not choose but bid againe; if thou abandon once thy distrust and diffidence, which is the guard of thy fafty, and so marre that good tincture and temperature by a foolish shame that thou halt, when thou darest not refuse.

Seeing then that this infirmitie and maladie of the minde, is the cause of many inconveniences, affay we must to chase it away with all the might we have by exercise, beginning at the first like as men do in other exercises, with things that are not very difficult, nor such as a man may boldly have the face to denie: as for example, if at a dinner one chance to drinke unto thee. when thou half drunke fufficiently already; be not abashed to resuse for to pledge him, neither force thy felfe, but take the cup at his hand and fet it downe againe on the boord; againe, there, is another perchance that amids his cups chalengeth thee to hazzard or to play at dice; be not ashamed to fay him may neither feare thou although thou receive a flout and fcoffe at his hands for deniall : but rather do as Xenophanes did, when one Lafue the fonne of Hermiones called him coward, because he would not play at dice with him: I confesse (quoth he) I am a very dastatdin those things that be lewd and naught, and I dare do nothing at all; moreover, say thou sall into the hands of a practing & talkative busic bodie, who catcheth hold on thee, hangeth upon thee and will not let thee go? be not theepith and bathfull; but interrupt and cut his tale thort, thake him off I fay, but go thou forward and make an end of thy bulinesse whereabout thou wentest for fuch refufals, fuch repulses, this and evalions in small matters, for which men cannot greatly complaine of us, exercifing us not to blufh and be ashamed when there is no cause, do inure 20 and frame us well before hand unto other occasions of greater importance. And heere in this place, it were not amisse to call unto remembrance a speech of Demosthenes: for when the Athenians being follicited and mooved to fend aid unto Harpalus, were fo forward in the action, that they had put themselves in armes against king Alexander, all on a sodaine they discovered upon their owne coasts Philoxenus, the lieutenant generall of the kings forces, and chiefe admirall of his Armada at fea: now when the people were fo aftonied upon this unexpected occurrent, that they had not a word to fay for very feare: What wil these men do (quoth Demosthenes) when they shall see the funne, who are so afraid that they dare not looke against a little lampe; even fo I fay to thee that art given much to blush and be abashed: What wilt thou be able to do in weightie affaires, namely, when thou shalt be encountred by a king; or if the bodie of some so people or state be earnest with thee to obtaine ought at thy hand that is unreasonable? when thou hast not the heart to refuse for to pledge a familiar friend if he chance to drinke unto thee & offer thee a cup of wine? or if thou canft not find meanes to escape and wind thy selfe out of the company of a babling bufie bodie, that hath faftened and taken hold of thee, but fuffer fucha vaine prating fellow as this to walke and leade thee at his pleasure up and downe, having not so much power as to fay thus unto him: I will fee you againe hereafter at some other time, now I have no leafure to talke with you.

Over and befides, the exercise and use of breaking your selves of this bashfulnesse in praising others for small and light matters, will not be unprofitable unto you; as for example: Say, that when you are at a feast of your friends, the harper or minstrell do either play or sing out of tune; 40 or haply an actour of a Comedie, dearely hired for a good piece of money, by his ill gracein acting, marrethe play and difgrace the authour himselfe Menander, and yet neverthelesse, the vulgar fort doe applaud, clap their hands, and highly commend and admire him for his deed: in mine advice it would be no great paine or difficulty for thee to give him the hearing with patience and filence, without praifing him after a fervile and flattering maner, otherwife than you thinke it meet and reason : for if in such things as these, you be not master of your selfe, how will you be able to hold, when some deare friend of yours shall reade unto you either some soolish rime or bad poesse that himselse bath composed? if he shal shew unto you some oration of his owne foolish and ridiculous penning? you will fall a praising of him, will you? you will keepe a clapping of your hands with other flattering jacks? I would not els. And if you doe fo, so how can you reprove him when he shall commit some grosse fault in greater matters? how shall you be able to admonish him, if he chance to forget himselfe in the administration of some magittracie or in his carriage in wedlocke, or in politike government? And verily, for mine owne part, I do not greatly allow and like of that answere of Pericles, who being requested by a friend to beare false withesie in his behalfe, and to binde the same with an oath, whereby he should be forfworne: I am your friend (quoth he) as far as the altar; as if he should have faid: Saving my conscience and ducty to the gods: for surely he was come too neere already unto him. But he,

who hath accustomed himselse long before, neither to praise against his owne minde, one who hath made an oration, nor to applaud unto him who hath fung, nor to laugh heartily at him who came out with some stale or poore jest which had no grace; hee will (I trow) never suffer his friend and familiar to proceed fo farre, as to demand fuch a request of him, or once be so bolde as to move him (who before had refused in smaller trifles to satisfie his defire) in this maner : Be perjuted for me; beare false witnesse for my sake; or pronounce an unjust sentence for the love

ofme. After the same maner we ought to be prepared and provided before-hand against those that beinstant to borrow mony of us, namely, if we have bene used to deny them in matters that neiather be of great moment nor hard to be refused. There was one upon a time, who being of this mind, that there was nothing so honest as to crave and receive, begged of Archelau the king of Macedonie (as he fate at supper) the cup of golde whereout he drunke himselfe; the king called unto his page that waited at his trencher, and commanded him to give the faid cup unto Euripides, who fat at the boord; and withall, casting his cie wistly upon the party who craved it : As for you fir (quoth he) worthy you are for your asking to go without; but Euripides deferveth to have, though he do not crave. A woorthy speech, importing thus much, that the judgement of reason ought to be the best master and guide to direct us in our gifts and free liberalitie, and not bathfulnesse and shame to denie. But wee contrariwise, neglecting and despissing many times those that be honest and modest persons, yea, our very familiar friends, who have need of our o helpe, and feeme to reque the fame, are ready to beltow our bounty upon fuch as inceffantly importune us with their impudent craving, not for any affection that we have to pleasure them, butbecause we can not finde in our heart to say themnay. Thus did king Antigonus the elder to Bias, after he had beene a long time an importunate begger : Give this Bias (quoth he) a talent for me thinks he will have it perforce : and yet this antigonus, of all princes and kings that everwere, had the best grace and most dexterity to put by, and thist off such unreasonable beggers: for when a beggerly Cynicall Philosopher craved once at his hands a drachme: It is not for aking (quoth he) to give a drachme: Why then (quoth the other againe) give me a talent: Neither is it meet (quoth the king) for a Cynick to receive a talent. Diogenes as he walked otherwiles along the Ceranicum (that is, a street in Athens, where stood crected the statues of worthy perfonages) would aske almes of those images; and when some marvelled at him therefore: I do it (quoth he) to learne how to take a repulse and deniall. Semblably, we ought first to betrained in small matters, and to exercise our selves in denying slight requests unto such as would feeme to demand and have at our hands that which is not fit and requifite, to the end that we may not be to feeke for an answere when we would denie them in matters of greater importance: for as Demostheres was woont to fay: He who hath spent and bestowed that which he had otherwise than he should, will never employ those things which he hath, not as he ought, if peradventure he should be furnished agains therewith. And looke how often we doe faile, and be wanting in honest things, and yet abound in superfluities, it is a signe that we are in a great fault, and many waies shame groweth to us by that meanes.

Moreover, foit is, that this excessive ball fulnesse is not onely a bad and undiscreet steward to layout and disperse our money, but also to dispose of our serious affaires and those of great consequence, wherein it will not admit the advice and counfell that reason giveth; for oftentimes it falleth out, that when we be ficke, we fend not for the best and most expert Physicians, in respect of some friend, whom we favour and reverence so, as we are loth to doe otherwise than he would advise us: likewise wee chuse for masters and teachers of our children, not those alwaies who are best and meetest, but such as make sute and meanes unto us for to be enterteined; yea, and many times, when we have a cause to be tried in the law, we choose not alwaies the most sufficient & expert Advocates or Barristers for our counsel to plead for us; but for to grarifie a fonne of some familiar friend or kinsman of our owne, we commit the cause to him for to pracso tile and learne to plead in court to our great cost and losse. To conclude we may see manie of those that make profession of Philosophy, to wit, Epicureans, Stoicks, and others, how they follow this or that feet, not upon their owne judgement and election; but for that they were importuned by fome of their kinsfolke or friends thereto, whom they were loth to denie. Come on then, let us long before be exercised against such groffe faults in vulgar, smal & common occasions of this life; as for example, let us breake our selves from using either a bather * magazi, Erasto trim us, or a * painter to draw our picture, for to fatisfie the appetite of our foolish shame-min seemeth facednelle; from lo ging also in some bad Inne or Hostelrie where there is a better neere at i, a Fuller. hand,

hand, because haply our hoast the goodman of the house hath oftentimes saluted us kindely; but rather make we a cuttome of it, (although there be but finall difference and ods between one and another) alwaies to chuse the better: and like as the Pythagoreans observed evermore priseifely not to croffe the right legge with the left, neither to take an odde number for an even, though otherwise all things else were equall and indifferent; even so are we to draw this into an ordinarie practife, that when we celebrate any folemne facrifice, or make a wedding dinner, or fome great feaft, we invite not him, who is woont with reverence to give us the gentle greeting and good morrow, or who feeing us a great way off ufeth to runne unto us, rather than him whom we know to be an honest man and a well-willer of ours 5 for whosoever is thus inured and exercifed long before, shall be hardly caught and surprised; may rather he shall never be once in affailed and fet upon in weightie matters. And thus much may fuffice as touching exercise and custome.

Of naughtie bashfulnesse.

Moreover to come unto other profitable instructions which we have gathered for this purpose; the principall in mine advise is this, which sheweth & teacheth us, that all the passions and maladies of the minde be ordinarily accompanied with those inconveniences which we would feeme to avoid by their meanes: as for example, ambition and defire of honor hath common ly attending upon it diffionor; paine usually followeth the love of pleasures; labour and travell ensueth upon case and delicacie; repulse, overthrowes, and condemnations are the ends that enfue daily upon those that are given to be litigious, contentious, and desirous to cast, soile. and conquer others; femblably it hapneth unto exceffive bathfulnesse, which feeming to flew and thun the fmoke of blame, catteth it felfe into the very fire and flame of infamie. For those who be abashed to gaine-say and denie them, who importune them unreasonably, and will take no nay in things unjust, are constrained afterwards to beare both shame and blame at their hands who justly call them to their answer and accuse them woorthily; and whiles they seare fome light checke or private rebuke, many times they are faine to incurre and fusteine open difgrace and reproch: for being abathed to denie a friend who craveth to borrow money, as being loth to fay they have none, within a while after (with shame enough) they blush, when they shall be convinced to have had none; and having promifed to affift and fland to some who have suit in law, by that meanes are forced to contend with others, and afterwards being ashamed thereof, are driven to hide their heads and flie out of the way. Also there be many whom this soo to lish modestie hath caused to enter into some disadvantageous promise as touching the mariage either of daughter or fifter, and being entangled therewith have beene conftreined afterwards upon change of minde to breake their word and faile in their promife; as for him who faid in old time, that all the inhabitants of Asia served as slaves unto one man; for that they knew not how to pronounce one onely negative fyllable &, that is, No; he spake not in earnest but by way of bourd, and was disposed to jest: but furely these bashfull persons may if they list without one word spoken, by knitting and bending their browes onely, or nodding downward to the ground, avoid and escape many offices and absurd inconveniences, which often-times they do unwillingly and onely upon importunitie. For as Euripides faid very well,

Wife men do know how things to take: And of silence an answere to make.

And haply we have more cause to take that course with such as be senselesse and unreasonable: for to those who be honest, sensible, and of more humanitie, we need not seare to make excuse and fatisfie them by word of mouth. And for this purpose it were not amisse to be furnished with many answers and notable apothegmes of great and famous persons in times past; and to have them ready at hand to allege against such importunate & impudent fellows. Such was that faying of Phoeion to Antiparer: You can not have me to be your friend and a flatterer to; like wife the answere which he made unto the Athenians, who were earnest with him to contribute and give somewhat toward the charges of solemnizing a great feast, and withall applauded and clapped their hands: It were a thame (quoth he) that I should give any thing over and above unto you, and not to pay that which I owe to him yonder, pointing therewith to Callieles the usurer : for as Thucydides said; It is no shame to confesse and acknowledge povertie; but more shamefull it is indeed not to avoid and eschew it. But he who by reason of a faint, feeble, and delicate heart dare not for foolish shame answere thus unto one that demaundeth to borrow

> My friend, I have in house or purse No filver white, for to disburse.

and then suffreth to passe out of his mouth a promise (as it were) an earnest pennie or pawne of

Istied by foot with fetters not of braffe N or yron wrought; but shame, and cannot passe.

But Perfeus when he lent foorth a fumine of money to one of his familiar friends and acquaintance, went into the open market place to paffe the contract at the very banke or table of exchangers and usurers; being mindfull of that rule and precept of the Poet Hesiodus, which teacheth us in thefe words,

How ever thou laugh with brother more or leffe, With him make no contract without witneffe. . .

now when his friend marveiled hereat and faid; How now Perfess, fo formally and according to law? Yea (quoth he) because I would receive my money againe of you friendly, & not require it by courfe and fuit of law. For many there be, who at the first upon a kinde of foolish modellie. are abathed to call for affurance & fecuritie, but afterward be forced to proceed by order of law. & somake their friends their enemies. Againe, Cato sending commendatory letters up to Denis the Tyrant, in the behalfe and favour of one Helicona Cyzzcena, as of a kind, modeft, and courteous person, subscribed in maner of a post-date under his letter thus: That which you read above, take it as written in the commendation of a man, that is to fay, of a living creature by nature mutable. Contrariwife Xenocrates, although he were otherwife in his behaviour auftere, yet being overcome and yeelding to a kind of foolish modestie of his owne, recommended in his letters unto Poly (perchon, a man of no worth or qualitie, as it prooved afterwards by the lequell: Now when as that Macedonian Lord bade the partie welcome, and friendly gave him his hand, and withall used some words of course and complement; demanding whether he had neede of ought, and bidding him call for what he would; he made no more adoo but craved a whole talent of filver at his hands; which Polysperchon caused presently indeed to be weighed out unto him; but he dispatched his letters withall unto Xenverates to this effect: That from thencefoorth he should be more circumspect, and consider better whom he recommended unto him: and verily, herein onely was the error of Xenocrates, for that he knew not the man for whom he wrote: but we oftentimes knowing well enough that they be leawd and naughtic persons, yet are verie forward with our commendatorie letters; yea and that which more is, our purse is open unto them; we are ready to put money into their hands to our owne hinderance and damage; not with any pleasure that we take, nor upon affection unto them, as they do, who bellow their filver upon courtefanes, pleafants, and flatterers to gratifie them; but as displeased and discontented with their impudencie, which overturneth our reason, upfide downe, and forceth us to do against our owne judgement, in such fort, that if ever there were cause besides, we may by good reason say unto these bold and shamelesse beggers, that thus take vantage of our bathtulneffe:

I fee that Imust for your fake, Leawd courfes ever undertake.

o namely, in bearing falfe witneffe; in pronouncing wrong judgement; in giving my voice at any election for an unworthic and unmeet person; or in putting my money into his hands, whom I know unfufficient, and who will never repay it. And therefore of all paffions, this leawd and exceffive modeftie is that, which is accompanied prefently with repentance, and hath it not following afterwards as the rest: for at the verie instant when we give away our money, we grieve; when we beare fuch witnesse, we blush; when we affist them and fet to our helping hand, we incurre infamie; and if wee furnish them not with that which they require, wee are convinced as though we were not able. And for a fmuch as our weaknesse is such, that we cannot denie them simply that which they would have; we undertake and promise many times unto those who do importune & ly upon us unceffantly, even thosethings that we are not able to copasse & make ogood; as namely, our commendatorie letters for to finde favour in princes courts ; to be mediators for them unto great rulets and governors, and to talke with them about their causes, as being neither willing nor so hardie as thus to say; The king knoweth not us; hee regardeth others more, and you were better go to fuch and fuch. After this manner, when Lyfander had offendedking Agefilaus and incurred his heavy displeasure, and yet was shought woorthie to be chiefe in credit above all those that were about him, in regard of the great opinion and reputation that men had of him for his noble acts, he never bathed to repell and put backe those faces that came unto him, making excuse and bidding them to go unto others, and assay them, who

were in greater credit with the king than himselfe. For it is no shame not to be able to effect all things, butfor a man to be driven upon a foolish modestie to enterprise such matters, as he is neither able to compasse nor meet to mannage; besides that it is sharnefull, I hold it also a right

great corrofive to the heart.

But now to goe unto another principle, we ought willingly and with a ready heart to doe pleasure unto those that request at our hands such things as be meet and reasonable; not as for. ced thereto by a rufticall feare of fhame, but as yeelding unto reason and equity. Contrariwile, if their demaunds be hurtfull, abfurd, and without all reason, we ought evermore to have the say. ing of Zeno in readinesse, who meeting with a young man one of his acquaintance, walking close under the towne wall secretly as if he would norbe seene; asked of him the cause of his being there, and understanding by him that it was because he would avoide one of his friends, who had beene earnest with him to beare falle witnes in his behalfe: What failt thou (quoth Zeno) for that thouart? Was thy friend so bold and shamelesseto require that of thee which is unreasonable, unjust and hurtfull unto thee? And darest thou not stand against him in that which is just and honest? For who foever he was that faid,

Acrooked wedge is fit to cleave a knotted knurry tree, It well befeemes against learn d folke with lewdneffe arm'd to be.

teacheth us an ill lesson, to learne to be naught our selves, when we would be revenged of naugh. tinesse. But such as repulse those who impudently and with a shamelesse face doe molestand trouble them, not fuffering themselves to be overcome with shamefacednesse, but rather shame to graunt unto shamelesse beggers those things that be shameful, are wife men and well advised, doing herein that which is right and just. Now as touching those importunate and shameless persons, who otherwise are but obscure, base and of no woorth, it is of no great matter to resist them when they be troublefome unto us. And fome there be who make no more ado but shift them off with laughter or a skoffe: like as Theorium ferved twaine who would feeme to bottom of him his rubber or currying combe in the verie baine; of which two, the one was a meete ftranger unto him, the other he knew well enough for anotorious theefe: I know not you (quoth he) to the one; and to the other, I know what you are well enough; and so he fent them both away with ameere frumpe. Lyfimache the priestreffe of Minerva in Athens, furnamed Polisi that is, the patronesse of the citie; when certaine Muletters who brought facrifices unto the temple, called unto her for to powre them out drinke freely: No (quoth the) my good friends,

I may not do fo, for feare you will make a custome of it.

Amigonus had under him in his retinue a yoong gentleman, whose father in times pathad bene a good warriour, and lead a band or company of fouldiours, but himselfe was a very comard, and of no service, and when he sued unto him (in regard of his birth) to be advanced unto the place of his father, late deceased: Yoong man (quoth he) my maner is to recompense and honour the prowesse and manhood of my souldiours, and not their good parentage. But if the party who affaileth our modelty, be a noble man, of might and authority (and fuch kinde of perfons of all other will most hardly endure a repulse, and be put off with a deniall or excuse, and namely, in the case of giving sentence or award in a matter of judgement, or in a voice at the lection of magistrates) peradventure it may be thought neither easie nor necessarie to doe that which Cato sometimes did, being then but of yoong yeeres, unto Catulus; now this Catulus was a man of exceeding great authoritie among the Romans, and for that time bare the Cenlute thip, who came unto Cato, (then Lord high treasurer of Rome that yeere) as a mediatour and intercessour for one, who had bene condemned before by Cato in a round fine, pressing and inportuning him so hard with earnest praier and entreaty, that in the end Cato seeing how urgent and unreasonable he was, and not able to endure him any longer, was forced to say thus unto him: You would thinke it a foule differace and fhame for you Catulus, Cenfour as you are, fine you will not receive an answere and be gone, if my serjeants and officers here should take youb the head and shoulders, and send you away: with that, Catulus being abashed and ashamed departed in great anger and discontentment. But confider rather and see, whether the answer of Agesilans and that which Themissoeles made, were not more modest, and savoured of greater humanity : for Age filaus, when his own father willed him to give fentence in a certain cause that was brought before him, against all right, and directly contrary to the lawes: Father (quothic) your selfe have taught me from my very child-hood to obey the lawes; I will be therfore obed

ent still to your good precepts, and passe no judgement against law. As for Themistocles, when as Sunonides feemed to request of him fornewhat which was unjust and unlawfull: Neither were you Simonides (quoth he) a good Poer, if you should not keepe time and number in your long, nor I a good Magistrate, if I should judge against the law. And yet (as Plate was woont to fav) it is not for want of due proportion betweene the necke and body of the lute, that one citie is atvariance with another citie, and friends fall out and be at difference, doing what mischiese they can one to another, and fuffering the like againe; but for this rather, that they offend and faile in that which concerneth law and justice. Howbeit, you shall have some, who themselves observing the precise rules most exactly according to art in Musicke, in Grammaticall orthoof graphie, and in the Poeticall quantitie of fyllables and measures of feet, can be in hand with others, and request them to neglect and forget that which they ought to do in the administration of government, in paffing of judgements, and in their other actions. And therefore with fuch as thefebe, I would have you take this course which I will now tell you: Is there an Advocate or Rhetorician that doth importune you fitting as judge upon the bench? or is there an Oratour thattroubleth you with an unreasonable sute as you sit in counsell? grant them both, that which they request, upon condition that the one in the entrie of his plea will commit a solectime or incongruity, and the other in the beginning of his narration come out with some barbarisme: butitis all to nothing, that they will never do fo, it would be thought fuch a shame; and in very trueth, we fee that fome of them are fo fine eared, that they can not abide in a speech or sentence o that two vowels should come together: againe, Is he one of the nobilitie, or a man of honour and authoritie, that troubleth you with fome unhonest fute? will him likewise for your sake to paffethorow the market place hopping and dancing, making mowes, and writhing his mouth; but if he denie so to doe, then have you good occasion and fit opportunity to come upon him with this revie, and demand of him; whether of the twaine be more dishonest? to make incongruity in speech, and to make mowes, and set the mouth awry; or to breake the lawes, commit perjurie, and beside all right, equitie and conscience, to award and adjudge more unto the leawd and wicked than to good and honest persons. Moreover, like as Nicostratus the Argive answeredunto Archidamus, who follicited him with a good fumme of money (promiting him befides in marriage what Lady he would himselfe chuse in all Lacedamon) to betray and render up by to treason the towne Cromnum: I see well (quoth he) ô Archidamus, that you are not descended from the race of Hercules, for that he travelled thorow the world, killing wicked persons whom he had vanquished, but your study is to make them wicked who are good and honest; even so we ought to fay unto him, who would bee thought a man of woorth and good marke, and yet commeth to presse and force us to committhose deeds which are not besitting, that he doth that which beforemeth not his nobility or opinion of vertue,

Now if they be meane and bale persons to account, who shall thus tempt you, go this way to worke with fuch: If he be a covetous mifer, and one that loveth his money too well, fee and trie whether you can induce and perfwade him by all importunity to credit you with a talent of filverupon your bare word, without schedule, obligation or specialtie for his security; or if he be 40 an ambitious and vaine-glorious person; trie if you can prevaile with him so much, as to give youthe upper hand or higher feat in publike place; or if he be one that defireth to beare rule and office; affay him, whether he will give over his possibilitie that he hath to such a magistracie, especially when he is in the ready way to obtaine it? Certes, we may well thinke it a very strange and abfurd thing, that fuch as they in their vices and paffions should stand and continue so stiffe, forefolute and fo hard to be removed; and we who professe and would be reputed honest men, lovers of vertue, justice and equity, can not be masters of our selves, but suffer vertue to be subverted, and cast it at our heeles. For if they who by their importunity urge our modestie, doe it cither for their owne reputation or their authoritie, it were abfurd and befide the purpose, for us to augment the honour, credit and authority of another, and to difhonour, difcredit and difgrace 50 our felves; like unto those, who be in an ill name, and incurre the obloquie of the world, who either in publike and folemne games defraude those of the prizes and rewardes who have achieved victory, or who at the election of magistrates, deprive those of their right of suffrages and voices to whom it doth belong, for to gratifie others that deferve it not, thereby to procure to the one fort, the honour of fitting in high places, and to the other the glory of wearing coronets, and so by doing pleasure unto others, falsifie their owne faith, defame themselves, and lose the opinion and reputation they had of honestie and good conscience. Now if we see that it is for his ownelucre and gaine, that any one urge us beyond all reason to do a thing; how is it

that we doe not prefently confider, that it is abfurd and without all fense to hazzard and put to comprimise (as it were) our owne reputation and vertue for another man, to the end that the put so from one (I know not who) should thereby be more weightie and heavie?

But certainly many therebe unto whom fuch confiderations as these are presented, and who are not ignorant that they tread aside and do amisse; much like to them, who being chalenged to drinke off great bolles full of wine, take paines to pledg them with much ado, even so long till their eies be ready to start out of their heads, changing their countenance, and panting for want of winde, and all to pleasure those that put them to it. But surely this feeblenes of minde and faint heart of theirs, refembleth the weake constitution and temperature of the bodie, which cannot away either with foorching heat or chilling cold. For be they praifed by those who set, upon them thus impudently, they are ready to leape out of their skins for joy; and fay they doubt for to be accused, checked, rebuked or suspected, if haply they deny, then they are ready to die for woe and feare. But we ought to be well defended & fortified against the one & the other, that we yeeld neither to them that terrifie us, nor to those that flatter us. Thueydides verily suppofing it impossible for one to be great or in high place & not envied, saith, That the mais well advised & led by good cousel who shooteth at the greatest & highest affaires, if he must be subject unto envie. For mine owne part, thinking as I do, that it is no hard matter to escape envie, but to avoid al complaints & to keepe our felves from being molefted by fome one or other than converse with us & keepe our company, a thing impossible: I suppose it good counsel for us,& the best thing we can do for our owne safetie, to incurre rather the ill will and displeasure of 10 leand, importunate, and unreasonable people, than of those who have just cause to blame and accuse us, if against all right and justice we satisfie their minds and be ready to do them service and pleafure: as for the praises and commendations which proceed from such leawd & shameleffe persons, being as they are in every respect counterfeit and sophisticall, we ought to beware and take heed of; neither must we suffer our selves as swine to be rubbed, scratched, or tickled, and all the whiles stand still and gently, letting them do with us what they will, untill they may with ease lay us all along, when we have once yeelded to be so handled at their pleasure : for furely they that give care to flatterers, differ in no respect from those who set out their legs of purpose to be supplanted and to have their heeles tripped up from under them; save onely in this, that those are woorse foiled and catch the more shamefull fall, I meane aswell such as remit punishment to naughtie persons, because for sooth they love to be called mercitull, milde and gentle; as those on the contrary side, who being perswaded by such as praise them, do submit the felves to enmittee and accufations needleffe, but yet perilous; as being borne in hand & made believe they were the onely men, & fuch alone as flood invincible against all flatterie, yea and those whom they sticke not to tearme their very mouthes & voices; and therefore Bion likened them most aptly to vessels that had two eares, for that they might be caried so easily by the eares which way a man would: like as it is reported of one Alexinua Sophister, who upon a time as he walked with others in the galleric Peripatos, spake all that naught was of Stilpo the Megarean: &when one of the company faid unto him, What meane you by this, confidering that of late & no longer fince than the other day, he gave out of you al the good that may be: I wot wel (quoth he) for hee is a right honest gentleman, and the most courteous person in the worlde. Contrariwife Menedemus when he heard that Alexinus had praifed him many a time; But I (quoth he) do never speake well of Alexinus; & therfore a bad man he must needs be, that either praifeth a naughty person, or is dispraised of an honest man: So hard it was to turn or catch him by any fuch meanes, as making use, and practifing that precept which Hercules Atisthenem taught his children, when hee admonished and warned them that they should never con those thanke who praised them: and this was nothing else, but not to suffer a mans selfe to be overcome by foolish modestie, nor to flatter them againe who praised him. For this may suffice in mine opinion which Pindarus answered upon a time to one who said unto him: That in everie place and to all men he never ceased to commend him: Grand mercie (quoth he) and I will do so this favor unto you againe that you may be a true man of your word, & be thought to have spoken nothing but the truth.

To conclude, that which is good and expedient against all other affections and passions, they ought surely to remember who are easily overcome by this hurtfull modestie, whensoever they giving place soone to the violence of this passion, doe commit a fault and tread anny against their minde: namely to call to remembrance the markes and prints of remorfe and repentance sticking fast in their minde, and to repent estioness and keepe the same a long time.

For like as waifaring men, after they have once stumbled upon a stone; or pilots at sea when they have once split their ship upon a rocke and suffred shipwracke, if they call those accidents to remembrance, for ever after doe seare and take heed not onely of the same, but of such like; even so they that set before their cies continually the dishonours and damages which they have received by this hursfull and excessive modestie, and represent the same to their minde once wounded and bitten with remorse and repentance, will in the like afterwards reclaime themselves, and not so easily another time be perverted and seduced out of the right way.



OF BROTHERLY LOVE OR AMITIE.

The Summarie.



Man should have prosited but badly in the schoole of versue, if endevouring to carry in the simplest bounests toward his friends and samiliars, yea and his verie enemies, he continue still in evil demeanor with his owne breibren, unto whom he is opined naturally, by the streightest line and linke that can be devised. But for that ever since the heginning of the world, thu proverbiall sentence from time to time hush becone currant

and found true; that the Unitie of Brethren is a rarething: Plucarch after he had complained in the verseentrance of this little booke, that (uch a maladie as this, raigned mightily in his time, goeth about afterwards to apply a remedie thereto. And to this effect he shewesh, that since brotherly amitie is 30 taught and preferibed by nature, those who love not their brethren, be block!sh, unnaturall, enemies to their owne selves; yea, and the greatest Atheists that may be found. And albeit the obligation wherein we are bound to our parents, amounteth to so high a summe as we are never able fully so discharge; he prooves h not with standing, that brotherly love may stand for one verie good paiment toward that debt : whereupon he concludeth, that hatred betweene brethren ought to be banified; for that if it once creepe in and get betweene, it will be a verie hard matter to rejoine and reconcile them againe. Afterwards hetescheth a readie and compendious way, how a man ought to manage and use a brother ill disposed. In what manner brethren should carrie themselves one to another, both during the life of their father and also after his decease; discoursing at large upon the dutie of those who are the elder or higher advanced in other respects; as also what they should doe, who are the younger; 40 namely, that as they are not equall to their other brethren in yeeres, so they be their inferiours in place of honor and in wealth; likewife what meanes as well the one as the other are to follow, for to avoidenvie and jealousse. Which done, he teacheth brethren who in age come verie necre, their natuvalldurie and kindnesse that they ought to shew one unto another; to which purpose he produceth proper examples of brotherly amuse among the Pagans: In the ende, since he can not possibly

effect thus much, that brethren should evermore accordivell together, he setteth downe what course they are to take in their differences and disagreements; and how their friends oughs to be common between them; and for a final conclusion, he treatesh of that hongest are and respective regardone of another that they oughs to have, and especially of their kinseff folke, which he emishes the wish two other notable examples.

OF BROTHERLY LOVE

or amitie.



Hose ancient statues representing the two brethren Castor and Pollux, the inhabitants of the citic Sparta, were woont in their language to call disease. And two paralell pieces of timber they are of an equall distance asunder, united and joined together by two other 10 pieces overthwart: now it should seeme, that this was a device sitting verie well and agreeable to the brotherly amitie of the faid two gods, for to thew that undivisible union which was betweene them; and even fo, I also do offer and dedicate unto you, ô Nigrinus and Quintus, this little treatife as touching the amitie of brethren, a gift common unto you both as those who are woorthie of the same;

for seeing, that of your owne accord you practise that alreadie, which it reacheth and exhorteth unto, you shall be thought not so much to be admonished thereby, as by your exampleso confirme and testifie the same which therein is delivered; and the joy which you shall conceive to fee that approoved and commended which your felves do, shall give unto your judgementa; farther afflirance to continue therein; as if your actions were allowed and praifed by vertuous

and honest beholders of the fame.

Aristarchus verily, the father of Theodettes, scoffing at the great number of those Sophisters or counterfeit sages in his daies, said: That in old time hardly could be found seven wife men throughout the world; but in our daies (quoth he) much adoo there is to finde so many fooles or ignorant persons. But I may verie well and truely saie: That I see in this age wherein we live, the amitie of brethren to be assare, as their hatted was in times past. The examples whereof being so few as they were among our auncients, were thought by men in those daiss living, notable arguments to furnish Tragedies and Theaters with, as matters verie strange and in a manner fabulous. But contrariwife, all they that live in this age if haply they meete with to two brethren, that be good and kind one to another, woonder and marvell thereat as much asif they faw those Molionides (of whom Homer speaketh) whose bodies seemed to grow together in one: and as incredible and miraculous doe they thinke it, that brethren should use in commonthe patrimonie, goods, friends and flaves which their fathers left behind unto them, asif one and the same soule alone ruled the feet, hands and cies of two bodies. And yet nature has felfe hath fet downe a lively example of that mutuall behaviour and carriage that ought to be among brethren, and the fame not farre off, but even within our owne bodies, wherein shehab framed and devised for the most part those members double, and as a man would say, brethren like and twinnes, which be necessarie, to wit, two hands, two feet, two cies, two eares, and two nose thrils; showing thereby, that she hath thus distinguished them all, not onely for their naturall health and lafetie, but also for a mutuall and reciprocall helpe, and not for to quarrell and fight one with another. As for the hands when the parted them into many fingers, and those of unequal length and bignesse, the hath made them of all other organicall parts, the mol proper artificious and workemanlike instruments; insomuch as that ancient Philosopher A maxagaras afcribed the verie cause of mans wisedome and understanding unto the hands Howbeit, the contrarie unto this should seeme rather to be true; for man was not the wisestof all other living creatures in regard of his hands, but because by nature being eudued with reafon, given to be wittle and capable of arts and sciences, he was likewise naturally furnished with fuch instruments as these. Moreover, this is well knowen unto everie man, that nature hath so med of one and the same seed, as of one principle of life, two, three, and more brethren; not to the end that they should be at debate and variance, but that being apart and asunder, they might the better and more commodioufly helpe one another. For those men with three bodies and hundred armes apiece, which the Poëts describe unto us (if ever there were any such) being join ned and growen together in all their parts, were not able to doe any thing at all when they were parted afunder, or as it were, without themselves: which brethren can doe well enough, namely dwell and keepe within house and go abroad together, meddle in affaires of State, exercise hul bandrie and tillage one with another, in case they preserve and keepe well that principle of amily

and benevolence which nature hath given them. For otherwife they should (I suppose) nothing differ from those feet which are readie to trip or supplant one another, and cause them to catch afall: or they should refemble those hands and fingers which enfolded and classe one another untowardly against the course of nature. But rather according as in one and the same bodie, the cold, the hot, the drie, and the moist, participating likewise in one and the same nature and nourishment, if they doe accord and agree well together, engender an excellent temperature and most pleasant harmonic, to wit, the health of the bodie, without which, neither all the wealth of the world, as men fay,

Nor power of rotall majestie, Which equall is to deitie.

have any pleasure, grace or profit but in case these principall elements of our life, covet to have more than their just proportion, and thereupon breake out into a kind of civill fedition, feeking one to furcrease and over-grow another, soone there ensueth a filthie corruption and confusion which overthroweth the state of the bodie and the creature it selfe; semblably, by the concord of brethren, the whole race and house is in good case and flouritheth, the friends and familiars belonging to them (like a melodious quire of muscicians) make a sweet consent and harmonie: for neither they doe, nor fay nor thinke any thing that jarreth or is contrarie one to the

Wher as in discord such and taking part,

The worse est soones do speed, whiles better smart.

to wit, some ill-tongued variet and pickthanke carrie-tale within the house, or some flattering claw-backe comming betweene, and entring into the house, or else some envious and malicious neighbour in the citie. For like as diseases do ingender in those bodies which neither receive nor fland well affected to their proper & familiar nourishment, many appetites of strange and hurtfull meates; even fo, a flanderous calumniation of jealoufie being gotten once among those of a blood & kindred, doth draw and bring withal evill words and naughtie speechs, which from without are alwaies readic enough to runne thither where as a breach lieth open, and where there is fome fault alreadie. That divine master and soothsaier of Arcadie, of whom Herodotus writeth, when he had loft one of his owne naturall feet, was forced upon necessitie to 30 make himselfe another of wood: but a brother being sallen out and at warre with a brother, and constrained to get some stranger to be his companion, either out of the market place and common hall of the citie as he walketh there, or from the publike place of exercise, where he useth to behold the wrestlers and others; in my conceit doth nothing else but willingly cut-off a part or limme of his owne bodie made of fleih, and engraffed fast unto him, for to fer another in the place which is of another kinde and altogether a stranger. For even necessarie it selfe which dothentertaine, approove and seeke for friendship and mutuall acquaintance, teacheth us to honor, cheariff and preferve that which is of the fame nature and kind; for that without friends focietie and fellowship we are notable to live solitarie and alone as most savage beasts, neither will our nature endure it: and therefore in Menander he faith very well and wifely:

By jolly cheere and bankets day by day, Thinke we to finde (ôfather) trustie friends, To whom our felves and life commit we may? No special thing for cost to make amends; I found he hath, who by that meanes hath met With (hade of friends; for fuch I count no bet.

For to fay a truth, most of our friendships be but shadowes, semblances and images of that first amitie, which nature hath imprinted and engraffed in children toward their parents, in brethren toward their brethren: and he who doth not reverence nor honor it, how can he perfwade and make strangers beleeve that he beareth found and faithfull good will unto strangers. Or what 50 man is he who in his familiar greetings and falutations, or in his letters, will call his friend and companion Brother, and can not find in his heart fo much as to go with his brother in the fame way? For as it were a point of great folly and madnesse, to adorne the statue of a brother, and in the meane time to beat and maime his bodie; even so, to reverence and honor the name of a brother in others, and withall to shun, hate and disdaine a brother indeed, were the case of one that were out of his wits, and who never conceived in his heart and minde, that Nature is the most facred and holy thing in the world. And heere in this place, I can not choose but call to minde, how at Rome upon a time I tooke upon me to bee umpier betweene two brethren, of

whom the one feemed to make profession of Philosophie; but he was (as after it appeared) not onely untruely entituled by the name of a Brother; but also as falsely called a Philosopher: for when I requested of him that he should carrie himselfe as a Philosopher toward his brother, and fuch abrother as altogether was unlettered and ignorant: In that you say (ignorant quoth he) I hold well with you, and I avow it a tructh; but as for Brother, I take it for no fuch great and ve. nerable matter, to have forung from the fame loines, or to have come foorth of one wombe. Well (faid I againe) It appeares that you make no great account to iffue out of the fame natu. ral members; but all men else besides you, if they doe not thinke and imagine so in their hearts; yet I am fure they doe both fing and fay that Nature first, and then Law (which doth preserve and maintaine Nature) have given the chiefe place of reverence and honor next after the gods, 10 unto father and mother; neither can men performe any service more acceptable unto the gods. than to pay willingly, readily and affectionately unto parents who begat and brought them foorth, unto nourses and fosters that reared them up, the interest and usurie for the old thankes, befides the new which are due unto them. And on the other fide again, there is not a more certaine figne & marke of a verie Atheift; than either to neglect parents, or to be any waies ungracious or defective in duty unto them: and therfore wheras we are forbidden in expresse termes by the law, to doe wrong or hurt unto other men: if one doe not behave himfelfe to father and mother both in word and deed, so as they may have (I do not say no discontenument and displeafurebut) joy and comfort thereby, men esteeme him to be profane, godlesse and irreligious. Tell me now, what action, what grace, what disposition of children towards their parents, can be to more agreeable and yeeld them greater contentment, than to fee good will, kinde affection, fast and affored love betweene brethren? the which a man may easily gather by the contrarie in other smaller matters. For seeing that fathers and mothers be displeased otherwhiles with their fonnes, if they misuse or hardly intreat some home-borne slave whom they set much store by : if I fay, they be vexed and angrie, when they fee them to make no reckoning & care of their woods and grounds wherein they tooke some joy and delight; considering also that the good kind-harted old folke of a gentle and loving affection that they have, be offended if fome hound or dog bred up within house, or an horse be not well tended and looked unto; last of all, if they grieve when they perceive their children to mocke, find fault with, or despise the lectures, narrations, sports, sights, wrestlers, and others that exercise feats of activitie, which themselves some 3 time highly effected: Is there any likelihood that they in any measure can indure to see their children hate one another? to entertaine braules and quarrels continually? to be ever fnatling, railing and reviling one another? and in all enterprifes and actions alwaies croffing, thwarting and supplanting one another? I suppose there is no man will so fay. Then on the contrarie side, if bretheen love together and be ready one to do for another; if they draw in one line and carrie the like affection with them; follow the fame studies and take the same courses; and how much nature hath divided and separated them in bodie, so much to joine for it agains in minde; lending one another their helping hands in all their negotiations and affaires; following the same exercifes; repairing to the fame diffutations; and frequenting the fame plaies, games and paflimes, fo as they agree and communicate in all things: certainely this great love and amitie 40 among brethren, must needs yeeld sweet joy and happie comfort to their father and mother in their old age: and therefore parents take nothing fo much pleasure, when their children proove eloquent orators, wealthy men, or advanced to promotions and high places of dignities; as loving and kind one to another; like as a man shall never see a father so desirous of eloquence, of riches, or of honor, as he is loving to his owne children. It is reported of Queene Apollonisthe Cyzicen, mother to King Eumenes, and to three other Princes, to wit, Atalus, Philetarus and Athenaus, that shee reputed and reported her selfe to bee right happy, and rendered thankes unto the immortall gods, not for her riches, nor roiall port and majeftie; but that it was her good fortune to fee those three younger sonnes of hers, serving as Pensioners and Esquiers of the bodic to Eumenes their elder brother, and himselfe living scarlesse and in as securitie in 50 the mids of them, flanding about his person with their pollaxes, halbards, and partisanes in their hands, and girded with fwords by their fides. On the other fide, King Xerxes perceiving, that his fonne Ochus fet an ambush and laid traines to murder his brethren, died for veriesorrow and anguith of heart. Terrible and grievous are the warres, faid Europides, betweene brethren; but unto their parents above all others most grievous; for that whosoever hateth his owne brother, and may not youchfafe him a good eie and kinde looke, can not choofe but in his heart blame the father that begat him, and the mother that bare him. We read that Piffratus

martied his fecond wife, when his formes whom he had by the former were now men growen, faying: That fince he faw them proove fo good and towardly, he gladly would be the father of many more that might grow up like them; even fo, good and loyall children will not onely affect and hove one another for their parents fakes, but also love their parents fo much the more, in regard of their mutuall kindneffe, as making this account, thinking also and faying thus to themselves. That they are obliged and bounden unto them in many respects, but principally for their brethren, as being the most precious heritage, the sweetest and most pleasant possession hatthey inheritby them. And therefore Homer did verie well, when he brought in Telemachus among other calamities of his, reckoning this for one, that he had no brother at all; and saying to thus:

For Jupiter my fathers race in me alone, Now ended hath, and given me brother none.

As for Hessaus he did not well to with & give advice to have an only begotten sonne, to be the full heire and universall inheritour of a patrimonie; even that Hessaus who was the disciple of those Muses, whom men have named wives, as it were with the full who was the disciple of those Muses, whom men have named wives, as it were with the surface of the their mutual affection and fister-like love they keepe alwaies together. Certes, the amitie of brethern is so respective to parents, that it is both a certaine demonstration that they love father and mother, & also such an example & lesson a certaine demonstration that they love father and mother, we also such an example & lesson at less there is none other like unto it, but contrativitie, they take an ill president to hate their owne brethren from the first orion ginall of their father; for he that liveth continually & waxeth old in suits of law, in quarrels and dissensions with his owne brethren, and afterward shall seeme to preach unto his children for to live friendly & lovingly together, doth as much as he, who according to the common proverbe.

The fores of others will feeme to heale and cure and u himfelfe of ulcers full impure.

and fo by his owne deeds doth weaken the efficacie of his words. If then Eteocles the Thebane, when he had once faid unto his brother Polynices, in Euripides,

To starres about sunne rising would Imount, And under earth descend as sarre againe, By these attempts, if I might make account This sovereigne roid tie of gods to gaine.

should come afterwards againe unto his sonnes, and admonish them

For so mainseine and honour equall state, Which knits friends ay in perfect unitie, And keeps those link't who are confederate, Preserving cities in league and amitie: For nothing more procures securitie, In all the world than doth equalitie.

who would not mocke him and despite his admonition? And what kinde of man would Atreme have bene reputed, if after he had set such a supper as he did before his brother, he should in this 40 mauer have spoken sentences and given instruction to his owne children?

When great milhap and crosse calamitie
Upon a man is fallen suddenly,
The onely meed is sound by amitie
Of those whom blood hath joined perfectly.

Banish therefore we must, and rid away cleane, all hatted from among brethren, as a thing which is a bad nurce to parents in their olde age, and a woorse fostresse to children in their youth; besides, it giveth occasion of slander, calumniation and obloquie among their sellow-citizens and neighbours; for thus do men conceive and deeme of it: That brethren having bene nourished and brought up together so familiarly from their very cradle, it can not be that they should fall 50 out and grow to such termes of ennity and hostility, unlesse they were privie one to another of some wicked plots and most missine works practises. For great causes they must bee, that are able to undoe great friendship and amitie, by meanes whereof hardly or unneth afterwards they can bee reconciled and surely knit againe. For like as stundry pieces which have beene once artificially joined together by the meanes of glue or soder; if the joint bee loose or open, may bee rejoined or sodered againe; but if an entire body that naturally is united and growen in one, chaunce to bee broken or cut and slit assunder, it will be an hard piece of worke to finde any glew or soder so strong as to reunite the same and make it whole and

found, even so those mutuall amities which either for profit or upon some neede were still knit betweene men, happen to cleave and part in twaine, it is an easie matter to reduce them close together; but brethren if they become alienated and estranged, so as that the natural bond of love can not hold them together, hardly will they peece againe or agree everafter: and fay they be made friends and brought to attonement, certeinly fuch reconciliation maketh in the former rent or breach an ill-favoured and filthy skar, as being alwaies full of jealousie, distrust, and suspicion. True it is that all jars and enmitties betweene man and man, entring into the heart, to gether with those passions which be most troublesome and dangerous of all others. to wit, a pecylifh humor of contention, choler, envie, and remembrance of injuries done and past, do breed griese, paine, and vexation; but surely that which is fallen betweene brother and to brother, who of necessitie are to communicate together in all facrifices and religious ceremo. nies belonging to their fathers house, who are to be interred another day in one and the same fepylchre, and live in the meane time otherwhiles under one roofe, and dwel in the same house, and enjoy possessions, lands, and tenements confining one upon another, doth continually prefent unto the eie that which tormenteth the heart, it putteth them in minde daily and howerly of their follie and madnesse; for by meanes thereof that face and countenance which should bee most sweete, best knowne, and of all other likest, is become most strange hideous, and un. pleafant to the cie; that voice which was woont to be even from the cradle friendly and familiat, is now become most fearefull & terrible to the eare; and whereas they fee many other brethren cohabit together in one house, fit at one table to take their repast, occupie the same lands, and it use the fame servants, without dividing them; what a griefe is it, that they thus fallen out, should part their friends, their hoafts and guests, and in one word, make all things that be commonamong other brethren, private, and whatfoever should be familiar & acceptable, to become contrarie & odious? Over and befides, here is another inconvenience and mischiese, which thereis no man so simple, but he must needs conceive and understand: That ordinary friends and table companions may be gotten and stollen (as it were) from others; alliance and acquaintance there may be had new, if the former be loft, even as armour, weapons and tooles may be repaired, if they be worne, or new made, if the first be gon; but to recover a brother that is lost, it is not posfible, no more than to make a new hand, if one be cut away, or to fet in another eie in the place of that which is plucked out of the head: and therefore well faid that Persian ladie, when sheen chofe rather to fave the life of her brethren than of her children: For children (quoth thee) I may have more, but fince my father and mother be both dead, brother thall I never have.

But what is to be done, will fome man fay, in case one be matched with a bad brother? First, this we ought evermore to remember, that in all forts of amities there is to be found some badneffe; and most true is that saying of Sophocles;

Who lift to fear cht broughout mankinde, More badthan good is fure to finde.

No kinred there is, no focietie, no fellowship, no amitie and love, that can be found fincere, found, pure and cleare from all faults. The Lacedæmonian who had married a wife of little stature: We must (quoth he) of evils chuse ever the least; even so in mine advice, a man may ve & ry well and wifely give counfell unto brethren, to beare rather with the most domesticall imperfections and the infirmities of their owne blood, than to trie those of strangers; for as the one is blameleffe, because it is necessarie, so the other is blame-worthy, for that it is voluntarie: for neither table friend and fellow gamefter, nor play-fere of the fame age, ne yet hoaft or gueft

Is bound wish links (of braffe by hand not wrought) Which shame by kinde bath forg'd, and cost su nought,

but rather that friend, who is of the same blood, who had his nourishment and bringing up with us, begotten of one father, and who lay in the fame mothers wombe; unto whom it feemeth that * Vertue herselfe doth allow connivencie and pardon of some faults, so as a man may say unto a brother when he doth a fault,

Witleffe, farke naught, yea wretched though thou be,

Yet can Inos for fake and cast off thee. lest that (ere I be well aware) I might seeme in my hatred towards thee, for to punish sharpely, cruelly, and unnaturally in thy person, some infirmitie or vice of mine owner father or mother instilled into theeby their feed. As for strangers and such as are not of our bloud, we ought not to love first, and afterwards make triall and judgement of them; but first we must trie and then trust and love them afterwards; whereas contrariwise, nature hath not given unto proofeand experience

experience the precedence and prerogative to go before love, neither doth the expect according to that comon proverbe; That a man should eate a * bushell or two of falt with one whom * Medinona heminded to love and make his friend; but even from our nativitie hath bred in us and with us conteining the very principle and cause of amitie, in which regard we ought not to be bitter unto such, nor 6.mod/y, which to fearch too neerely into their faults and infirmities.

But what will you say now if contrariwise some there be, who if meere aliens and strangers otherwise, yet if they take a foolish love and liking unto them, either at the taverne or at some game and pastime, or fall acquainted with them at the wrestling or fensing schoole, can be content to winke at their faults, be ready to excuse and justifie them, yea and take delight and pleafure therein; but if their brethren do amisse, they be exceeding rigorous unto them and inexorable; nay, you shall have many such, who can abide to love churlish dogs, & skittish horses, yea and finde in their hearts to feed and make much of fell ounces, shrewd cats, curst unhappie apes, and terrible lions; but they cannot endure the hastie and cholericke humor, the error and ignorance, or fome little ambitious humor of a brother. Others againe there be, who unto their concubines and harlots will not sticke to affigne over and passe away goodly houses and faire landslying thereto; but with their brethren they will wrangle and go to law, nay they will be ready to enter the lifts and combat for a plot of ground whereupon a house standeth, about fome corner of a meffuage or end of a little tenement, and afterwards attributing unto this their hatred of brethren, the colourable name of hating finne and wickednesse, they go up & downe 20 curling, detelting and reproching them for their vices, whiles in others they are never offended nor discontented therewith, but are willing enough daily to frequent and haunt their company. Thus much in generall tearmes by way of preamble or proxime of this whole treatife.

It remaineth now that I should enter into the doctrine and instructions thereto belonging: wherein I will not begin as other have done at the partition of their heritage or patrimonie; but at the naughtie emulation, hart-burning and jealousse which ariseth betweene them during the life of their parents. Agefilans king of Lacedamon was wont alwaies to fend as a present unto each one of the auncients of the citie, ever as they were created Senatours, a good oxe, in testimony that he honored their vertue: at length the lords called Ephori, who were the censurers & overfeers of each mans behavior, codemned him for this in a fine to be paid unto the State, sub-20 feribing and adding a season withall; for that by these gifts and largesses he went about to steale away their hearts and favors to himselse alone, which ought indifferently to regard the whole body of the city; even so a man may do well to give this counsell unto a sonne, in such wife to respect & honour his father and mother, that hee seeke not thereby to gaine their whole love, nor seeme to turne away their favour and affection from other children wholy unto himselfe; by which practife many doe prevent, undermine and supplant their brethren, and thus under a colourable and honest pretense in shew, but in deed unjust and unequall, cloke and cover their avarice and covetous defire; for after a cautelous and fubtill maner they infinuate themselves and get betweene them and home, and so defraud and cousen them ungentlemanly of their parents love, which is the greatest and fairest portion of their inheritance, who espying their time, 40 and taking the opportunitie and vantage when their brethren be otherwise employed, and least doubt of their practifes, then they bestir them most, and shew themselves in best order, obsequious, double-diligent, fober and modest, and namely in such things as their other brethren doeither faile or seeme to be slacke and forgetfull. But brethren ought to do cleane contrarie, for if they perceive their father to be angrie and displeased with one of them, they should interposethemselves and undergo some part of the heavie load, they ought to ease their brother, and by bearing a part, helpe to make the burden lighter: then (I fay) must they by their service and ministerie gratifie their brother so much, as to bring him in some fort in grace and favour againe with their father, and when he hath failed fo far foorth in neglecting the opportunity of time, or omitting some other businesse which hardly will afoord excuse, they are to lay the fault 50 and blame upon his very nature and disposition, as being more meete and sitted for other matters. And heereto accordeth well that speech of Agamemnon in Homer,

He faulted not through idleneffe, nor yet for want of wit, But lookt on me, and did expect my motive unto it.

even so one good brother may excuse another and say; He thought I should have done it, and left this duetie for me to doe: neither are fathers themselves strait laced, but willingly enough

to admit fuch translations and gentle inversions of names as these; they can be content to beleeve their children, when they terme the fupine negligence of their brethren plaine simplicitie, their stupiditie and blockishnesse, upright dealing and a good conscience; their quarrellous and litigious nature, a minde loth to be troden under-foot and utterly despised. In this maner he that will proceed with an intent only to appeale his fathers wrath, shal gaine thus much moreover; That not only his fathers choler will therby be much diminished toward his brother, but his love also much more encreased unto himselfe: howbeit, afterwards when he hath thus made all well, and fatisfied his father to his good contentment, then must be turne and addresse himselfe to his brother apart, touch him to the quicke, spare him never a whit, but with all libertic of Janguage tell him roundly of his fault, and rebuke him for his trespasse; for furely it is not good to afe indulgencie and connivencie to a brother, no more than to infult over him too much. and tread him under foote if hee have done amisse, (for as this bewraieth a joy that one taketh at his fall; fo that implieth a guiltineffe with him in the fame transgression: but in this rebuke and reproofe, such measure would be kept, that it may testifie a care to do him good, and yeta difeleafure for his fault; for commonly he that hath beene a most earnest advocate and affects. onate interceffor for him to his father and mother, will be his sharpest accuser afterwards when he hath beene alone by himselfe. But put the case, that abrother having not at all offended, be blamed notwithstanding and accused to father and mother, howsoever in other things, it is the part of humanitie and dutifull kindnesse to susteine and beare all anger and froward displeasure of parents; yet in this case, the allegations and desenses of one brother in the justification of an other, when he is innocent, unjuftly traduced, and hardly used or wronged by his parents, are not to be blamed, but allowable and grounded upon honeftie: neither need abrother feare to heate thatreproch in Sophacles:

Thou graceleffe imp fo farre growen out of kinde,
As with thy sire, a counter plea to finde.

when frankly & freely he speaketh in the behalfe of his brother, seeming to be unjustly condemned and oppressed. For furely by this manner of processed and pleading, they that are convicted take more joy in being overthrowen, than if they had gained the victorie and better hand,

Now after that a father is deceased, it is well beforming and fit, that brethren should more affectionally love than before, and sticke more close together: for then presently their naturall golove into their sather which is common to them all, ought to appeare indifferently in mouning together and lamenting for his death; then are they to reject and cast behinde them all inspirions surmized or buzzed into their heads by variets & fervants, all flanderous calumniations and false reports; brought unto them by pick-thankes and carrie-tales on both sides, who would gladly sow some diffension between them; then are they to give eare unto that which sables doe report of the reciprocall love of Castor and Pollux; and namely, how it is said, That Pollux killed one with his sist for rounding him in the care, and whispering a tale against his brother Castor. Afterwards, when they shall come to the parting of their patrimonic and fathers goods among them, they ought not (as it were) to give defiance and denomine warre one against another, as many there be who come prepared for that purpose readieto encounter, as single this note,

O Alal Alala, now hearken and come fight, Who are of warre so fell the daughter right.

But that verie day of all others they ought to regard and observe most, as being the time which to them is the beginning either of mortall warre and enmitte irreconcileable, or else of perfect friendship and amitte perdurable: at which instant they ought among themselves alone, we divide their portions if it be possible; if not, then to do it in the presence of one indifferent and common friend between ethem, who may be a witnest otheir whole order and proceeding; and fo when after a loving and kinde maner, and as becomment honest and well disposed persons, they have by casting lots gotten ech one that which is his right; by which course (as Platesias) they ought to thinke that there is given and received that which is meet and agreeable for every one, and to to hold themselves therwith contented; this done, I say they are to make account that the ordering, mannaging, and administration onely of the goods and heritage is parted and divided; but the enjoying, tile and possession of all remaineth yet; whole in common between them. But those that in this partition and distribution of goods, plucke one from another the nourses that gave thems likes, or such youths as were softered and brought up together with them of inflanks; and with whom alwaies they had lived and loved familiarly; well may they pre-

vaile fo farre forth with eager purfuing their wilfulnesse, as to go away with the gaine of a slave, perhaps of greater price: but in slead thereof, they lose the greatest and most pretions things in all their patrimonie and inheritance, and utterly betray the love of a brother, and the considence that otherwise they might have had in him. Some also we have knowen, who upon a peevish wilfulnesse onely, and a quartellous humour, and without any gaine at all, have in the partition of their fathers goods, carried themselves no better nor with greater modessite and respect, than sit had bene some bootic or pillage gotten in war. Such were Charless and Antischus, of the citic Opas, two brethren, who ever as they met with a piece of silver plate, made no more ado butcut it quite thorough the mids, and if there came a garment into their hands, in two pieces it went, slit (as necre as they could aime) just in the middle, and so they went either of them away with his part, dividing (as it were) upon some tragicall curse and executation.

Of brotherly love.

Their house and all the goods therein By cage of sword so sharpe and keen.

Others there be who make their boast and report with joy unto others, how in the partition of their patrimonic they have by cunning cafts, connic-catched their brethren, and over-wrought them foby their cautelous circumvention, fine wit and flie policies, as that they have gone away with the better part by ods: whereas indeed they should rejoice rather and please themselves, if in modeflie, courtefie, kindneffe, and yeelding of their owne right they had furpaffed and gone beyond their brethren. In which regard Athenedorus deserveth to be remembred in this place; 20 and indeed there is not one here in these parts but remembreth him well enough. This Athenodorus had one brother elder than himfelfe, named Zenon, who having taken upon him the management of the patrimonie, left unto them both by their father, had imbezeld and made away a good part of it; and in the end, for that by force he had carried away a woman and married her, was condemned for a rape, and loft all his owne and his brothers goods, which by order of law was forfait and conficate to the Exchequer of the Emperor: now was Athenedorus abovefaid, a verie beardleffe-boy ftill, without any haire on his face; and when by equitie and the court of conscience, his portion out of his fathers goods was awarded and restored unto him, he for fooke not his brother, but brought all abroad and parted the one halfe thereof with him againe; and notwithstanding that he knew well enough that his brother had used no faire play, 30 but cunningly defrauded him of much in the division thereof, yet was he never angric with him nor repented of his kindneffe, but mildly, cheerefully, and patiently endured that unthankfulnes and folly of his brother, fo much divulged and talked of throughout all Greece. As for Solon when he pronounced fentence and determined in this manner as touching the government of the weale-publike; That equalitie never bred fedition; feemed veric confusedly to bring in the proportion Arithmeticall which is popular, in place of that other faire and good proportion called Geometricall. But he that in an house or familie would advise brethren (as Plato did the citizens of his Common-wealth) above all, if possible it were to take away these words, Mine and Thine; Mine and not Mine; or at leastwile (if that may not be) to stand contented with an egall portion, and to maintaine and preferve equalitie; certes, he fnould lay a notable and fin-40 gular foundation of amitie, concord and peace, and alwaies build thereupon the famous examples of most noble and renowmed personages, such as Pittachus was, who when the King of Lydia demanded of him whether he had money and goods enough? I may have (quoth he) more by one halfe if I would, by occasion of my brothers death whose heire I am.

But for a funch as not onely in the possession, augmentation and diminishing of goods, the less evermore set as an adverse and crosses enemie to the more, but also (as Plato said) simply and universally there is alwaies motion and stirring in unequalitie, but rest and repose in equalitie; and so all uneven dealing and unequal partition is dangerous for breeding dissension among brethren; and unpossible it is, that in all respects they should be even and equally for that either Nature at first from their very nativitie, or Fortune asterwards, but not divided with even so hand their severall graces and savours among them, whereupon proceed envie and jealousie, which are pernicious maladies and deadly plagues, as well to house and samilies as also to States and Cities; in these regards (1 say) therefore, a great regard and heed would be taken, both to prevent and also to remedie such misches with all speed, when they begin first to ingender. As for him who is indued with better gifts, and hath the vantage over his other brethren, it were not amilie to give him counsell; first to communicate unto them those gifts wherein he seemeth to excell and goe beyond them; namely, in gracing and honouring them as well as himselfeby his credit and reputation, in advancing them by the meanes of his great friends, and

drawing

drawing them unto their acquaintance; and in case he be more eloquent than they, to offer them the use thereof, which although it be emploied (as it were) in common, is yet neverthelesse his owne still: then let him not shew any signe of pride and arrogancie, as though he disdained them, but rather in fome measure by abasing, submitting and yeelding a little to them in his behaviour, to preserve himselfe from envie, unto which his excellent parts do lie open; and in one word, to reduce that inequallitie which fortune hath made, unto some equallitie, as farre forth as possible it is to do, by the moderate carriage of his minde. Lucullus verily would never daine to accept of any dignitic or place of rule, before his brother, notwithstanding he was his elder, but letting his owne time flip, expected the turne and course of his brother. Neither would Pollux take upon him to be a god alone by himfelfe, but chofe rather with his brother Castor to be a de. 10 mic-god, and for to communicate unto him his owne immortalitie, thought it no diffrace to participate with his mortall condition; and even fo may a man fay unto one whom hee would admonth: My good friend, it lies in you without diminishing one whit of those good things which you have at this prefent, to make your brother equall unto your felfe, and to joine him in honour with you, giving him leave to enjoy (as it were) your greatnesse, your glory, your vertue, and your fortune; like as Plato did in times past, who by putting downe in writing, the names of his brethren, and bringing them in as persons speaking in his most noble and excellent Treatifes, caused them by that meanes to be famous and renowmed in the world. Thus he graced Glaucus and Adamanus in his books of Policie: thus he honoured Antiphon the yoongest of them all, in his Dialogue named Parmenides.

Moreover, as it is an ordinary thing to observe great difference and oddes in the natures and fortunes of brethren; so it is in maner impossible, that in all things and in every respect any one of them should excell the rest. For true it is, that the fource lements, which they say were created of one and the same matter, have powers and qualities altogether contrary; but surely it was never yet scene, that of two brethren by one father and mother; the one should be like unto that wife man, whom the Stoicks do faine and imagine, to wit, saire, lovely, bountifull, honourable, rich, eloquent, studious, civill and courteous; and the other, foule, ill-tavoured, contemptible, illiberall, needie, not able to speake and deliver his minde, untaught, ignorant, uncivil and unsociable. But even in those that are more obscure, base and abject than others, there is after a fort some sparke of grace, of valour, of apunesse and inclination to one good thing or other: for as 30 the common proverbe goeth;

With Calthrap thistles rough and keene, with Prickyrest-harow, Close Sions faire and soft, yea, White-walstowers are seeneso grow.

These good parts therefore, be they more or lesse in others, if he that seemeth to have them in faire better and in greater measure, do not debase, smother, hide and hinder them, nor deject his brother (as in some solemnitie of games for the prize) from all the principall honours, but rather yeeld reciprocally unto him in some points, and acknowledge openly that in many things he is more excellent, and hath a greater dexteritie than himselfe, withdrawing alwaies closely all occasions and matter of envie, as it were fewell from the fire, shall either quench all debate, or rather not fuffer it at all to breed or grow to any head and fubitance. Now he that alwaies taketh 49 his brother as a colleague, counfeller and coadjutor with him, in those causes wherin himselfe is taken to be his superiour: as for example; If he be a prosessed Rhetorician and Oratour, using his brother to pleade causes; if he be a Politician, asking his advice in government; if a man greatly friended, imploying him in actions and affaires abroad; and in one word, in no matter of confequence and which may win credit and reputation, leaving not his brother out, but making him his fellow and companion in all great and honourable occasions, and so giving out of him, taking his countell if he be prefent, and expecting his prefence if he be absent; and generally, making it knowen that he is a man not of leffe execution than himselfe, but one rather that loveth not much to put himselfe forth, nor stands so much upon winning reputation in the world, and feeking to be advanced in credit; by this meanes he shall lose nothing of his owne, \$1 but gaine much unto his brother. These be the precepts and advertisements that a man may give unto him that is the better and superiour.

To come now to him who is the inferiour, he ought thus to thinke in his minde: That his brother is not one alone that hat no fellow, nor the onely man in the world who is richer, better learned, or more renowmed and glorious than himselfe, but that often-times he also is inferiour to a great number, yea, and to many millions of us men,

Who on the earth fo large do breed,

hut if he be fuch an one as either goeth up and downe, bearing envie unto all the world; or if he hee of foill a nature, as that among fo many men that are fortunate, he alone and none but he troubleth him, who ought of all other to be dearest, and is most necrely joined unto him by the obligation of blood, a man may well fay of him; That he is unhappy in the highest degree, and hath not left unto another man living, any meanes to go beyond him in wretchedneffe. As Metellus therefore thought that the Romans were bound to render thanks unto the gods in heaven, for that Sapio to noble and brave a man was borne in Rome, and not in any other citie; fo everie man is to with and pray unto the gods, that himfelfe may furmount all other men in prospetity, to if not, yet that he might have a brother at least-wife to attaine unto that power and authoritie (o much defired; but some there be so infortunate and unlucky by nature, in respect of any goodneffe in them, that they can rejoice and take a great glorie in this, to have their friends advanced unto high places of honor, or to fee their hoafts and guefts abroad, princes, rulers, rich and mightie men, but the resplendent glorie of their brethren they thinke doth eclypse and darken their ownerenowine; they delight and joy to heare the fortunate exploits of their fathers recounted, or how their great grandfires long ago had the conduct of armies, and were lord prætours and generals in the field, wherein they themselves had never any part, nor received thereby either honor or profit; but if there have fallen unto their brethren any great heritages or possessions, if they have risen unto high estate and atchieved honorable dignities, if they are 20 advanced by rich and noble mariages, then they are cast downe and their hearts be done, And yet it had behooved and right meet it were in the first place, to bee envious to no man at all; but if that may not be, the next way were to turne their envie outward, and cie-bite strangers, and to thew our fpite unto aliens who are abroad, after the maner of those who to rid themselves from civill feditions at home, turne the fame upon their enimes without, and fet them together

Of Trojanes and their allies both,
who aide them for good will
Right many are befule your felfe
for me in fight to kill:
And you likewife have Greeks enough
with whom in bloodse field
Tou may your prowesser, and not
meete me with speare and spield.

by the cares, and like as Diomedes in Homer faid unto Glancus,

Upon her fruits who live and feed.

even so it may be said unto them; There be a number besides of concurrents upon whom they may exercise their envie and jealousse, and not with their naturall brethren; for a brother ought not to be like unto one of the balance scales, which doth alwaies contrarie unto his fellow, for as one rifeth the other falleth; but as small numbers do multiplie the greater, and serve to make both them bigger, and their felves too; even fo an inferior brother by multiplying the flate of his brother who is his superior, thall both augment him and also increase and grow himselfe to-40 gether with him in all good things: marke the fingers of your hand, that which holdeth not the pen in writing, or striketh the string of a lute in playing (for that it is not able so to do, nor dispofed and made naturally for those uses) is never a whit the worse for all that, nor serveth lesse otherwise, but they all stir and moove together, yea and in some fort they helpe one another in their actions, as being framed for the nonce, unequal & one bigger & longer than other, that by their opposition and meeting as it were round together, they might comprehend, claspe, and hold any thing most fure, strong, and fast. Thus Craterse being the natural brother of king Antigonus who reigned and swaid the scepter: Thus Perilaus also the brother of Cassander who ware the crowne, gave their minds to be brave warriors and to lead armies under their brethren, or else applied themselves to governe their houses at home in their absence; whereas on the con-50 trary fide, the Antiochi and Seleuci, as also certeine Grapi and Cyziceni and such others, having not learned to beare a lower faile then their brethren, and who could not content themselves to fing a lower note, nor to rest in a second place, but aspiring to the ensignes and ornaments of roiall dignitie, to wit, the purple mantle of estate with crowne, diademe and scepter, filled themfelves and one another with many calamities, yea and heaped as many troubles upon all Alis throughout. Now forasmuch as those especially who by nature are ambitious and disposed to thirlt after glory, be for the most part envious & jealous toward those who are more honored & renowmed than they; it were very expedient for brethren if they would avoid this inconvenience, not to feeke for to atteine either honour or authoritie and credit all by the fame meanes. bit fome by one thing and fome by another: for we fee by daily experience, it is an ordinarie matter that wilde bealts do fight and warre one with another, namely when they feede in one and the same pasture; and among champions and such as strive for the masterie in feats of activitie, we count those for their adversaries and concurrents onely, who professe and practise the fame kinde of game or exercise; for those that goe to it with fifts and buffers, are commonly friends good enough to fuch fword-fencers as fight at tharpe to the interance, and well-willers to the champions called Paneratiasta: likewise the runners in a race agree full-well with wrest. lers: these I say, are ready to aide, affist and favor one another, which is the reason, that of the two sonnes of Tyndarus, Pollux wan the prize alwaies at buffets, but Castor his brother went away with the victorie in the race. And Homer very well in his Poeme feighed that Teucer was an excellent archer, and became famous thereby, but his brother ajax was best at close fight and hand-strokes, standing to it heavily armed at all peeces,

> And with his shield so bright and wide His brother Toucer he did hide.

And thus it is with them that governe a State and common weale; those that be men of arms and manage martiall affaires, never lightly do envie them much who deale in civill causes and use to make speeches unto the people; likewise among those that protesse Rhetoricke and eloquence, advocates who plead at barre, never fall out with those Sophisters that read lectures of oratorie; among professors of Physicke, they that cure by diet envie not the chirurgions who 10 worke by hand; whereas they who endevour and feeke to win credite and estimation by the fame art, or by their facultie and fufficiencie in any one thing, do as much (efpecially if they be badly minded withall) as those rivals who loving one mistresse, would be better welcome and finde more grace and favour at her hands one than another. True it is I must needes confesse; that they who go divers waies, doe no good one to another; but furely fuch as choose fundric courses of life doe not onely avoid the occasions of envie, but also by that meanes the rather have mutuall helpe one by the other: thus Demosthenes and Chares forted well together; def chines likewise and Eubulus accorded; Hyperides also and Leosthenes were lovers and friends; in every which couple, the former imploied themselves in pleading and speaking before the people, & were writers and pen-men, whereas the other conducted armies, were warriors and men to of action. Brethren therefore who cannot communicate in glorie and credit together without envie, ought to fet their defires and ambitious mindes as farre remote one from another, and turne them full as contrarie as they can, if they would finde comfort, and not receive displeafure by the prosperitie and happy successe one of another: but above all, a principall care and regard they must have of their kindred and alliance, yea and otherwhiles of their verie wives and namely, when they be readie with their perillous speeches many times to blow more coales, and thereby enkindle their ambitious humour. Your brother (quoth one) doth woonders; he carrieth all before him; he beareth the fway; no talke there is but of him; he is admired, and every man maketh court to him: whereas, there is no refort to you; no man commeth toward you; nothing is there in you that men regard or fet by. When these suggestions shall be thus 40 whifpered, a brother that is wife and well minded, may well fay thus againe: I have a brother in deed whose name is up and carrieth a great side; and verily the greater part of his credit and authoritie is mine and at my commaindement. For Socrates was woont to fay, that hee would * An ancient choose rather to have Darius his friend, than his *Daricks. And a brother who is of found and good judgement, will thinke that he hath no leffe benefit, when his brother is placed in great image, worth estate of government, blessed with riches, or advanced to credit and reputation by his gift of cloquence, than if himselfe were a ruler, wealthie, learned and eloquent. Thus you may see the Tetratradam best and readiest meanes that are to qualific and mitigate this unequalitie between brethren. Now there be other difagreements befides, that grow quickly betweene, especially if they want good bringing up and are not well taught, and namely, in regard of their age. For commonly 50 the elder, who thinke that by good right they ought to have the command, rule and government of their younger brethren in everie thing, and who held it great reason that they should be honored, and have power and authoritie alwaies above them, commonly do use them hardly and are nothing kinde and lightfome unto them: the younger againe being stubborne, wilfull and unruly, ready also to shake off the bridle, are woont to make no reckoning of their elderbrethrens prerogative, but fet them at naught and despise them; whereby it commeth to passe, that as the yoonger of one fide envied, are held downe with envie, and kept under alwaies by their

elder brethren, and fo shunne their rebukes and skorne their admonitions; so these on the other fide desirous to hold their owne and maintaine their preeminence and soveraigntic over their. fland alwaies in dread left their yoonger brethren should grow too much, as if the rifing of them were their fall. But like as the cafe standeth in a benefit or good turne that is done, men favit is meet that the receiver should esteeme the thing greater than it is, and the giver make the least of it; even so, he that can perswade the elder, that the time whereby he hath the vantage of his other brethren is no great thing; and likewife the yoonger, that he flipuld reckon the fame birth-right for no small matter, he shall do a good deed betweene them, in delivering the one from dildaine, contempt and suspicion, and the other from irreverence and negligence. 10 Now for a fmuch as it is meet, that the elder flould take care and charge, teach and inftruct, admonish and reproove the yoonger; and as fit likewise the yoonger should honor, imitate and follow the elder: I could wish that the follicitude and care of the elder, favoured rather of a companion and fellow, than of a father; that himfelfe also would seeme not so much to command as to perswade, and to be more prompt and ready to joy for his yoonger brothers wel-doing, and to praife him for it, than in any wife take pleafure in reprehending and blaming him if haply he have forgotten his duetie; and in one word, to do the one not onely more willingly, but also with greater humanitie than the other. Moreover, the zeale and emulation in the yoonger ought rather to be of the nature of an imitation, than either of jealoufie or contention; for that imitation presupposethan opinion of admiration, whereas jealousie and contention implictly 20 envie, which is the reason that they affect and love those who endevour to resemble, and be like unto them; but contrariwife, they are offended at those and keepe them downe, who strive to be their equals. Now among many honors, which it beforemeth the younger to render unto his elder, obedience is that which deferveth most commendation, and worketh a more affured and hearticaffection accompanied with a certaine reverence, which causeth the elder reciprocally and by way of requitall to yeeld the like and to give place unto him. Thus Cate having from his infancie honored and reverenced his elder brother Capion, by all maner of obeifance and filence before him; in the end gained thus much by it, that when they were both men growen, he had fo woon him and filled him (as it were) with fo great a respect and reverence of him, that her would neither fay nor doe ought without his privitie and knowledge. For it is reported, that 30 when Capion had one day figned and fealed with his owne fignet a certaine letter testimonial; Cato his brother comming afterwards would not fet to his feale; which when Capio understood, he called for the forefaid testimonial and pluckt away his owne seale, before he had once demaunded for what occasion his brother would not believe the deed, but suspected his sestimonie? It feemeth likewife, that the brethren of Epicurus shewed great respect and reverence unto him, in regard of the love and carefull good will that he bare unto them; which appeared in this, that as to all other things else of his; so to his Philosophie especially, they were so wedded, as if they had beene inspired therewith. For albeit they were seduced and deceived in their opinion, giving out and holding alwaies (as they did) from their infancie, that never was any man fo deepe a clearke, nor fo great a Philosopher as their brother Epicurus: yet it is wonderfull to cono fider as well him that could fo frame and dispose them, as themselves also for being so disposed and affectionate unto him. And verily even among the more moderne Philosophers of later time, Apollonias the Peripateticke, had convinced him of untrueth (who foever hee was) that faid Lordship and glorie could like no fellowship, for he made his brother sotion more famous and renowmed than himselfe. For mine owne part, to say somewhat of my selfe; albeit that fortune hath done me many favours, in regard whereof I am bound to render unto her much thankes; there is not any one for which I take my selfe so much obliged and beholden unto her, as for the love that my brother 7 imon hath alwaies shewed and doth yet shew unto me; a thing that no man is able to denie, who hath never fo little beene in our companie, and you least of all others may doubt who have converfed fo familiarly with us.

Now there be other occasions of trouble which ought to be taken heed of among those brethren which are of like age or fomewhat neere in yeeres; fmall passions (I wote well) they be, but many they are, and those ordinary and continuall; by meanes whereof they bring with them an evill custome of vexing, fretting and angering one another ever and anon for finall things, which in the end turne into hatred and entnity irreconcileable : for when they have begun to quartell one with another at their games and pattimes, about the feeding and fighting of some little creatures that they keepe, to wir, quailes or cocks, and afterwards about the wreftling of their boies and pages at the schoole, or the hunting of their hounds in the chase, or the capa-

rison of their horses; they can no more holde and refraine (when as they be men) their contentious veine and ambition in matters of more importance: thus the greatest and mightiest men among the Greeks in our time, banding at the first one against another in taking parts with their dancers, and then in fliding with their minftrels, afterwards by comparing one with another who had the better ponds or bathing pooles in the territorie of Edepfin, who had the fairer galleries and walking places, the statelier halles and places of pleasure, evermore changing and exchanging, and fighting (as it were) for the vantage of a place, ftriving still by way of odious comparison, cutting and diverting another way the conduct pipes of fountaines, are become to much exasperate one against another, that in the meane time they are utterly undone; for the tyrant is come, and hath taken all from them; banished they are out of their owne native t countrey; they wander as poore vagabonds thorow the world, and I may be bolde (well neere) to fay, they are so farre changed from that they were afore, that they be others quite, this onely excepted, that they be the fame still in hatred one to another. Thus it appeareth evidently, that brethren ought not a little to refift the jealoufie and contentions which breed among them upon smaltrifles, even in the very beginning, & that by accustoming themselves to year & give place reciprocally one to another, fuffering themselves to be overcome & take the foile, and joying rather to pleafure and content one another, than to win the better hand one of another: for the victorie which in olde time they called the Cadmian victorie, was nothing elsbut that victoric betweene brethren about the citic of Thebes, which is of all other the most wicked and mischievous.

What shall we say moreover? do not the affaires of this life minister many occasions of difagreement and debate even among those brethren which are most kind and loving of all other? yes verily. But even therein also, we must be carefull to let the faid affaires to combat alone by themselves, and not to put thereto any passion of contention or anger, as an anker or hooketo catch holde of the parties, and pull them together for to quarrell, and enter into debate; but asit were in a ballance, to looke jointly together, on whether fide right and equitie doth encline and bend, and so soone as ever we can, to put matters in question to the arbitrement and judgement of fome good and indifferent perfons, to purge and make cleere all, before they are growen fo farre, as that they have gotten a staine or tincture of cankred malice, which afterwards will never be wathed or foured out: which done, we are to imitate the Pythagoreans, who being neither to joined in kinred or confanguinitie, nor yet allied by affinitie, but the scholars in one schoole, and the fellowes of one and the fame discipline, if peradventure at any time they were so farrecaried away with choler, that they fell to enterchange reprochfull & reviling taunts, yet before the funne was gone downe they would shake hands, kiffe and embrace one another, be reconciled, and become good friends againe. For like as if there be a feaver, occasioned by a botch ornfing in the share, there is no danger thereof, but if when the faid botch is gone, the seaver still continue, then it feemeth to be a maladie proceeding from fome more inward, fecret and deeper cause; even so the variance betweene two brethren, when it ceaseth together with the deciding of a bulineffe, we must thinke dependeth upon the same bulineffe & upon nothing els, but if the difference remaine still when the controversic is ended, furely then it was but a colourable at pretence thereof, and there was within some root of secret malice which caused it. And herein this place it would ferve our purpose very well, to heare the maner of proceeding in the decision of a controversic betweene two brethren of a barbarous nation, and the same not for some little parcell of land, nor about poore flaves or filly sheepe, but for no lesse than the kingdome of Perfin: for after the death of Darius fome of the Perfians would have had Ariamenes to fucceed and weare the crowne, as being the eldeft fonne of the King late deceased; others against flood carneftly for Xerxes, aswell for that he had to his mother Atoffa the daughter of that great Cyrus, as because hee was begotten by Darius when hee was a crowned king. Ariamenes then came downe out of Media, to claime his right; not in armes, as one that minded to make warre, but fimply and peaceably, attended onely with his ordinary traine & retinue, minding to enter § upon the kingdome by justice & order of law. Xerxes in the meane while, & before his brother came, being present in place, ruled as king, & exercised all those functions that apperteined therto: his brother was no fooner arrived, but he tooke willingly the diademe or rotall frontlet from his head, & the princely chaplet or coroner which the Persian kings are wont to weare upright, he laid downe, & went toward his brother to meet him upon the way, & with kind greeting embraced him: he fent also certeine presents unto him, with commandement unto those that carried them, to fay thus: Xerxes thy brother honoreth thee now with these presents here, but if y

the fentence and judgement of the peeres and lords of Persia he shall be declared king, his will and pleasure is, that thou shalt be the second person in the realme, and next unto him. Ariamener answered the message in this wise: These presents I receive kindly from my brother, but I am perswaded that the kingdome of Persa by right belongeth unto me; as formy brethren, I will referve that honour which is meet and due unto them next after my felfe, and Xerxes shalbe the first and chiefe of them all. Now when the great day of judgement was at hand, when this weightie matter should be determined; the Persians by one generall and common consent dechired Artabanus the brother of Darius late departed, to be the umpire and competent judge for to decide and end this cause. Xerxes was unwilling to stand unto his award, being but one man, 10 as who reposed more trust and confidence in the number of the princes and nobles of the realme; but his mother Atoffa reproving him for it: Tell me (quoth fhe) my fonne, wherefore refuled thou Arrabanus to be thy judge, who is your uncle, and befides, the best man of all the Perfians? and why doest thou feare fo much the iffue of his judgement, confidering that if thou miffe, yet the second place is most honourable, namely, to be called the kings brother of Persia? Then Xerxes perfwaded by his mother, yeelded; and after many allegations brought and pleaded on both fides judicially, Artabanus at length pronounced definitively, that the kingdome of Persia apperteined unto Xerxes: with that Artamenes incontinently leapt from his seat, went and did homage unto his brother, and taking him by the right hand, embronifed and enftalled himking: from which time forward he was alwaies the greatest person next unto his brother; 20 and shewed himselfe so loving and affectionate unto him, that in his quarrell he sought most valiantly in the navall battel before Salaminas, where in his fervice and for his honour he loft his life. This example may ferve for an original patterne of true benevolence and magnanimitie, to pure and uncorrupt, as it cannot in any one point be blamed or steined. As for Antiochus, as a man may reprehend in him his ambitious minde, and exceffive defire of rule; fo he may afwell woonder that confidering his vaine-glorious spirit, all brotherly love was not in him utterly extinct; for being himselfe the yoonger, he waged war with Seleneus for the crowne, and kept his mother fire enough for to fide with him and take his part: now it hapned that during this warre and when it was at the horest, Seleucus strucke a battell with the Galatians, lost the field, and was himselfe not to be found, but supposed certainly to have beene slaine and cut in peeces, toge-30 ther with his whole armie, which by the Barbarians were put to the sword and massacred; when newes came unto Antiochus of this defeature, hee laide away his purple robes, put on blacke, caused the court gates to be shut, and mourned heavily for his brother, as if he had beene dead: but being afterwards advertised that he was alive safe & sound, and that he went about to gather new forces and make head againe; hee came abroad, facrificed with thankefgiving unto the gods, & commaumded al those cities & states which were under his dominion to keepe holiday, to facrifice & weare chapplets of flowers upon their heads in token of publike joy. The Athenians when they had devised an absurd and ridiculous fable as touching the quarrell betweene Neptune and Minerva, intermedled withall another invention, which foundeth to fome reason, tending to the correction of the fame, and as it were to make amends for that abfurditie, for 40 they suppresse alwaies the second of August, upon which day hapned (by their faying) that debate aforesaid betweene Neptune and Minerva. What should let and hinder us likewise, if it chance that we enter into any quarrell or debate with our allies and kinsfolke in blood, to condemne that day to perpetuall oblivion, and to repute and reckon it among the curfed and difmat daies: but in no wife by occasion of one such unhappie day to forget so many other good and joyfull daies wherein we have lived and beene brought up together; for either it is for nothing and in vaine that nature hath endued us with meekeneffe, and harmeleffe long fufferance, or patience the daughter of modestie and mediocritie, or else surely wee ought to use these vertues and good gifts of her principally to our allies and kinsfolke; and verily to crave and receive pardon of them when we our felveshave offended and done amiffe, declareth no leffe love and 50 naturall affection than to forgive them if they have trespassed against us. And therefore wee ought not to neglect them if they be angrie and displeased; nor to be straight laced and stiffely stand against them when they come to justifie or excuse themselves; but rather both when our selves have faulted, oftentimes to prevent their anger by excuse, making or asking forgivenesse, and also by pardoning them before they come to excuse if we have beene wronged by them. And therefore Euclides that great scholer of Socrates is much renowmed and samous in all schooles of Philosophie, for that when he heard his brother breake out into these beastly and wickedwords against him, The foule ill take me if I be not revenged and meet with thee; and

a mischiefe come to me also (quoth he againe) if I appease not thine anger, & perswade thee to love me as well as ever thou didft. But king Eumenes not in word but in deed & effect furpaffed all others in meckeneffe and patience: for Perseus king of the Macedonians being his mortall enimie, had fecretly addressed an ambush, and fet certeine men of purpose to murder him about Delphos, elpying their time when they fawe him going from the sea side to the said towne forto confult with the oracle of Apollo: now when he was gone a little past the ambush, they began to affaile him from behinde, tumbling downe and throwing mightic flones upon his head and necke, wherewith he was so astonished that his fight failed, and he fell withall, in that manner as he was taken for dead: now the rumour heereof ran into all parts, infomuch as certeine of his fervitors and friends made speed to the citie Pergamus, reporting the tidings of this occurrent, 10 as if they had beene present and scene all done; whereupon Attalus the eldest brother next unto himfelfe, an honeft and kinde hearted man, one also who alwaies had caried himfelfe most faithfully and loyally unto Eumenes, was not onely declared king, and crowned with the royall diademe; but that which more is, espoused and maried Queene Stratonice his faid brothers wife, and lay with her. But afterwards, when counter-newes came that Eumenes was alive and comming homeward againe, Attalus laid afide his diademe, and taking a partifan or javelinia his hand (as his maner before time was) with other pentioners and squires of the bodie, he went to meet his brother : king Eumenes received him right graciously, tooke him lovingly by the hand, embraced the Queene with all honour, and of a princely and magnanimous spirit put up all; yea and when he had lived a long time after without any complaint, fulpition, and jealou 20 fie at all, in the end at his death made over and affigned both the crowne and the Queene his wife unto his brother the aforefaid Attalus: and what did Attalus now after his brothers decease? he would not foster and bring up (as heire apparant) so much as one childe that he had by Stratonice his wife, although the bare unto him many; but he nourished and carefully cherithed the fonne of his brother departed, untill he was come to full age, and then himfelfe in his life time with his owne hands fet the imperiall diademe and royall crowne upon his head, and proclaimed him king. But Cambyles contrariwife frighted upon a vaine dreame which he had; That his brother was come to usurpe the kingdome of Affic, without expecting any proofe or prelumption thereof, put him to death for it; by occasion whereof, the succession in the empirewent out of the race of Cyrus upon his decease, and was devolved upon the line of Darius 10 who raigned after him; a Prince who knew how to communicate the government of his affaires, and his regall authoritie, not onely with his brethren, but also with his friends.

Moreover, this one point more is to be remembred & observed diligently in all variances and debates that are rifen betweene brethren: namely, then especially, and more than at any time elfe, to converse and keepe companie with their friends; and on the other side to avoide their enemies and evill-willers, and not to be willing fo much as to vouchfafe them any speech or entertainment. Following herein the fashion of the Candiots, who being oftentimes fallen out and in civill diffension among themselves, yea and warring hot one with another, no sooner heare newes of forrein enemies comming against them, but they rancke themselves, banding jointly together against them; and this combination is that, which thereupon is called syntre- 40 tesmos. For some there be, that (like as water runneth alwaies to the lower ground, and to places that chinke or cleave afunder) are readie to fide with those brethren or friends that be fallen out, and by their fuggestions buzzed into their cares, ruinate and overthrow all acquaintance, kinred and amitic, hating indeed both parties, but feeming to beare rather upon the weaker fide, and to fettle upon him, who of imbecillitie foone yeeldeth and giveth place. And verily thofe that be fimple and harmleffe friends, fuch as commonly yong folke are, apply themselves commonly to him that affecteth a brother, helping & increasing that love what he may; but the most malicious enemies are they, who espying when one brother is angrie or fallen out with another, feeme to be angrie and offended together with him for companie; and these do most hurt of all others. Like as the hen therefore in Aelope answered unto the cat, making semblance as though 50 he heard her fay the was ficke, and therefore in kindnesse and love asking how the did? I am well enough (quoth fhe) I thanke you, fo that you were farther off; even fo, unto fuch a manas is inquisitive and entreth into talke as touching the debate of brethren to found and search into fome secrets betweene them, one ought to answere thus: Surely there would be no quarrell betweene my brother and me, if neither I nor he would give eare to carrie-tales and pick-thankes betweene us. But now it commeth to paffe (I wot not how) that when our eies be fore and in paine, we turne away our fight from those bodies and colours which make no reverberation of

repercussion backe againe upon it, but when we have some complaint and quarrell, or conceive anger or suspicion against our brethren, we take pleasure to heare those that make all woorse, and are aptenough to take any colour and infection, presented to us by them, where it were more needfull and expedient at fuch a time to avoid their enimies and evill willers, and to keepe out felves out of the way from them; and contrariwife to converfe with their allies, familiars and friends; and with them to beare company especially, yea and to enter into their owne houles for to complaine and blame them before their very wives frankly and with libertie of speech. And yet it is a common faying, That brethren when they walke together, should not so much as let a stone to be betwixt them; nay they are discontented and displeased in minde, in case a dog to chance to runne overthwart them; and a number of fuch other things they feare, whereof there is not one able to make any breach or division betweene brethren; but in the meane while, they perceive not how they receive into the mids of them, and fuffer to traverse and crosse them, men of a currith and dogged nature, who can do nothing els but barke betweene, and fowe falle rumours and calumniations betweene one and another, for to provoke them to jarre and fall together by the cares: and therefore to great reason and very well to this purpose said Theophra-Itus; That if al things (according to the old proverbe) should be common among friends, then most of all they ought to enterteine friends in common; for private familiarities and acquaintances apart one from another, are great meanes to disjoine and turne away their hearts; for if they fall to love others, and make choife of other familiar friends, it must needs follow by confequence to take pleasure and delight in other companies, to esteeme and affect others, yea and to fuffer themselves to be ruled and led by others. For friendships and amities frame the natures and dispositions of men; neither is there a more certeine and affured signe of different humors and divers natures, than the choise & election of different friends, in fuch fort as neither to eate and drinke, nor to play, nor to passe and spend whole daies together in good fellowship and companie, is so effectuall to hold and maintaine the concord and good will of brethren, as to hate and love the same persons; to joy in the same acquaintance; and contrariwise to abhor and shun the same companie; for when brethren have friends common betweenethem, the faid friends will never fuffer any furmifes, calumniations & quarrels to grow betweene; and fay that peradventure there do artife some sudden heat of choler or grudging fit of complaint, preo sently it is cooled, quenched, and suppressed by the mediation of common friends; for readie they will be to take up the quarrell and featter it fo as it shall vanish away to nothing if they be indifferently affectionate to them both, and that their love incline no more to the one fide than to the other: for like as tin-foder doth knit and rejoyne a crackt peece of braffe, in touching and taking hold of both fides and edges of the broken peeces, for that it agreeth and forteth as well to the one as to the other, and fuffreth from them both alike; even so ought a friend to be fitted and futable indifferently unto both brethren, if he would knit furely, and confirme through their mutuall benevolence and good will. But fuch as are unequall, and cannot intermeddle and go betweene the one as well as the other, make a separation and disjunction, and not a found joint, like as certeine notes or discords in musicke. And therefore it may well bee o doubted and question made whether Hesiodus did well or no when he said,

Make not a feere I thee advise Thy brothers peere in any wife.

For a discrett and sober companion common to both (as I said) before, or rather incorporat (as it were) into them, shall ever be a sure knot to fasten brotherly love. But *Hessource* (as it should seeme) meant and feared this in the ordinary and vulgar fort of men, who are many of them naught, by reason that so customably they be given to jealouste and suspition, yea and to selfelove which if we consider and observe, it is well; but with this regard alwaies, that although a manyeeld equall good will unto a friend as unto a brother; yet neverthelesse in case of concurrence, he ought to referve ever the preeminence and first place for his brother, whether it be in so preferring him in any election of Magistrates, or to the mannaging of State affaires; or in bidding and inviting him to a solemne feast, or publike assembly to consult and debate of weightie causes; or introomending him to princes & great lords. For in such cases which in the common opinion of the world are reputted matters of honor and credit, a man ought to render the dignitie, honor, and reward, which is beseeming and due to blood by the course of nature. For in these things the advantage and prerogative will not purchase so much gloric and reputation to a strend, as the repulse and putting-by, bring disgrace, discredit and disson unto a brother.

Well

Well, as touching this old faid faw and fentence of Hesterdam, I have treated more at largees where; but the sententious saying of Menander full wisely set downe in these words:

No man who low's another, shall you see Well pleas'd, himselfe neglected for to bee.

putteth us in minde and teacheth us to have good regard and care of our brethren, and not to presume so much upon the obligation of nature, as to despise them. For the horse is a beast by nature loving to a man, and the dog loves his mafter; but in case you never thinke upon them. nor see unto them (as you ought) they wil forgoe that kind affectio, estrange themselves & take no knowledge of you. The bodicalfo is most necrely knit and united to the foule by the grea. test bond of nature that can be; but in case it be neglected and contemmed by her, or not chem in flied to tenderly as it looketh to be, unwilling shall you fee it to helpe and affish her, nay full un. towardly will it execute, or rather give over it will altogether everie action. Now to come more neere and to particularise upon this point, honest and good is that care and diligence which is emploied and shewed to thy brethren themselves alone; but better it would be farre, if thy love and kind affections be extended as far as to their wives fathers and daughters husbands, by carrying a friendly minde and readic will to pleasure them likewife, and to do for them in all their occasions; if they be courteous and attable in faluting their fervants, such especially asther love and favour 5 thankfull and beholding to their Physicians who had them in cure during sick neffe and were diligent about them; acknowledging themselves bound unto their faithfull and trustie friends, or to such as were willing and forward to take such part as they did in any long 1 voyage and expedition, or to beare them company in warfare. And as for the wedded wife of brother whom he is to reverence, repute and honor no leffe than a most facted and holy relique or monument, if at any time he happen to fee her, it will be come him to speake all honour and good of her husband before her; or to be offended and complaine (as well as she) of her husband, if he fet not that flore by her as he ought, and when the is angred to appeare and still her. Say also that the have done some light fault, and offended her husband, to reconcile him agains unto her and entreat him to be content and to pardon her; and likewise if there be some particular and private cause of difference betweene him and his brother, to acquaint the wife therewith, and by her meanes to complaine thereof, that she may take up the matter by composition and end the quarrell.

Lives thy brother a batcheler and hath no children? thou oughtest in good earnest tobe angrie with him for it, to follicite him to marriage, yea with chiding, rating, and by all meanes urge him to leave this fingle life, and by entring into wedlocke to be linked in lawfull alliance and affinitie: hath he children? then you are to thew your good will and affection more manifellly, as well toward him as his wife, in honouring him more than ever before, in loving his children as if they were your owne, yea and shewing your selfe more indulgent, kinde and affable unto them; that if it chaunce they do faults and shrewd turnes (as little ones are woont) they runne not away, nor retire into some blind and solitarie corner for seare of father and mother, or by that meanes light into some light, unhappie and ungracious companie, but may have recourse & refuge unto their unkle, where they may be admonished lovingly, and find an intercelfor to make their excuse & get their pardon. Thus Plato reclaimed his brothers son or nephew Spensippus, from his loofe life and diffolute riot, without doing any harme or giving him foule words, but by winning him with faire and gentle language (whereas his father and mother did nothing but rate and crie upon him continually, which caused him to runne away and keepe out of their fight) he imprinted in his heart a great reverence of him, and a fervent zeale to imtate him, and to fet his mind to the studie of Philosophie, notwithstanding many of his friends thought hardly of him and blamed him not a litle, for that he tooke not another course with the untoward youth, namely, to rebuke, checke, and chastice him sharply: but this was evermore his answere unto them: That he reprooved and tooke him downe sufficiently, by shewing unto him by his owne life and carriage, what difference there was betweene vice and vertue, betweene things honest and dishonest. Alenas sometime King of Thessalie, was hardly used and overawed by his father, for that he was infolent, proude, and violent withall; but contrariwife, his uncle by the fathers lide, would give him entertainment, beare him out and make much of him Now when upon a time the Theffalians fent unto Delphos certaine lots, to know by the oracle of god Apollo who should be their king? The foresaid uncle of Alenas unwitting to his brother, put in one for him: Then Pythia the Prophetesse gave answere from Apollo and pronounced, That Alenas should be king: The father of Alenas denied, and faid that he had cast in no lot for him; and it seemed unto every man that there was some errour in writing of those billes or names for the lotterie; whereupon new messengers were dispatched to the Oracle for to electe this doubt; and then Pythia in confirmation of the former choice, answered:

Imeane that youth with reddish heare, Whom dame Archedice in wombe did beare.

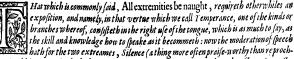
Thus Alems declared and elected king of Theffalie, by the oracle of Apollo, and by the meanes withall of his fathers brother, both proved himfelfe afterward a most noble prince, excelling all hisprogenitours and predeceffours, and also raised the whole nation and his countrey a great pame and mighty puilsance.

Furthermore, it is feemely and convenient by joying and taking a glory in the advancement, prosperity, honours and dignities of brothers children, to augment the same, and to encourage and animate them to vertue, and when they do well, to praise them to the full. Haply it might be thought an odious and unfeemely thing for a man to commend much his owne fonne, but furely to praise a brothers some is an honourable thing, and since it proceedeth not from the love of a mans felfe, it can not be thought but right, honeft, and (in truth)*divine: for furely me *ado hadthinks the very name it felfe (of tincle) is sufficient to draw brethren to affect & love deerly one field dryne at another, and so consequently their nephewes: and thus we ought to propose unto our selves, for to imitate the better fort, & fuch as have bene immortalised & deified in times past: for so Herto cules notwithstanding he had 70 sonnes within twaine of his owne, yet he loved toland his brothers fonne no leffe than any of them; infomuch as even at this day in most places there is but one altar erected for him and his faid nephew together, and men pray jointly unto Hercules and Iolaus. Alfo when his brother Iphiclus was flain in that famous battell which was fought nere Laced.emon, he was so exceedingly displeased, and tooke such indignation thereat, that he departed out of Peloponne (w, and left the whole countrey. As for Leucothea, when her fifter was dead, the nourished and brought up her childe, and together with her, ranged it among the heavenly faints: whereupon the Romane dames even at this day, when they celebrate the feaft of Leuesthea (whom they name Matuta) carrie in their armes and chearifh tenderly their fifters children, and not their owne.



OF INTEMPERATE SPEECH OR GAR-RVLITIE.

The Summarie.



so able) and Babble; against which this Discourse is addressed. Considering then, that silence is an assure redreward unto wise men, and opposite directly unto much practing, and comely and seemely specific in the mids, we call not silence a vice, but say, That a mannever findeth havne by holding his peace. But as southing Garruitte or Intemperate speech, the authour steweth in the very beginning of his Treatist, that it is a maladic incurable and against nature; for it doth full rate the talkative person of hus greatest desire, to wit, for to have audience and credit given him; also that it make the aman inconsiderate importane and malapert, ridiculous, mocked and hated, plunging him ordinarily into danger, so many events have prooved by experience. For to discover this matter the better, he saith concavations.

fequently: That the nature of vertuous men and those who have noble bringing up, is directly opportunity fire uno that of long-tongued persons; and joining the reasons by which a man ought not to bewrathin fecret together with those evils and inconveniences which curiofity of much babble do bring, and confirming all by fine similitudes and notable examples : afterwards, taking in hand againe his former speech and argument, be compareth a traiter and busie talker together, to the end that all menst could for much the rather detest the vice of garrulitie: then he proceedeth immediatly to discover and apply the remedies of this mischiefe, willing us, in the first place and generally to consider the calamities and mi feries that much babbling causes h; as also the good & commodity which proceedeth of silence: which done he discourseth of those particular remedies, which import thus much in effect: That aman ought to frame and accustome himselfe, either to be silent, or els to speake last; to avoid all hastinesse inma king his answere; to say nothing, but that which is either needfull or civill; to frun and forbearethis discourses which please us most, and wherein we may be soone overseene and proceed too farre; to find busic praters occupied apart from them; to provide them the companie of men who are of authoritie and aged; In summe, to consider whether that which a man hash faid, be convement, meet and profit. able, and nevertheleffe, to thinke alwaies of this: That other-whiles a man may repent of some world Boken, but never of keeping silence.

OF INTEMPERATE fpeech or Garrulitie.



Very hard and troublefome cure it is that Philosophie hath undertaken, namely, To heale the disease of much prating; for that the medicine and remedie which she useth, be words that must be received by hearing; and these great talkers will abide to heare no man, for that they have all the words themselves, and talke continually so that the first mischiete of those who can not hold their tongue and keepe silence, is this; That they neither can nor will give eare to another; insomuch as it is a wilfull kinde of deafenesse in men, who seeme thereby to controll nature, and complaine of her, in that where she hath allowed them two cares, she hath given thembat

one tongue. If then Euripides faid very well unto a foolish auditour of his,

Powre I wife words, and counfell what I can
With all my skill, into a fottiff man,
Unnet by all I be able him to fill,
If holde and keepe the fame he never will.
aman may more truely and justly lay unto (or rather of) a prating fellow,
Powre I wife words, and counfell what I can

Powre I wife words, and counfell what I ca With all my skill unto a fottifh man, Unneth I shall be able him to fill, In case receive the same he never will.

and in trueth, more properly it may be faid. That one powreth good advertisements about such an one and beside him rather, than into him, so long as he either speaketh unto him that listness not, or giveth no care unto them that speake: for if a pratting sellow chance to heate some short and little tale, such is the nature of this disease called Garrulitie, that his hearing is but a kind of taking his winde new, to babble it foorth againe immediatly, much more than it was, or like whitle-poolewhich what soever it taketh once, the same it sendeth up againe very often with the vantage. Within the city Olympia there was a porch or gallery called Heptaphones, for that some voice by sundry resections and reverberations it rendred seven eccloses: but if some speech come to the cares of a babbler, and enter never so little in, by and by it resoundeth agains on every side,

And firres the strings of secret heart within, Which should be still, and not be moon'd therein.

informuch, as a man may well fay: That the conducts and paffages of their hearing reach not to the braine where their foule and minde is feared, but onely to their tongue: by reafon whereof, whereas in others, the words that be heard doorest in their understanding, in pratters they we

away and runne out prefently, and afterwards they goe up and downe like emptie veffels, void of fenie and full of found. Well, as incurable as fuch feeme to be, yet if it may be thought availeable to leave no experiment untried for to doe fuch good, we may begin our cure, and fay thus unto a buffe pratter:

Peace my good fonne, for Taciturnitie Brings ay with it much good commodity.

But among the rest, these be the two chiefe and principall, namely: To heare and to be heard; of which twaine, our importunate talkers can attaine neither the one northe other, fo unhappie they are as to be frustrate of that which they so much defire. As for other passions and maladies of the foule, namely, Avarice, Ambition, Love and Voluptuousnesse, they doe all of them in some fortenjoy their defire; but the thing that troubleth and tormenteth these babbling sellowes most, is this: That feeking for audience so much as they do, and nothing more, they can never meet with it, but every man shunneth their company, and slieth away as fast as his legges will carrie him; for whether men be fet together in a knot, fadly talking in their round chaires, or walking in companie, let them espie one of these pratiers comming toward them, away they go every one, that a man would fay the retreat were founded, fo quickly they retire. And like as when in some affembly if all be husht on a sudden so as there is not a word, wee use to say that Mercurie is come among them; even fo when a prating foole entreth into a place where friends are either fet at the boord to make merry, or otherwife met together in counfell, everie o man streightwaies is filent and holdeth his peace, as being unwilling to minister occasion unto him of talke; but if himselfe begin first to open his lips, up they rife all and are soone gone, as mariners suspecting, & doubting by the whistling northern wind from the top of craggie rocks, and promontories, tome rough fea, and fearing to be flomacke-ficke, retire betimes into a bay for harbor: whereby it commeth to paffe also, that neither at a supper can be meet with guests willing to eate and drinke with him, nor yet companions to lodge with him, either in journey by land, or voiage by fea, unlesse it be by constreint. For so importunate he is alwaies, that onewhile he is ready to hang upon a mans cloake wherefoever he goes, another while he takes hold on the fide of his beard, as if he knocked at the doore with his hand to force him to speake; in which case well fare a good paire of legs, for they are woorth much monie at such a time; as Archilochus was wont to fay, yea and Aristotle alfo that wife Philosopher: for when upon a time he was much troubled with one of these busic praters, who haunted and wearied him out of measure with cavilling tales and many foolish and absurd discourses, iterating estsoones these words; And is not this a woonderful thing Aristotle? No iwis (quoth he againe) but this were a wonderrather, if a man that hath feet of his owne should stand still and abide to heare you thus prate. Unto another also of the same stamp, who after much printe prattle and a long discourse, faid thus unto him: I doubt I have bin tedious unto you Philosopher with my many words; No in good footh (quoth Aristotle unto him:) for I gave no eare at all unto you. For if otherwhiles men cannot shake such praters off, but must of necessitie let their tongues walke, this benefit he hath by the foule, that the retireth inwardly all the while lending the outward eares onely for o them to beat upon, and dath as it were all about with their jangling bibble babble; for the in the meane time is otherwise occupied, and discourseth to herselfe of divers matters within; by which meanes fuch fellowes can meet with no hearers that take heed what they fay, or beleeve their words. For as it is generally held, that the naturall feed of fuch as are lecherous and much given to the companie of women is unfruitfull and of no force to engender; even fo the talke of these great praters is vaine, barren, and altogether fruitlesse. And yet there is no part or member of our body that nature hath fo furely defended (as it were) with a ftrong rampar, as the tongue: for before it she hath set a pallaisado of sharpe teeth, to the end that if peradventure it will not obey reason, which within holdeth it hard as with a straite bridle, but it will blatter out and not tarrie within, we might bite it until it bleed againe, and so restraine the intemperance therof. For 30 Euripides faid not, that houses unbolted;

But tongues and mouth's unbrid led if they bee Shall find in th' end mishap and miserte.

And those in my conceit who say that housen without dores, and putses without strings, serve their masters in no steed; and yet in the meane time, neither set hatch nor locke unto their mouthes, but suffer them rum out and overflow continually, like unto the mouth of the sea Pontauthese I say in mine opinion seeme to make no other account of words than of the basest thing in the world; whereby they are never beleeved (say what they will) and yet this is the pro-

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brern est.

per end and scopethat all speech tendeth to, namely to winne credit with the hearers; and no man will ever believe these great talkers, no not when they speake the truth. For like as wheat if be it enclosed within some danke or most vessell, doths well and yeeld more in measure, but for use is found to be worse; even so it is with the talke of a pratting person; well may he multiply and augment it with lying, but by that meanes it seefeth all the force of perswation. Moreover what modest, eivil, and honest man is there, who would not verie carefully take heed of drunkenness? for anger (as some say) may well be ranged with rage & madnesse; and drunkennessed and well with her, or rather is * madness it selle, onely in circumstance of time it may be conneed lesse, for that it continued helse while, but surely in regard of the cause it is greater, for that it is voluntarie, and we tunne wilfully into it, and without any constraint. Now there is no a one thing for which drunkennesse is so much blamed and accused as for intemperate speech and talke without end: for as the Poët saith,

Wine makes a man who is both wife and grave To fing and chant to laugh full wantonly, It caufeth him to dance, and eke tor ave, And many things to do undecently.

for the greatest and woorst matter that ensueth thereupon is not finging, laughing and dauncing; there is another inconvenience in comparison whereof all these are nothing, and

To blurt abroad, and those words to reveale,

Which better were within for to conceale. This is (I fay) the mischiese most dangerous of all the rest and it may be that the Poët coverily would afforle that question which the Philosophers have propounded and disputed upon; namely, what difference there might be, betweene liberall drinking of wine, and starke drunken neffe? in attributing unto the former mirthand jocundneffe extraordinarie, and to the latter much babling and foolift prattle: for according to the common proverbe, that which is feated in the heart and thought of a lober person, lieth alost in the mouth and tongue of a drunkard And therefore wifely answered the Philosopher Bias unto one of these jangling and prating companions: for when he feemed to marke him for fitting still, and saying nothing at a feat, informuch as he gave him the lob and foole for it: And how is it possible (quoth he) that a foole; should hold his peace at the table? There was upon a time a citizen of Athens who feasted the embaffadors of the king of Perfia, and for that he perceived that thele great Lords would take delight in the companie of learned men and Philosophers, upon a brave minde that he carried, invited they were all & met there together: now when all the rest began to discourse in general, and everie man seemed to put in some vie for himselfe, and to hold and maintaine one theame or other, Zeno who fate among them was onely filent and spake not a word; whereupon the said Embaffadors and ftrangers of Persia began to bee merrie with him and to drinke unto him round, faying in the end: And what shall wereport of you Sir Zeno unto the King our master? Marie (quoth he) no more but this, that there is an ancient man at Athens, who can fit at the boord and fay nothing. Thus you fee that filence argueth deepe and profound wifedome; it im 40 plieth fobrietie, and is a mysticall secret and divine vertue; whereas drunkennesse is talkative, full of words, void of fense and reason; and indeed thereupon multiplieth so many words, and is ever jangling. And in truth the Philosophers themselves when they define drunkennesse say: That it is a kinde of raving and speaking idlely at the table upon drinking too much wine; whereby it is evident, that they doe not fimply condemne drinking, fo that a man keepe himfelfe within the bounds of modestie and filence; but it is excessive and foolish talke, that of drinking winemaketh drunkennesse. Thus the drunkard raveth and talketh idlely when he is cup-shotten at the boord; but the pratter and man of many words doth it alwaies and in every place, in the market and common hal, at the theatre, in the publike galleries and walking places, by day and by night If he be a physician and visit his patient, certes he is more grievous, and doth more hurt in his cure than the maladie it selfe; if he be a passenger with others in a ship, all the companie had rather be sea-sicke than heare him prate; if he set to praise thee, thou wert better to be dispraised by another; and in a word, a man shall have more pleasure and delight to converse and commune with lewed persons so they be discreet in their speech, than with others that be business. kers, though otherwise they be good honest men. True it is indeed that old Nestor in a tragedie of sophocles speaking unto Ajax (who overshothimselfe in some hot and hasty words) for to age peale and pacifie him, faith thus after a milde and gracious maner,

I blame not you fir Ajax for your speech N aught though it be, your deeds are nothing leech. t surely we are not so well affected unto a vaine-prating sellow;

But furely we are not fo well affected unto a vaine-prating fellow; for his importunate and unfeafonable words, marre all his good works, and make them to lofe their grace. Lyfus upon a time, at the requelt of one who had a caufe to plead unto at the barre, penned an oration for his purpofe and gave it him. The partie after he had read and read it over againe, came unto Lyfus heavie and ill-appaied faying; The first time that I perufed your oration, the thought it was excellently well written, and I wondred at it; but when I tooke it a fecond and third time in hand, it feemed very fimply endited & caried no forcible and effectuall full with it: Why(quoth Lyfus, and similed withall) know you not that you are to pronounce it but once before the judges? and yet see & marke withall the perswasive eloquence and sweet grace that is in the writing of Lyfus, for I may be bold to say and affirme of him, that

The Muses with their broided violet haire, Grac'd him with favour much and beauty faire.

And among those singular commendations that are given out of any Poët; most true it is that Homer is he alone of all that ever were, who overcame all satietie of the reader; seeming evermore new and fresh, sourishing alwaies in the prime of lovely grace, and appearing yoong shill and amiable to win savour; howbeit in speaking and prosessing thus much of himselse,

It greeves me much for to rehear se againe At ale that once delivered hath beene plaine.

He sheweth sufficiently that he avoideth what he can, and searcth that tedious satietic which solloweth hard at heeles, & laieth wait (as it were) unto all long traines of speechsin which regard he leaderly the reader & hearer of his Poemes from one discourse & narration to another, and evermore with novelties doth fo refresh and recreate him, that he thinketh he hath never enough; whereas our long-tongued chatterers do after a fort wound and weary the eares of their hearers by their tautologies and vaine repetitions of the fame thing as they that foile and flourry writing tables when they be faire fooured and clenfed; and therefore let us fet this first and formost before their eies, that like as they who force men to drinke wine out of measure and undelaied with water, are the caufe that the good bleffing which was given us to rejoice our hearts and 20 make us pleafant and merry, driveth fome into fadneffe, and others into drunkenneffe and violence; even fo they that beyond all reason and to no purpose use their speech (which is a thing otherwile counted the most delightsome and amiable meanes of conference and societie that men have together) cause it to bee inhumane and unsociable, displeasing those whom they thought to pleafe, making them to be mocked at their hands, of whom they looked to be well effectived, and to have their evill will and displeasure, whose love and amitie they made reckoning of. And even as hee by good right may be effected incourteous and altogether uncivill, who with the girdle and tiffue of Venus, wherein are allforts of kind and amiable allurements, should repell and drive from him as many as defire his companie; so hee that with his speech maketh others heavie and himfelfe hatefull, may well be held and reputed for a graceleffe man 40 and of no bringing up in the world. As for other passions and maladies of the minde, some are dangerous, others odious, and fome againe ridiculous and expoled to mockerie; but garrulity is subject unto all these inconveniences at once. For such solke as are noted for their lavish tongue, are a meere laughing stocke, and in every common and ordinary report of theirs, they minister occasion of laughter; hated they be for their relation of ill newes, and in danger they are because they cannot conceale and keepeclose their owne secrets: heereupon Anachar sis being invited one day & feasted by Solon, was reputed wife, for that being afleepe he was found and feene holding his right hand to his mouth, and his left upon his privities and natural parts: for good reason he had to thinke, that the tongue required and needed the stronger bridle and bit to restreine it : and in very truth it were a hard matter to reckon so many persons undone o and overthrowne by their intemperate and loose life, as there have beene cities and mightie States ruinated and subverted utterly, by the revealing and opening of some secrets. It fortuned that whiles Sylla did inleaguer before the citie of athens, and had not leafure to stay there long and continue the fiege, by reason of other affaires and troubles pressed him fore, for of one side king Mithridates invaded and harmed Asia, and on the other side the faction of Marine gathered itength; and having gotten head, prevailed much within Rome: cetteine old fellowes being met in a barbars shop within the city of Ashens, who were blabs of their tongues, clattered it out in their talk together, that a certaine quarter of the citie named Heptacalekon was not fufficiently

guarded, and therefore the towne in danger to be surprised by that part; which talke of theirs was over-heard by certeine espies, who advertised Sylla so much; whereupon immediately hee brought all his forces to that fide, and about midnight gave an hot affault, made entricand went within a very little of forcing the citie, and being mafter of it all, for he filled the whole ftreete called Ceramicum with flaughter and dead carcaffes, infomuch as the chanels ran downe with bloud. Now was hee cruelly bent against the Athenians more for their hard language which they gave him than for any offence or injurie otherwise that they did unto him, for they had flouted and mocked Sylla, together with his wife Metella; and for that purpose they would get upon the walles and fay; syllais a Sycamoore or Mulberie, bestrewed all over with dufty-meale; befides many other fuch foolish jibes and taunts; and fo for the lightest thing in the world (as Plato faith) to wit, words which are but winde, they brought upon their heads a most heavie and grievous penaltie. The garrulitie and over-much talke of one man, was the only hinderance that the citie of Rome was not fet free and delivered from the tyrannic of Nero, For there was but one night betweene the time that Nero should have beene murthered on the inforrow, and all things were readic and prepared for the purpose: but he who had undertaken the execution of that feat, as he went toward the Theatre, espied one of those persons who were condemned to die, bound and pinnioned at the prison doore, and readie to be led and brought before Nero; who hearing him to make pitcous moane and lamenting his miferable fortune, steps to him and rounding him softly in the eare: Pray to God poore man (quoth he) that this one day may paffe over thy head, and that thou die not to day, for to morrow thou shalt conme 20 thankes. The poore prisoner taking hold presently of this anigmaticall and darke speech, and thinking (as I fuppose) that one bird in hand is better than two in bush, and according to the common faying that

Afoole is he who leaving that which readie is and fure, Doth follow after things that be increadie and unfure.

made choise of faving his life by the surer way, rather than by the juster meanes; for he discovered unto Nero that which the man had whifpered fecretly unto him : whereupon prefently the partie was apprehended and carried away to the place of torture, where by racking, fcott 30 ching and fourging; he was urged miferable wretch, to confesse and speake out that perforce, which of himselfe he had revealed without any constraint at all. Zeno the Philosopher fearing that whe his body was put to dolorous and horrible torments, he should be forced even against his will to bewray and disclose some secret plots bit-off his tongue with his owne teeth and spitit in the Tyrants face. Notable is the example of Leana, and the reward which the had for conteining and ruling her tongue is fingular. An harlot the was and verie familiar with Harmodius and Ariflogiton; by meanes of which inward acquaintance, privie the was and partie as farre foorth as a woman might be to that conspiracie which they had complotted against the usurping tyrants of Athens, and the hopes that they builded upon (Drunke the had out of that faire cup of Love, and thereby vowed never to reveale the fecrets of god Cupid.) Now after that thele w two paramours and lovers of hers had failed of their enterprise and were put to death; she was called into question and put to torture, and therewith commaunded to declare the rest of the complices in that conspiracie, who as yet were unknowen and not brought to light: but so constant and resolute the was, that the would not detect so much as one, but endured all paines and extremities whatfoever; whereby the thewed that those two young gentlemen had done nothing unfitting their persons and nobilitie, in making choise to be enamoured of her. In regard of which rare fecrecie of hers, the Athenians caused a Lionesse to be made of brasse withouta tongue, and the fame in memoriall of her to be erected and fet up at the verie gate and entrie of their Citadell; giving posteritie to understand by the generosity of that beast, what an undanuted and invincible heart the had; and likewise of what taciturnitie and trust in keeping secrets, 19 by making it tongueleffe: and to fay a tructh, never any word spoken served to so good stead as many concealed and held in, have profited. For why? A man may one time or other utter that which he once kept in; but being spoken, it cannot possibly be recalled and unsaid, for out it is gone alreadie and spread abroad fundrie waies. And hereupon it is (I suppose) that we have men to teach us for to speake, but we learne of the gods to hold our peace. For in facrifices, religious mysteries, and ceremonies of divine service we receive by tradition, a custome to keepe silence. And even so, the Poet Homer feigned ulyffes (whose eloquence otherwise was so sweet) to be of

all men most filent and of fewest words; his sonne likewise, his wife and nourse, whom you may heare thus speaking:

As soone shall stocke of sturdy oake it tell, Or iron so strong as I will it reveale.

And ulyffes himselfe sitting by Penelope, before he would be knowen unto her who he was,

Griev din hismind, and pitted to behold Hiswife by teares to hew what heart did feele, But all the while his eies he ftiffe did hold, Which ftr d no more than horne or fturdie fteele.

10 fo full was his tongue of patience, and his lips of continence. For why? reason had all the parts
of his bodie so obeisant and readie at command, that it gave order to the cies not to shed teares;
to the tongue not to utter a word; to the heart not to pant or tremble, nor so much as to so or
sight:

Thus unto reason obeisant was his heart, Perswaded all to take in better part.

yea his reason had gotten the maltrie of those inward and secret motions which are voide and incapable of reason, as having under her hand the verie blood and vitall spirits in all obeysance: his people also and traine about him were for the most part of that disposition; for what wanted this of constancy & loyalty to their lord in the highest degree, to suffer themselves to be pulled 20 & thaled, to be tugged & tossed, yea & dashed against the hard ground under foote by the giant Cyclops, rather than to utter one word against the suffer, or to bewray that logge of wood which was bornt at the one end, & an instrument made readie for to put out his onely cie that he had? nay they endured rather to be eaten & devoured raw by him, that to disclose any of Utyses his secrets. Pittaem therefore did not amisse, who when the King of Egypt had sent unto him abeast for facrifice, and willed him withall to take out and lay apart the best and woorst piece thereof, plucked out the tongue and sent it unto him, as being the organ of many good things, and no lesse instrument of the woorst that be in the world. And Ladie Ino in Euripides speaking sreely of herfelle, faith that she knew the time.

When that she ought her tongue to hold, And when to speake, she might be bold.

For certainly those who have had noble and princely bringing up in deed, learne first to keepe filence, and afterwards how to speake. And therefore king Antigonus the great, when his sonne upon a time asked him, When they should dislodge and breake up the campe: What sonne (quoth hee) art thou alone afraid, that when the time comes thou shalt not heare the trumpet found the remove? Loe, how he would not trust him with a word of secrecie, unto whom he was to leave his kingdome in fuccession! teaching him thereby, that he also another day should in fuch cases be wary and spare his speech. Olde Metellus likewise, being asked such another secret as touching the armie and fetting forward of fome expedition: If I wift (quoth he) that my Thirt which is next my skinne, knew this my inward intent and fecret purpose, I would put it off 40 and fling it into the fire. King Eumenes, being advertised that Craterus was comming against him with his forces, kept it to himselfe, and would not acquaint any of his necrest friends therewith, but made femblance and gave it out (though untruly) that it was Neoptolemus who had the leading of that power; for him did his fouldiours contemne and make no reckoning of, whereas the glory and renowme of Craterio they had in admiration, and loved his vertue and valour: now when no man els but himfelfeknew of Craterus his being in the field, they gave him battell, vanquished him, slew him before they were aware, neither tooke they knowledge of him before they found him dead on the ground. See how by a stratageme of secrecie and silence the victorie was atchieved, onely by concealing to hardie and terrible an enemie; infomuch, as his very friends about him admired more his wifedome in keeping this fecret from so them, than complained of his diffidence and diftrust of them. And fay that a man should complaine of thee in fuch a case, better it were yet to be challenged and blamed for distrusting, all the while thou remainest fase and obtaine a victorie by that meanes, than to be justly accused after an overthrow, for being to open and trufting to cafily. Moreover, how dareft thou confidently and boldly blame and reproove another for not keeping that fecret, which thou thy felfe hast revealed? for if it was behoovefull and expedient that it should not be knowen, why hast thou tolde it to another? but in case when thou hast let flie a secret from thy selse unto a man, thou wouldest have him to holde it in, and notblutt it out, surely it can not be but thou hast better confidence in another than thy felfe: now if he be like thy felfe, who will pity thee if thou come by a mischiese? is he better, and so by that meanes saveth thee harmelesse beyond all reafon and ordinary course? then hast thou met with one more faithfull to thee than thou art thy felfe: but haply thou wilt fay: He is my very friend; so hath he another friend (be fure) whom he will do as much for, and disclose the same secret unto, and that friend (no doubt) hath ano. ther. Thus one word will get more still, it will grow and multiplie by a fute and sequence linked & hanging to an intemperate tongue: for like as Unitie, fo long as the paffeth not her bounds. but continueth and remaineth still in herselfe, is one and no more, in which respect she is called in Greeke, Monas, that is to fay, Alone; whereas the number of twaine is the beginning of a diversitie (as it were) and difference, and therefore indefinite; for straight-waies is Unitie passed to forth of it felfe by doubling, and fo turneth to a plurality; even fo a word or speech all the while it abideth enclosed in him who first knew it, is truely and properly called a Secret, but after itis once gotten forth and fet a going, fo that it is come unto another, it beginneth to take the name of a common brute and rumour : for asthe Poet very well faith; Words have wings. A bird, if The be let flie once out of our hands, it is much adoc to catch againe, and even fo, when a word bath paffed out of a mans mouth, hardly or unneth may we withholde or recover; for it flieth amaine, it flappeth her light wings, fetching many a round compasse, and spreadeth every way from one quarter to another: well may mariners flay a ship with cables and ankers, when they. olence of the winde is ready to drive and carrie her an end, or at least-wife they may moderate her swift & flight course; but if a word be iffued out of the mouth, as out of her haven, and have w gotten sea-roome, there is no bay nor harborough to ride in, there is no casting of ankerwill ferve the turne, away the goes with a mighty noise and hurry, untill in the end the runnes upon fome rocke and is fplit, or els into a great and deepe gulfe, to the present danger of him who set her foorth;

For in small time, and with a little sparke Of sire, aman may burne the sorrest tall Of Ida mount; evin so (who list to marke) All towne will heare, a word to one let fall.

The Senate of Rome upon a time fat in fadde and ferious counfell many daies together, about a matter of great fecrecie: now the thing being fo much the more suspected and hearkened as p ter, as it was leffe apparent and knowen abroad; a certaine Romane dame, otherwife a good fober and wife matron (howbeit a woman) importuned her husband and instantly befoughthin, of all loves to tell her what this fecret matter might be upon which they did fit fo close in confultation? protefling with many an oath and execrable curle to keepe filence and not to utterit to any creature in the world; you must thinke also, that she had teares at command, lamenting and complaining withall, what an unhappie woman the was, in cafe her husband would not truft her fo much as with a word: the Romane Senatour her husband minding to trie and reprove her folly: Thou halt overcome me (fweet heart, quoth hee) and through thine importunitie, thou shalt heare of a strange and terrible occurrent that troubleth us all. So it is, that we are advertifed by our Priefts, that there hath bene a larke of late feene flying in the aire, with a golden # cop or creft on her head in maner of an helmer, and withall, bearing a javelin : hereupon wedo conferre and confult with our Soothfaiers and Diviners, defirous to be certified out of their learning, whether this prodigious token portend good or hurt to the Common-weale? but keepe it to thy felfe (as thou lovest me) and tell it no bodie. When he had thus said, he went forth toward the Common hall and Market place: his wife incontinently had no fooner spied one of her waiting-maidens comming into the roome, but she drew her apart, begunne to heat and knocke her owne brest, to rent and teare the haire off her head, and therewith: Ah, woe's me (quoth she) for my poore husband, my sweet native countrey; alas and weladay, what shall we doe, and what will become of us all; as if thee taught her maide and were defirous that thee should fay thus unto her againe: Why, what is the matter mistresse? Now when the maiden? thereupon asked her, What newes? Thee fet tale an end and told all, marie flee forgat not the common and ordinarie burden or clause, that all blabs of their tongue use to come in with: But in any case (quoth she) say nothing, but keepe it to thy selfe. Scarse was shee gone out of her mistresse sight, but seeing one of her fellowes whom she found most at leasure and doing link or nothing, to her the imparted all. That wench againe made no more adoo, but to her lover the goes, who haply then was come to vifite her, and telleth him as much. By this meanes the tale was bruted abroad, and passed roundly from one to another; infomuch as the rumour thereof

was runne into the market place, and there went currant before the first author, and deviser there of himselfe was gotten thither. For there meetes with him one of his familiars and friends: How now (quoth he) are you come but now directly from your house to the matket place: No (quoth he againe) I am but newly come: Why then belike (faith the other) you have heard no newes? Newes (quoth he) what newes should I heare? and what tidings can you tell me off? Why man (answered he agame) there hath beene of late a Larke scene flying with a golden cop or crest on her head, and carrying beside a javelin; and the Consuls with other Magistrates are readie to call a Senate house for to fit upon this strange occurrent. With that the Senatour beforefaid, turning afide & fmiling, thus faid to himfelte: Weldone wife, I con thee thank for thy 10 quicknes & celeritie, thou hast quit thy selfe well indeed, that the word which erewhile I uttered unto thee, is gotten before me into the market place. Well, the first thing that he did was this, To the Magiltrates he went straightwaies, fignified unto them the occasion of this speech, and freed them from all feare and trouble: but when he was come home to his owne house he fell in hand to chastice his wife: How now Dame (quoth he) how is this come to passe; you have undone me for ever; for it is found and knowen for a trueth, that this fecret and matter of counfell which I imparred to you, is divulged and published abroad, and that out of my house; and thus your unbridled tongue is the cause that I must abandon and fly my countrey, and foorthwith depart into exile. Now when at the first she would have denied the thing stourly, and alledged for her excuse and defence, faying: Are not there three hundred Senatours besides o your selfe, who heard it as well as you? No marvell then if it be knowen abroad. What tell you me of three hundred (quoth he?) Upon your importunate inflance, I devifed it of mine owne head, in mirth to trie your filence, and whether you could keepe counfell. Certes, this Senator was a wife man and went fafely and warily to worke, who to make proofe of his wife, whom hee tooke to be no founder nor furer than a crackt and rotten veffell, would not poure into it either wine or oile, but water only, to fee if it would leake & run out. But Fulvius one of the favorits & minnions of Augustus the Emperor, when he was now well stepped in vecres, having heard him. toward his latter daies, lamenting and bewailing the deffolate estate of his house, in that he had no children of his owne bodie begotten; and that of his three nephewes or fifters children two were dead, and Posthumius (who onely remained alive) upon an imputation there upon him 30 confined, and living in banithment, whereupon he was enforced to bring in his wives fonne. and declare him heire apparant to succeed him in the Empire: notwithstanding upon a tender compassion, he was otherwhiles in deliberation with himselse, and minded to recall his foresaid fifters fonne from exile, and the place whereunto he was confined. Fulvius (I fay) being privy to these moanes and desseignes of his, went home and told his wife all that he had heard. Shee could not hold but goes to the Empresse Livia, wife of Augustus, and reported what her husband Fulvius had told her. Wherenpon Livis taking great indignation, sharply did contest and expostulate with Cafar in these termes: That seeing it is so (quoth she) that you had so long before projected & determined fuch a thing, as to cal home againe your nephew aforefaid; why fent you not for him at the first, but exposed me to hatred, enmity & war with him, who another 40 day should weare the Diademe and be Emperor after your decease? Well the next morning betimes, when Fulvius came, as his maner was, to falute Cafar and give him good morrow, after he had faid unto him zonge Kairres; that is, God fave you Cafar. He refaluted him no otherwise buthis, viture génére; that is, God make you wife Fulvius. Fulvius soone found him and conceived presently what hee meant thereby; whereupon hee retired home to his house withall speede, and called for his wife; unto whom: Cafar (quoth hee) is come to the knowledge that I have not kept his counfell nor concealed his fecrets; and therefore I am refolved to make my felfe away with mine owne handes. And well woorthie (quoth shee) for justly you have deserved death, who having lived so long with me, knew not the incontinence of my tongue all this while, norwould take heed and beware of it; but yet fuffer me first 50 to die upon your fword; and with that catching hold therof, killed herselse before her husband. And therefore Philippides the Comædian, did verie wifely in his answere to King Lysimachus, who by way of all courtefie making much of him, and minding to do him honour, demaunded of him thus: What wouldest thou have me to impart unto thee of all other treasure and riches that I have? What it shall please your Majestie (quoth he) my gracious Lord, so it be none of

Moreover, there is adjoined ordinarily unto Garrulitie, another vice no lesse than it; namely, Busic intermedling and Curiositie, for men desire to heare and know much newes, because

hey

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they may report and blase the same abroad, and especially if they be secrets. Thus goe they up and downe liftening, enquiring and fearching if they can find and discover some close and hid. den speeches, adding as it were some olde surcharge of odious matters to their toics and soole. ries; which maketh them afterwards to be like unto little boies, who neither can hold yeein their hands, nor yet will let it goe; or to fay more truely, they classe and conteine in their bo. foms fecret speeches, refembling serpents, which they are not able to hold and keepe long, but are eaten and gnawen by them. It is faid that certaine fifthes called the Sea-needles, yea and the vipers doe cleave and burst when they bring foorth their your 3; and even so, secrets when they be let fall out of their mouthes who can not containe them, undo and overthrow those that reveale them. King Seleucus (him I meane who was furnamed Callinicus, that is, the victori-10 ous Conquerour) in one battell against the Galatians, was defaited hee and his whole power; whereupon he tooke from his head the Diademe or Royall band that he ware, and rode away on the spurre on horsebacke with three or source in his companie, wandring through defarts and by waies unknowen fo long, untill both horse and man were done, and readie to faint for weari. neffe: at length he came unto a countrey kearnes or peafants cottage; and finding (by good fortune) the good man of the house within, asked for bread and water; which the faid peasantor cottier gave unto him; and not that onely, but looke what the field would afoord els belides, he imparted unto him and his company with a willing heart and in great plentie, making them the best cheere that hee could devise: in the end he knew the kings face, whereupon he tooke such joy, in that his hap was to entertaine the king in his necessitie, that he could not conteine him- 20 felfe, nor fecond the king in diffembling his knowledge, who defired nothing more, than to be unknowen: when hee had therefore brought the king onward on his way, and was to take his leave of him: Adieu (quoth he) king Seleucus: with that the king reached foorth his hand, and drew him toward him, as if he would have kiffed him, & withall, beckned to one of his followers, and gave him a fecret token to take his fword and make the man shorter by the head.

Thus whiles he spake (I wot not what) his head Off goes, and ties in dust when he was dead.

whereas, if he could have held his tongue a little while longer, and mastered himselse, when the king afterwards had better fortune and recovered his greatnesse and puissance, he should in my conceit have gotten more thanks at his hands, and beene better rewarded for keeping filence, 30 than for all the courrefie and hospitalitie that he shewed. And yet this fellow had in some fort a colourable excuse for this intemperate tongue of his, to wit, his owne hopes and the good will that he bare unto the king: but the most part of these pratters vndo themselves without any cause or pretense at all of reason: like as it befell unto Denys the tyrants barbar: for when (upon a time) there were fome talking in his shop as touching his tyrannicall government and estate, how affured it was, and as hard to be ruined or overthrowen, as it is to breake the Diamond: the faid barbar laughing thereat: I marvell (quoth he) that you should fay so of Denys, who is so of ten under my hands, and at whose throat in a maner every day I holde my rasor: these words were foone carried to the tyrant Denys, who faire crucified this barbar and hanged him for his foolish words. And to fay a trueth, all the fort of these barbars be commonly busie fellowes 40 with their tongue; and no marvell, for lightly the greatest praters and idlest persons in a countrey, frequent the barbars thop, and fit in his chaire, where they keepe fuch chat, that it cannot be, but by hearing them prate fo customably, his tongue also must walke with them. And therefore king Archelaus answered very pleasantly unto a barbar of his, that was a man of no few words, who when he had cast his linnen cloth about his shoulders, said unto him: Sir, may it please your Highnesse to tell me how I shall cut or shave you: Mary (quoth he) holding thy tongue, and faying not a word. A barbar it was, who first reported in the city of Athens, the newes of that great discomfiture and overthrow which the Athenians received in Sicily; for keeping his shop (as he did) in that end of the suburbs called Pyraum, he had no sooner heard the faid unlucky newes of a certaine flave who fled from thence out of the field, when it was loft, but 50 leaving shop and all at fixe and seven, ran directly into the city, and never rested to bring the said tidings, and whiles they were fresh and fire-new,

For feare some els might all the honour win, And he too late, or second, should come in.

Now upon the broching of these unwelcome ridings, a man may well thinke (and not without good cause) that there was a great stirre within the city; informuch, as the people affembled to gether into the Market place or Common hall, and search was made for the authour of this sub-

mour : hereupon the faid barbar was haled and brought before the bodie of the people, and exanined; who knew not fo much as the name of the partie of whom hee heard this newes; But well affured I am (quoth he) that one faid fo, mary who it was or what his name might be, I can not tell. Thus it was taken for an headlesse tale, and the whole Theatre or Assembly was to moved to anger, that they cried out with one voice; Away with the villaine, have the varlet to the racke, fet the knave noon the wheele, he it is onely that hath made all on his owne fingers ends, this hath he and none but he devised; for who els hath heard it, or who besides him hath beleewedit? Well, the wheele was brought, and upon it was the barbar stretched: meane while, and even as the poore wretch was hoifed thereupon, beholde there arrived and came to the citie, athofe who brought certaine newes in deed of the faid defeature, even they who made a shift to escape out of that infortunate field: then brake up the affembly, and every man departed and retired home to his owne house, for to bewaile his owne private losse and calamity, leaving the filly barbar lying along bound to the wheele, and racked out to the length, and there remained he untill it was very late in the evening, at what time he was let loofe; and no fooner was he at liberty, but he must needs enquire newes of the executioner, & namely; what they heard abroad of the Generall himselse Nicias, and in what fort he was slaine? So inexpugnable and incorrigible a vice is this, gotten by custome of much talke, that a man can not leave it, though he were going to the gallowes, nor keepe in those tidings which no man is willing to heare: for certes, like as they who have drunke bitter potions or unfavory medicines, can not away with the very o cups wherein they were; even fo, they that bring evill and heavie tidings, are ordinarily hated and deterted of those unto whom they report the same. And therefore Sophicles the Poet hath verie finely distinguished upon this point in these verses:

Messenger.

Isit your heart, or els your eare,

That this offends, which you do heare?

Creon.

And why do ft thou fearch my difeafe.

To know what griefe doth me diffleafe?

Messenger.

His deeds (1 see) offend your heart,

But my words cause your eares to smart. Well then, those who tell us any wofull newes be as odious as they who worke our wo; and yet for all that, there is no restreint and brideling of an untemperate tongue that is given to walke and overreach. It fortuned one day at Lacedamon, that the temple of Juno called there Chalciacos was robbed, and within it was found a certeine emptie flagon or stone bottle for wine: great running there was and concourfe of the people thither, and men could not tell what to make of that flagon: at last one of them that stood by; My masters (quoth he) if you will give me leave, I shall tell you what my conceit is of that flagon, for my minde gives me (faith he) that these church-robbers who projected to execute fo perilous an enterprife, had first drunke the juice of hemlockebefore they entred into the action, and afterwards brought wine with them in this bottle, to the end that if they were not furprifed nor taken in the maner, they might fave their lives by drinking each of them a good draught of meere wine; the nature and vertue whereof (as you know well enough) is to quench as it were and diffolve the vigour and strength of that poison, and so goe their waies safe enough, but if it chance that they were taken in the deed doing, then they might by meanes of that hemlocke which they had drunke die an eafie death, and without any great paine and torment, before that they were put to torture by the magistrate. He had no sooner delivered this speech, but the whole companie who heard his words, thought verily that such a contrived devise, and so deepe a reach as this never came from one that suspected such a matter, but rather knew that it was so indeed; whereupon they slocked o round about, and hemmed him in, and on everie fide each one had a faying unto him: And what art thou (quoth one?) From whence art thou faith another? Here comes one and asketh, who knew him? there fets upon him another, faying: And how commest thou by the light of all this that thou hast delivered? to be short, they handeled the matter so well, that they forced him to bewray himselfe in the end, and to confesse that he was one of them that committed the facriledge. Were northey also who murdered the Poët Ibyeus, discovered and taken after the fame manner? It hapned that the faid murderers were fet at a Theatre to behold the plaies and pastimes which were exhibited; and seeing a flight of Cranes over their heads, they whispered

one to another: Loe these be they that will revenge the death of Ibyeus. Now had not Ibyeus beene a long time before seene, and much search was made after him, because he was out of the way and miffed; whereupon they that fate next unto these men over-hearing those wordsof theirs, and well noting the speech, went directly to the Magistrates and Justices to give intelligence and information of their words. Then were they attached and examined; and thus being convicted, fuffered punishment in the end, not by the meanes of those Cranes that they talked of, but furely by their owne blab-tongues; as if some hellish furie had forced them to disclose that murder which they had committed. For like as in our bodies the members diseased and in paine, draw humours continually unto them, and all the corruption of the parts neere unto them flow thither; even fo, the tongue of a babling fellow, being never without an inflamma. tion and a feaverous pulse, draweth alwaies and gathereth to it one fecret and hidden thing or other. In which regard it ought to be well fented with a rampar, and the bulwarke of realon should evermore beset against it, which like unto a barre may stay and stop that overslowing and inconstant subricitie which it hath; that we be not more undiscreet and foolish beasts than geefe are, who when they be to take a flight into Cilicia over the mountaine Taurus, which is full of eagels, take up everie one in their bill a good big stone, which serveth them in stead of a locke or bridle to restraine their gagling; by which devise they may passe all night long without any noise, and not be heard at all or descried by the said eagles.

Now if one should demaund and aske of me, what person of all others is most mischievous and dangerous? I believe very well there is no man would name any other but a traitour. And, yet Euchyerates (as faith Demosthenes) for his treason covered his owne house with a rousemade of timber that he had out of Micedonie. Philocrates also lived richly and gallant of that great maffe of gold and filver, which he had of King Philip for betraying his countrey, and therewith furnished himselfe with brave harlots, gallant concubines, and daintie fishes. Euphor bisu also and Philagrus who betraied Eretria, were endowed by the King, with faire lands and possessions: but a pratter is a traitor voluntarie and for nothing, he demandeth no hire at all, neither low keth he to be folicited, but offereth himfelfe and his fervice; nor betraieth unto the enemies either horfes or walles, but revealeth hidden fecrets, and difclofeth speeches which are to be concealed, whether it bein justiciall matters of law or in feditious discords, or in managing of State affaires, it makes no matter, and no man conneth him thankes; nay he will thinke himfelfe beholden to others, if they will vouchfafe to give him audience. And therefore, that which is commonly faid to a prodigal person, who foolithly mis-spendeth and vainely wasteth his substance he cares not how, to gratifie every man: Thou art not liberal; this is no courtefie; a viceit is rather that thou art disposed unto thus to take pleasure in nothing, but giving and giving still. The fame rebuke and reprehension serveth verie fitly for a babler: Thou art no friend nor wellwiller of mine, thus to come and discover these things unto me; this is thy fault, and a disease which thou art ficke of that levelt to be clattering and halt no mind but of chatting.

Now would I have the Reader to thinke that I write not all this, so much to accuse and blame the vice and maladie of garrulitie, as to cure and heale the same. For by judgement and exercise we surmount and overcome the vices and passions of the minde; but judgement, that is to say, we knowledge, must go before: so no man accustometh himselse to void, and (as it were) to weed them out of the soule, unlessed he hate and detect them first. Now then, and never before, begin we to take an hatred to vices, when by the light of reason we consider and weigh the shame and soften that commeth unto us by them: as for example, we know and see that these great praters, whiles they defire to win love, gaine hatred; thinking to do a pleasure, they displease; looking to be well esteemed, are mocked and derided; they lay for sure; and get nothing; they hur their friends, aide their enemies, and undoe themselves.

So then, let this be the first receit and medicine for to cure this maladie; even the consideration and reckoning up of the shamefull infamies and painfull inconveniences that proceed and ensure thereof. The second remedy is, to take a survey of the contrary; that is to say, to heareal su waies, to remember and have ready at hand the praises and commendations of filence, the majestie (Isay) the mysticall gravitie and holinesse for faciturnitie, to represent alwaies unto our minde and understanding, how much more admired, how much more loved, and how sarre wifer they are reputed, who speake roundly at once, and in few words, their minde pithily; who in a short and compensions speech comprehend more good matter and substance a great deale, than these great talkers, whose tongues are unbrideled and run at randon. Those (I say) be they whom Platos to highly esteemeth, comparing them to skilfull and well practised Archers and

Datters, who have the feat of shooting arrowes and launcing darts; for they know how and when to speake graciously and bitterly, soundly, pithily and compactly. And verily, wise Lysurgus framed and exercised his citizens immedialy from their child-hood by keeping them downe at the first with silence to this short and sententious kinde of speech, whereby they spake alunios compendiously, and knit up much in a little. For like as they of Biskay or Celtiberia do make their steele of yron, by enterring it and letting it lie first within the ground, and then by putging and refining it from the groffe, terrene and earthly fubftance that it hath; even fothe Laconians speech hath no outward barke (as a man would fay) or crust upon it, but when all the superfluitie thereof is taken away, it is sleeled (as it were) and tempered, yea, and hath an edge upon it, fit for to worke withall and to pierce: and verily that apophthegmaticall and powerfull speech of theirs, that grace which they had to answere sententiously and with such gravity, together with a quicke and ready gift to meet at every turne with all objections, they attained unto by nothing els but by their much filence. Wherefore, it were very expedient to fee ever before the cies of these great praters, those short and witty speeches, that they may see what grace and gravity both, they have : as for example; The Lacedæmonians unto Philip, greeting: Dionyfus in Corinth. Also another time, when Philip had written unto them to this effect: If I enter once into the confines of Laconia, I wildestroy you utterly that you shal nevertise againe. They returned this answere againe in writing : Ales, that is, If. Likewise when King Demetrius in great displeasure and indignation, cried out aloud in these words: The Laced amonians have fent o unto me an embassador alone, and who bath no fellow; meaning that there came but one: the said embatfador nothing danted at his words, answered readily: One for one. Certes, they that used to fpeake thort and fententioully, were highly efteemed long ago with our ancients & forefathers. And hereupon it was that the AmphyEtiones, that is to fay, the Deputies or States for the generall counfell of all Greese, gave order, that there should be written over the doore of the Temple of Apollo Pythina, not the Odylee or Ilias of Homer; ne yet the Canticles or Parans of Pindarus; but these briefe sentences: Ivali ourter, that is, Know thy selfe. Music ayar, that is, Too much of nothing, also Eyvia, ween or and that is, Be suretie and make account to pay: so highly esteemed they a plaine, simple and round manner of speaking, which comprised in few words much matter, and a fentence maffie and found: and no marvell, for Apollo himfelfe loveth bre-, vitic, and is in his oracles verie fuccinct and pithy; wherefore els is he furnamed Loxias? but because he chooseth rather to avoide pluralitie than obscuritie of words. They also who without word uttered at all, fignifie the conceptions of their minde by certaine fymbolicall devifes, and after that maner deliver good leffons unto us; are they not fundrie waies commended and admired exceedingly? Thus Heraclitus in times past, being requested by his neighbours and fellow-citizens, to make a fententious speech unto them, and deliver his opinion as touching civil unitie and concord, mounted up into the pulpit, and taking a cup of cold water in his hand, befpiced it (as it were) with some meale, and with a sprig or two of the herbe Penniroyall, shooke all together: which done, he dranke it off, and fo came downe and went his way: giving them by this demonstration, thus much to understand; that if men would take up with a little and be o content with things at hand, without defiring coftly fuperfluities, it were the next way to keepe and preferve cities in peace and concord.

Seylurus a King of the Scythians left behind him fourfcore fonnes; and when the houre of his death drewneere, he called for a bundle of darts or a sheafe of arrowes to be brought unto him, which he put into his childrens hands one after another, and willed each one to breake and burst the same in pieces, bound as it was entire and whole together: which when they had affaied to do, and putting all their ftrength unto it, could not, but gave over: himfelfe tooke out of the sheafe or knitch the darts aforelaid one by one, and knapt them in twaine fingle as they were with facilitie: declaring by this devise, that so long as they held together, their union and agreement would be strong and invincible; but their discord and distunion would make them e feeble, and be an occasion that they should not long continue. He then, that continually shall have these & such like precedents in his mouth, and ordinarily repeat and remember the same, will peradventure take no great pleasure and delight in idle and superfluous words. For mine owne part, furely I am abashed mightily at the example of that domesticall servant at Rome, when I consider with my selfe what a great matter it is to be well advised before a man speaketh, and constantly to hold and maintaine the resolution of any purpose. Publius Piso the great Orator and Rhetorician, because he would provide that his people and servitours about him fhould not trouble his head with much prattle, gave order and commaundement unto them,

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that they should make answere unto his demaunds onely, and no more: now being minded one day to entertaine Cloding the chiefe ruler of the city at his house, he bad him to supper, and caused him to be sent for and called at the time accordingly; for a stately and royall seatthe had provided, by all likelihood, and as any man would thinke no leffe: now when supper time was come, the rest of the invited guests now present, Clodius onely they staied and looked for meane while, Pife had fent out oftentimes unto him one of his fervitours who was woont ordin narily to bid his guests for to see whether he were coming, or would come to supper or no? but when it grew late in the evening, to that there was no hope now that hee would be there: Now firrha (quoth Pifo to his man aforefaid) didft thou not invite and bid him? Yes iwis Sir: Why then comes he not: faid the mafter againe? Forfooth (quoth he) because he denied to come; And why toldest thou not me this immediately? Because sir, you never asked me the question. Well this was a Romane feruitor; but an Athenian fervant I trow whiles he is digging and del ving, will tell his mafter newes, and namely, what be the articles and capitulations, in the treaty and composition of peace. So powerfull and forcible is use and custome in all things, whereof I purpose now to treat; for that there is no bit nor bridle that is able to represse, tame, and keepe in a talkative tongue, but it is custome that must do the deed and conquer this maladie.

First and formost therefore, when in companie there shall be any question propounded by them that are about thee, frame and use thy selfe to hold thy tongue and be filent, untill thouse that everie man else resuleth to speake and make answere: for according to Sophoeles.

To counsell and to runne a course in race

Have not both twaine one end to hafte apace.

No more verily doeth a voice and an answere shoot at the same marke that running aimeth at: for there, to wir, in a race, he winneth the prize that getteth to be formost; but heere, if another man have delivered a fufficient answere, it will be well enough, by praising and appropring his fpeech, to gaine the opinion and reputation of a courteous person; if not, then will it not be thought impertinent, neither can envie or hatred come of it, in case a man do gently thew and open that wherein the other was ignorant, and so after a milde and civill maner supply the defect of the former answer: but above all, this regard would be had: That when a question or demand is addressed and directed unto another, we take it not upon our selves; and so anticipate and prevent his answer; and peradventure, neither in this nor in any thing els, is it decent and commendable to offer and put forth our selves too forward before we be required; and in this case, when another man is asked a question, our owne intrusion, with the putting by of him is not feemely; for we may be thought (in fo doing) both to injurie and discredit the party demanded, as if hee were not able to performe that which was put upon him, and also to reproch the demandant, as though hee had little skill and differentian, to aske a thing of him who could not give the fame : and that which more is, fuch malapert boldnesse and heady have flinesse in rath answering, importeth (most of all) exceeding arrogancie and presumption; for it feemeth, that hee who taketh the answere out of his mouth of whom the question is demanded, would fay thus much in effect: What need have wee of him? what can be fay unto it? what skill or knowledge hath hee? when I am in place, no man ought to aske any o- # ther of these matters, but my selfe only. And yet many times we propose questions unto some, not of any great defire that we have to heare their answeres, but onely because we would finde talke, and minister occasion of discourse, seeking thereby to draw from them some words that may yeeld matter of mirth and pleafant conference : after which fort, Socrates used to provoke Theatetus and Charmides. To prevent therefore the answere of another, to turne away mens cares, to divert their eies, and draw their cogitations from him to our felves, is as much as if we should run before and make hafte to kiffe one first, who was minded to be kiffed of another, or to enforce him to looke upon us, whose eies were set and fixed upon another; considering, that although the partie unto whom the demand was made, be either not able nor willing to make answer, it were befitting for a man, after some little pause made, to present himself in all modelly st and reverence, & then to frame & accommodate his speech as nere unto that as may be, which he thinketh will content the minde of him that made the demand, and so answere (as it were) in the name of the other: for if they who are demanded a question, make no good & sufficient anfwer, great reason they have to be pardoned and held excused; but he who intrudeth himselfe, & taking the words out of anothers mouth, is ready to speak before he be spoken unto, by good right is odious, although he answer otherwise sufficiently; but if he faile, and make no good anfwere, certes he maketh himfelfe, ridiculous, and a very laughing stocke to the whole company.

The second point of exercise and meditation, is in a mans owne particular answeres, wherein he ought of pecially to be carefull and take heed who is given to over-much talke, to the end that they who would provoke him to fpeake, and all to make themselves merry and to laugh at him, may well know that he answereth nor he knowes not what inconfiderately, but with good advice and ferioufly to the point for fuch there be in the world, who for no need at all, but only for to paffe time in mirth, devife certeine questions for the nonce, and in that maner propound them to fuch persons for no other end, but to provoke them to prattle; and therefore they ought to have a good eie and regard before them, not to leape out and runne all on a fudden haffilly to their answere, as if they were well pleased and beholden unto them for to have such an occasion offpeech; but with mature deliberation to confider the nature and behaviour of him that putteth out the question, together with the necessitie thereof, and the profit that may ensue thereby; and if it appeare indeed, that the partie be in good earnest, and desirous to learne and be infiructed, then he must accustome himselfe to represse his tongue and take some pause, allowing a competent space of time betweene the demand and the answere; during which silence, both the demander may have while to bethinke himfelfe and adde fornewhat thereto, if he lift, and alto the demandé time to thinke of an answere, and not let his tongue runne before his wit, and so huddle up a confused answere before the question be fully propounded : for often-times it falleth out, that for very hafte they take no heed of those things which were demanded, but answere kim kam, and one thing for another. True it is (I must needs say) that Pythia the prictiresse of o Apolloes temple, is woont to give answere by oracle at the same instant that the question is demanded, yea, and often-times before it be asked; for why ? the god whom the ferveth

Doth under stand the dumbe, who can not speake,

And knowes ones minde, before the songue it breake.

but among men, he that would wifely and to the purpote answere, ought to stay until he conceive the thought, and fully understand the intent of him that proposeth a question, less that befall unto him which is said in the common proverbe:

> About an hooke I question made, And they gave answere of a spade.

and otherwife allo, if that incovenience were not, yet are we to bridle this lavish & hastie tongue to of ours, and restraine the inordinate and hungry appetite which we have to be talking; lest it be thought that we had a fluxe (as it were) of humours gathered a long time about the tongue, and growen into an impostume, which wee are very well content should be let our, and have if sue made by a question tendered unto us, and so by that meanes be discharged thereof. Secrates was woont in this maner to restraine and repressed his hirst, after that shad enchased his body and sethimselse into an heat, either by wrestling, or running, or such like exercises; he would not permit himselse to drinke before he had powed out the first bucket of water that he had drawen out of the pit or well, acquainting this his sensual appetite to attend the fit and convenient time that reason appointed.

Moreover, this would be noted, that there be three kinds of answeres unto interrogations; o the first necessarie, the second civill, and the third needlesse and superstuous: as for example : If one should aske whether Socrates be within or no; he that is unwilling or not ready and forward with his tongue, would make answere and fay: He is not within, but if he be disposed to laconize a little, and speake more briefe, he would leave out the word (within) and say: He is not; or yet more thort than fo, pronouncing onely the negative Adverbe, and faying no more but No. Thus the Lacedæmonians dealt once by Philip; for when he had dispatched his letters unto the to this effect; To know whether they would receive him into their city or no : they wrote backe againe, in faire great capitall letters, within a sheet of paper, no more but OY, that is to say, No: & fo fent it unto him: but he that would make answer to the former question of Socrates a little more civilly and courteoully, would fay thus: He is not within fir for he is gone to the banke or exchange; & to give yet a formwhat better ineafure, he might perhaps adde moreover & fay; He looketh there for certeine strangers and friends of his. But a vaine prating fellow, and one that loves many words, especially it his hap hath beene to read the booke of Antimachin the Colophonian, wil make answer to the demand aforesaid in this wise: He is not within fir, gone he is to the Burfe or Exchange, for there he expecteth certeine strangers out of Ionia, of whom and in whose behalfe Aleibiades wrote unto him, who now maketh his abode within the citie of Milefm, lojourneth with Tiffaphernes, one of the lieutenants generall of the great King of Persia; who before time was in league with the Lacedamonians, stood their friend, and fent them aid \$ ther as to me

Aleibrades being desirous to returne into his ownecountry, hath prevailed so much that hee hath altered Tiffaphernes his minde, and drawen him away from our part: and thus shall you have him rehearle in good earnest the whole eight booke (in maner) of Thueydides his story, un. till he have overwhelmed a man with a multitude of narrations, and made him beleeve that in Miletus there is some great sedition; that it is ready to be lost, and Alcibiades to be banished a second time. Herein then ought a man principally to set his soote and stay his overmuch language, fo as the center and circumference of the answer be that, which he who maketh the demaund defireth and hath need to know. Carneades before he had any great name, disputed one day in the publike schooles and place appointed for exercise: Unto whom the master of m prefident of the place fent before hand, and gave him warning to moderate his voice (for hee fpake naturally exceeding big and loud, fo as the schooles rung againe therewith:) Give men then (quoth he) a gage and measure for my voice; upon whom the said master replied thus not unproperly: Let him that disputeth with thee be the measure and rule to moderate thy voice by; even so a man may in this case say: The measure that hee ought to keepe who answereth is the very will and minde of him that proposeth the question. Moreover, like as Socrates forbad those meats which drew men on to eate when they are not hungry; and likewise those drinkes which caused them to drinke who are not a thirst, even so should a man who is given to much prattle, beafraid of those discourses wherein he delighteth most, and which he is woont to use and take greatest pleasure in; and in case hee perceive them to run willingly upon him for to n withit and the fame, and not give them interteinment. As for example, marrial men and warriours love to discourse and tell of battels; which is the reason that the Poët Homer bringeth in * Nestor effloores recounting his owne proweffe and feats of armes: and ordinarie it is with the who in indiciall trials have had the upper hand of their adversaries, or who beyond the hope and opinion of everie man have obtained grace and favour with kings and princes, to be subject unto this maladie that evermore followeth them, namely to report and recount effloores the maner how they came in place; after what fort they were brought in; the order of their pleading; how they argued the case; how they convinced their accusers, & overthrew their adversaries; last of all, how they were praised and commended: for to say a truth, joy and mirth is much more talkative than that olde Agryppina which the Poets doe feigne and devise in their comz-3 dies: for it roufeth and flirreth up, it reneweth and refresheth it selfe ever & anon, with many dif courses and narrations; whereupon ready they are to fall into such speeches upon every light and colourable occasion: for not onely is it true which the common proverbe faith:

Looke where a man dosh feele his paineand griefe,

His hand will soone be there to yeeld reliefe.

but also joy and contentment draweth unto it the voice, it leadeth the tongue alwaies about with it, and is evermore willing to be remembred and related. Thus we see that amorous lows passe the greater part of their time in rehearling certeine words which may renew the remembrance of their loves, insomuch that if they cannot meet with one person or other to relate the same unto, they will devise and talke of them with such things as have neither sense nor life: like a sweread of one who brake soorth into these words:

O dainty bed, most fiveet and pleafant couch, ô bleffed lamp, ô happie candle light, No leffe than God doth Bacchus you avouch nay, God you are the might lest in her fight.

And verily a buffe prater is altogether (as one would fay) a white line or ftrake in regard of all words, to wit, without discretion he speaketh indifferently of all matters; howbeit if he be affected more to some than to others, he ought to take heed thereof, and absteine from them; he is say to withdraw and writhe him els from thence; for that by reason of the contentment which he may therein take, and the pleasure that he receiveth thereby, they may lead him wide & carie him every while very farre out of the way: the same inclination to overshoot themselves in prating, they sinde also when they discourse of those matters wherein they suppose themselves to have better experience, and a more excellent habit than others: such an one I say being a selfet lover and ambitious withall,

Most part of all the day in this doth spend, Himselfe to passe, and others to transcend.

As for example in histories if he hath read much , in artificiall stile and couching of his words,

hethatisa Grammarian; in relation of strange reports and newes, who hath bene a great traveller and wandred through many forren countries: hereof therefore great heed would bee taken; for garrulitie being therein fleshed and baited, willingly runneth to the old and usuall haunt, like as every beaft feeketh out the ordinary and accustomed pasture. And in this point was the young prince Cyrus of a woonderfull and excellent nature, who would never chalenge his playfellowes and conforts in age unto any exercise wherein he knew himselse to be superior, and to furpaffe, but alwaies to fuch feats wherein he was leffe practifed than they; which he did afwell because he would not grieve their hearts in winning the prize from them, as also for that he would profit thereby, and learne to doe that wherein hee was more raw and unready than they. But a talkative fellow contrariwife, if there be a matter proposed whereby he may heare and learne somewhat that he knew not before, rejecteth and refuseth it; he cannot for his life hold histongue and keepe filence a little while, to gaine thereby fome hire and reward, but cafting and rolling his thought round about, he never rests untill he light upon some old ragged rapsodies and overworne discourses, which hee hath patched and tacked together a thousand times. Such a one there was among us, who hapned by chance to have perufed two or three bookes of Ephorus; whereby he tooke himselfe to be so great a clearke and so well read, that he wearied everie mans cares who heard him talke; there was no affembly nor feaft unto which he came. but he would force the companie to atife and depart with his unmeasurable prating of the battel of Leuttres, and the occurrents that enfued therupon, infomuch as he got himself a by-name, and everie man called him Epaminondas. But this is the least inconvenience of all others that followeth this infirmitie of much babling: and furely one good meanes it is to the cure thereof; To turne the fame from other matters to fuch as thefe: for thereby shall their tongue be leffe troublesome and offensive, when it passeth the bonds in the tearmes onely of litterature.

Over and befides, for the remedie of this their dileale, they shall do well to inure and accustome themselves to write somewhat, and to dispute of questions apart. Thus did Antipater the Stoick, who as it may be thought, being not able nor willing to hold out in diffrutation hand to hand with Carneades, who with a violent streame (as it were) of his forcible wit and eloquence refused the sect of the Stoicks, answered the said Carneades by writing, and filled whole bookes with contradictorie affertions and arguments against him; infomuch as thereupon he was furnamed Calamoboas, which is as much to fay, as the luftie Crier with his pen: and fo by all likelihood this manner of fighting with a shadow and lowd exclaiming in secret, and apart by themfelves, training these stout praters everie day by little and little from the frequencie and multitude of people, may make them in the end more fociable and fitter for companie. Thus curft curres after they have fpent and discharged their choler and anger upon the cudgels or stones which have beene throwen at them, become thereby more gentle and tractable to men. But above all, it were verie expedient and profitable for them to be alwaies neere unto personages for yeeres elder, and in authoritie greater than themselves, and with those to converse; for the reverent regard and feare that they have in respect of their dignitic and gravitie, may induce and direct them in time and by custome to keepe filence; and evermore among those exercises heretofore by us specified, this advisement would be mingled and interlaced; That when we are about to speake, and that words be readie to runne out of our mouth, we say thus unto our selves by way of reasoning: What manner of speech is this that is so urgent and presset so hard to be gone? What ailes my tongue, that it is fo willing to be walking? What good may come by the utterance thereof? What harme may enfue by concealing it in and holding my peace? For we must not thinke that our words be like an heavy burden over-loading us, and whereof we should thinke our selves well eased when we are discharged of them: for speech remaineth still as well when it is uttered as before: but men ought to speake, either in the behalfe of themselves when they stand in need of some thing, or to benefit others, or else to pleasure and recreat one another by pleafant devifes and discourses, (as it were) with falt to mittigate the painefull travels in actions and worldly affaires, or rather to make the fame more favorie whiles we are employed therein. Now if a speech be neither profitable to him that delivereth it, nor necessarie for him that hearethit, ne yet carrie therewith any grace or pleasure; what need is there that it should beuttered? For furely, a man may as foone speake aword in vaine, as do a thing to no purpose. But above and after all other good advertisements in this case, we ought alwaies to have in readinesse and remembrance this wife faying of Simonides: A man (quoth he) may repent many a time for words spoken, but never for a word kept in : this also we must thinke: That exercise is all in all, and a matter of that moment and efficacie, that it is able to master and conquer everie

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thing: confidering that men will take great paines and be carefull; yea they will endure much forrow for to be rid of an old cough; to chase away the troublesome yex or hicket. Besides, Taciturnitie hath not onely this one faire propertie and good vertue, that (as Hippoerases faith) It never breedeth thirst; but also that it engendreth no paine, no griefe nor displeasure, neither is any man bound to render an account thereof.



AVARICE COVETOUSNES.

The Summarie.

F there be any excessein the world that troubleth the repose and tranquillitie of then F there be any except in the word of miferable it is Avarice; against which the sa ges and wife men of all ages from time to time have framed frarpe and terrible inves. tives, which in sum and effect doe frew thus much; That this covetousnes and greedie desire of gathering goods is (as it were) the capitall cure and seat-towne of all wicked nes; the verie sinke of sinne and receptacle of all vices. Now albeit all men with one voice, yea and the most covetous persons of all others do confesse as much; yet the heart of man is so affectionate a friend to the earth, that needfull it is to propole and set downe divers instructions for to avert the same from thence, and to cause it to range & sort with other occupations and affaires, more beseeming it selfe than is the over curious fearching after transitorie & corruptible things. This is the reason, that those Philosophers who have handled the doctrine as touching manners are emploied herein: and Plutaich among the rest, who teacher has here in few words, with what considerations we ought to be furnished & fortified that we do not permit such a pestilent plague as this to seaze upon our souls: and therewith he sheweth the miseries that befall unto avarice; whereof this is the first oprincipal; That in steads giving contentment, it makes h her flave most wretched, and putteth him to the greatest patne and to ture in the world. And hereupon he interlaceth and insertes ha discription of three forts of covetom persons. First, of those who cover things rare and dangerous, whereas they should seeke after necessar ries. Secondly of such as spend nothing have much, and yet desire more and more; and these he depairteth in all their colours. Thirdly, of them that be niggards and base minded pinch-pennies. Which done, he discovereth the second miserie of covetous wretches, to wit; That avarice doth tyrannize over her cairife and flave, not suffring him to use that which she commaunded him to winne and get. The third is thus, That is causeth him to gather and heape up riches, for some promoter or catch-poll, or else for a Tyrant, or else for some wicked and gracelesse heire, whose nature and properties hee doethrepresent and describe verie lively. Afterwards having concluded that covetous persons are herein especially miserable; for that the one sort of them use not their goods at all, and other abuse the same: he prescribeth three remedies against this mischievous maladie. The first; That those who greed ly gape after riches, have no more in effect than they who stand contented with that which is necessarie for nature. The second; That we are not to count them happy, who be

richly furnished with things unprofitable. And the last, That it is vertue, wherein we ought to ground and fecke for contentment; for there it uso be found and not in riches.

AVARICEOR Covetousnesse.



Ippomaches, a great mafter of wrestling & such exercises of the bodie, hearing some to praise a certeine tall man, high of statute, and having long armes and handes, commending him for a fingular champion, and fit to fight at buffets: A proper fellow hee were (quoth he) if the garland or prize of the victory were hung on high, for to be reached with the hand; femblably it may be faid unto them who effecte fo highly and repute it a great felicitie to be poffeffed of much faire lands, to have many great and stately houses, to be furnished with mighty masses and summes of money, in case felicity were to be bought and folde for coine. And yet a man shall see

many in the world, chuse rather to be rich and wretched withall, than to give their filver for to be happy and bleffed: but furely it is not filver nor golde that can purchase either repose of spirit void of griefe and anguish, or magnanimity, ne yet fetled constancic and resolution, confidence and fuffifance, or contenument with our owneestate. Be a man never so rich, he can not skill thereby to contemme riches, no more than the possession of more than enough worketh this in us; That we want not fliff, and defire even things that be superfluous. What other evill and maladie then doeth our wealth and riches rid us from, if it delivereth us not from avarice? By drinke men quench their thirst; by meat they flake their hunger. And he that faid:

Give Hipponax a cloike to keepe him warme,

For volde extreame I shake, and may take harme.

if there were many clothes hung or call upon him, would be offended therewith and fling them from him; but this their strong defire and love of money, it is neither filver nor gold that is able to grench; and let a man have never formuch, yet he covereth nevertheleffe to have more still. And well it may be verified of riches which one faid fometime to an ignorant and deceitfull Phytician:

> Your drugs and falves augment my fore. They make me ficker than before.

For riches verily, after that men have once met therewith, (wheras before they flood in need of bread, of a competent house to put in their heads, of meane comment and any viands that come next hand) fill them now with an impatient defire of golde, filver, ivory, emerands, horses and hounds, changing and transporting their natural appetite of things needfull and necessarie, into a disfordinate lust to things dangerous, rare, hard to be gotten, and unprofitable when they be had. For never is any man poore in regard of fuch things as fuffice nature; never docth he take up money upon uturie, for to buy himfelfe meat, cheefe, bread or olives; but one indebteth himfelfe for to build a fumptuous and stately house; another runnes in debt, because he would purchase a grove of olive trees that joineth to his ownel and; one is engaged deeply in the usurers books, by laying corne-grounds and wheat-fields to his owne demaines, another, because he would be possessed of fruitfull vineyards; some are endebted with buying mules of Galaria, and others, because they would be masters

Of lustic steeds, to win the prize by running in a race, With rathing noise of emprie coatch, when it is drawen apace,

have call themselves into the bottom leffe gulfe of obligations, conditions, covenants, interests, flatutes, reall gages & pawnes: and afterwards it commeth to passe, that like as they who drinke when they be not drie; & eat without a stomacke, many times cast up by vomit, even that which they did cat & drinke when they were hungry & thirfty; even fo, when they will needs have fuch things as be superfluous and to no use, doe not enjoy the benefit of those things that are needfull and necessarie indeed. Lo what kinde of people these be!

Asfor those who are at no cost, nor will lay out any thing, and not with standing they have much, yet ever cover more; a man may rather marvell and woonder at them, if he would but remember that which Arifippus was woont to fay: He that eateth much (quoth he) and drinketh likewise much, and is never satisfied nor full, goeth to the Physicians, asketh their opinion what his disease and strange indisposition of the body might be, and withall craveth their countil for the cure and remedie thereof: but if one who hath five faire bedfleds already with the furniture thereto belonging, and feeketh to make them ten; and having ten tables with their cup. boords of plate, will needs buy ten more; and for all that he is possessed of faire manours and goodly lands, have his bags and coffers full of money, is never the better fatisfied, but it ill ga porth after more, breaketh his fleeps, devising and calting as he lieth awake, how to compaffe the fame, and when he hathall, yet is he not full; fuch an one (I fay) never thinks that he hath need of a Phylician to cure his maladie or to discourse unto him, from what cause all this doth pro. deed. And verily a man may looke, that of those who are thirsty ordinatily, and he that hath. not drunke, will be delivered of his thirst fo foone as he meeteth with drinke; but in case such an one as evermore drinketh and powreth in still, never giving over, yet neverthelesse continueth drie and thirstie, we judge him to have no need of repletion, but rather of purging and evacuation; him (I say) we appoint for to vomit, as being not troubled and distempered upon any want, but with some extraordinary heat or unkinde acrimonies of humours that be within him; even fo it is with those that seeke to get and gather goods : he that is bare and poore in deed, will haply give over feeking fo foone as he hath got him an house to dwell in, or found sometres fure, or met with a good friend to helpe him to a fumme of money to make cleere with the nin rer, and to be croffed out of his booke: but he that hath already more than enough and fuffici ent, and yet craveth more, furely it is neither golde nor filver that will cure him, neither hor in fes, nor theepe, nor yet beeves will ferve his turne; need had he of purgation and evacuation. for povertie is not his difease, but coverous nesse and an unsatiable desire of riches, proceeding from falle judgement and a corrupt opinion that he hath, which if a man do not rid away out of his mind, as a winding gulfe or whitle-poole that is croffe and overthwart in their way, they will never cease to hunt after superfluities, and seeme to stand in need thereof (that is to say) too vet those things which they know not what to doe with. When a Physitian commeth into the chamber of a patient, whom he findeth lying along in his bed groaning, and refuling all foods, he taketh him by the hand, feeleth his pulle, asketh him certaine questions, and finding thathe hathno ague; This is a difeafe (quothhe) of the minde, and fo goeth his way; even to, when we see a worldly minded man altogether set upon his gets and gaines, pining away, and even a confumed with the greedie worme of gathering good, weeping, whining and fighing at expenfes, and when any money is to goe out of his purse, sticking at no paine and trouble, sparing for no indignitie, no unhonest and indirect meanes whatsoever, nor caring which way he gots to worke, whether it bee by hooke or crooke, fo that hee may gaine and profit thereby; having choise of houses and tenements, lands lying in everie countrey, droves, heards and flockes of cattell, a number of flaves, wardrobes of apparell and clothes of all forts: what shall we say that this man is ficke of unlesse it be the poverty of the fouler. As for want of money and good, one friend (as Menander faith) may cure and helpe with his bountifull hand; but that penunt and needinesse of the soule all the men in the world, that either live at this day, or ever wereby foretime, are not able to fatisfie and fuffice: and therefore of fuch Solon faid verie well,

No limit set, nor certaine bound, men have Of their de sire to goods, but still they crave.

For, those who are wise and of sound judgement are content with that measure and portion which nature hath set downe and affigned for them; such men know an ende, and keepethemselves within the center and circumference of their need and necessitie onely. But this is a peculiar propertie that avarice hath by it selfe. For a covetous desire it is, even repugnant to satisfy and hindereth it selfe that it never can have sufficient, whereas all other desires and sulfs at aiding and helpfull thereto. For no man (I trow) that is a glutton, sorbeareth to eate a good morcel of meat for gourmandise, nor drunkard abstaineth from drinking wine upon an appetit and love that he hath to wine, as these covetous wretches do, who spare their money and wind touch it, through a desire onely that they have of money. And how can we otherwise thinke, but it were a pitcous and lamentable case, yea and a disease next cousin to meeter mandesses, it is a man should therefore spare the wearing of a garment, because he is readie to chill and quake for cold, or forbeare to touch bread, for that he is almost hunger-staved; and even so not to handle his goods because he loveth them: certes, such a one is in the same plight and piteous perplexitie that Thrasonides was, who in a certaine comedie describeth his owne miseries:

At home it is within my power,

I may enjoy it everse hower: I wish a thing as if I were In raging love, yet I forbere: When I have lockt and feald up all Or else put foorth by count and tale My come to brokers for the ufe, Or other factours whom I chuse, I plod and plonder still for more, I bunt, I feeke to fetch in store, I chide and branle with fervants mine, The busbandman and eke the hine I bring to count; and then anon My debters all Icall upon: By Dan Apollo now I sweare, Was any man that earth did beare, Whom thou hast ever knowen or feene, In love more wretched to have beene?

sophocles being on a time demainded familiarly by one of his friends, whether he could yeak expecion panie with a woman if need were: Godbleffe me (quoth he) my good friend, talke 20 no more of that I pray you, I am free from those matters long since, and by the benefit of mine olde age, I have escaped the servitude of such violent and sursous mistress. And verily it is a good and gracious gift, that our lusts and appetites should end together with our strength and abilitie, especially in those delights and pleasures, which as Alexas saith neither man nor woman can well avoide. But this is not to be sound in avarice and desire of riches; for shee like a cust, sharpe and strewd queane, sorceth indeed a man to get and gather, but she forbiddeth him withall to sle and enjoy the same; shee stirreth up and provoketh his lust, but shee denieth him all pleasure. I remember that in old time Stratonicus taxed and mocked the Rhodians for their wastfull and superstuous expences in this manner: They build sumptuously (quoth he) as it they were immortall and should never die; but they fare at their boords as though they had but a so small while to liue. But these covectous misers gather wealth together like mightie magnificoes, but they spend like beggerly mechanicals; they endure the paine and travell of getting, and taste no pleasure of the enjoying.

Demades the Orator came one day to vifite Photion, and found him at dinner; but feeing but alittle meat before him upon the table, and the fame nothing fine and daintie, but course and fimple: I marvell (quoth he) ô Phoeion how you can take up with fo short a dinner and so small apittance, confidering the paines you doe endure in mannaging the affaires of State and common-wealth. As for Demades he dealt indeed with government, and was a great man in the city with the people, but it was all for his bellie, and to furnish a plentifull boord, insomuch as, suppoling that the citie of Athens could not yeeld him revenew and provision sufficient for to 40 maintaine his excessive gourmandise, he laid for cates and victuals out of Macedon, whereupon Antipater when he faw him an old man with a wrinkled and withered face, faid pleafantly: That he had nothing left now but his paunch and his tongue, much like unto a freepe, or fome other beast killed for facrifice when all is eaten besides. But thou most unhappie and wretched miser, who would not make a woonder at thee, condering that thou canst lead so base and beggerly a life, without focietie of men or courtefie to thy neighbors, not giving ought to any person, shewing no kindnesset to the friends, no bountie nor magnificence to the common-wealth, yet ftilldoftafflict thy poore (elfe, lie awake all the night long, to ile and moile like a drudge and hireling thy selfe, hire other labourers for day-wages, lie in the winde for inheritances, speake men faire in hope to be their heire, and debase thy selfe to all the world, and care not to whom so thousap and knee for gaine, having Ifay fo fufficient meanes otherwise to live at ease (to wit, thy niggardife and pinching parfimonie) whereby thou maift be dispensed for doing just nothing. It is reported of a certaine Bizantine, who finding an adulterer in bed with his wife, who though the were but foule, yet was ilfavoured enough, faid unto him: O miferable caitife what necellitic hath driven thee thus to doe? what needes Sapragoras dowrie? well, goe to: thou takeft great painespoore wretch, thou filleft and flirreft the lead, thou kindleft the fire also underneath it. Necessarie it is in some fort, that Kings and Princes should seeke for wealth and riches, that these Governours also and Deputies muder them should bee great gatheres, yea and those also who reach at the highest places and aspire to rule and soveraigne dignities in great States and cities; all these (I say) have need perforce to heape up große summes of money, to the end that for their ambition, their proud port, pompe, and vaine-glorious humour, they might make sumptious seasts, give largesses, reteine a guard about their persons, send present abroad to other States, mainteine and wage whole armies, buie flaves to combat and fight at shrape to the outtrance: but thou makest thy selfe so much adoo, thou troublest and tomented both body and minde, living like an oister or a shell-snaile, and for to pinch and spare, art content to undergo and indure all paine and travell, taking no pleasure nor delight in the world ast terwards, no more than the Baine-keepers poore asse which earying billots and fagots of die brush and sticks to kindle sire and to heat the souphes, is evermore full of smoake, soot, asses, and sinders; but hath no benefit at all of the bane, and is never bathed, was med, under solve and made cleane. Thus much I speake in reproch and distaine of this miserable asses like avarice, this base raping and scraping together in maner of ants or pismires.

Now there is another kind of covetous nesses more savage and beast-like, which they professe who backbite and flander, raife malicious imputations, forge falle wils and teltaments, lie in wait for heritages, engge and coufen, and intermeddle in all matters, will bee feene in everie thing, know all mens states, busie themselves with many cares and troubles, count upon their fingers how many friends they have yet living, and when they have all done, receive no fruition or benefit by all the goods which they have gotten together from all parts, with their cunning calls & fubril flifts. And therefore like as we have in greater hatted and detellation, vipers, the av venemous flies Cantharides, and the flinging spiders called Philangia & Tarantale, than either beares or lions, for that they kill folke and ftinge them to death; but receive no good or benefit at all by them when they are dead; even so be these wretches more odious and woorthy to be hated of us, who by their miferable parfimonie and pinching doe mifchiefe, than those who by their riot and waltfulneffe be hurtfull to a common-weale, because they take and catch from others that which they themselves neither will nor know how to use. Whereupon it is that such as these when they have gotten abundance, and are in maner full, rest them for a while, and doe no more violence as it were in time of truce and furcease of hostilitie; much after the maner as Demostheres faid unto them who thought that Demades had given over all his lewdnesse and knavery : O (quoth he) you fee him nowfull as lions are, who when they have filled their bel 30 lies, prey no more for the lice, untill they be hungrie againe: but such covetous wretches as be imploied in government of civill affaires, and that for no profit nor pleafare at all which they intend, those I say never rest nor make holiday, they allow themselves no truce nor cessation from gathering & heaping more together still, as being evermore emptie, & have alwaies need of al things though they have all. But fome man perhaps will fay: These men (I assure you) do save& lay up goods in flore for their children and heires after their death, unto whom whiles they live they will part with nothing: If that be so, I can compare them very well to those mice and cats in gold mines, which feed upon the gold-ore, and licke up all the golden fand that the mines yeeld, so that men can not come by the golde there, before they be dead and cut up in maner of anatomics. But tell me(I pray you) wherefore are thefe fo willing to treasure up so much mo-40 ney, and fo great substance, and leave the same to their children, inheritours, and successors after them ? I verily believe to this end, that those children and heires also of theirs should keepe the fame still for others likewife, and so to passe from hand to hand by descent of many degrees; like as earthen conduct-pipes by which water is conveied into some cesterne, withhold and reteine none of all the water that passeth through them, but doe transmit and send all away. from them, ech one to that which is next, and referve none to themselves; thus doe they until fome arise from without, a meere stranger to the house, one that is a sycophant or very tyrant, who thall cut off this keeper of that great stocke and treasure, and when he hath dispatched and made a hand of him, drive and turne the course of all this wealth and riches out of the usuall chanell another way; or at leastwife untill it fall into the hands (as commonly men say it doth) of 50 the most wicked and ungracious imp of that race, who wil disperse and scatter that which others have gathered, who will confume and devour all unthriftily, which his predeceffors have gotten and spared wickedly : for not onely as Euripides faith,

Those children wastfull prove and bad, Who servile slaves for parents had.

but also covetous carles & pinching peni-fathers, leave children behind the that be loofe & rietous & spend-thrifts; like as Diegenes by way of mockery said upon a time: That it were better to

beaMegarians ram than his fonne: for wherein they would feeme to instruct and informe their children, they spoile and mar them cleane, ingrafting into their hearts a defire and love of mo-Bey, teaching them to be covetous and base minded pinch-penies, laying the foundation (as it were) in their heires of fome ftrong place or fort, wherein they may furely guard and keepe their inheritance. And what good leftons and precepts be these which they teach them: Gaine and spare, my sonne, get and save; thinke with thy selfe and make thine account that thou shalt be effeemed in the world according to thy wealth and not otherwife. But furely this not to infruct achilde, but rather to knit up fast or fow up the mouth of a purse that it may hold and keepe the better whatfoever is put into it. This onely is the difference that a purfe or moneybag becommeth foule, fullied and ill-favoring after that filver is put into it; but the children of coverous persons before they receive their patrimonies or atteine to any riches, are filled alreadie even by their fathers with avarice, and a hungrie defire after their substance : and verily fuch children thus nourtred, reward their parents againe for their schooling with a condigne salarie and recompense, in that they love them not because they shall receive much one day by them, but hate them rather for that they have nothing from them in present possession alreadie, for having learned this lefton of them; To esteeme nothing in the world in comparison of wealth and riches, and to aime at nought els in the whole course of their life, but to gather a deale of goods together, they repute the lives of their parents to be a blocke in their way, they with in heart that their heads were well laid, they do what they can to shorten their lives, making this reckoning; That how much time is added to their olde age, fo much they lose of their youthfull yeeres. And this is the reason, why during the life of their fathers, fecretly and under hand they steale (after a fort, by fnatches) their pleasure, and enjoy the same; They wil make femblance as if it came from other, when they give away money and distribute it among their friends, or otherwise spend it in their delights; whiles they catch it privily from under the very wing of their parents, and when they goe to heare and take out their leffons, they will be fure to picke their purses if they can, before they goe away; but after their parents be dead and gone, when they have gotten into their hands the keies of their coffers and fignets of their bags, then the case is altered, and they enter into another course and fashion of life: you shall have my yoong mafters then, put on a grave and auftere countenance, they will not feeme to laugh, nor be spoken to, or acquainted with any body; there is no talke now of anointing the body for any exercile, the racket is cast aside, the tennis court no more haunted, no wrestling practised, no going to the schooles either of the Academic or Lycene, to heare the lectures and disputations of Professors and Philosophers. But now the officers and servants be called to an audit and account; now they are examined what they have under their hands; now the writings, billes, obligations and deeds are fought up and peruled; now they fall to argue and reason with their receivers, flewards, factours and debters; fo sharpe-fet they are to their negotiations and affaires; fo full of cares and bufinefle, that they have no leafure to take their dinners or noone-meales; and if they fup, they can not intend to go into the baine or hot-house before it be late in the night; the bodily exercises wherein they were brought up and trained in, be laid downe; no swimining nor bathing any more in the river Diree; all fuch matters be cast behinde and cleane forgotten. Nowifa man fay to one of these: Will you go and heare such a Philosopher reade a lecture, or make a fermon: How can I go? (will he fay againe) I have no while fince my fathers death. O miserable and wretched man, what hath hee left unto thee of all his goods, comparable to that which he hath bereaved thee of, to wit; Repole and Libertie: but it is not thy father so much, as his riches flowing round about thee, that environeth and compaffeth thee fo, as it hath gotten the masterie over thee; this hath set foot upon thy throat, this hath conquered thee; like unto that shrewd wife in Hesiodus,

Who burnes aman without amatch or brand of scorching fire, And drives him to gray old age before that time require.

caufing thy foule (as it were) to be full of rivels and hoarie haires before time, bringing with it carking cares and tedious travels proceeding from the love of money, and a world of affaires without any repofe, whereby that alacrity, cheerefulneffe, worship and sociable courtesse which ought to be in a man, are decayed and faded cleane to nothing.

But what meane you fir by all this? (will fome one haply fay unto me) See you not how there be some that bestow their wealth liberally with credit and reputation? unto whom I arrivere

thus:

thus: Have you never heard what Aristotle said: That as some there are who have no use at all of their goods, so there be others who abuse the same; as if he should say: Neither the one nor other was seemely and as it ought to be: for as those get neither profit nor honour by their riches, so these suited in the less of these which are necessary for nature? but these who are so rich and wealthy above the rest, what have they more to content nature, than those who live in a meane and competent of the certes, riches (as Theo. phrassimaliath) is not so great a matter that wee should love and admire it so much, if it bettnee that Callius the wealthiest person in all Athens, and Ismenias the richest citizen of Thebes, the the same things that Socrates and Epaminons as did. For like as Agathon banished the flute, cornet, to and such the discourses of men who are present at the table are sufficient to enterteine mirch; even so may he aswell rid away out of houses, hangings, coverlets and carpets of purple, costly and sun port and to may he aswell rid away out of houses, hangings, coverlets and carpets of purple, costly and sun port and to the proper men do. I would not as Hesiodus saits

That plough or helme should hang in smoake to drie, Or painfull tillage now be laid aside, X or works of oxe and mule for ever die, Who serve our turnes to draw, to till, to ride;

but rather that these goldsmiths, turners, gravers, perfumers and cooks would be chased and sent as away, for a finuch as this were indeed, an honest and civill banishment of unprofitable artificers as forreiners, that may be spared out of a citty. Now if it be so, that things requisite for the negeffitie of nature, be common aswell to the poore as the rich, and that riches doe vaunt and frand to much upon nothing els but superfluities, and that Scopas the Thessalian is worthily co. mended in this; That being requested to give away and part with somwhat of his houshold stuffe which he might spare and had no need of: Why (quoth he) in what things els consisteth the felicitie of those who are reputed happie and fortunate in this world above other men, but in these fuperfluities that you feeme to aske at my hands, and not in fuch as be necessarie and requisite? If it be so I say, see that you be not like unto him that praiseth a pompe and solemne shewof plaies and games more than life indeed, which standeth upon things necessary. The procession 30 and solemnitie of the Bacchanales which was exhibited in our countrey, was woont in old time to be performed after a plaine and homely manner, merily and with greatjoy: You should have seene there one carying a little barrell of wine, another a branch of a vine tree; after him comes one drawing and plucking after him a goate; then followeth another with a basket of dried figs; and last of all one that bare in shew Phallus, that is to say, the refemblance of the genitall member of a man: but now adaies all these ceremonies are despised, neglected, and in maner not at all to be seene, such a traine there is of those that carie vessels of gold and filver, fo many fumptuous and costly robes, such stately chariots richly set out are driven & drawen with brave steeds most gallantly dight, besides the pageants, dumbe-shewes and maskes, that they hide and obscure the auncient and true pompe according to the first institution; and even 40 fo it is in riches; the things that be necessarie and serve for use and profit, are overwhelmed and covered with needleffe toics and superfluous vanities, & I affure you the most part of us be like unto young Telemachus, who for want of knowledge and experience, or rather indeed for default of judgement and discretion when hee beheld av estors house furnished with beds, tables, hangings, tapistrie, apparell, and well provided also of sweete and pleasant wines, never reckoned the mafter of the house happie for having so good provision of such necessarie and profitable things: but being in Menelaus his house, and seeing there store of Ivorie, gold, and filver, and the mettall Elestrum, he was ravished and in an ecstasie with admiration thereof, and brake out in these words:

Like unto this, the pallace all within I judge to be,

Of Jupiter that mightie god who dwels in azure skie:

How rich, how faire, how infinite are all things which I fee!

Off heart, as I do them behold, is ravify t woonderouffie.

But Socrates or Diogenes would have faid thus rather:

How many wretshed things are here?

bow needleffe all and vaine?

When I them view, I laugh thereat,

of them I am not faine.

Andwhat faiest thou foolith and vaine for as thou art? Where as thou shouldest have taken from thy verie wife her purple, her jewels and gaudie ornaments, to the end that flee might no more long for fuch superfluitie, nor runne a nodding after forrein vanities, farre fetcht and deere bought; doeft thou contrariwife embellish and adorne thy house, like a theatre, scaffold to and stage to make a goodly fight for those that come into the Shew place? Loe wherein lieth the felicitie and happines that riches bringeth, making a trim flew before those, who gaze upon them, and to tellifie and report to others what they have seene : set this aside (that they be not shewed to all the world) there is nothing at all therein to reckon. But it is not so with temperance, with philosophie, with the true knowledge of the gods, so farre foorth as is meete and behoovefull to be knowen, for these are the same still and all one, although everie man attaine not thereto but all others be ignorant thereof. This pietie (I say) and religion hath alwaies a greatlight of her owne and resplendant beames proper to it selfe, wherewith it doth thine in the foule, evermore accompanied with a certaine joy that never cealeth to take contentment in her owne good within, whether any one fee it or no, whether it bee unknowen to gods and 20 men or no, it skilleth not. Of this kinde and nature is vertue indeed, and trueth, the beautie alfo of the Mathematicall sciences, to wit, Geometrie and Astrologie; unto which who will thinke that the gorgeous trappings and capparisons, the brooches, collars and carkans of riches are any waies comparable, which (to fay a truth) are no better than jewels and ornaments good to trim yoong brides and fet out maidens for to be seene and looked at? For riches, if no man doe regard, behold, and fet their cies on them (to fay a trueth) is a blinde thing of it felfe, and fendeth no light at all nor raies from it; for certainely lay: That a rich man dine and sup privately alone, or with his wife and some inward and familiar friends, he troubleth not himselfe about furnishing of his table with many services, daintiedishes, and festivall fare; he stands not so much upon his golden cups and goblets, but useth those things that be ordinarie, which goe about 30 evertiedate and come next hand, as well vessell as viands; his wife fits by his side and beares him companie, not decked and hung with jewels and spangles of gold, not arraied in purple, but in plaine attire and simply clad; but when he makes a feast (that is to fay) sets out a theater, wherein the pompes and (hewes are to meet and make a jangling noise together, when the plaies are to be represented of his riches, and the solemne traine therof to be brought in place; then comes abroad his brave furniture indeed other he fetcheth out of the ship his faire chaufers and goodlypots; then bringeth hee foorth his tich three-footed tables; then come abroad the lampes, candlesticks, and branches of filver; the lights are disposed in order about the cups; the cupbearers, skinkers and tafters are changed; all places are newly dight and covered; all things are then stirred and remooved that faw no funnelong before; the silver plate, the golden veffels, and those that be set and enriched with pretious stones; to conclude, now

veitels, and those that be let and entretice with a time they confesse there is no show els but of riches; at such a time they confesse themselves and will be knowen wealthy. But all this while whether a rich man suppe alone, or make a feast, temperance is away and true contentment.



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OF THE NATURALL LOVE OR KINDNES OF

PARENTS TO THEIR CHILDREN.

The Summarie.

Ifely faid one, (who foever it was) That to banifh amitie and friendflip from among men, were as great hart to the focietie of mankinde, as to deprive them of the light and beat of the Sunne: which being verified and found true in the whole courfe of this life, and in the maintenance of all estates; not without great cause Nature halb cast and sprinkled the seed thereof in the generation and nourishment of a race and linge, 20

whereoffee growth evident testimonies in brute beasts, the bester to moove and moite us to our duty,
That we may see therefore this pretious seed and graine of amitie, how it doth slower and frustissen
the world, we must begin at the love and naturall kindnesse of fathers and mothers to their children;
for if this be well kept and mainteined, there proceed from it an infinite number of contentments which
domuch assivage and case the inconveniences and dissomnodities of our life. And Plutarch entring
into this matter, showeth first in generality: That men learnesses our life. And Plutarch entring
into this matter, showeth first in generality: That men learnesses of our life. And eshoole of brute beasts,
with what affection they should beget, mourish and bring up their children; afterward he doth panicularise thereof, and enrich be same argument by divers examples. But for that he would not have un
thinke that he extolled dumbe beasts above man and woman, he observeth and setteth downever
well the difference that is of amities, discoursing in good and modest tearmes autouching the generation
on and nouriture of children, and briefly by the way represented hunto un themiserable entrance of man
into this race upon earth, where he is to runne his course, this chance, he provet be that the nourishing of
infants both no other casse and reason, she well this what defect and fault so wer may come between
and be medled amone, yet it can not altogether abolish the same.

OF THE NATURALL LOVE OR KINDNES OF PARENTS to their children.



Hat which mooved the Greeks at first, to put over the decision of their controversies to forraine judges, and to bring into their countrey, strangers to be their umpires, was the distrust and dissidence that they had one in another, as if they consessed thereby that justice was indeed a thing necessaries for mans lite, but it grew not among them: And is not the case even fo as touching certaine questions disputable in Philosophie 2 for the determining whereof, Philosophiers (by reason of the sundry and divers opinions which so are among them) have appealed to the nature of brute beasts, as it were into a strange city, and remitted the deciding thereof to their

properties and affections, according to kinde, as being neither fubject to partiall favour, nor yet corrupt, depraved and polluted. Now furely, a common reproch this must needs be to mans naughtie nature and leawd behaviour; That when we are in doubtfull question concerning the greatest and most necessary points perteining to this present life of ours, we should goe and learch into the nature of horses, dogs and birds for resolution; namely, how we ought to make

our marriages, how to get children, and how to reare and nourish them after they be borne, and as if there were no figne (in maner) or token of nature imprinted in our felves, we must be faine to alledge the passions, properties and affections of brute beasts, and to produce them for witneffes, to argue and prove how much in our life we transgresse and go aside from the rule of nature, when at our first beginning and entrance into this world, we finde such trouble, disorder and confusion; for in those dumbe beasts beforefaid, nature doth retaine and keepe that which isher owne and proper, simple, entire, without corruption or alteration by any strange mixture; wheras contrariwife, it feemeth that the nature of man, by difcourfe of their reason and custome together, is mingled and confused with so many extravagant opinions and judgements, set roftom all parts abroad (much like unto oile that commeth into perfumers hands) that thereby it is become manifolde variable, and in every one severall and particular, and doeth not retaine that which the owne indeed, proper and peculiar to it selfe; neither ought we to thinke it a ftrange matter and a woonderfull, that brute beafts void of reason, should come necrer unto nature, and follow her steps better, than men endued with the gift of reason: for furely, the verice fenfeleffe plants heerein surpaffe those beafts beforefaid, and observe better the instinct of nature; for confidering that they neither conceive any thing by imagination, nor have any motion, affection or inclination at all; fo verily their appetite (such as it is) varieth not nor stirreth to and fro out of the compaffe of nature, by meanes whereof, they continue and abide as if they were kept in and bound within close-prison, holding on still in one and the same course, and not 20 stepping once out of that way wherein nature doth leade and conduct them: as for beasts, they have not any fuch great portion of reason to temper and mollistic their natural properties, neither any great subtilitie of sense and conceit, nor much defire of libertie; but having many inffincts, inclinations and appetites, not ruled by reason, they breake out by the meanes thereof other-whiles, wandering aftray, and running up and downe to and fro, howbeit, for the most part, not very farre out of order, but they take fure holde of nature; much like a ship which lieth in the rode at anchor, well may the daunce and be rocked up and downe, but the is not carried away into the deepe at the pleafure of windes and waves; or much after the maner of an affe or hackney, travelling with bit and bridle, which go not out of the right & fireight way, wherein the master or rider guideth them; whereas in man, even reason herselfe, the mistresse that ruleth 20 and commandeth all, findeth out new cuts (as it were) and by-waies, making many starts and excursions at her pleasure to and fro, now heere, now there; whereupon it is that she leaveth no

plaine and apparant print of natures tracts and footing.

Confider I pray you in the first place the mariages (if I may so terme them) of dumbe beasts and reason lesse creatures; and namely how therein they solow precisely the rule and direction of nature. To begin withall; they fland not upon those lawes that provide against such as marrienot, but lead a fingle life; neither make they reckoning of the acts which lay a penaltie upon those that be late ere they enter into wedlocke, like as the citizens under Lycurgus and Solon, who stood in awe of the faid statutes; they feare not to incurre the infamic which followed those persons that were barren and never had children; neither doe they regard and seeke after 40 the honours and prerogatives which they atteined, who were fathers of three children, like as many of the Romains do at this day, who enter into the state of matrimonic, wedde wives beget children, not to the end that they might have heires to inherit their lands and goods, but that they might themselves be inheritors & capable of dignities & immunities. But to proceed unto more particulars, the male afterwards doth deale with the female in the act of generation not at all times; for that the end of their conjunction and going together is not groffe pleafure so much, as the engendring of young and the propagation of their kinde: and therefore at a certeine season of the yeare, to wit, the very prime of the spring, when as the pleasant winds so apt for generation do gently blow, and the temperature of the aire is friendly unto breeders, commeth the female full lovingly and kindly toward her fellow the male, even of her owne accord 50 and motion (as it were) trained by the hand of that fecret inflinet and defire in nature; and for her owne part, the doth what the can to woo and follicite him to regard her, as well by the sweet fent of her flesh, as also by a speciall and peculiar ornament and beautic of her body, thewing herselfe fresh and cheerefull, full ofdew and verdure of greene herbes, pure and neat I warrant you; in this manner doth the prefent her-felfe unto the male and courteth him: now when the perceives once that the is fped and hath conceived by him, the leaveth him and retireth apart in good fort full decently; and then her whole care is to provide for that which she goeth withall, fore casting how to be delivered of it in due time, and bethinking how to fave, preserve,

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and reare it when it is fallen and brought foorth. And certes it is not possible to expresse sufficiently and woorthily the particulars that are done by these dumbe creatures (but onely this, that every thing proceedeth from the tender love and affection which they have to their young ones) in providence, in patience, in abstinence.

We all acknowledge the Bee to be wife, we call her fo, we celebrate her name for producing and working so diligently that yellow honie, yea and we flatter in praising her, feeling as we do the sweetnesse of the said honie, how it tickleth and contenteth our tongue & taste; and all this while what one is there of us that maketh any account of the wifedome, wit, and artificiall fubtiltie that other creatures thew, as well in the bringing forth their young, as the foltring and nouriture of them ? for first and formost doe but consider the sea bird called Alcyon, no sooner to doth the perceive herfelfe to bee knit with egge, but the falleth prefently to build herneft. the gathereth together the chine-bones of a certeine fea fish which the Greekes call Banking, that is to fay, the fea-needle, these the coucheth, planteth, windeth and interlaceth one within another, to artificially working the fame and weaving them close together in a round and large forme, after the maner of a fifthers leape or weele net; and when the hath knit and fortified the fame exactly with many courses of the faide bones driven and united jointly together in good order, the exposeth it full against inundation and dashing of the sea waves, to the end that the fuperficiall outfide of the worke beaten upon gently and by little & little with the water, being thickned and felted thereby might be more folide and firme, and fo it prooveth indeed; for fo hard it groweth by this meanes, that scarcely any stone can crush it, or edged instrument of iron 20 cleave it; but that which is yet more woonderfull, the mouth and entrie of the faid neft is compoted and wrought proportionably just to the measure and bignesse of the bird Aleyon aforefaid, fo as no creature bigger or leffe than her felfe, no nor the very fea (as men fay) nor the least thing in the world can get into it. And will you see moreover what kindnesse and natural affection the sea weefils or sea dogs doe shew unto their little ones? They breed their young whelpes or kitlings alive within their bellies, and when they lift, let them foorth and fuffer them to run abroad for reliefe and to get their foode, and afterwards receive them into their bodies againe, enclosing them whiles they be asleepe themselves, cherishing them cowched in their bowels and wombe. The she beare a most fell, savage and cruell beast, bringeth foorth her young whelpes, without forme or fashion, unknit and unjointed, having no diftin alimmes or 30 members to be seene; howbeit with her tongue as it were with a toole and instrument for the purpose, the keepeth such a licking of them, the formeth and fathioneth those membranes where in they were lapped in her wombe in fuch fort, that the feemeth not onely to have brought foorth her young, but also to have wrought them afterwards workeman like to their shape and proportion. As for that lion which Homer describeth in this wise,

If ho leading foorth his tender whelps
to feeke abroad for praie
In forest wilde; no fooner meets
with hunters in the waie,
But looking flerne with bended browes
which cover both his eies,
He makes a fland, and them affronts
in fierce and threatning wife.

Thinke you not by this description that he resembleth one who is bent to capitulate and stands upon termes of composition with the hunters for to save the life of his little ones? To speake in a word, this tender love and affection of beasts toward their young, maketh them that other wise be timorous, hardie and bold; those that be slow and idle by nature, laborious and painfull, and such as of themselves are greedy and ravenous, to be spare and temperate in their seeding, like as the bird whereof the same Homer speaketh,

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ls'hich bring sin mouth unto her nest, fuch food as she abroad Could get to seed her naked young, and doth her-selfe destraud.

For content the is even with her owne hunger to nourish her little ones, and the same food or bait that she hash for them, being so neere as it is unto her owne craw and gestier, she holdest close and fast in her bill, for searce less thee might swallow it downe the throat ere sheewere aware;

Or like the birch running about her young whelps, at the fight Of strangers, baies and barkes apace, and ready is to fight.

No doubt the feare which the hath lest her little one should take harme redoubleth her courage, and maketh her more hardie and angrie than before: as for the partridges when they be laid for by the fowler, together with their covin of young birds, they fuffer them to flie away as well as they can, and make shift to save themselves, but the old rowens full subtilly seeme to wait the comming of the faid hunters, abiding untill they approach neere unto them, and by keeping to about their feet, traine them still away after them, ready ever as it were to be caught; now when the fowler shall feeme to reach unto them with his hand, they will runne a little or take a short flight from him, and then they state againe, putting him in new hope of his pray and bootie, which every-foot he thinketh to take with his hand: thus they play mock-holiday with the fowlers, and yet with some danger to themselves for the safetie of their young, untill they have trained them a great way off, who fought for their lives. Our hens which we keepe about our houfes so ordinarily, and have daily in our eies, how carefully doe they looke unto their young chickens whiles they receive fome under their wings, which they spred and hold open for the nonce that they may creepe in, others they fuffer to mount upon their backs, gently giving them leave to climbe and get up on every fide, and this they doe not without great joy and to contentment, which they tellifie by a kind of clocking and speciall noise that they make at such atime; if when they becalone without their chickens, and have no feare but of themselves a dogge or a ferpent come in their way, they flie from them; let their brood be about them when fuch a danger is prefented, it is woonderfull how ready they will be to defend the fame, yea and to fight for, even above their power. Do we thinke now that nature hath imprinted fuch affections and paffions in thefeliving creatures, for the great care that the hath to mainteine the race and posteritie (as it were) of hens, dogs, or beares; or doe we not rather make this construction of it, that the fhameth, pricketh, and woundeth men thereby when we reason and discourse thus within our felves, that these things bee good examples for as many as follow them, and the reproches of those that have no sense or feeling of naturall affection; by which no doubt 30 they do blame and accuse the nature of man onely, as if she alone were not affectionate without fome hire and reward, nor could skill of love but for gaine and profit? for admired he was in the theaters that thus fpake first:

For hope of gaine one man will love another, Take it away, what one will love his brother?

This is the reason (according to the opinion and doctrine of Epicurus) that the father affecteth his some, the mother is tender over her childe, and children likewise are kind unto their parents: but fet-case that brute beasts could both speake and understand language, in some open theater, and that one called to meet together a fufficient affembly of beefs, hories, dogs, and fowles, certes if their voices were demanded upon this point now in question, hee would fet downe in 40 writing, and openly pronounce, that neither bitches loved their whelpes, nor mares their foles, hens their chickens, and other fowles their little birds in respect of any reward, but freely and by the instinct of nature: and this would be found a true verdict of his, instiffed and verified by all thole paffions and affections which are observed in them: and what a thame and infamie unto mankind is this to grant and avouch, that the act of generation in brute beafts, their conception, their breeding, their painfull deliverie of their young, and the carefull feeding and cherithing of them be natures works meerely, and duties of gratuitie; and contrariwife that in men they be pawnes given them for fecuritie of interest, hires, gages, and carnest pennies respective to some profit and gaine which they draw after them? But furely as this project is not true, so it is not woorth the hearing, for nature verily as in favage plants and trees, to wit, wilde vines, 50 wilde figge trees, and wilde olives the doth ingenerate certeine raw and unperfect rudiments, (fuch as they be) of good and kinde fruits; so the hath created in brute beasts a natural love and affection to their young, though the fame be not absolute nor fully answerable to the rule of jultice, ne yet able to passe farther than the bonds and limits of necessitie. As forman, a living creature, endued and adorned with reason, created and made for a civill societie, whom the hathbrought into the world forto observe lawes and justice, to serve honour and worship the gods, to found cities and governe common-wealths, and therein to exercise and performe al offices of bountie: him she hath bestowed upon noble, generous, faire and fruitfull seeds of all these things, to wit, a kinde love and tender affection toward his children; and these she followeth still, and persistent therein, which she insused together with the first principles and elements that went to the frame of his body and soule: for nature being every way persect and exquisite, and namely in this inbred love towardinfants; wherein there wanteth nothing that is necessarie, neither from it is ought to be taken away as supershous; I thath nothing (as Erasistratus was woont to say) vaine, frivolous and unprofitable, nothing inconstant, and shaking too and fro, inclining now one way, and then another. For in the first place, as touching the generation of man, who is able to expresse her prudence sufficiently? neither haply may it shand with the rule of decent modestie to be over-curious and exquisite in delivering the proper names and tearnes thereto belonging: for those naturall parts serving in that act of gene. To ration and conception secret as they be and hidden, so they neither can well, nor would will hingly be named, but the composition and framing thereof, so aptly made for the purpose, the disposition and situation likewise occurrent, we ought rather to conceive in our minde than utter in speech.

Leaving therefore those privie members to our private thoughts, passe we to the confection. disposition and distribution of the milke, which is sufficient to shew most evidently her providence, in defire and diligence; for the superfluous portion of blood which remaineth in a womans bodie, over and above that which serveth for the use whereunto it is ordeined, floting up and downe within her afterwards, for defect or feeblenesse of spirits wandereth (asit were) to and fro, and is a burden to her bodie; but at certaine fet-times & daies, to wit, in every monthly 19 revolution, nature is carefull and diligent to open certeine feluces and conducts, by which the faid superfluous blood doth void and passe away, whereupon shee doth not onely purge and lighten all the bodie befides, but also cleanfeth the matrice, and maketh it like a piece of ground brought in order and temper, apt to receive the plough, and defirous of the feed after it in due feafon: now when it hath once conceived and reteined the faid feed, fo as the fame take root and be knit, presently it draweth it selfe strait and close together round, and holdeth the conception within it; for the navill (as Democritus faith) being the first thing framed within the matrice, and ferving in stead of an anchor against the waving and wandering of it to and fro, holdeth fure the fruit conceived, which both now groweth and heereafter is to be delivered (asia were) by a fure cable and strong bough, then also it stoppeth and shutteth up the faid riverets to and passages of those monethly purgations; and taking the foresaid blood, which otherwise would run an void by those pipes and conducts, it maketh use thereof for to nourish, and (asit were) to water the infant, which beginneth by this time to take some confistence and receive shape and forme, folong, untill a certaine number of daies which are necessarie for the full growth thereof within be expired; at which time it had need to remove from thence for a kinde of nutriment else-where in another place; and then diverting the faid course of blood with all dexierity & a skilfull hand (no gardener nor fountainer in drawing of his trenches and chanels with all his cunning fo artificially and employing it from one use to another, the hath certains cefternes (as it were) or fountaine-heads, prepared of purpose from a running source most readie to receive that liquor of blood quickly, and not without some sense of pleasure and content-40 ment; but withall, when it is received, they have a power and facultie, by a milde hear of thenaturall spirits within them, and with a delicate and forminine tendernesse, to concoct, digest, change and convert it into another nature and qualitie, for that the paps have within themnaturally, the like temperature and disposition answerable unto it: now these teats which spontout milke from the cocks of a conduct, are so framed and disposed, that it floweth not foorth all at once, neither do they fend it away fuddenly : but nature hath fo placed the dug,t hat as it endeth one way in a spongeous kinde of slesh full of small pipes, and made of purpose to transmitthe milke, and let it diffill gently by many little pores and fecret passages, so it yeeldeth anipplein maner of a faucet, very fit and ready for the little babes mouth, about which to nuzzle and nudgell with it prety lips it taketh pleafure, and loveth to be tugging and lugging of it; but to no 50 purpose and without any fruit or profit at all, had nature provided such tooles and instruments for to engender and bring foorth a childe; to no end (I fav) had the taken fo good order, ufed to great industry, diligence and forecast, if withall she had not imprinted in the heart of mothers? woonderfull love and affection, yea, and an extraordinarie care over the fruit of their wombe, when it is borne into the world: for

Of creatures all which breath and walke upon the earth in light, None is there wretched more than man new borne into this light.

And who foever faith thus of a yoong infant newly comming forth of the mothers wombe, maketh no lie at all, but speaketh trueth; for nothing is there so imperfect, so indigent and poore, fonaked, so deformed, so foule and impure, than is man to see to presently upon his birth, confidering that to him (in maner alone) nature hath not given fo much as a cleane paffage and way into this light; fo furred he is all over & polluted with blood, so ful of filth and ordure, when he entreth into the world, refembling rather a creature fresh killed & flaine, than newly borne; that no bodie is willing to touch, to take up, to handle, dandle, kiffe and clip it, but fuch as by nature are lead to love it: and therefore, whereas in all other living creatures, nature hath provided that their udders and paps should be set beneath under their bellies, in a woman onely, she hath feated them aloft in her breafts, as a very proper and convenient place, where shee may more readily kiffe, embrace, coll and huggle her babe while it fucketh; willing thereby to let us underfland, that the end of breeding, bearing and rearing children, is not gaine and profit, but pure love and meere affection. Now, if you would fee this more plainly proved unto you, propose (if you please) and call to remembrance the women and men both in the olde world, whose hap was either first to beare children, or to see an infant newly borne; there was no law then to command and compell them to nourith and bring up their young babes; no hope at all of reciprocall pleafure or thanks at their hands that indured them; no expectance of reward and re-20 compense another day to be paied from them, as due debt for their care, paines and cost about them: nay, if you goe to that, I might fay rather: That mothers had some reason to deale hardly with their yoong infants, and to beare in minde the injuries that they have done them, in that they endured fuch dangers and fo great paines for them:

As namely, when the painfull throwes
as sharpe as any dart,
In travell pinch a woman neere,
and pierce ber to the bart:
Which midwives, sunocs daughters then,
do put her to, poore wretch,
With many a pang, when with their hand
they make ber body stretch.

But our women fay; It was never Homerus (furely) who wrote this; but Homerus rather: that is to fay, some Poetreffe or woman of his poeticall veine, who had bene herselfe at such a busines, and selve the dolourous pangs of child-birth, or els was even then in labour, and upon the point to be delivered, seeling a mixture of bitter and sharpe throwes in her backe, belly and flanks, when shee powred out these verses: but yet, for all the forow and deare bargaine that a mother hath of it, this kinde and naturall love doth till so bend, incline and leade her, that not with flanding she be in a heat still upon her travell, full of paines and after-throwes, panting, trembling and shaking for very anguish, yet she neglecteth not her sweet babe, nor windeth or shrinketh 40 away from it; but the turneth toward it, she maketh to it, she smileth and laugheth upon it, she taketh it into her armes, the hugleth it in her bosome, and kiffeth it full kindly: neither all this whiles gathereth she any fruits of pleasure or profit, but painfully (God wot) and carefully

She laps it then in raggs full foft,
With fwadling bands livewraps it oft,
By turnes live cooles and keeps it warme,
Loth is she that is should take harme.
And thus aswell by night as day,
Paives after paines she taketh ay.

Nowtell me (I pray you) what reward, recompense and profit do women reape for all this troujo ble and painfull hand about their little ones? None at all (surely) for the present, and as little in
struce expectance another day, considering their hopes are so farre off, and the same so uncertaine. The husbandman that diggeth and laboureth about his vine at the Aequinox in the
Spring, pressent grapes out of it and maketh his vintage at the Aequinox of the Autumne. He
that soweth his corne when the starres called Pleiades, doe couch and goe downe, reapeth and
hath his harvest afterwards when they rise and appeare againe; kine calve, mares soale, hennes
hatch, and soone after there commeth profit of their calves, their colts and their chickens: but
the reasing and education of a man is laborious, his growth is very slow and late; and whereas

long it is ere he commeth to proofe and make any shew of vertue, commonly most fathers die before that day. Neocles lived not to see the noble victorie before Salanus that Themistoeles his sonne atchived: neither saw Multiades the happie day wherein Cimon his sonne won the fielde at the samous battell necre the river Eurynidon: Xantippus, was not so happy as to heare Penicles his sonne, out of the pulpit preaching and making orations to the people; neither was it the good fortune of Ariston to be at any of his sonne Platoes lectures and disputations in Philosophie: the fathers of Euripides and Sophoeles, two renowmed Poets, never knew of the victories which they obteined, for pronouncing and rehearsing their tragedies in open theater, they might heare them peradventure when they were little ones to stammer, to listoe, to feel and put syllables together, or to speake broken Greeke, and that was all. But ordinary it is that men to live to see, heare, and know when their children sall to gaming, revelling, masking, and banquetting, to drunkennesse, wanton whooring, love and such like misdemeanors. So as in these regards this one Mot of Euenus in an Epigram of his, deserveth to be praised and remembred.

See how great paines all fathers undergo, What daily griefes their children put them to.

And yet for all this, fathers cease not still to nourish and bring up children, and such most of a who stand least in need of their children another day; for a meere mockery it were, and a ridculous thing if a man should suppose; that rich & wealthy men do facrifice unto the gods, and make great joy at the nativitie and birth of their children, because that one day they thall feede and fullcine them in their old age, and interre them after they be dead; unleffe perhaps it may 20 be faid, they rejoice thus and be so glad to have and bring up children, for that otherwise they should leave none heires behind them; as who would fay, it were so hard a matter to finde out and meet with those that would be willing to inherite the lands and goods of strangers. Certes the fands of the sca, the little motes in the sunne raised of dust, the feathers of birds together with their variable notes, be not fo many in number, as there be menthat gape after heritages, and be ready to fucceed others in their livings. Danass (who as they fay was the father of 50, daughters) if his fortune had beene to be childleffe, I doubt not but he should have had more heires than so to have parted his goods and state among them, and those verily after another fort than the heires of his owne body. For children yeeld their parents no thanks at all for being their inheritours, neither in regard thereof do they any service, dutie, or honour unto them; 10 for why? they expect and looke for the inheritance as a thing due and of right belonging unto them: but contrariwife you heare how those strangers that hang and hunt about a man who hath no children, much like to those in the comædies, singing this song,

O sir, no wight shall do you any harme, I will revenge your wrongs and quarrels ay: Hold heare, three-halfe-pence good to keepe you warme Purse it, drinke it, sing wo and care away. As for that which Euripides saith, These worldly goods procure men friends to chuse,

And credit most, who then will them refuse.

It is not fimply and generally true, unlesse to those as have no children; for such indeed are fure to be invited and seasted by the rich; lords and rulers will make court and be serviceable to such; for them great oratours and advocates will plead at the bar without see, and give their counsell gratis,

How mightie is a rich man with each one, So long as his next heire is knowne to none?

whereas you shall see many in the world, who before time having a number of friends and honour enough and no sooner had a little childeborne unto them, but they lost all their friends, credit, and reputation at once, so that by this reckoning the having of children maketh nothing at all to the authoritie of their parents, so that in regard thereof, it is not that they doe so so love their children; but surely the cause of this their kindnesse and affection proceedeth altogether from nature, and appeareth no lesse in mankind than in wilde beasts: Howbeit otherwhiles this naturall love aswell as many other good qualities in men, are blemished and obscured by occasion of vice that buddeth up afterwards; like as we see wilde briers, bushes and brambles to spring up and grow among good and kind feeds, for otherwise we might as well collect and say that men love not themselves because many cut their owne throates, or wilfully fall down headlong from steepe rocks and high places. For Oedipus

With bloudy hand his owneen-lids did force, And plucked out his eies upon remorce.

Hegefita disputing and discoursing upon a time of abstinence, caused many of his auditours and scholars to pine themselves to death.

Such accidents of many forts there be, Permitted by the gods we daily fee.

But al of them like as those other passions and maladies of them ind before named, transport aman out of his owne nature, and put him befide himfelfe, so as they testifie against themselves that this is true, and that they do amiffe heerein; for if a fow having farrowed a little pigge, de-10 youre it when the hath done, or a bitch chance to teate in peeces a puppic or whelpe of her own litter, presently men are amazed at the fight thereof, and woonderfully affrighted, whereupon they facrifice unto the gods certaine expiatorie facrifices, for to divert the finister præsages thereof, as taking it to a prodigious woonder, as confessing thereby, that it is a propertie given to all living creatures, even by the inftinct and inftitution of nature; To love, foster and cherrish the fruit of their owne bodies: fo farre is it from them to destroy the same. And yet, notwithftanding her corruption and depravation in this behalfe: Like as in mines, the gold (although it be mixed with much clay, and furred all over with earth) shineth & glittereth thorow the same, and is to be seene afarre off; even so nature amid the most depravate maners and corrupt passions that we have, sheweth a certeine love and tender affection to little ones. To conclude, no wheras the poore many times make no care at all to nourish and reare up their children, it is for nothing els but because they seare lest having not so good bringing up nor so civill education as they ought, they should proove servile in behavior, untaught, unmanerly, rude, and void of all good parts; and judging (as they do) povertie to be the extremity of all mileries that can befall to man, their heart will not ferve them to leave unto their children this hereditarie calamity, as a most grievous and dangerous disease.



OF THE PLVRALITY OF FRIENDS.

The Summarie.

N certaine discourses going before, it appeareth what a benefit and good thing friend-N certeine discourses going before, it appeareth what a benefit and good thing friend-solve solves and now Plutarch addeth thereto a certaine sorrection very necessary, in re-gard of our nature which is given alwaies to bend unto extremities, and not able long to holde the golden-meane. Like as therefore, it bewraieth a miserable, wretched and cursed mind to be desirous for to leade a life withous acquaim ance and samiliarity with any person; even so to make friends (as they say) hand over head and upon every occasion, is peradventure unpossible, but surely not expedient. Our authour therefore, willing to reforme this disordinate affection that is in many, who because they would have a number of friends, often times have not one asfured, sheweth that it is farre better for a man to get one fast and faithfull friend, than a great multitude of whom he can not make any certaine account; propounding as a remedie for this coverous minde 50 of entertaining such a plurality of friends, the examples of those who are contented with few, and by that meanes thinke their estate more sure and stedfast. After this, he treateth of the choise of friends, but especially of one. Then discourseth he of that which is requisite in true friendship, annexing thereto many proper and apt finilitudes, which represent as well the benefit that sincere affection bringeth, as the hurt which commeth of famed and counterfeit amitie. Thu done, he proveth, that to enterteine anumber of friends, is a very hard matter, yea, and unpossible; for that amon is not able to converse with them, nor to frame and sort with them all, but that he shall procure himselfe enemies on all sides : and when he hath enriched and adorned the same with notable examples, he proceedet hto describe.

describe, what use a man is to make of friendship, and with what sort and condition of men he ought to joine in amity: but this is the conclusion; That an honest and vertuous man can not quit himselfe well and performe his devoire unto many friends at once.

OF THE PLURALITIE of friends.



Ocrates upon a time demanded of Menon the Thessalian, who was 10 esteemed very sufficient in all litterature, and a great schoole-man, exercised in long practise of disputations, and named to be one (as Empedocles faith) who had attained to the very height and perfection of wifedome and learning, what vertue was; and when he had answered readily and boldly enough, in this wife: There is a vertue (quoth he) of a yoong childe, and of an olde gray beard; of a man, and of a woman; of a magistrate, and of a private person; of ama. fter, and of a fervant: I con you thanke (quoth Socrates againe, replying unto him) you have done it very well: I asked you but of

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one vertue, and you have raifed and let flie a whole swarme (as it were) of vertues, gueffing and 10 collecting not amiffe by fuch an answere, that this deepe clearke, who had named thus many vertues, knew not fo much as one. And might not a man feeme to fcome and mocke us welle. nough, who having not yet gotten one friendship and amity certaine, are afraid (forfooth) lest ere we be aware, we fall into a multitude and pluralitie of friends: for this were even as much as if one that is maimed and starke blinde, should feare to become either Briareus the giant, with an hundred armes and hands, or Argus, who had eies all over his bodie. And yet we praise and commend exceffively and beyond all measure the young man in Menander, when he saith:

Of all the goods which I do holde, To thinke ech one (I would be bolde) Right woonderfull, if I might finde The stadow onely of a friend.

But certeinly this is one cause among many others, & the same not the least, that we cannot be possessed of any one assured amity, because we cover to have so many much like vnto these common ftrumpers and harlots, who for that they profittute their bodies fo often and to fo manie men, cannot make any reckoning to hold & reteine any one paramor or lover fast and sure unto them; for that the first commers seeing themselves neglected and cast off by the enterteinment of new, retire and fall away from them, and feeke elfewhere; or rather much after the maner of that * tofter-childe of lady Hypfipyle,

Who being fet in meddow greene Wish pleasant flowers all faire befeene, One after other crops them fill, Hunting this game with right good will: For why, his heart tooke great content In their gay hew and sweety sent: So little wit and small * discretion

интоу азеп-SEVE WY: OF มหายอง a.ี:ภ.ผ-50y 2 X & Y : 35 it is read elfe-

* Opheltes or

Archemorus.

The infant had, and no * repletion. even so every one of us for the defire of noveltie, and upon a satietie and fulnesse of that which is prefent and in hand, fuffreth himfelfe ever to be caried away with a new-come friend that is fresh and flowring; which fickle and inconstant affection causeth us to change often and to begin many friendthips and finish none; to enter still into new amities and bring none to per-50 fection; and for the love of the new which we purfue and feeke after, wee paffe by that which we held already and let it go. To begin then first and formost at antiquity (as it were) from the goddesse Vesta (according to the old proverbe) let us examine and consider the common fame of mans life which hath beene delivered unto us from hand to hand time out of minde, by the fueceffion and progresse of so many ages from the old world unto this day, and take the same for a witnesse and counseller both in this matter, wee shall finde in all the yeeres past, these onely couples and paires of renowmed friends, to wit, Thefem and Pirithom; Achilles and Patroclus

Orestes and Pylades; Pythias and Damon; Epaminondas and Pelopidas. For friendship is indeed (as I may fo fay) one of these cattell that love company and defire to feed and pasture with fellowes; but it can not abide heards and droves, it may not away with these great flocks, as jayes, dawes and choughes do. And whereas it is commonly faid and thought, that a friend is another owne felfe, and men give unto him the name of integs or smess in Greeke, as if a man would fay, tines, that is, fuch another: what implieth all this, but that friendship should be reduced within the measure and compasse of the duall number, that is, of twaine. Well, this is certaine, we can buy neither many flaves nor purchase many friends with a small piece of coine: but what may he this piece of money that will fetch friends? Surely, kinde affection or good will, and a lovely 10 grace joined with vertue, things I may tell you for are, as looke thorowout the world and the whole course of nature, you shall find nothing more geason. No marvell then, if it be unpossible either to love many or to be loved of many, perfectly and in the height of affection. But like as great rivers, if they be divided into many chanels, and cut into fundry riverets, cary but an ebbe water, and run with no ftrong ftreame; even so a vehement and affectionate love planted in the minde, if it be parted many and divers waies becommeth enervate and feeble, and commeth in maner to nothing. This is the reason in nature, that those creatures which bring forth but one and no more, love their yoong more tenderly and entirely, than others do theirs. Homer alfo when he would fignifie a childe most dearely beloved, calleth it pishon THAU) eTOV, that is to fay, only begotten and toward old age, to wit, when the parents have no more betweene them, nor ever 20 are like or doe looke to have another: for mine owne part, I would not defire to have that paren, that is to fay, one friend, and no more; but furely, I could wish that with other he were more that is to fay, one friend, and no more; but furely, I could wish that with other he were more that is to fay, one friend, and no more; but furely, I could wish that with other he were more than the could be a second or the co yea, and offeres, that is to fay, long and late first ere he be gotten, like as a sonne which is borne toward the latter daies of his parents, yea, and fuch a one, as (who according to that proverbe fo common in every mans mouth) hath eaten with me a measure of falt. And are not many now adaies called friends? what els? if they have but drunke once together at the taverne, or met in the tennis court, or els turned into a tabling house, and plaied at dice and hazzard one with the other, or haply light in company at one hostelric and lodged together, and in one word, they do contract and gather friends in this maner out of common innes, wreftling places, and ordinary walkes in the markets or publike galleries. And verily, the common fort, when they fee 30 every morning in the houses of rich men and mightie rulers, a great multitude and concourse of people, with much ado and hurry, giving attendance there to falute them and bid them good morrow, kiffing their right hands, & glad if they may touch them, acc opanying them in maner of a guard when they go out of their lodging; oh, they imagine & repute fuch potentates wondrous happie, as being furnithed with fuch numbers of friends; and yet furely, as many as they be, they shal see more slies ordinarily in their kitchins: and to say a troth, like as these slies will be gone if no cates and yiands be stirring; so these friends will tary no longer than gaine and profit is to be gotten.

Pluralitie of friends.

Certes, true and perect friend thip requireth thefe three things especially; Vertue, as being honest and commendable; Societie, which is pleasant and delectable; and Profit, which is need-40 full and necessarie: for a man must admit and receive a friend upon judgement and after triall made, he ought to delight and joy in his company, and he is to make use of him as occasion serveth: all which three are contrarie unto pluralitie of friends, but especially that which is principall, to wit, judgement upon a triall: and to proove this to be true; fee first and formost whether it bee possible in a small time to make proofe and triall of singing men or quiresters, that they may keepe a good concent and harmonic together in their fong; or to make choice of oare-men, who shall agree in their rowing, to rise and fall with their oares just together; or of housholde servants such as wee purpose to make the bailist and stewards of our goods, or the governors and bringers up of our children? much more unlikely then is it, that we should have proofe of many friends in a little space, who will be ready to enter the triall with us of all 50 maner of fortune, and of whom every one will be prest and willing

> Of his welfare to yeeld even part to thee, And bearelike part of thy calamitie.

For neither is a thip that or haled into the fea against fo many stormes & tempests; nor me do let & pitch fo many stakes in a pallisado for the defence of any place; or in havens raise banks, and oppose dams, against the like dangers, or in feare of so many perils, as friendship promileth fuccour and refuge for, if it be founded furely and aright upon good proofe and fufficient experience. As for such as before triall and experiment made do intrude themselves comming and going for friends, fuch when they be put to the trial & touch indeed, & then found like evil money, counterfeit or light, they that go without them, be glad in their minde, and as many as have them, wish with all their hart & pray to God for to be rid of them. But furely this is a trou. blefome & comberous thing, neither is it an easie matter to void and cast off such a friendship as this, so displeasant & offensive: for like as if some kind of bad meat do trouble and offend the Homacke, a man can neither reteine and hold it still, but it will put him to paine and breed hurt & corruption, nor yet put it off and fend it out in such fort as it went in, but all filthy and loath. fome, as being furred over with fline, and mixed confusedly with other humours, and whollie altered from the former state; even so an ill friend either tarieth with us still to his owne griefe and ours both, or elfe away he goeth perforce with euill wil, malice and enmitte like bitter cho. 10 ler that is vomited out of the stomacke. It is not good therefore to receive and admit of friends over-lightly and over-foone, nor to fet our mindes and knit our affections to those that come next hand, and prefent themselves first, ne yet love those incontinently that seeke to us and sol. low us; but rather to feeke after them and follow them our felves that are worthy of friendship: for we must not alwaies choose that which is easie to be had & willing to be gotten; for we putby gorfe and furzen buffies; we tread under foot briers and brambles though they catch hold of us, and hang unto us as we walke whether we will or no; whereas wee go forward to the olive tree and the vine; and even so it is not alwaies decent & good to entertaine into our familiarite one that is readie to embrace and hang about us; but rather fuch ought we our felves affectionately to embrace whom we have tried to be profitable unto us, and who deferve that we should 20 love and make account of them. And like as Xeuxis the painter answered sometime to those who found fault with him for his flow hand in painting: I confesse indeed (quoth he) that I am long in drawing a picture, for I purpose that my worke should continue long; and even so that friendship and familiaritie is like to last and be preserved long which was a good while in proofe and triall. Is it then no case matter to make triall and choise of many friends together? and is it no hard thing to converte & keepe companie with many at once, or rather is this also impossible? for furely it is converfation and fellowihip, whereby we enjoy the benefit of friendthip, and the most sweet and pleasant fruit of amitie consistesth in keeping continuals societie, and daily frequenting one anothers companie, like unto those who uttered these words,

For during life we will not fit in counfell from our friends, Nor yet refolve of doubsfull points before we know their minds.

As Homer reporteth in one place: and in another Menelaw speaking of Ulysses, faith thus,

Nought else us twaine our mutuall love, and pleasures shall depars Untill death close up hoth our cies and strike us to the bart.

But this pluralitie of friends whereof we now speake, seemeth to do cleane contrarie; for whereas the simple amitte of twaine draweth us together, holdeth & uniteth us by frequent and 40 continual conversation, sellowship, and duties of kindenesse.

Much like as when the figtree juice, you put white milke among, It crudles, knits, and bindes the fame, no lesse then rennet strong.

according to the words of *Empedoeles*; and furely defirous it is to make the femblable union and concorporation: this friendship of many separateth, distractesh and divertesh us, calling and transporting us fundry waies, not permitting the commixture and sodering (as it were) of good will and kinde affection to grow into one, and make a perfect joint by familiar convertation, enclosing & fastning every part together. But the same anon bringesth with all a great 19 inequalitie in offices and reciprocall services meet for friends, and breedeth a certeine soolish bashfulnesse and streining of courtesse in the performance thereof, for by occasion of many friends those parts in amitie, which otherwise are case and commodious, become difficult and incommodious: And why?

All men do not agree in humor one,

Their thoughts their cares bend diver fly ech one.

and no matvell, for our verie natures do not all incline in affection the fame way; neither are we

at all times conversant and acquainted with the like fortunes and adventures. To say nothing of their fundrie occasions and occurrences which serve not indifferently for all our actions: but like as the windes unto failers, they are with fome and against others; fometimes on our backes and other whiles full in our face. And fay that it may fall out fo, that all our friends at once do fland in need, and be defirous of one and the fame helpe and ministerie at our hands, it were verie hard to fit all their turnes and fatisfie them to their content; whether it be in taking out advice and counfell in any negotiations, or in treating about State matters, or in fuite after dignities, places of government, or in feasting and entertaining strangers in their houses: But suppose that at one & the same instant, our friends being diversly affected & troubled with sunto drie affaires, request all of them together our helping hand; as for example, one that is going to fea for to have our companie in that voiage; another who being defendant & to answere for himselfe in the law, to assist him in the court; and a third that is a plaintife, to second him in his plea; a fourth who either is to buy or fell, for to helpe him to make his markets; a fift who is to marrie for to facrifice with him, and be at his wedding dinner; and a fixt, who is to inter a dead corps for to mourne & folemnize the funerals with him: in such a medley and confusion as this, as if according to Sophocles:

A citie fmoakt within sence sweet, And ring with songs for murth someet, With plaints also and groanes resound, And all in one and selfe same stound.

Certes having so many friends, to affish and gratifie them all were impossible, to pleasure more were absurd, and in serving ones turne to reject many others, were offensive and hurtful; for this is a rule:

Who to his friend is well affected, Loves not himselfe to be neglected.

and yet commonly fuch negligences and forgetfull defaults of friends, we take with more patience, and put up with leffe anger and displeasure, when they shall come to excuse themselves by oblivion making these and such like answeres. Surely, you were but forgotten; it was out of my head, and I never thought of it: but he that shall alledge thus and fay: I was not your affistant in 30 the court, nor stood to you in your cause, by reason that I attended another friend of mine in a triall of his; or I came not to visite you whiles you had an ague, for that I was busilie employed ata feast, that such a one made to one of his friends; excusing his negligence to one friend, by his diligence to others; furely he maketh no fatisfaction for the offence already taken, but increaleth the fame and maketh it woorfe than before, by reason of jealousie added thereto; howbeit most men as it should seeme aime at nothing elsebut at the profit and commoditie which friendship bringeth and yeeldeth from without, & never regard what care it doth imprint and worke within; neither remember they that he whose turne hath beene served by many friends, must likewise reciprocally be ready to helpe them as their need requireth. Like as therefore the giant Briaress with his 100 hands feeding 50 bellies, had no more fustenance for his whole bo-40 diethan we, who with two hands furnish and fill one belly; even so the commoditie that wee have by many friends bringeth this discommoditie withall, that we are to be emploied also to many, in taking part with them of their griefs and paffions, in travailing and in being troubled together with them in all their negotiations and affaires: for we are not to give care unto Euripides the poet when he faith thus,

> In mutuall love men ought a meaneto keepe, That it souch not heart roote nor marrow deepe, Affections for to change it well befits, To rise and fall,now hot now coole by fits.

giving us to understand that friendship is to be used according as need requireth more or lesse, so like to the helme of a ship, which both holdesh it hard, and also giveth head, or the tackling which spread and draw, hoise and strike saile, as occasion serveth. But contrariwise, rather (good Euripides) we may turne this speech of yours to emittie, & admonish men that their quartels & contentions be moderate and enter not to the heart and inward marrow (as it were) of the soule, that hatted (I say) and malice, that anger, offences, defiances, and suspitions, be so intertained as that they may be soone appeased, laid downe & forgotten. A better precept is that yet of Pytha-goras, when he teacheth us not to give our right hand to many that is to say, not to make many men our friends, nor to affect that popular amitie common to all, and exposed or offred to

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every one that commeth, which no doubt cannot chuse but bring many passions with it into the heart, among which, to be diffquieted for a friend, to condole or grieve with him, to control into troubles, and to plunge ones felfe into perils for his fake, are not very easie matters to be borne by those that carie an ingenuous minde with them, and be kind-hearted; but the faying of wife Chilon a profession of philosophie is most true, who answering unto a man that vaunted how he had not an enimie; It thould feeme then (quoth he) that thou haft never a friend; for certeinly enunties enfue presently upon amities, nay they are both interlaced together; neither is it the part of a friend not to feele the injuries done unto a friend, nor to participate with him in all ignomines, harred, and quarrels that he incurreth; and one enimie evermore will be fure to fulfect the friend of another, yea and be ready to malice him; as for friends oftentimes they to envie their owne friends, they have them in jealoufie, and traduce them every way. The oracle answered unto Timesian when he consulted about the planting and peopling of a new colonie in this wife:

Pluralitie of friends.

Thou think's to lead a swarme of bees full kind. But angree waspes, thou shalt them shortly find.

Semblablic they that feeke after a bee-hive (as it were) of friends, light ere they be aware upona walpes nell of enimies: where there is a great ods and difference even in this, that the revenging remembrance of an enimie for wrong done, over-weigheth much the thankfull memorie of a friend for a benefit received; and whether this be true or no, confider in what maner Alexander the great entreated the friends of Philotas and Parmenio; how Dionysius the tyrant used the fami- 10 liars of Dion; after what fort Nero the emperor dealthy the acquaintance of Plantus; or Tiberius Cafar by the wel-willers of Sejanus, whom they caused all to be racked, tortured and put to death in the end. And like as the costly jewels of golde, and the rich apparell of king Creons daughter, ferved him in no flead at all, but the fire that tooke holde thereof, flaming light out fuddenly, borned him when he ran unto her to take her in his armes, and so consumed father and daughter together; even so you shall have some, who having never received any benefit at all by the prosperitie of their friends, are entangled notwithstanding in their calamities, and perish topethe with them for companie; a thing that ordinarily and most of all they are subject unto, who be men of profession, great clearks, and honourable personages. Thus Thesew, when Perithow his friend was punished and lay bound in prison

> Wich fetters sure to him tied was. Farre stronger than of yron or braffe.

Thueydides also writeth; That in the great pestilence at Athens, the best men and such as made greatest profession of vertue, were they who did most with their friends that lay sicke of the plague: for that they never spared themselves, but went to visit and looke to all those whom they loved and were familiarly acquainted with. And therfore it is not meet to make so little regard and reckoning of vertue, as to hang and fasten it upon others, without respect, and (as they fay) hand over head, but to referve the comunication thereof to those who be worthy; that isto fay, unto fuch who are able to love reciprocally, and know how to impart the like againe. And verily, this is the greatest contrariety and opposition which crosseth pluralitie of friends, in that 40 amitie in deed is bred by fimilitude and conformitie: for confidering that the very brute bealts not endued with reason, if a man would have to ingender with those that are of divers kinds, are brought to it by force, and thereto compelled, informuch, as they shrinke, they couch downe upon their knees, and be ready to flee one from another; whereas contrariwife, they take pleafure and delight to be coupled with their like and of the fame kinde, receiving willingly and enterteining their companie in the act of generation, with gentleneffe and good contentment: how is it possible that any found and perfect friendship should grow betweene those who are in behaviour quite different, in affections divers, in conditions opposite, and whole course of life tendeth to contrary or fundry ends? True it is, that the harmonie of musicke, whether it be in long or inftrument, both fymphony by antiphony (that is to fay) the accord arifeth from discord and 50 of contrarie notes is composed a sweet tune, so as the treble and the base concurre, after a sort, (I wot not how) & meet together, bringing forth by their agreement that found which pleafeth the eare: but in this confonance and harmonic of friendflip, there ought to be no part unlike or unequall, nothing obscure and doubtfull, but the same should be composed of all things agreeable, to wit, the fame will, the fame opinion, the fame counfell, the fame affection, as if one foule were parted into many bodies. And what man is he, so laborious, so mutable, so variable, and apt to take every fashion & form? who is able to frame unto all patterns, and accommodate

himselfe to so many natures, and will not rather be ready to laugh at the Poet Theogras, who giveth this leffon:

Put on a minde (I thee do wish) As variable as Polype fish, Who ay refemble will the roch, To which he neerely doth approch.

and yet this change and transmutation of the said polype or pourcuttle fish, entreth not deeply in but appeareth superficially in the skin, which by the closenesse or laxitie thereof, as he drawes it in or lets it out, receiveth the defluctions of the colours from those bodies that are neere unto 10 it; whereas amittes do require that the maners, natures, passions, speeches, studies, defires and inclinations may be conformable; for otherwife to doe, were the propertie of a Proteum, who was neither fortunate nor yet verie good and honest, but who by enchantment and forcerie could eftloones transforme himselse from one shape to another in one and the same instant; and even so he that enterteineth many friends, must of necessitie be conformable to them all; namely, with the learned and studious, to be ever reading; with professours of wrestling, to beftrew his bodie with dust (as they doe) for to wrestle; with hunters, to hunt; with drunkards, to quaffe and caroufe; with ambitious citizens, to fue and manage for offices, without any fetled mansion (as it were) of his owne nature for his conditions to make abode in. And like as naturall Philosophers do holde: That the substance or matter that hath neither forme nor any coao lour, which they call Materia prima, is a subject capable of all formes, and of the owne nature fo apt to alter and change, that fometimes it is ardent and burning, otherwhiles it is liquid and moilt; now rare and of an airie substance, and afterwards againe groffe and thicke, relembling the nature of earth; even fo must the minde applied to this multiplicitie of friends, bee subject to many passions, fundry conditions, divers affections pliable, variable and apt to change from one fashion to another. Contrariwise, simple friendship and amitie betweene twaine, requireth a staied minde, a firme and constant nature, permanent and abiding alwaies in one place, and reteining still the same fashions; which is the reason that a fast and affured friend is very geafon and hard to be found.



OF FORTVNE.

The Summarie.

og Ong time hash this Proverbe beene currant, That there is nothing in this world but good fortune and misfortune. Some have expounded and taken it thus; as if all things were carried by meere chance and aventure, or mooved and driven by inconfiant fortune, an idole forged in their brane, for that they were ignorant in the providence of the True God who conducteth ordinarily all things in this world by second causes and Subalterne meanes, yea the verie motion, will and workes of men, for the execution of his ordinance and purpose. Now Plutarch not able to arise and reach up to this divine and heavenly wisedome hidden from his knowledge, staieth below; and yet poore Pagan and Eihnike though he were, he consuteth that dangerous opinion of Fortune; shewing that it taketh away all distinction of good and evill, quen-10 cheth and putterhout the light of mans life, blending and confounding vice and vertue together. Afterwards he proovesh that prudence and wisedome, over-rules his blind fortune, by considering the maistrie and dominion that man hath above beasts: the arts also and sciences whereof he maketh profession, together with his judgement and will directly opposite

and contrarie to all casualties and changes.

OF FORTVNE.



Lind fortune rul's mans life alway, Sage counsell therein beares no sway,

faid one (who ever it was) that thought all humane actions depended upon meer casualtie, and were not guided by wisedome. What? and hath justice and equitie no place at all in this world? can temperance and modestie do nothing in the direction and managing of our affaires? Came it from fortune; and was it indeed by meere chance that Aristides made choise to continue in povertie, when it was in his power to make himselse a Lord of much wealth and many goods? or that Scipio when he had forced Carthage, tooke not

to himselfe, nor so much as saw any part of all that pillage? And was it long of fortune, or by casualty that Philogrates having received of King Philip a great summe of gold, bought there. with harlots and daintie fishes? or that Lasthenes and Euthycrates betraied the citie Olymbus measuring soveraigne good and felicity of man by belly-cheere, and those pleasures which of all other be most dishonest and infamous? And shall we say, it was a worke of fortune that Akx. ander, some of Philip, not onely himselfe forbare to touch the bodies of the captive women taken in war, but also punished all such as offred them violence and injurie: and contrativise, 10 came it by ill lucke and unhappie fortune, that another Alexander the sonne of King Priamus flept and lay with his friends wife, when he lodged and entertained him in his house, and not only fo, but carried her away with him, and by that occasion brought all manner of calamitie upon two maine parts of the continent, to wit, Europe and Asia, and filled them both with those mileries that follow warres?

If we graunt that all these occurrents came by fortune, what should let us, but we might as well fay that cats, goats and apes be likewife by fortune given to be alwaies lickorous, lecherous, shrewd and sawcy. But in case it be true (as true it is) that the world hath in it temperance, justice and fortitude; what reason is there to say, that there is no prudence and wisdome therein? nowif it be yeelded that the world is not void of prudence: how can it be maintained that there should 30 not be in it sage counsell? For temperance (as some say) is a kinde of prudence; and most certeine it is, that justice should be affissed by prudence; or to say more truely, ought to haveit present with her continually. Certes, sage counsell & wisdome in the good use of pleasures and delights, whereby we continue honest, we ordinarily do call continence and temperance; the fame in dangers and travels, we tearmetolerance, patience and fortitude; in contracts and management of State affaires we give the name of loialtie, equitie and justice; whereby it commeth to paffe, that if we will attribute the effects of counfell and wifedome unto fortune, we must likewise ascribe unto her the works of justice and temperance. And so (beleeve me) to rob and steale, to cut purses, and to keepe whores, must proceed from fortune; which if it be so, let us abandon all discourse of our reason, and betake our selves wholly to fortune to be driven and ca-40 ried to and fro at her pleasure like to the dust, chaffe, or sweepings of the floore, by the puffes of fome great wind. Take away fage & discreet counsell; farewel then all consultation as touching affaires, away with deliberation, confideration and inquifition into that which is behovefull and expedient: for furely then, Sophocles talked idlely, and knew not what he spake in saying thus:

Seeke, and be fure to finde with diligence, But loofe, what you for-let by negligence.

And in another place where dividing the affaires of man he faith in this wife:

What may be taught, I strive to learne; what may likewise be found I feeke, for wishes all I pray, and would to God be bound.

Nowwould I gladly know, what is it that men may finde and what can they learne, in case all things in the world be directed by fortune? What Senate house of citie would not be diffolved and abolished? what counsell chamber of Prince should not be overthrowen and put downe, if all were at the disposition of fortune? we doe her wrong in reproching her for blindesse, when we runne upon her as we doe, blinde, and debasing our selves unto her; for how can wee chuse but stumble upon her indeed, if we plucke out our owne cies, to wit, our wisdome & dex-

teritie of counfell, and take a blinde guide to lead us by the hand in the courfe of this our life? Certes, this were even as much, as if fomeone of us should fay, the action of those that see, is fortune, and not fight or cies, which Plato calleth ewooden, that is, Light bearers : the action likewife of them that heare, is nothing elfe but fortune, and not a naturall power and facultie to receive the stroke or repercussion of the aire, carried by the care and the braine. But better it were (I trow) and so will everie wise bodie thinke to take heed how to discredit our senses so, as to submit them to fortune: For why? Nature hath bestowed upon us fight, hearing, taste and finelling, with all the parts of the body indued with the rest of their powers and faculties, as ministers of counfell and wifedome. For it is the foule that feeth, it is the foule & understanding that hea-10 reth, all therest are dease and blinde: and like as if there were no finne at all we should (for all the starres besides) live in perpetual night as Heraelitus saith; even so if man had not reason and intelligence, notwithstanding all his other senses, he should not differ in the whole race of his life from brute and wilde beafts; but now in that we excell and rule them all, it is not by chance and fortune: but Prometheus (that is to fay) the use and discourse of reason is the very cause that hath given us in recompence

Both horse and asse, with breed of beefs so strong

To cary us, and ease our labour long. according as we read in Aefelylus the poet. For a finish as otherwise fortune and nature both have beene more favourable, and beneficiall to most of the brute beasts in their entrance into 20 this life, than unto man; for armed they be with hornes, tusks, spurs, and stings; moreover as Empedocles faith,

The Urchin firikes with many a pricke, Which grow on backe both sharpe and thicke.

Againe there be many beafts clad and covered with scales and share; shod also with claws and hard hoofes: onely man as Plato faith is abandoned and for faken by nature, all naked, unarmed, unfhod, and without any vesture whatsoever,

But by one gift which she hath given, Amends | ve makes, and all is even.

and that is, the use of reason, industrie, and providence.

For strength of mortall man is small, His lims but weake and finewes all: Yet by his wit and quick conceit, By cunning casts and subtill sleight, No beast in sea, or mount, so fell,

So wilde, or flie, but be doth quell. What beaft more nimble, more light and fwift than is the horse; but for man it is that he runneth in the race: the dogge is couragious and eager in fight, but it is in the defence of man: fishes yeeld a most delicate and sweet meat; and swine be full of good flesh, but both of them ferve as viands for the food and nourifhment of man: what creature is bigger or more wat-40 ble to fee to than is the elephant? howbeit he maketh man sport and pastime, he is shewed as a goodly fight in festivall folemnities where people bee affembled, he is taught to friske and daunce his measures, to fall upon his knees likewise and do reverence: and verily these and such likesleights and examples are exhibited not in vaine nor without good profit, but to this end, that thereby we may know how farfoorth reason & wisedome doth advance and lift up a man, above what things it maketh him furmount, and how by meanes thereof he ruleth all, and furpaffeth all:

> As fight with fists we are not good, nor yet intripping feet, In wrestling we may well be blam'd, our running is not fleet.

But in all these seats we are inseriour to brute beasts, howbeit for experience, memorie, wisedome and artificiall fleights (as Anaxagor as faid) wee go beyond them all, and thereby wee have the mastrie and use of them, making them to serve our turnes: we streine honie out of the combes of bees; we preffemilke out of beafts udders; we rob and spoile them; we drive and carie them away and whatfoever they have, infomuch as in all this there is nothing that can be justly auributed to forme, but all proceeds from counsell and fore-cast.

Furthermore, the works of carpenters are done by hand of man, so are they also of smithes

and braffers, of masons, builders, gravers and imagers: in all which there is nothing to bee feene, that a man can say is done by chaunce or fortune, at leastwise when it is wrought absolutely and as it should be. And say that it may sall out otherwhiles that a good artisan, whether he be a cutter in brasse or a mason, a finith or a carpenter, may meet with fortune and doe some little thing by chance; yet the greatest peeces of worke, and the most number are wrought and sinished respectively by their arts, which a certaine poet hath given us secretly to understand by these verses,

March on your way ech artifane Who live upon your handy craft, On foorth I fay in comely traine, Your facred panniers beare aloft; Tou that Ergane dread and feare The daughter grim of Iupiter.

For this Ergane (that is to fay Minerva) all artifanes and artificers acknowledge and honor for their patronesse, and not fortune. True it is that the report goes of a certeine painter, who drawing the picture of an horse, had done veriewell in all respects, both in portraiture and also colours, save onely that he pleased not himselfe in painting the some and swelling froth which useth to gather about the bit as hee champeth upon the same, and so falleth from his mouth when he snuffeth and bloweth; this I say he liked not, neither thought he it workmanly done, insomuch as hee wiped it out many times and began it a new; but never was it to his a mind; at last in a pelting chase because it would frame no better, he takes me his spung sull as titwas of colours, and stang it against the table wherein hee wrought; but see the woondessull chance; this spunge lighting as it did upon the right place, gave such a print, and dashed so, as that it represented the froth that he so much desired most lively; and to my remembrance there is not in anie historie set downe an artificiall thing but this that fortune ever did,

Artificers use altogether in everie piece of worke, their squires, their rules, their lines and leavels; they goe by measures and numbers, to the end that in all their workes there should not be any thing found done either rashly or at aventure. And verily these arts are petie kindes of Prudence and so called; or rils and riverets flowing from Prudence, or certaine parcels rather of it, sprinkled and dispersed among the necessities of this life and thus much is covertly signi-30 fied by the fable of the fire that Prometheus divided by sparkles, which flew some heere some there; for femblahy, the small parcels and fragments of wisedome, being cut into fundrie portions, are ranged into their feverall ranks and become arts. A woonderfull thing how thefe arts and sciences thould have no dealing with Fortune nor need her helpe, for to attain unto their proper ends; and yet Prudence which is the greatest foveraigne and most perfect of themall, yea and the verie height of all the glorie, reputation, and goodnesse of man, should be just nothing. In the winding up and letting downe of the strings of an instrument, there is one kind of wisdome, and that is called Musicke; in the dressing and ordering of meates and viands there is another, which they name Cookerie; in washing and scouring of clothes and garments there is a third, to wit, the fullers craft. As for our little children, we teach them to draw on their shooes, 40 to make them readic and dreffe themselves in their clothes decently, to take meat in their right hand, and to hold bread in the left; an evident argument and proofe, that even fuch small matters as these, depend not of chance and fortune, but require skill and heed taking. Shall we say then that the greatest and most principall things that are, even those that be most materiall and necessarie for mans felicitie, use not wisedome, norparticipate one whit with providence and the judgement of reason? There is no man so blockish and voide of understanding, that after he hath tempered clay and water together, lets it alone and goeth his way when he hath fo done, looking that of the owne accord, or by fortune there will be bricks or tiles made thereof: neither is any one fuch a for, as when he hath bought wool & leather, fits him downe & praies unto fortune, that thereof he may have garments or (hooes: and is there any man fo foolish thinke you? 50 who having gathered together a great maffe of gold and filver, gotten about him a mightiered tinue of flaves and fervants, and being poffeffed of divers faire and stately houses with many a doore within and without, and those surely locked on everie side, having before him in his eiefight a fort of fumptuous beds with their rich and costly furniture, and of tables most precious, will repose soveraigne felicitie therein, or thinke that all this can make him to live happily, without paine, without griefe, secure of chaunge and alteration, if he have not wisedome withall? Statute Court 36.7

There was one that cavilled upon a time with Captaine Iphierases, and by way of reptoch & minding to proove that he was of no reckoning, demaunded what he was? For (quoth he) you are not a man at armes, nor archer, nor yet targuetier: I am not indeed I confesse (quoth Iphierates, but I am he who commaund all these, and employ them as occasion serveth; even so wisedome, is neither gold nor filver, it is not glorie or riches, it is not health, it is not strength, it is not beautie: what is it then? Surely even that which can skill how to use all these, and by means whereof each of these things is pleasant, honorable and prostable; and contrariwise, without which, they are displeasant, hurtfull and dangerous, working his destruction and dissonor who possesses the means and therefore right good counsell gave Promethem in Hessalus to his broto ther Epimethem in this one point:

Receive no gifts at any time, which heavenly Iove shall fend: But feethou do refuse them all, and backe againe them send.

Meaning thereby these outward goods of fortunes gift, as if he would have said: Goe not about to play upon a Flute, if thou have no knowledge in Musicke; nor to reade if thou know never a letter in the booke; mount not on horsebacke, unless thou canst tell how to fit him and ride; and even so he advised him thereby, not to seeke for office and place of government in common-weale, wanting wit as he did; nor to lay for tiches, so long as he bare a coverous minde and 20 wish not how to be liberall; nor to matrie a wise, for to bee his maister and to lead him by the nose: for not onely wealth and prosperite hapning above desert unto unadvised solke, giveth occasion (as Demosthenes said) unto them for to commit many sollies; but also wordly happines beyond all reason and demerit, causeth such as are not wise, to become unhappie and miserable in the end.



OF ENVIE AND HATRED.

The Summarie.

No this briefe Treatise concerning Envise and Hatred, Plutarch after he hath seewed in generall tearnes, that they be two different vices, and declared withat the properties of the one and the other, prooveth this difference by diversreasions and arguments ranged in their order: he discovereth the nature of envious persons and malicious; and showesh by a proper similitude that the greatest personages in the world, he secured from the clawes and pawes of envious persons, and yet for althat, sease not to have many enemies. And verily it semeth that the Author began this little worke, especially for to beat downe envise, and that the infamine thereof might so much more appeare; in somparing and matching it with than other desestable vice, the which notwith standing be saith is less and the set.

V

OF ENVIE AND HATRED.



T feemeth at the first fight, that there is no difference betweene envie and hatted, but that they be both one. For vice (to speake in generall) having (as it were) many hookes or crotchets, by meanes thereof as it stirreth to and fro, it yeeldeth unto those passions which hang thereto many occasions and opportunities to catch holde one of another, and so to be knit and enterlaced one within the other; and the same verily (like unto difeases of the body) have a sympathic and fellow-feeling one of anothers distemperature and inflammation; for thus it commeth to passe, that a malicious and spightfull man is as much grieved and offended at the prosperitie of

another, as the envious person: and so we holde, that benevolence and good will is opposite unto them both, for that it is an affection of a man, withing good unto his neighbour; and envie in this respect resembleth hatred, for that they have both a will and intention quite contrary unto love: but for a smuch as no things like to the same, and the resemblances between them be not so effectuall to make them all one, as the differences to distinguish them a sunder; let us search and examine the said differences, beginning at the very source and original of these pass as

Hatted then, is ingendred and arifeth in our heart upon an imagination and deepe apptehenfion that we conceive of him whom we hate, that either he is naught & wicked in general to every man, or els intending mischiese particularly unto our selves : for commonly it falleth out, that those who thinke they have received some injurie at such an oneshand, are disposed to hate him, yea, and those whom otherwise they know to be maliciously bent and wont to hurt others, although they have not wronged them, yet they hate and can not abide to looke upon them with patience; whereas ordinarily they beare envie unto fuch onely as feeme to prosper and to live in better state than their neighbours: by which reckoning it should seeme that envie is a thing indefinite, much like unto the difease of the cies Ophthalmia, which is offended with the 30 brightnesse of any light whatsoever; whereas hatred is determinate, being alwaies grounded upon some certeine subject matters respective to it selfe, and on them it worketh. Secondly, our hatred doeth extend even to brute beaths; for some you it all have, who naturally abhorre and can not abide to fee cats nor the flies cantharides, nor todes, nor yet fnakes and any fuch ferpents. As for Germanicus Cafar, he could not of all things abide either to fee a cocke or to heare him crow. The Sages of Persia called their Magi, killed all their mice and rats, aswell for that themselves could not away with them but detested them, as also because the god (for sooth) whom they worthipped, had them in horror. And in trueth, all the Arabians and Aethiopians generally, holde them abominable. But envie properly is betweene man and man; neither is there any likelihood at all, that there should be imprinted envie in favage creatures one against 40 another; because they have not this imagination and apprehension, that another is either fortunate or unfortunate, neither be they touched with any fenfe of honour or dishonour; which is the thing that principally and most of all other giveth an edge, and whetteth on envie; whereas it is evident that they hate one another, they beare malice and mainteine enmitte, nay, they go to warre as against those that be disloiall, treacherous, and such as are not to be trusted: form this wife doe eagles warre with dragons, crowes with owles, and the little nonnet or tit-moule fighteth with the linner, infomuch, as by report, the very bloud of them after they be killed, will not mingle together; and that which is more, if you feeme to mixe them, they will feparate and run apart againe one from the other: and by all likelihood, the hatred that the lion hath to the cocke, and the elephant also unto an hogge, proceedeth from feare : for lightly that which crea- 10 tures naturally feare, the fame they also hate; so that herein also a man may affigne and note the difference betweene envie and hatred, for that the nature of beafts is capable of the one but not of the other.

Over and besides, no man deserveth justly to be envied: for to be in prosperitie and in better state than another, is no wrong or injurie offered to any person; and yet this is it for which men be envied; whereas contrariwise, many are hated worthily, such as those whom in Greeke we call a synunity withat is to say, worthy of publike hatred; as also as many as do not she from such, detels a series.

them not nor abhorte their companie. And a great argument to verific this point, may be gathered from hence, namely, in that fome there be who confesse and take it upon them, that they hate many; but no man will be knowen that he envieth any: for in trueth, the hatred of wicked persons and of wickednesse; is commended as a quallitie in men praise-woorthy. And to this purpose serveth well that which was said of Chirillum, who reigned in Sparta, and was Lyenrgus his brothers sonne, whom when there were certeine that commended for a man of milde behaviour and of a relenting and gende nature: And how can it be (quoth he who was joined which him in the roiall government) that Charillum should be good, seeing he is not sharpe and rigorous to the wicked. And the Poet Homer describing the desormitie of Therspees his bodie, despainted his desects and impersections in sundrie parts of his person, and by many circumslocutions; but his perverse nature and crooked conditions he set downe briefly and in one word in this wise:

Worthy Achilles of all the hoft And fage Ulystes, he hased most.

for he could not chuse but be starke naught and wicked in the highest degree, who was so fullos hatred unto the best men. As for those who denie that they are envious, in case they be convinced manifeftly therein, they have a thousand pretenses and excuses therefore, alledging that they are angry with the man, or fland in feare of him whom indeed they beare envie unto, or that they hate him, colouring and cloaking this passion of envic with the vaile of any other to whatfoever for to hide and cover it, as if it were the only malady of the foule, that would be concealed and diffembled. It cannot chuse therefore, but that these two passions be nourished and grow as plants of one kinde, by the fame meanes, confidering that naturally they succeed one the other: howbeit, wee rather hate those that be given more to leawdnesse and wickednesse, and we envy fuch rather who seeme to excel others in vertue. And therfore Themislocles (being but a youth) gave out and faid, that he had done nothing notable, because as yet he was not enyied: for like as the flies cantharides fettle principally upon that wheat which is the fairest and come to full perfection; and likewise sticke unto the roses that are most out, and in the verice pride of their flowring; even fo envie taketh commonly unto the best conditioned persons, and to fuch as are growing to the height of vertue and honour: whereas contrariwife the leawdest 30 qualities that be, and wicked in the highest degree doe mightily moove and augment hatred: andheereupon it was that the Athenians had them in fuch deteftable hatred, and abhorted them so deadly, who by their flanderous imputations brought good Socrates their fellow-citizento his death, infomuch as they would not vouchfafe either to give them a coale or two of fire, or light their candles, or deine them an answer when they asked a question; nay they would notwash or bathe together with them in the same water, but commanded those servitours in the baines which were called Parachyte, that is to fay, drawers and laders of water into the bathing veffels, to let foorth that as polluted and defiled, wherein they had washed; whereupon they feeing themselves thus excommunicate and not able to endure this publike harred which they had incurred, being wearie of their lives, hung and strangled themselves. On the contrary 40 fide it is often feene, that the excellency of vertue, honor and glory, and the extraordinarie fuccesse of men is so much, that it doth extinguish and quench all envie. For it is not a likely or credible matter that any man bare envie unto Cyrus or Alexander the great, after they were become the onely lords and monarches of the whole world: but like as the funne when he is directly and plumb over the head or top of any thing, causeth either no shadow at all, or the same very finall and short by the reason that his light overspreadeth round about; even so when the prosperitie of a man is come to the highest point and have gotten over the head of envie, then the faid envie retireth and is either gone altogether, or else drawen within a little roome by reason of that brightnesse over-spreading it: but contrariwise the grandence of fortune and puissance in the enimies, doth not one jot abreviate or allay the hatred of their evill willers; and sothat this is true, may appeare by the example of Alexander about named, who had not one that envied him, but many enimies he found and those malicious, and by them in the end, he was traiteroufly for-laied and murdered.

Semblably, adverfities may well flaie envie and cause it cease, but enmitte and hatred they do not abolith; for men never give over to despite their enimies, no not when they are brought lowe and oppressed with calamities; whereas you shall not see one in miserie envied. But most true is that saying found of a certeine sophister or great profession in our daies: That envious persons of all other be ever pittifull and delight most in commiseration: so that heerein lieth

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one of the greatest differences betweene these two passions; that hatred departeth not from those persons of whom it hath once taken hold, neither in the prosperitie nor adversitie of those whom they hate; whereas envie doth avoid and vanish away to nothing upon extremitie aswell of the one as the other.

Over and besides we may the better discover the difference also of them by the contraries: for hatred, enmitie, and malice cease presently so soone as a man is perswaded that he hath caught no harmonor susteined injurie by the party; or when he hath conceived an opinion that such as he hated for their leawdnesse are reformed and become honest men; or thirdly if he have te ceived some pleasure or good turne at their hand; for evermore the last favor that is shewed(as Thueydides faith) though it be leffe than many others, yet if it come in feafon and a good time, is able to do out a greater offence taken before. Now of these three causes before specified, the first doth not wash away envie; for say that men were perswaded at the first that they received no mongacall, yearhay give not over for all that to beare envie still: and as for the two later they do irritate and provoke it the rather: for fuch as they esteeme men of qualitie and good woorth, those they doe cie-bite more than before, as having vertue the greatest good that is: and notwithstanding that they do reape commoditie & find favour at their hands, who prosper more than they; yet they grieve and vexe thereat, envying them still both for their good mind to benefit them, and for their might and abilitie to performe the fame; for that the one procesdeth from vertue, and the other from an happie estate, both which are good things,

We may therefore conclude, that envie is a passion farre different from hatred, since it is to that wherewith the one is appealed and mollified, the other is made more exasperate and gree. vous. But let us confider a little in the end the scope and intention aswel of the one as the other. Certes the man that is malicious, purposeth fully to do him a mischiese whom he hateth; so that this passion is defined to be a disposition and forward will to spic out an occasion & opportunitie to wait another a shrewd turne; but surely this is not in envie: for many there be who have an envious eie to their kinsfolke and companions, whom they would not for all the good in the world fee either to perish or to fall into any greevous calamitie; onely they are greeved to see them in such prosperitie, and would impeach what they can their power, and ecclypsethe brightnesse of their glorie; mary they would not procure nor desire their utter overthrow, nor any diffresses remedilesse or extreame miseries; but it would content and suffice them to take to downe their height, and as it were the upmost garret or turret of an high house which overlooketh them.



HOWAMANMAY RECEIVE PROFIT BY HIS ENEMIES.

The Summarie.

Mong the dangerous effects of envie and haved, this is not the least nor one of the last, that they shoot (as it were) from wishin our adversaries, for to slide and enter into w and take possession in our hearts, making us beleeve that we shall impeach one evill by so another; which is as much as to defire to cleanse one ordure by a new, and to quench a great fire by putting into it plentie of oile. As for hatred it hath another effect no-

thing leffe pernicious, in that it maketh us blinde, and caufeth us that we can not tell at which end of turning to take our enemies, nor know our selves how to reenter into the way of vertue. Plutarch willing to cus off such effects by the helpe of morall Philosophie, taketh occasion to begin this discourse with a sentence of Xenophon; and prooveth in the first place by divers similatudes: That a manmay take profit by his enemies: and this he laieth abroad in particulars, shewing that their ambushes and manistions serve min very great stead. After this, he teacheth in the true way how to be reveneed of those that hate us, and what we ought to consider in blaming another. Now for asmuch as our life is lubject to many injuries and calumniations, he instructeth us how a man may turne all to his owne commoditie : which done, he presentesh foureremedies and expedient meanes against their standerous language and how we frould confound our enemies: The first is, To comeine our ownet on gues, without rendring evill for evill : the second is, To doe them good, to love and praise their vertues : the third. To out-goethern in well doing : and the last, To provide that vertue remaine alwaies on our side. in fuch fort, that if our enemies be vicious, yet we per fift in doing good; and if they cary some frew and apparence of goodness, we endevour so be indeed and without all comparison better than they.

Profit by our enemies.

HOW A MAN MAY RECEIVE profit by his enemies.



See that you have chosen by your felse (ô Cornelius Pulcher) the meetest course that may be in the government of common wealth; wherein having a principall regard unto the weale-publike, you thew your felfe most gracious and courteous in private to all those that have accesse and repaire unto you. Now for a smuch as a man may well finde fome countrey in the world, wherein there is no venimous beaft, as it is written of Candie, but the management and administration of State affaires was never knowen yet to this day cleere from envie, jealousie, emulation and contention, passions of all other most apt to engender and breed enmities, unto which it is

fubica; for that if there were nothing els, even amity & friends hip it selfe is enough to entangle and encomber us with enmitties; which wife Chilon the Sage knowing well enough, demanded upon a time of one (who vaunted that he had no enemies) whether he had not a friend. In regardhereof a man of State and policie, in mine opinon (among many other things wherein he 30 ought to be well studied) should also thorowly know what belongeth to the having of enemies, and give good care unto the faying of Xenophon, namely: That a man of wit and understanding isto make his profit and benefit by his enemies. And therefore having gathered into a pretic Treatife, that which came into my minde of late to discourse and dispute upon this matter, I have fent unto you written and penned in the very fame tearmes as they were delivered, having this eie and regard as much as poffible I could, not to repeat any thing of that which heretofore I had written touching the politike precepts of governing the weale publike, for that I fee that you have that booke often in your hand.

Our fore-fathers in the olde world contented themselves in this: That they might not be wounded or hurt by strange and savage beasts brought from forren countreys, and this was the 40 end of all those combats that they had against such wilde beasts; but those who came after, have learned moreover, how to make use of them; not onely take order to keepe themselves from receiving any harme or dammage by them; but (that which more is) have the skill to draw fome commoditie from them, feeding of their flesh, clothing their bodies with their wooll and haire, curing and healing their maladies with their gall & rennet, arming themselves with their hides and skinnes; infomuch as now from henceforth, it is to be feared (and not without good cause) lest if beasts should faile, and that there were none to be found of men, their life should become brutish, poore, needie and favage. And fince it is so, that whereas other men thinke it fufficient not to be offended or wronged by their enemics, Xenophon writeth: That the wife reape commodity by their adversaries, we have no reason to derogate any thing from his credit, but to So beleeve him in fo faying, yea, and we ought to fearch for the method & art to attaine and reach unto that benefit, as many of us (at least-wife) as can not possibly live in this world without enemies. The husbandman is not able with all his skill to make all fort of trees to cast off their wildenature, and become gentle and domesticall. The hunter can not with all his cunning, make tame and tractable all the favage beafts of the forrest; and therefore they have fought and devised other meanes and uses to make the best of them; the one finding good in barren and fruitlesse plants, the other in wilde and savage beatls. The water of the sea is not porable, but brackish and hurtful unto us, howbeit, fishes are nourished therewith, and it serveth mans turne alfo alfo to transport passengers (as in a waggon) into all parts, and to carrie what soever a man will. When the Satyre would have kissed and embraced fire the first time that ever he sawit, Prome. them admonished him and said:

Thou wile bewailethy goats-beard soone,

If thou it touch, t'will burne anon. but it yeeldeth light and heat, and is an instrument serving all arts, to as many as know how to use it well; semblably, let us consider and see whether an enemy being otherwise harmefull and intractable, or at leaft-wise hard to be handled, may not in some fort yeeld as it were a handle to take hold by, for to touch & use him so as he may serve our turne and minister unto us some comodity. For many things there are befides, which be odious, troublefome, comberous, hurtfull to and contrarie unto those that have them or come neere unto them; and yet you see that the ve. rie maladies of the bodie give good occasion unto some for to live at rest and repose; I meane fequestred from affairs abroad, & the travailes presented unto others by fortune, have so exercifed them that they are become thereby strong and hardy: and to say more yet, banishment and losse of goods, hath beene the occasion unto divers, yea and a singular means to give them. felves to their quiet studie & to philosophie; like as Diogenes and Crates did in times past. Zem himselse when newes came unto him that his ship wherein he did venture and trafficke was split and cast away: Thou hast done well by me fortune (quoth he) to drive me againe to my scholars weed. For like as those living creatures which are of a most found and healthfull constitution,& have befides ftrong ftomacks, are able to concoct & digeft the ferpents & fcorpions which they 10 devoure; nay fome of them there be which are nourithed of flones, scales, and shels, converting the fame into their nutriment by the strength and vehement heat of their spirits; whereas such as be delicate, tender, foft, and crasse, are ready to call and vomit if they taste a little breadone ly, or doe but fip of wine; even fo foolith folke doe marre and corrupt even friendship and amitie; but those that are wise can skill how to use enmittee to their commoditie, and make them ferve their turnes. First and formost therefore in my conceit, that which in enmitte is most hurtfull, may turne to be most profitable unto such as be warie and can take good heed : and what is that you will fay? Thine enimic as thou knowest well enough watcheth continually, fpying and prying into all thine actions, he goeth about viewing thy whole life, to fee where he may finde any vantage to take hold of thee, and where thou lieft open that he may affaile and 30 furprise thee; his fight is so quicke that it pierceth not onely through an oke, as Lynceus did, or ftones and shels; but also it goeth quite through thy friend, thy domesticall servants, yea and every familiar of thine with whom thou daily doest converse, for to discover as much as possibly he can what thou doest or goest about; he foundeth and searcheth by underwining and secret waies what thy deffeignes & purposes be. As for our friends, it chaunceth many times that they fall extreme ficke, yea and die thereupon before we know of it, whiles we defer and put off from day to day to go and visit them, or make small reckoning of them; but as touching our enimics we are so observant, that we curiously enquire & hearken even after their very dreames; the diseases, the debts, the hard usage of men to their owne wives, and the untoward life betweene them, are many times more unknowen unto those whom they touch and concerne, 40 than unto their enimie: but aboue all, he sticketh close unto thy faults, inquisitive he is after them and those he traceth especially: and like as the gaies or vultures flie unto the stinking sent of dead carions and putrified carcales, but they have no finell or fent at all of bodies found and whole; even fo those parts of our life which are diseased, naught and ill affected, be they that move an enemie; to these leape they in great haste who are our ill willers, these they seize upon, and are ready to worry and plucke in peeces; and this it is that profiteth us most, in that it compelleth us to live orderly, to looke unto our steps that we tread not awry, that we neither do or fay ought inconsiderately or rashly; but alwaies keepe our life unblameable, as if we observed a most strict and exquisite diet; and verily this heedfull caution repressing the violent passions of our minde in this fort, and keeping reason at home within dores, engendreth a certeine so ftudious desire, an intention and will to live uprightly and without touch: for like as those cities by ordinary warres with their neighbour cities, and by continual expeditions and voiages, leatning to be wife, take a love at length unto good lawes and found government of state; even so they that by occasion of enmity be forced to live soberly, to save themselves from the impuration of idlenesse and negligence, yea, and to do everie thing with discretion and to a good and profitable end, through use and custome shall be brought by little and little (cre they be aware) unto a certeine fetled habit that they cannot lightly trip and do amisse, having their manners

framed in passing good order, with the least helping hand of reason and knowledge beside; for they who have evermore readily before their cies this sentence:

Profit by our enemies.

This were alone for Priamus, and his sonnes likewise all, Oh how would they rejoice at heart, in case this should befall.

cettes would quickly be diverted, turned and withdrawne from fuch things, whereat their enimies are wont to joy and laugh a good: fee we not many times stage plaiers, chanters, musicians and fuch artificers in open threaters, who ferve for the celebration of any folemnitie unto to Batchin or other gods, to play their parts careleffely, to come unprovided, and to carie themfelves I know not how negligently, nothing forward to shew their cunning and doe their best, when they are by themselves alone and no other of their owne profession in place? but if it chance that there be emulation and contention betweene them and other concurrents who shall do best; then you shall see them not onely to come better prepared themselves, but also with their instruments in very good order; then shall you perceive how they will bestir themfelves in trying their strings, in tuning their instruments more exactly, & in fitting every thing about their flutes and pipes, and affaying them. Hee then who knoweth that he hath an enimie ready and provided to be the concurrent in his life, and the rivall of his honour and reputation, will looke better to his waies and stand upon his owne guard; he will (I fay) sit fast and oolooke circumspectly about him to all matters, ordering his life and behaviour in better fort : for this is one of the properties of vice, that when we have offended and trespassed, we have more reverence and stand rather in awe of our enemies lest we be shamed by them than of our friends. And therefore Scipio Nasica when some there were that both thought and gave out that the Romane estate was not settled and in safetie, considering that the Carthaginians who were wont to make head against them and keepe them occupied, were now vanquished and defeated, the Athenians likewife fubdued and brought underfubjection: Nay mary (quoth he) for it is cleane contrarie, and even now are we in greatest danger, being at this passe that we have left our selves none to feare, none to reverence.

And hereto moreover, accordeth well the answere that Diogenes made, like a Philosopher 30 and a man of State indeed: One asked him how he should be revenged of his enemie: Marie (quoth he) by being a vertuous and honest man thy selfe. Men seeing the horses of their enemies highly accounted of, or their hounds praised and commended, do grieve thereas, if they perceive also their land well tilled and husbanded, or their gardens in good order, fresh and slowing, they fetch a sigh and forrow for the matter. What (thinke you then) will your enemie do? how will he fare, when you shall be seene a just man, wise and prudent, honest and sober, in words well advised and commendable, in deeds pure and cleane, in diet neat and decent?

Reaping the fruit of wildome and prudence, Sowen in deepe furrow of heart and confcience, From whence there firing and bud continually Counfels full fage, with fruits abundantly.

Pindarius the Poet faid: That those who are vanquished and put to soile, are so tongue-tied, that they can not say a word; howbeit, this is not simply true, nor holdeth in all, but in such as perceive themselves overcome by their enemies, in dilligence, goodnesse, magnanimity, humanity, bounty and beneficence: for these be the things (as Demostheres saith) which stent the tongue, close up the mouth, stop the wind-pipes and the breath, and in one word, cause men to be filent and dumbe.

Resemble not leaved folke, but them out-goe In vertuous deeds, for this thou maist well doe.

Wouldest thou doethine enemie who hateth thee a great displeasure in deed ? Never call 50 him by way of reproch, buggerer, wanton, lassivious, ruffian, seurrile scoffer, or coverous micher; but take order with thy selfe to be an honest man every way, chaste, continent, true indeed and word, courteous and just to all those that deale with thee; but tish ou be directed lan opprobrious speech, and to revile thine enemy, then take thou great heed afterwards that thou come not necre in any wife to those vices which thou reprochest him with, enter into thy selfe, and examine thine owne conscience, search all the corners thereof, looke that there be not in thy soule some putrified matter and rotten corruption, for seare less thine owne vice within may hit thee home, and require thee againe with this verse out of the tragicall Poet:

A leech he is, other sto cure, Pestred himselsewish sores impure.

If thou chance to upbraid thine enemie with ignorance, and call him unlearned, take thou greater paines at thy booke, love thou thy studie better, and get more learning: if thou twit him with cowardife, and name him dastard, stirre up the vigour of thine owne courage the rather. and thew thy felfe a man fo much the more: half thou given him the tearmes of beaftly whote. master or lascivious lecher, wipe out of thy heart the least taint and spot that remaineth hidden therein of concupifcence and fenfuallitie; for nothing is there more shamefull or caufeth grea. ter griefe of heart, than an opprobrious and reprochfull speech returned justly upon the author thereof. And as it seemeth that the reverberation of a light doth more offence unto the feeble it cies; even so those reproches which are retorted and sent backe againe by the trueth, upon a man that blased them before, are more offensive: for no lesse than the North-east winde Canin doth gather unto it clouds; fo doth a bad life draw unto it opprobrious speeches; which Plate knowing well enough, when foever he was prefent in place, and faw other men do any unfeemly or dithonest thing, was woont to retire apart, and say thus secretly unto himselfe: Doe not I all labour other while of this disease? Morcover, he that hath blamed and reproched the life of anot ther, if presently withall he would goe and examine his owne, reforming the same accordingly redreffing and amending all that he findes amiffe, untill he have brought it to a better flate, shall receive some profit by that reproving and reviling of his; otherwise it may both seeme (asitis no leffe indeed) a vaine and unprofitable thing. Commonly men cannot choose but laugh to when they fee either a bald-pate or a bunch-backe to taunt and scoffe at others for the same defects or deformities; and so in trueth, it were a ridiculous thing and a meere mockerie, to blame or reproch another in that, for which he may be mocked and reproched himselfe. Thus Leothe Byzantine cut one home that was crumpt shoulderd and buncht-backt, when he seemed to hit him in the teeth with his dimme and feeble eie-fight: Doest thou twit me (quoth he) by any imperfection of nature incident unto a man, when as thy felfe art marked from heaven, and car riest the divine vengeance upon thy backe? Never then reproove thou an adulterer, if thy selfe be an uncleane wanton with boies; nor feeme thou to upbraid one with prodigalitie, if thoube a covetous miser thy selfe. Alemaon reviled Adrastus (upon a time) in this wise: Thou

A sister hast by parents twaine,

Whose hands her husband deare have slaine.

But what answered Adrassus? He objected not unto him the crime of another, but paicth him home with his owne, after this maner:

But thou thy selfe hast murdered Thine owne kinde mother, who thee bred.

In like fort, when Domitius (upon a time) feemed to reproch Crassus, faying: Is it not true, that when your lamprey was dead which was kept full deintily for you in a stew, you wept therefore? Crassus presently came upon him againe with this bitter reply: And is it not true, that you when you followed three wives of yours one after another to their funerall fire, never shed tearefor the matter? It is not so requisit or necessaries wis (as the vulgar fort doe thinke) that hee who so checketh and rebuketh another; should have a ready wit of his owne, and a naturall gift in doing it, or a loud and big voice, or an audacious and bold face; no, but such an one he ought to be, that cannot be noted and taxed with any vice: for it should seeme that Apollo addressed this precept of his [Know i by selfe] to no person so much as to him who would blame and sinde saute with another; for feare left such men, in speaking to others what they would, heare that agains which they would not. For it happeneth ordinarily as Sophoeles saith: That such an one

Who lets his tongue runne foolifuly, In noting others bitterly, Shall heare himfelfe (unwillingly) The words he gave so wilfully.

Lo what commoditie and profit enfueth upon reproching an enemie.

Neither commeth there leffe good and aduantage unto a man by being reproched by another, and hearing himselfe reviled by his enemies: and therefore it was well and truely saide of Antist benes, that such men as would be saved and become honest, another day ought of necessite to have either good friends, or most spitefull and bitter enemies: for as they with their kind remonstrances and admonitions; so these with their reprochfull tearines were like to reforme their sinfull life. But for assume a maity and friendship now adaies speaketh with a small

and low voice when faults thould freely be reprooved, and is very audible and full of words in Battering, altogether mute and dumbe in rebukes and chaftifements; but what femaineth now but that we should heare the truth from the mouth of our enemies ? much like unto Telephini who for default of a physician that was a friend to cure him, was forced to commit his wound on ulcer to the iron head of his enemies speare for to be healed; and even so those that have no well willers that dare freely reprove their faults, must perforce endure with patience the flinging tongue of their enemie and evill willer in chaftifing and rebuking their vices, not regarding to much the intent and meaning of the ill speaker, as the thing it selfe, and the matter that he speaketh; and looke how he who enterprifed the killing of Prometheus the Theffallan, ran him fo to deepe with his fword into the impostume or swelling botch which he had about him, that he let foorth the corruption, and faved his life by the breaking and iffue thereof; even fo for all the world it falleth out many times, that a reprochfull speech delivered in anger or apon evil will is the cause of healing some maladie of the soule, either hidden or unknowne altogether, on elle neglected: but the most part of those who are in this maner reproched, never consider whe ther the vice wherewith they are touched be in them or no, but they looke rather if they can finde some other vice to object unto him, who hath thus chalenged them; and much like unto wreftlers, they never wipe away their owne duft, that is to fay, the reproches that be fallned upon themselves, and wherewith they be defamed, but they bestrew one another with dust, and afterwards trip up one anothers heeles, and tumble downe one upon another, weltering in the 30 fame, and foiling one another therewith: whereas indeed it behooved rather that a man where he findeth himfelfe tainted by his enemie, to endevour for to do away that vice wherewith he is noted and defamed, much rather than to fetch out any spot or steine out of his garment, which hath beene shewed him : and although there be charged upon us some standerous ima putation that is not true; yet nevertheleffe we are to fearch into the occasion whereupon fuch an opprobrious speech might arise and proceed, yea and take heed we must and seare, lest ere webe aware we commit the like or come necre unto that which hath beene objected unto us; Thus for example fake Lacydes king of the Argives, for that hee did weare his haire curiously fer, in maner of a perruke, and because his gate or maner of going, seemed more delicate and nice than ordinary, grew into an ill name and obloquy of effeminate wantomseffe. And Poma 30 prim the great could not avoid the like suspicion, because he used otherwhiles to scratch his head with one finger onely, and yet otherwise he was so farre from feminine wantonnesse and incontinence as any man in the world. Craffin was accused for to have had carnall companie with one of the religious nuns or votaries of Festa, for that being desirous to purchase of her a faire peece of land and house of pleasure which she had, he reforted oftentimes privately unto her, spake with her apart, and perhaps made court unto her for to have her good wil in that respect onely. Posthumia likewise another vestall virgin, for that the was given much to laugh upon a small occasion, and withall would not sticke to enterteine talke with men; more boldly peradventure than became a maiden of her profession, was so deepely suspected of incontinence, that the was brought judicially into question about it, howbeit found unguilty, and ac-40 quit the was; but when Spurius Minutius the high-prieft for the time being, affoiled her and pronounced the sentence of her absolution, minding to dismisse her of the court, he gave her agentle admonition by the way, that from thence forward the should forbeare to use any words leffe modeft & chafte then the carriage of her life was. Themistacles like wife not withfranding he was most innocent indeed, was called into question for treason, because he interteined amitie with Paulanias, lent and wrote oftentimes unto him, and so by that meanes gave suspicion that he minded to betray all Greece. When as therefore thou art charged with a falle crimination by thine enemie, thou must not neglect it and make final account thereof because it is not true, but rather looke about thee and examine what hath beene done or faid, either by thee or anis one of those who affect and love thee, or converse with thee, sounding and tending any way to so that imputation which might give occasion or likelihood thereof, and carefully to beware and avoid the same: for if by adverse and heavy fortune whereunto others have inconsiderately tallen, they are deerely taught what is good for them, as Atterope faith in one tragedie:

Fortune hath taken for her falarie, My decrett goods of which I am bereft, But we fine taught by that great miferie For to be wife, and fo fine hash me left.

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a grann cast

What should let or hinder us, but that we may learne by a master that costern us nought and takerly nothing for his teaching (even our enemie) to profit and learne formers has that we knew not before ? for an enemie perceiveth and findeth in us many things more than a friend, by reafon that (as Plate faith) That which loveth is alwains blinde in the thing that is loved a whereas he who hateth us besides that he is very curious and inquisitive into our impersections, he is not meale mouthed (as they fay) nor will spare to speake, but is ready enough to divulge and blace all abroad. King Hierachanced upon a time being at words with one of his enemies to be tolde in reprochfull maner by him of his flinking breath; whereupon being fomewhat difmated in himselfe he was no sooner returned home to his owne house, but he chid his wife; How comes this to passe (quoth he?) what say you to it? how hapneth it that you never sold me of it? the woman being a simple, chaste, & harmlesse dame: Sir (faith she) I had thought all mens breath had fmelled fo. Thus it is plaine, that fuch faults as be object and evident to the fenfes, groffe and corporall, or otherwise notorious to the world, we know by our enemies sooner than byour friends and familiars.

Over and befides, as touching the continence and holding of the tongue, which is not the least point of yertue, it is not possible for a man to rule it alwaies, and bring it within the compaffe and obedience of reason, unlesse by use and exercise, by long custome and painfull labour he have tamed and maftered the woorst passions of the soule, such as anger is tor a wordthan hath escaped is against our willes, which we would gladly have kept in; of which, Homer faith thus and a ball day

Out of the mouth a word did fly For all the range of teeth fast-by.

And a speech that we let fall at aventure (a thing hapning often-times, and especially unto those whose spirits are not well exercised, and who want experience; who runne out, as it were, and breake forth into passions) this (I say) is ordinary with such as be hastic and cholerike, whole judgement is not setled and stated, or who are given to a licentious course of life: for sucha word, being (as divine Place faith) the lightest thing in the world, both gods and men have mamy a time paied a most grievous and heavie penalty; whereas Silence is not only (as Hippocrates faith) good against thirst, but also is never called to account, nor amerced to pay any fine; and that which more is, in the bearing and putting up of taunts and reproches, there is observed in it 20 a kinde of gravitie befeeming the person of Socrates, or rather the magnanimity of Hercules, if it betrue that the Poet faid of him:

Of bitter words he leffe account did make Than dath the flie, which no regard doth take.

Neither verily is there athing of greater gravitie, or fimply better, than to heare a maliciouse nemie to revile, and yet not to be moved nor grow into passions therewith,

But to passe by aman that loves to raile, Asrocke in fea, by which we swimme or faile.

Moreover, a greater effect will enfue upon this exercise of patience, if thou canst accustomethy felfe to heare with filence thine enemie whiles he doth revile, for being acquainted therewith, thou shalt the better endure the violent fits of a curst and shrewd wife chiding at home; to heare also without trouble the sharpe words of friend or brother; and if it chance that father or mother let flie bitter rebukes at thee or beat thee, thou wilt fuffer all, and never fliew thy felfedilpleased and angrie with them. For Socrates was woont to abide at home Xanthippe his wife aper rillous shrewd woman and hard to be pleased, to the end that he might with more case converse with others, being used to endure her curstnesse. But much better it were for a man to come with a minde prepared and exercised before-hand with hearing the scoffes, railing language, and grie taunts; outragious and foule words of enemies and strangers, and that without angerand Thew of disquietnesse, than of his domesticall people within his owne house. Thus you see how a man may thew his meekneffe and patience in enmities; and as for fimplicity, magnanimitie 30 and a good nature in deed, it is more seene here than in friendship : for it is not so honest and commendable to do good unto a friend, as dishonest, not to succour him when he standethas need and requesteth it.

Moreover, to forbeare to be revenged of an enemie if opportunitie and occasion is offered, and to lethim goe when he is in thy hands, is a point of great humanitie and courtefie; but him that hath compassion of him whe he is fallen into adversity, succoreth him indistresse, at his re-

quelt is ready for to the w good will to his children, and an affection to fufteine the flate of his house and familie being in affliction; who sever doth not love for this kindnesse, nor praise the goodnesse of his nature.

Of colour blacke (no doubt) and tincture fweart, Wrought of stiffe steele or yron he hath an heart, Or rather forg'd out of the Diament, Which will not store hereat, nor once relent.

Cafer commanded that the statues erected in the honour of Pompeius, which had bene beaten downe and overthrowen, should be fet up againe; for which act Cicero faid thus unto him: In rearing the images of Pompeius, ô Cefar, thou halt pitched and erected thine owne. And therefore we ought not to be sparie of praise and honour in the behalfe of an enemie especially when he deserve th the same; for by this meanes the partie that praiseth shall winne the greatet praise himselse; and besides, if it happen againe that he blame the said enemie, his acculation shall be the better taken, and carie the more credit, for that he shall be thought not so much to hate the

person as disallow and mislike his action. But the most profitable and goodliest matter of all, is this: That he who is accustomed to praise his enemies, and neither to grieve or envie at their well-fare, shall the better abide the profperitie of his friend, and be furthest off from envying his familiars in any good successe or honour that by well-doing they flave atchieved. And is there any other exercise in the world, that so can bring greater profit unto our foules, or worke a better disposition and habit in them, than that which riddeth us of emulation and the humour of envie? For like as in a city, wherein there bemany things necessarie, though otherwise simply evill, after they have once taken sure sooting, and are by custome established in maner of a law, men shall hardly remove and abolish, although they have bene hurr and endammaged thereby; even fo enmity, together with hatred and malice, bringeth in envic, jealousie, contentment and pleasure in the harme of an enemie, remembrance of wrongs received, and offences paffed, which it leaveth behinde in the foule, when it felfe is gone; over and befides, cunning practifes, fraud, guile, deceit, and fecret forlayings or ambushes, which seeme against our enemies nothing ill at all, nor unjustly used, after they be once feeled and have taken root in our hearts, remaine there fast, and hardly or un-30 nethate removed; informuch as if men take not heed how they use them against enemies, they shall be so inured to them that they will be ready afterwards to practise the same with their verie friends. If therfore Pythagors did well & wifely in acquainting his scholars to sorbeare cruelty and injustice, even as farre as to dumb and brute beafts; whereupon he misliked fowlers, and would request them to let those birdes slie agains which they had caught; yea and buy of fishers whole draughts of fishes, and give order unto his disciples to put them alive into the water againe, infomuch as nee expressely forbad the killing of any tame beast whatsoevers certes it is much more grave and decent, that in quarrels, debates, and contentions among men; an enemie that is of a generous minde, just, true, and nothing treacherous, should repreffe, keepe downe, and hold underfoot the wicked, malicious, cautelous, base, and ungentle-40 man-like paffions; to the end that afterwards in all contracts and dealings with his friend they breakenot out, but that his heart being cleere of them, he may absteine from all mischievous practiles. Seaurm was a profeffed enemie and an accuser of Domition judicially; now there was adometicall fervant belonging to the faid Domitim, who before the day of triall and judgement, came unto Scaures faying, Thathe would discover unto him a thing that he knew not of, the which might ferve him in good freed when he should plead against his master; but Seaurus would not fo much as give him the hearing; nay he laid hold on the party, and fent him away bound unto his lord and master, Cato (the younger) charged Mur ana, and indited him in open court for popularitie and ambition, and declaring against him that he fought indirectly to gaine the peoples favour and their voices to be chosen Confull; now as he went up and downe To to collect arguments and proofes thereof, and according to the maner and cultome of the Romanes, was attended upon by certeine perfons who followed him in the behalfe of the defendant, to observe what was done for his better instruction in the processe & suit commenced; thefe fellowes would oftentimes be in hand with him and aske whether he would to day fearch for ought, or negotiate any thing in the matter and cause concerning Mar ana? If he said, No; fuch credite and trust they reposed in the man that they would rest in that answere, and go their waies; a fingular argument this was of all other to proove his reputation, and what opinion men conceived of him for his justice; but fure a farre greater testimonic is this, and that passeth



altherest, to proove that is we be accustomed to deale justly by our very enemies, we shal never shew our selves unjust, cautelous, and deceitfull with our friends. But forasmuch as every lake (as Simonides was wont to say) must need shave a cop or crest growing upon her head; and so likewise all men by nature do carie in their head I wot not what jealousie, emulation, and envic, which is if I may use the words of Pindarus,

A mate and fellow (10 be plaine)
Of brain-ficke fooles and persons vaine.

A man should not reape a small benefit & commoditie by discharging these passions upon his enemies, to purge & clense himselse quite thereof, & as it were by certeine gutters or chanels, to derive and drein them as farre as possibly he can from his friends and familiar acquaintance: 14 whereof I suppose Onomademus a great politician, & wife States-man in the Isle Chios was well advised, who in a civile diffention being sided to that faction which was superior, & had gotten the head of the other; coulelled the rest of his part not to chase & banish out of the city al their adverfaries, but to leave some of them still behind: For feare (quoth he) least having no enemies to quarrel withall, we our felves begin to fall out and go together by the cares; femblably if we fpend these vitious passios of ours upon our enemies, the lesse are they like to trouble & molest our friends: for it ought not thus to be as Hesiodus saith: That the potter should envy the potter, or one minstrell or musician spite another; neither is it necessarie that one neighbor should be in jealousse of another; or cousens and brethren be concurrents & have emulation one at ano. ther; either striving to be rich or speeding better in their affaires; for if there be no other way or 10 meanes to be delivered wholy from contentions, envies, jealousies, & emulations, acquaint thy felfe at leastwife to be stung and bitten at the good successe of thine enemies; whet the edge & sharpen the point (as it were) of thy quarrellous & contentious humour, & turne it upon them and spare not : for like as the most skilfull and best gardiners are of this opinion, that they shall have the sweeter roses and more pleasant violets, if they set garlicke or sow onions neere unto them, for that all the ftrong and stinking favour in the juice that feedeth and nourish the saide flowers, is purged away and goeth to the faid garlick and onions; even fo an enimie drawing unto himselse and receiving all our envie and malice, will cause us to be better affected to our friends in their prosperitie, and lesse offended if they out go us in their estate; and therefore in this regard we mult contend and strive with our enimies about honour, dignities, govern 30 ment, and lawfull meanes of advancing our owne estates, and not onely to be greeved and vexed to see them have the better and the vantage of us, but also to marke and observe evene thing whereby they become our fuperiors, and fo to straine and endevour by carefull diligence, by labour and travell, by parlimonie, temperance, and looking neerely to our felves, to furpaffe and go beyond them; like as Themistocles was wont to fay: That the victorie which Miltrades atchieved in the plaine of Marathon brake his fleepes, and would not let him take his nights refl: for he who thinketh that his enemie furmounteth him in dignities, in patronage of high matters and pleading of great causes, in management of state affaires, or in credit and authoritie with mightie men and grand Segniors, and in flead of striving to enterprise and do some great matter by way of emulation, betaketh himselfe to envie onely, and so sits still doing nothing, 40 and loofeth all his courage, furely he bewraieth that he is possessed with naught else but an idle, vaine, & enervat kind of envy. But he that is not blinded with the regard & fight of him whom he hateth, but with a right & just eie, doth behold & consider al his life, his maners, deseigns, words and deeds, shall soone perceive & find that the most part of those things which he envieth were atchieved and gotten by fuch as have them, which their diligence, wifedom, forecast & vertuous deeds: he thereupon bending all his spirits & whole mind therto, wil exercise (I trow) & sharpen his own defire of honor, glory & honesty, yea & cut off contrariwise, that yawning drowlines & idle floth that is inhis hart. Set case moreover, that our enemies by flattery, by cautelous shifts & cunning practifes, by pleading of cases at the bar, or by their mercenarie and illiberall servicein unhonest & foule matters, seem to have gotten some power, ether with princes in courts, or with so the people in States & cities; let the same never trouble us, but contrariwise cheere up our harts and make us glad in regard of our owne libertie, the pureneffe of our life and innocencie unreprochable, which we may oppose against those indirect courses and unlawfull meanes. For all the gold that is either above ground or underneath (according as Plato faith) is not able to weight against vertue. And evermore this sentence of solon we ought to have in readines:

Many a wicked man is rich; And vertuousmen are many poore : But change we never will with fish Nor give our goodnesses for their store, And why? wertue is durable, Whereas their wealth is mutable.

much lesses, will we exchange the acclamations and shouts of a popular multitude in theaters, which are woon with a feast; nor the honors and prerogatives to sit uppermost at a table neere unto the chamberlaines, minions, favorites, concubines, or lieutenants generall of Kings and Princes. For nothing is desireable, nothing to be affected, nothing indeed honest that progedeth from an unhonest cause: But he that loveth (according as Plato saith) is alwaies blinded to by the thing which is loved, and sooner do we perceive and marke any unseemely thing that our enemies doe. Howbeit, to conclude, neither our joy and contentinent conceived by observing them to do amisse, nor our griese and displeasure in seeing them do well, ought to be idle & unprofitable unto us; but this reckoning and account we are to make of both; that in taking heed how we fall into their faults we may become better, and in imitating their good parts not worse than they.



HOW A MAN MAY PER-CEIVE HIS OWNE PROCEE

DING AND GOING FORWARD
IN VERTUE.

The Summarie.

able for to teach menthe meanes to avoid both extreames, and to hold the meane be-impene. And this is the verse thing that our Author doth in this present treatise: for as he laboureth to distrobe as it were the lovers of vertue and turne them out of their habit of perverseignorance, wher with most part of the world is alwaies clad; so he is desirous to keepe them from 40 putting on the habilliment and garments of pride and vaine oftentation, that they might be arrated with the apparell of vertue, in such fore that in taking knowledge of that good whereof they have alreadie some part, they might ender our and do what they can to get a greater portion from day to day, untill they come unto an affored contentment wherein they may rest. Then teacheth he how to know what aman bath profited in the schoole and exercise of vertue, shewing that he ought to consider first, whether he recule from vice by little and little, wherein he confuteth the opinion of the Stoicks, who imagined that no man was good unlesse he became vertuous all at once. This done, he adjoinst h foure rules to know the faid profit and progressem vertue, to wit, When we perceive our heart to tend unto good without any intermission: When our affection redeemeth and regaineth the time that is lost, growing so much the more, as it was before stated and hindred: When we begin to take our whole pleasure 30 and delight therein : lastly, When we surmount and overcome all impeachments that might turne us aside out of the way of vertue. After all this, he entreth into the matter more specially, and sheweth how aman is to employ himselfe in the studie of wisedome; what vices he ought to flie, wherein his mind and spirits should be occupied; and the profit that he is to reape and gather from Philosophers, Poets and Historians. Item, with what affection we ought to speake in the presence of our neighbours, whether it bepublikely or in private; of what fortour actions should be; and to what end and scope we are so addresse and direct them, giving a lustre unto all these discourses by excellent similitudes; taxing and reprooving the faults committed or dinarily by them who make a certaine semblance and outward shew of aspiring unto versue. Having thus discoursed of these points asoresaid, he proposets and see to how me againe divers rules which may resolve us in this advancement and proceeding forward of our sing goodnesseen; that we ought to love reprehensions; to take beed even unto our dreamen; to examine our passions, and so to hope well, if we perceive that they waxe milde and gentle to imitate good things; in no wife to hear any speech of evill; to take example by the best persons, to rejoice and be glad, to have witnessed and beholders of our good will and intention; and not to often eme any sinessed trespects of the view of the continual, but to avoide and shun them all: last of all, he costien by his treatise with an elegant similitude, wherein he discovered and laieth open the masure as well of the victious as the vertaw; thresholds, wherein he discovered and laieth open the masure as well of the victious as the vertaw; thresholds to make the meanes of aspiring and attaining unto versue, so much the more amiable to each person.

HOW A MAN MAY PER-

ceive his owne proceeding and going



T is not possible (my good friend Sossius Senecio) that a man by any meanes should have a feeling in himselfe, and a conscience of his owne amendement and progresse in vertue, if those good procee- so dings do not daily make some diminution of his follie, but that the vice in him weighing in equall ballance against them all, doe holde him downe

Like as the lead plucks downe then et, Which for to catch the fish was set.

For so verily in the art of Musicke or Grammar, a man shall never know how farre he is proceeded, so long as in the studying and

learning thereof, he diminish no part of his ignorance in those arts, but still findeth himselseas unmuficall and unlettered as he was before; neither the cure which the Phyfician emploieth about his patient, if it worke no amendment at all, nor alleviation of the disease seeming in 10 some fort to yeeld unto medicines and to flake, can procure any sensible difference and change unto a better state, before that the contrary disposition and habit be restored perfectly to the former health, and the body made found and strong againe. But certeinly, as in these cases there is no amendment to be accounted of, if those that seeme to amend do not perceive the change by the diminution and remission of that which weighed them downe, and finde themselves to encline and bend (asit were) in a ballance to the contrary; even so it fareth with those that make profession of philosophie; it can not be granted that there is any progresse or sense at all of profitting, to long as the foule cast not off by little and little, and purge away her folly, but until such time as shee can atteine (forsooth) unto the sovereigne and perfect good, continueth in the meane-whilefully possessed of vice and sinne in the highest degree; for by this meanes it would so follow, if at one instant and moment of time a wife man should passe from extreame wickednes unto the supreame and highest disposition of vertue: That he had all at once and in the minute of an houre fled vice and cast it from him fully, whereof in a long time before he was not able to be rid of one little portion. But you know full well already that those who holde such extravagant opinions as these, make themselves worke enough, and raise great doubts and quellions about this point, namely, How a man thould not perceive and feele himfelfe when he is be come wife, and be either ignorant or doubtfull that this growth and increase commeth in long processe of time by little and a little, partly by addition of something, and partly by subtraction of other, untill one arrive gently unto vertue, before he can perceive that he is going toward it. Now if there were fo quicke and sudden a mutation, as that he who was to day morning most 30 vicious, should become in the evening as vertuous; and if there ever were known to happen unto any man fuch a change, that going to bed a very foole and fo fleeping, should awake and rile a wife man, and taking his leave of yelterdaies follies, errours and deceits, fay unto them:

My vaine lying dreames so vaine, a-day, aday,

Nought worth you were, I now both fee and fay.

Is it possible that such a one (I say) should be ignorant of this sudden change, and not perceive so great a difference in himselse, not feele how wisedome all at once hath thus lightened and is huminated.

huminated his foule ? for mine owne part, I would rather thinke that one upon carnell prayer transformed by the power of the gods from a woman to a man (as the tale goes of Caneus) thould be ignorant of this Metamorpholis, than he who of a coward, a foole and a diffolute or loofeperson become hardie, wife, fober and temperate; or being transported from a sensual and beaftly life unto a divine and heavenly life, should not marke the very instant wherin such a change did befall. But well it was faid in olde time: That the stone is to be applied and framed unto the rule, and northerule or fquire unto the stone. And they (the Stoiks I meane) who are not willing to accommodat their opinions unto the things indeed, but wrest and force against the course of nature, things unto their owne conceits and suppositions, have filled all philosoto phie with great difficulties and doubtfull ambiguities; of which this is the greateft: In that they will feeme to comprise all men, excepting him onely whom they imagine perfect, under one and the fame vice in general: which strange supposition of theirs hath caused that this progresse and proceeding to vertue, called Hersen, Teemeth to be a darke and obscure riddle unto them, or a meete fiction little wanting of extreame follie; and those who by the meanes of this amendment be delivered from all passions and vices that be, are held thereby to be in no better state, nor leffe wretched and miferable, than those who are not free from any one of the most enormious vices in the world; and yet they refute and condemne their owne felves; for in the difputations which they holde in their schooles, they set the injustice of Aristides in equal ballance to that of Phalaris, they make the cowardife and feare of Brafides, all one with that of Dolon; yea, 40 and compare the follie or errour of Melitm and Plate together, as in no respect different; howbeit; in the whole course of their life, and management of their affaires, they decline and avoid those as implacable and intractable; but these they use and trust in their most important busineffe, as persons of great worth and regard: but we who know and see that in every kinde of sinne or vice, but principally in the inordinate and confuled state of the soule there be degrees according to more or leffe; and that heerein differ our proceedings and amendments, according as reason by little and little doth illuminate, purge and cleanse the soule in abating and diminishing evermore the visiofitie thereof, which is the shadow that darkneth it, are likewise fully perfwaded that it is not without reason to be affured, that men may have an evident sense and perceivance of this mutation, but as if they were raifed out of fome deepe and darke pir, that the 30 same amendment may be reckoned by degrees in what order it goeth forward. In which computation we may goe first and formost directly after this maner, and consider, whether like as the who under faile fet their course in the maine and vast ocean, by observing together with shelength and space of time, the force of the winde that driveth them, doe cast and measure howfarre they have gone forward in their voiage, namely, by a probable conjecture how much infuch a time and with fuch a gale of winde it is like that they may paffe; fo also in philosophic aman may give a gelle and conjecture of his proceeding and going forward, namely, what he may gaine by continual marching on still, without stay or intermission otherwhiles in the mids of the way, and then beginning a fresh againe to leape forward, but alwaies keeping one pace, gaining and getting ground still by the guidance of reason. For this rule

If little still to little thou do ad, A beape at length, and mickle will be had.

was not given respectively to the encrease of summes of money alone, and in that point truely spoken, but it may likewise extend and reach to other things, and namely to the augmentation ofvertue, to wit, when with reason and doctrine continuall use and custome is joyned, which maketh mastrie and is effectuall to bring any worke to end and perfection; whereas these intermissions at times without order and equalitie, and these coole affections of those that studie Philosophie, make not onely many staies and lets in proceeding forward as it were in a journey, but that which is worfe, cause going backward, by reason that vice which everinore lies in wait to fet upon a man that idlely frandeth ftill never so little haleth him a contrary way. True 50 it is that the Mathematicians do call the planets Stationarie, and fay they stand still, while they ceale to moove forward; but in our progreffe and proceeding in philosophie, that is to fay, in the correction of our life and maners, there can be admitted no intervall, no pause or ceffairon, for that our wit naturally being in perpetuall motion in maner of a ballance, alwaies caffeth with the least thing that is, one way or other, willing of it selfe either to encline with the better orelie is forcibly caried by the contrary to the worfe. If then according to the oracle delivered unto the inhabitants of Carka, which willed them if they minded afterwards to live in peace, they should make war both night and day without intermission; thou finde in thy felfe and

thine owne conficience, that thou hast fought continually with vice as well by night as by day, of at least wife that thou hast not often left thy ward, and abandoned thy station in the garrison, not continually admitted the heralds or messengers between comming from far as it were to patie and compound, to wit, pleasures, delights, negligences, and amusements upon other matters by all likelihood thou mail with confidence and alacritie be affured to go forward and make an

end of thy course behind. Moreover, say that there fall out some interruptions and staies betweene, that thou live not altogether canonically and like a philosophers yet if thy latter proceedings be more constant than the former, and the fresh courses that thou takest longer than the other, it is no bad signe, but it testifieth, that by labour and exercise idlenesse is conquered, and sloth utterly chased away; to whereas the contrary is a very ill figue, to wit, if by reason of many cessations and those comming thicke one after another, the heat of the former affection be cooled, languish and weareth to nothing: for like as the shoote of a cane or reed whiles it hath the full strength and greatell force, putteth forth the first stem reaching out in length, streight, even, smooth, & united in the beginning, admitting few knots in great distances between, to stay and put backe the growth and riling thereof in height; but afterwards as if it were checked to mount up aloft by reason of short winde and failing of the breath, it is held downe by many knots, and those necre one to another, as if the spirit therein which coveteth upward found some impeachment by the way, fmiting it backe, and caufing it as it were to pant and tremble; even so as many as at first tooke long courses and made haste unto philosophie or amendment of life, and then afterwards meet 20 eftioones with flumbling blocks, continually turning them out of the direct way, or other meanes to distract and plucke them aside, finding no proceeding at al to better them, in the end are wearie, give over, & come short of their journeis end; whereas theother above faid hathhis wings growing still to helpe his flight, and by reason of the fruit which he findeth in his course goeth on apace, cutteth off all pretenfes of excuse, breaketh through all lets, (which stand as a multitude in the way to hinder his paffage) which he doth by fine force and with an industrious affection to atteine unto the end of his enterprise. And like as to joy and delight in beholding of beautie present is not a figne of love beginning, for a vulgar and common thing this is, but rather to be greeved & vexed when the same is gone or taken away; even so many therebe who conceive pleasure in philosophie, and make semblance as if they had a fervent defire to the 20 studie thereof; but if it chance that they be a little retired from it by occasion of other businesse and affaires, that first affection which they tooke unto it vanishes havay, and they can well a bide to be without Philosophie;

But he who feeles indeed the pricke Of love that pierceth neere the quicke.

as one poet faith; will feeme unto thee moderate and nothing hot in frequenting the philosophicall schoole and conferring together with thee about philosophie; but let him be plucked from it, and drawen apart from thee, thou shalt see him enstamed in the love thereof, impatient, and weary of all other affaires and occupations; thou shalt perceive him even to forget his own friends, fuch a passionate desire he will have to philosophie. For we ought not so much to de-40 light in learning and philosophic whiles we are in place, as we do in sweet odors, perfumes, and ointments, and when we are away and separated therefro, never grieve thereat, nor seeke after it any more; but it must imprint in our hearts a certeine passion like to hunger and thirst when it is taken from us, if we wil profit in good earnest & perceive our owne progresse and amendement; whether it be, that marriage, riches, some friendship, expedition or warfare come between, that may drave him away and make separation, for the greater that the fruit is which he gathered by Philosophie, so much the more will the griefe be to leave and forgoe it. To this first signeof progresse in Philosophic may be added another of great antiquitie out of Hesiodus; which is it be not the verie same, certes it commeth necre unto it, and this he describeth after this son, namely, VV hen a man findeth the way no more difficult, rough & craggy, nor exceeding steep 50 and upright, but casie, plaine, with a gentle descent, as being indeed laid even and smooth by exercise, and wherein now there begins light cleerely to appeare and shine out of darkenes, in stead of doubts, ambiguities, errors, and those repentances and changes of minde, incident unto those who first betake themselves to the studie of Philosophie; after the manner of them who having left behinde them a land which they know well enough, are troubled whiles they cannot deferie and discover that for which they fet faile and bend their courses, for even so it is with these perfons, who when they have abandoned these common and familiar studies whereto they were inused before they came, to learne, apprehend and enjoy better, oftentimes in the verie middle of their course are caried round about and driven to returne backe agains the same, way, they came. Like as it is reported of Sexim a noble man of Rome, who having given over the honorable offices and magistracies in the citie, for love of Philosophie, afterwards finding himselfemuch moubled in that studie, and not able at the beginning to brooke and digest the reasons and discourses thereof, was so perplexed, that he went veriencere to have throwen himselse into the sea out of a gallie.

The semblable example we read in histories, of Diogenes the Sinopian, when he first went to the studie and profession of Philosophie: for when about the same time it chanced that the Ato thenians celebrated a publike folemnitie with great featling and fumptuous fare, with theatricall plaies and pastimes, meeting in companies and affemblies to make merrie one with another, with revels and daunces all night long, himfelfe in an odde corner of the market place lay lapped round in his cloathes, purpofing to take a nap and fleepe; where and when he fell into certaine fantastical imaginations which did not a little turne and trouble his braines, yea and breake his heart, discoursing thus in his head: That he upon no constraint or necessitie, should thus wilfully betake himselfe to a laborious & strange course of painful life, sitting thus by himfelfe mopifh, sequestred from all the world, & deprived of all earthly goods; In which thoughts and conceits of his, he spied (as the report goeth) a little mouse creeping & running towards the crums that were fallen from his lofe of bread, and was verie bufic about them, whereupon hee 20 tooke heart againe, reprooved and blamed his owne feeble courage, faying thus to himfelfe: What faiest thou Diogenes? Seest thou not this filliecreature what good cheere it haketh with thy leavings? how merrie fine is whiles the feedeth thereupon? and thou (like a trim man indeed asthou art) doest waile, weepe and lament, that thou drinkest not thy selfe drunke as those doe yonder; nor lie in foft and delicate beds, richly fet out with gay and coftly furniture. Now when fuch temptations and distractions as thesebe, returne not often, but the rule and discourse of reason presently riseth up against them, maketh head, turneth upon them suddenly againe (as it were) in the chace and purfued in the route by enemies, and so quickly discomfitteth and dispatcheth the anxietie and dispaire of the minde, then a man may be affirred that he hath profited indeed in the schoole of Philosophie, and is well settled and confirmed therein. But forasmuch 20 as the occasions which doe thus shake men that are given to Philosophie, yea and otherwhiles plucke them a contrarie way, doe not onely proceed from themselves by reason of their owner infirmitie and so gather strength; but the sad and serious counsels also of friends, together with thereproofes and contradictoric affaults made upon them by adversaries, betweene good earnelt and game, doe mollifie their tender hearts, and make them to bow, bend and yeeld, which otherwhiles have beene able in the end to drive some altogether from Philosophie, who were wellentred therein: It may be thought no fmall figne of good proceeding, if one can endure the same meekly without being mooved with such temptations, or any waies troubled and piuched when hee shall heare the names and furnames of such and such companions and equals otherwise of his, who are come to great credit and wealth in Princes courts; or be advanced by 40 mariages, matching with wives who brought them good dowries & portions; or who are wont togo into the common Hall of a citie, attended upon and accompanied with a traine and troup of the multitude, either to attaine unto some place of government, or to plead some notable sause of great consequence: for he that is not disquieted, astonied, or overcome with such asfaults; certaine it is and we may be bold to conclude that he is arrested (as it were) and held sure ashe ought to be by Philosophie. For it is not possible for any to cease affecting and loving thosethings, which the multitude doth so highly honor and adore, unlesse they be such as admire nothing else in the world but vertue. For to brave it out, to contest, and make head against men, is a thing incident unto some by occasion of choler, unto others by reason of folly; butto contemne and despise, that which others esteeme with admiration, no man is able to performe, 50 without a great measure of true and resolute magnanimitie: In which respect such persons comparing their state with others magnific theinselves, as Solon did in these words:

Many a wicked man isrich,
And good men there be many poore:
But we will not exchange with fich,
Nor give our goodnes for their flore.
For vertue ay is durable,
Whereas riches beaustable.

4

And Diogener compared his peregrination and flitting from the city of Corinth to Achene, and againe his removing from Thebes to Cormth, unto the progresses and chariges of abode that the great king of Perfia was wont to make; who in the Spring featon held his Court as Suffe; in Win. ter, kept house at Babylon; and during Summer, passed the time and sojourned in Media; stain law hearing upon a time the faid king of Perfia to be named, The great kings And why thunk he) is he greater than my felfe a unleffe it be that he is more just and righteous. And William writing unto Antipater as touching Alexander the great, faid. That it became not him onely valunt much and glorifie himfelfe for that his dominions were fo great, but also any man els liath no leffe cause who is instructed in the true knowledge of the gods. And Zeno seeing Theophra: few in great admiration because he had many scholars: Indeed (quoth he) his auditory or quite is greater than mine, but mine accordeth better and makes sweeter harmonie than his. When as therefore thou halt so grounded and established in thine heart that affection unto vernie. which is able to encounter and stand against all externall things, when thou hast voided one of thy foule all envies, jealoufies, and what affections foever are woont either to tickle or to fret.or otherwise to depresse and cast downe the minds of many that have begunne to professe philosel. phie; this may serve for a great argument and token that thou art well advanced forward, and half profited much; neither is it a finall figne thereof, if thou perceive thy language to be changed from that it was wont to be; for all those who are newly entred into the schoole of philosophie (to speake generally) affect akinde of speech or stile which aimeth at glory and vaineostentation: fome you shall heare crowing aloud like cocks and mounting up aloft, by reason of their levity and haughty humour, unto the fublimitie and splendor of physicall things or secrets in nature; others take pleafure (after the maner of wanton whelps, as Plato faith) in tugging and tearing evermore whatfoever they can catch or light upon; they love to be doing with littgious questions, they goe directly to darke problemes and sophisticall subtilties, and most of them being once plunged in the quillits & quidities of Logicke, make that (as it were) a means or preparative to flesh themselves for Sophistrie: mary there be, who goe all about collecting and gathering together fententious fawes and histories of ancient times; and as Anachar fis was wont to fay: That he knew no other use that the Greeks had of their coined pieces of mony bin to rell and number them, or els to call account and reckon therewith; even fo do they nothing els but count and measure their notable sentences and sayings, without drawing any profit or 10 commodity out of them: and the same befalleth unto them, which one of Places familiats applied unto his scholars by way of allusion to a speech of Ariphanes : this Antiphanes was wont to fay in merriment: That there was a city in the world, whereas the words fo foone as ever they were out of the mouth and pronounced, became frozen in the aire, by reason of the coldnesses the place, and so when the heat of Summer came to thaw and melt the same, the inhabitants might heare the talke which had bene uttered and delivered in Winter; even fo (quoth he) it is with many of those who come to heare Plato when they be young; for whatsoever he speaketh and readeth unto them; it is very long ere they understand the same, and hardly when they are become olde men: and even after the fame fort it fareth with them abovefaid, who stand thus affected univerfally unto Philosophic, untill their judgement being well setled and growen to as found resolution, begin to apprehend those things which may deepely imprint in the mindea morall affection and paffion of love, yea, and to fearch and trace those speeches, whereof the tracts (as Aesope was woont to say) leade rather in, than out. For like as Sophocles said merrily upon a time, by way of derifion: That he would first cut off the haughtie and stately invention of zie schylus, and then abridge his affected, curious and artificiall disposition, and in the third place change the maner and forme of his elocution, which is most excellent, and fullest of sweet after ctions; even fo, the students in Philosophie, when they shall perceive that they passe from orations exquifitly penned and framed for oftentation in frequent and folemne affemblies, unto morall speeches, and those that touch the quicke, aswell the milde and gentle motions, as the hote and violent passions of the minde, then begin they indeed to lay downe all pride and vani-10 sy, and profit truely in the schoole of Philosophie.

Confider then, not onely in reading the works of Philosophers, or in hearing their lectures, first and formost, whether thou art not more attentive to the words than to the matter; or whether thou be not carried with a greater affection to those who deliver a more subtill and curious composition of sentences, than such as comprise profitable, commodious, substantiall & sleshy matters (if I may so say) but also in perusing Poemes, or taking in hand any history, observe well and take heed, that there escape thee not any one good sentence tending properly to the refore

mation of maners or the alleviation of paffions: for like as (according to Simonides) the bee fetleth upon flowers for to fucke our of it the yellow honic, whereas others love onely their colour
or pleafant fent, and neither care nor feeke for any thing els thereout; even fo, when other men
be converfant in Poemes for pleafure onely and paffime, thou finding and gathering fomewhat
out thereof woorth the noting, fhalt feeme at the first fight to have fome knowledge already
thereof by a certeine cultome and acquaintance with it, and a love taken unto it as a good thing
and familiar unso thee. As for those that reade the books of Plato and Xenophon, in no other
segard but for the beautie of their gallant file, feeking for nought els but for the purity of
specch, and the very naturall Atticke language, as if they went to gather the thin dew or tender
nousle or downe of herbs; What will you say of such a but that they love physicke drugs, which
have either a lovely. colour or a pleasant smell onely; but otherwise the medicinable vertues
thereof and properties either to purge the bodic or mitigate any paine, they neither desire to
know nor are willing to use.

Moreover, fuch as are proceeded farther, yet profited more, have the skill and knowledge how to reape fruit not onely out of words spoken or books written, but also to receive profit out of all fights, spectacles, and what things soever they see, gathering from thence whatsoever is fit and commodious for their purpose; as it is reported of Aesehylm and other such as he : For Aclebylus being upon a time at the Ifthmian games, beheld the fight of the sword fencers that fought at sharpe, and when one of the faid champions had received a grievous wound, where-20 upon the whole theater fet up a crie, he jogging one that was by him (named Ion of Chios) See younot (quoth he) what use and exercise is able to do? the partie himselfe that is hurt faith neyer a word, but the lookers on crie out. Brasides chanced among drie figs to light upon a fillie moule that bit him by the finger, and when he had shaken her off and let her goe, said thus to himselfe : See how there is nothing so little and so feeble, but it is able to make shift and fave it life, if it dare onely defend it felfe. Diogenes when he faw one make meanes to drinke out of the ball of his hand, cast away the dith or cuppe that hee carried in his budget. Loc, how attentive taking heed and continuall exercise maketh men ready and apt to marke, observe and learne from all things that make any way for their good. And this they may the rather doe when the joine wordes and deedes together, not onely in that fort (as Thueidides spea-30 keth of) by meditating, and exercifing themselves with the experience of present perils, but also against pleasures, quarrels, and altercations in judgements about defences of caufes and magistracies; as making proofe thereby of the opinions that they holde, or rather by carriage of themselves, teaching others what opinions they are to holde. For such as vet bee learners, and notwithstanding that, intermeddle in affaires like pragmaticall persons, fpying how they may catch any thing out of philosophic, and goe therewith incontinently in maner of juglers with their boxe, either into the common place and market, or into the schoole which young men frequent; or els to princes tables, there to fetthem abroad; we are not to thinke them philosophers; no more than those to be physicians, who only fell medicinable spices, drugs or compound confections; or to speake more properly, such a sophister or counter-40 feit philosopher as this, resembleth the bird that Homen describeth, which for footh, fo soone as he hath gotten any thing, carieth it to his scholars (as the faid bird doth in her mouth convey meat to her naked young ones that cannot flie)

And so himselfe he doth beguile

And thereby take much harme the while.

converting and distributing naught of all that which he hath gotten to his owne nourishment, nor so much as concocting and digesting the same: and therefore we ought of necessitie to regard and consider well whether we use any discourse and place our words so, that for our selves they may do good; and in regard of others, make no shew of vaine-glotic nor ambitious desire to be knowne abroad, but onely of an intention rather to heare, or els to teach.

But principally we are to observe whether our wrangling humour and desire to be cavilling about questions disputable, be allaied in us or no, as also whether we have yet given over to dewife reasons and arguments to assail others; like as champions armed with hurlebats of tough leather about their armes and bals in their hands, to annoy their concurrents, taking more pleasure and delight to fell and assail with one rap our adversarie, and so to lay him along on the earth, than to learne or teach him: for surely modestie, mildenesse and courtesse in this kinde will doe well; and when a man is not willing to enter into any conference or disputation, with a purpose to put downe and vanquish another, nor to breake out into fits of choler, nor ha-

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ving evicted his adverfarie to be readic as they fay to tread and trample him under foot, nor so feeme displeased and discontent if himselse have the foile and be put to the woors; be all good fignes of one that hath sufficiently profited. And this shewed Aristippus very well upon a time when he was so hardly pressed and overlaid in a certaine disputation, that he knew not what and fwer to make presently unto his adversarie a jolly bold and audacious sophister; but otherwise brainficke foole and without all judgement : for Aristippus feeing him to vaunt himfelfe, pufi fed up with vaine glorie, that he had put him to a non plus : Well (quoth he) I fee that for this time I go away with the worse, but furely when I am gone I will sleepe more soundly and quietly than you that have gotten the better. Moreover we may also proove and found our felves, when ther we have profited or no, even whiles we speake in publicke place; namely, if neither upon the fight of a greater audience than we looked for, we shrinke not for feare and falle heart, not contrariwife be discouraged to see sewer come to heare our exercises than we hoped for ; never when we are to make a speech to the people, or before a great magistrate, we leefe the opponent nitie thereof, for that we have not well premeditated thereof before, nor come provided of apt words to declare our mind, a thing that by report befell unto Demosthenes & Alcibiades: for All eibiades as he was passing ingenious and inventive of matter, so he wanted audacitie, and was not fo ready as some other to utter the same, but troubled eftsoones in his pleading and deliverie of it, informuch as many times in the very mids of his oration he would be out and to feeke for a proper and fit terme to expresse the conception of his minde, or els to recover that word againe which was flipt and escaped out of his memoric. As for Homer he had such an opinion of his 20 owne perfection, and his poeticall veine in the rest of all his worke, that he stucke not to set downe the very first verse of his poeme desective in measure, and not answerable to the rules of verfifying. So much the rather therefore likely it is, that they who fet nothing before their eies, nor aime at ought els but vertue onely and honestie, will make use of the present occasion and the occurrence of affaires, fall out as they will, without regard of applaule, hiffing or any other noise whatsoever in token of liking or disliking their speech.

Nowevery man ought to confider not onely his owne speeches, but also his actions, namely whether they carie with them more profit and found trueth, than vaine pompe and oftententation; for if the true love indeed of young folke, man or woman, requireth no witnesses, but resteth in the private contentment & enjoying of their sweet delights, although the same were 30 performed and their defires fully accomplished secretly betweene them without the privitie of any person: how much more credible is it that he who is enamoured of honesty and wisedome, using the company and felowship familiarly of vertue by his actions, and enjoying the same, shall finde in himselfe without saying one word an exceeding great contentment, and demaund no other hearers or beholders but his owne conscience? For like as he was but a vaine foole who called unto his maid in the house and cried with a loud voice: Diony sia come and see I am not proud and vain glorious now as I was wont to be; even so hee that hath done some vertuous and commendable act, and then goes foorth to tell it abroad and fpred the fruit there of in every place, certeine it is that fuch an one regards still outward vanities, and is caried with a covetous defire of vain-glorie, neither hath he ever had as yet a true fight indeed and perfect 40 vision of vertue, but onely a fantasticall dreame of her, imagining as hee lies afleepe, that hee feeth some wandring shadow and image thereof, and then afterward representeth thus unto his view that which he hath done, as a painted table to looke upon. Well then, it is the propertie of him that proceedeth in vertue, not onely when he hath bestowed fornthing upon his friend, or done a good turne unto one of his familiars, for to make no words there of; but also when hee hath given his voice justly, or delivered his opinion truely, among manie others that are unjust and untrue; or when he hath flatly denied the unhonest request, or stoutly croffed a bad motion of some rich man, great Lord or mightie Magistrate; or refused gifts and bribes; or proceeded so farre that being athirst in the night he hath not drunke at all; or hath refused to kissea beautiful boy or faire maiden & turned away from them comming toward him 50 as Agefilam did; to keepe althis to himfelfe and fay nothing: For fuch a one as is content to be prooved and tried by his owne selfe, not setting light by that triall and judgement, but joying and taking delight in his confcience, as being a fufficient witnes and beholder, both of good things and commendable actions, sheweth that reason hath turned in, to lodge and keepe resiance with him, that it hath taken deepe root there: and as Democritae faith: That he is well framed, and by cultome brought to rejoice and take pleasure in himselfe. And like as husbandmen are more glad and willing to see the cares of come hang downe their heads, and bend toward

the earth, than those who for their lightness fland straight, upright, and staring aloss, for that they suppose fischeares are emptie, or have dittle or nothing in them, for all their faire thew; even fo, amongyoong men, students in Philosophie, they that have least in them of any weight, and be most voide, be those that are at the verie first most consident; set the greatest countenance; carrie the biggeft port in their gate, and have the boldeft face, fleewing therein how full they are of pride in themselves, contempt of all others, and sparing of none: but atterwards as they begin to grow on and burnish, furnishing and filling themselves with the fruits indeed of reason and learning; then and never before they lay away these proude lookes; then downe goes this vaine pride and outward oftentation. And like as we fee in veffels, whereinto menufe ng to powre in liquor, according to the quantitie and measure of the faid liquor that goeth in, the are which was there before flieth our; even fo to the proportion of those good things which attecestaine and true indeed, wherewith men are replemited, their vanitie giveth place, all their hypocrific vanisheth away, their swelling and pushing pride doth abate and fall, and giving over then to stand upon their goodly long beards and fide robes, they transferre the exercise of outward things into the minde and foule within, using the sharp bit of bitter reprehension principally against themselves. And as for others, they can finde in their hearts to devise, conferre, and talke with them more graciously and with greater courtefie; the manner of Philosophie, and reputation of Philosophers, they do not usurpe nor take upon them, neither do they use it as their addition in former time; and if haply one of them by some other be called by that 20 name, he wil not answere to it; but if he be a yoong gentleman indeed, after a smiling and pleafant manner, yea and blufhing withall for thame, he will fay thus out of the Poet Homer:

I am no God nor he avenly wight : Why doeft thou give to me their right? For true it is as deschylus faith:

Adam' fell young if the have knowen,

And tasted man once carnally; Her eie doth it bewrayanon,

It farkles fire sufficiously.

But a yoong man having truely tasted the profit and proceeding in Philosophie, hath these 30 fignes following him, which the Poetrefle Sappho fetteth downe in these verses:

When I you fee What do I atle? First (uddenly my voice doth faile, And then like fire a colour red; Under my skinne doth run and spread.

It would do you good to view his fetled & staied countenance, to behold the pleasant and sweet regard of his eie, and to heare him when he fpeaketh: for like as those who are professed in any confraternity of holy mysteries, at their first affembly & meeting together, burry in tumultuous fortwith great noise, infomuch as they thrust and throng one another; but when they come to celebrate the divine fervice thereto belonging, and that the facred reliques and ornaments are 40 once shewed, they are verie attentive with reverent searcand devout silence; so, at the beginning of the studie of Philosophie, and in the verie entrie (as it were) of the gate that leadeth untoit, a man shall see much adoe, a foule stirre, great audaciousnes, insolencie, and jangling words more than enough; for that fome there be, who would intrude themselves rudely, and thrust into the place violently, for the greedie desire they have to winne reputation and credit: but he that is once within and feeth the great light, as if the fanctuaries and facted cabinets or tabernacles were set open, anon he putteth on another habit, and a divers countenance with tilence and aftonishment, he becommeth humble, pliable and modest, readic to follow the difcourse of reason and doctrine, no lesse than the direction of some god. To such as these, me thinkes, I may do verie well to accommodate that speech which Menademus somtime in mitth so spake pleafantly: Many there be that faile to Athens (quoth he) for to goe to schoole there, who when they come first thither feeme * Sophi, that is, be wife, and afterwards proove * Philosophi, * Soot. that is, lovers of wifedome; then of Philosophers they become * Sophisters, that is, professors + 6.2.0 - 2011. and readers, untill in processe of time they grow to be * Idiots, that is to say, ignorant and fooles * So proces. to see to for the neerer that they approch to the use of reason and to learning indeed, the more "Idorus. do they abridge the opinion that they have of themselves, and lay downe their presumption. Among those that have need of physicke, some that are troubled with the tooth-ach, or have a telon or whitelaw on their finger, goe themselves to the physician for to have remedie; others

who are ficke of an ague fend for the physician home to their houses, and defire to be eased and cured by him; but those that are fallen either into a fit of melancholy, or phrensie, or otherwife be distracted in their braines and out of their right wits, otherwhiles will not admit or receive the phylicans, although they came of themselves uncalled, but either drive themout of doores, or else hide themselves out of their fight, and so farre gone they bee and dangeroully ficke, that they feele not their owne fickneffe; semblably of those who finne and doe amisse, such bee incorrigible and uncurable, who are grievously offended and angry, yea, and in mortall hatred with those who seeme to admonish and reproove themfor their misbehaviour; but fuch as will abide them, and are content to receive and enterteine them, be in better flate and in a readier way to recover their health: marie he that yeeldeth himselfe to such as rebuke him, confessing unto them his errors, discovering of his owne accord his povertie and nakedneffe, unwilling that any thing as touching, his state should be hidden. not loving to be unknowen and fecret, but acknowledging and avowing all that he is charged with, yea, and who praieth a man to checke, to reprove, to touch him to the quicke, and fo craveth for helpe; certeinly herein he sheweth no small figure of good progresse and amendment; according to that which Diogenes was woont to fay : He that would be faved (that is to fay) be. come an honest man, had need to seeke either a good friend or a sharpe and bitter enemie, to the end that either by gentle reproofe and admonition, or els by a rigorous cure of correction. he may be delivered from his vices. But how much foever a man in a glorious bravery sheweth to those that be abroad either a foule and thred bare coat or a steined garment, or a rent shoo, 16 or in a kinde of a prefumptuous humilitie mocketh himfelfe in that peradventure he is of a very low stature, crooked or bunch-backed, and thinketh herein that he doth a woorthy and doughtie deed; but in the meane while covereth and hideth the ordures and filthineffe of his vile life, cloaketh the villanous enormities of his maners, his envie, malicionfneffe, avarice, fenfuall voluptuousnesse, as if they were beastly botches or ugly ulcers, suffering no bodie to touch them, nay, nor fo much as to fee them, and all for feare of reproofe and rebuke, certes, such a one hath profited but a little, or to speake more truely, never a whit at all; but he that is ready to encounter and fet upon these vices, and either is willing and able (which is the chiese and principall) to chaltife and condemne, yea, and puthimfelfe to forrow for his faults; or if not fo, yetin the fecond place at the least can endure patiently, that another man by his reprehensions &re- 20 monstrances should cleanse and purge him; certes evident it is, that such an one hatethand detesteth wickednes indeed, and is in the right way to Thake it off: and verily, we ought to avoid the very name and apperance onely thereof, and to be ashamed for to be thought and reputed wicked; but hee that grieveth more at the substance of vice it selfe, than the infamie that commeth thereof, will never be afraid, but can very well abide both to speake hardly of himselfe, and to heare ill by others, so he may be the better thereby. To this purpose may very wel be applied a prety speech of Diogenes unto a certain yonker, who perceiving that Diogenes had an eie on him within a taverne or tipling house, withdrew himselfe quickly more inward, for to be out of his fight: Never do fo (quoth he) for the farther thou flieft backward, the more shalt thou be still in the taverne; even so a man may say of those that be given to vice, for the more that any one of 40 them feemeth to denie his fault, the farther is he engaged, and the deeper funke in finne; like as pooremen, the greater thew that they make of riches, the poorer they be, by reason of their vanity and bragging of that which they have not. But hee that profiteth in deed, hath for a good president and example, to follow that famous Physician Hippocrates, who both openly confes led and also put downe in writing, that he was ignorant in the Anatomie of a mans head, and namely, as touching the seames or situres thereof; and this account will he make, that it were an unworthy indignitie, if (when fuch a man as Hippocrates thought not much to publish his owne errour and ignorance, for feare that others might fall into the like) hee who is willing to fave himselfe from perdition, can not endure to be reproved, nor acknowledge his owne ignorance and follie. As for those rules and precepts which are delivered by Fyrrho and Bion in this 50 case are not in my conceit the figures of amendment and progresse so much, as of some other more perfect and absolute habit rather of the minde; for Bion willed and required his scholars and familiars that converfed with him, to thinke then (and never before) that they had proceeded and profited in Philosophie, when they could with as good a will abide to heare men revile and raile at them, as if they spake unto them in this maner:

Of proceeding in vertue.

Good fir, you feeme no per fon leawd, nor feelish fot, iwis:

All baile, Faire chieve you and adieu, God send you alwaies blis.

And Pyrtho (asit is reported) being upon a time at fea, and in danger to be cast away in a termpelt, shewed unto the rest of his fellow passengers a porket feeding hard upon barley cast before him on thip boord: Loe, my mafters (quoth he) we ought by reason and exercise in Philosophie, to frame our felves to this paffe, and to attaine unto fuch an impaffibilitie, as to be moved

and troubled with the accidents of fortune no more than this pig. But consider furthermore, what was the conceit and opinion of Zeno in this point; for hee was of mind that every man might and ought to know whether he profited or no in the schoole to of vertue, even by his very dreames; namely, if hee tooke no pleafure to fee in his fleepe any filthy or dithoneft thing, nor delighted to imagine that he either intended, did or approved any leawd, unjust or outragious action; but rather did beholde (as in a fetled calme, without winde, weather and wave, in the cleere bottome of the water) both the imaginative and also the passive facultie of the soule, wholly overspread and lightened with the bright beames of reafon: which Plato before him (as it should seeme) knowing well enough, bath prefigured and represented unto us, what fantasticall motions they be that proceed in sleepe from the imaginative & fenfual part of the foule given by nature to tyrannize & overrule the guidance of reason; namely if a man dreame that he feeketh to have carnall company with his owne mother, or that he hath a great minde and appetite to eate all strange, unlawfull and forbidden meats; as if then 20 the faid tyrant gave himselfe wholy to all those sensualities & concupiscences as being let loose at fuch a time, which by day the law either by feare or fhame doth represse & keepe downe. Like as therefore beafts which ferve for draught or faddle, if they be well taught and trained, albeit their governors and rulers let the reines loofe and give them the head, fling not out nor goe aside from the right way, but either draw or make pace forward stil, & as they were wont ordinarilykeepe the same traine and hold on in one course and order, even so they whose sensual part of the foule is made trainable and obedient, rame, and well schooled by the discipline of reason, will neither in dreames nor fickneffes eafily suffer the lusts and concupiscences of the flesh, to rage or breake our unto any enormities punishable by law; but will observe and keepe still in memorie that good discipline and custome which doth ingenerate a certeine power and effica-30 cieunto diligence, whereby they shall and will take heed unto themselves: for if the mind hath beneufed by exercife to refult paffions and temptations, to hold the bodie and all the members thereof as it were with bit & bridle under fubjection, in fuch for that it hath at comand the cies not to shed teares for pitty; the heart likewise not to leape & pant in seare; the natural parts not to tife nor stirre but to be still & quiet without any trouble at all, upon the fight of any faire and beautifull person, man or woman; how can it otherwise be but that there should be more likelihood that exercise having seized upon the sensual part of the soule and tamed it, should polish, lay even, reforme, and bring unto good order all the imaginations and motions thereof, even asfarre as to the very dreames and fantafies in fleepe: as it is reported of Stilpo the philosopher, who dreamed that he faw Neptune expostulating with him in anger, because he had not killed 40 abcefe to facrifice unto him as the manner was of other priefts to doe, and that himfelfe nothing aftonied or diffmaid at the faid vision should answer thus againe: What is that thou faist O Nepsune? commest thou to complaine indeed like a child (who pules and cries for not having a peece big enough) that I take not up some money at interest, and put my selfe in debt, to fill the whole citie with the fent and favor of roft and burnt, but have facrificed unto thee fuch as I had at home according to my abilitie and in a meane? whereupon Neptune (as hee thought) should merrily smile and reach foorth unto him his right hand, promising that for his fake and for the love of him he would that yeere fend the Megarians great store of raine and good foison of sea-loaches or fishes called Aphyra by that meanes comming unto them by whole sculles. Such then, as while they lie afleepe have no illusions arising in their 50 braines to trouble them, but those dreames or visions onely as be joious pleasant, plaine and evident, not painfull, nor terrible, nothing rough, maligne, tortuous and crooked; may boldly fay that these fantasies and apparitions be no other than the reslexions and raies of that light which rebound from the good proceedings in philosophie; whereas contrariwise the furious Pricks of luft, timorous frights, unmanly and base flights, childish and exceffive joies, dolorous forrowes, and dolefull mones by reason of some piteous illusions strange and absurd visions appearing in dreames, may be well compared unto the broken waves and billowes of the sea beating upon the rocks and craggie banks of the shore; for that the soule having not as yet that fetled perfection in it felfe which should keepe it in good order, but holdeth on a course still according to good lawes onely and sage opinions, from which when it is farthest sequestred and most remote, to wit, in sleepe, it sufferest it selfe to returne againe to the old wont and to be let loose and abandoned to her passions: But whether these things may be ascribed into that profit and amendement whereof we treat, or rather to some other habitude, having now gathered more strength and sirme constancie not subject by meanes of reasons and good instruction to shaking, I leave that to your owne consideration and mine together.

But now for a finuch as this total impaffibilitie (if I may fo fpeake) of the mind, to wit, a state fo perfect that it is void of all affections, is a great and divine thing; and feeing that this profit and proceeding whereof we write confifteth in a kind of remission and mildnesse of the said pass. ons, we ought both to confider ech of them apart and also compare them one with another, thereby to examine and judge the difference : conferre we shall every passion by it selfe, by ob. ferving whether our lutts and defires be more calme and leffe violent than in former time, by marking likewise our fits of feare and anger, whether they be now abated in comparison of those before, or whether when they be up and enflamed, we can quickly with the helpe of reafon remoove or quench that which was wont to fet them on worke or a fire: compare we shall them together, in case we examine our selves whether we have now a greater portion of grace and shame in us than of feare; whether we finde in our selves emulation and not envie; whe ther we covet honor rather than worldly goods; and in one word, whether after the manner of muficians we offend rather in the extremitie and exceffe of harmonie called Dorion, which is 10 grave, folemne, and devout, than the Lydian, which is light and galliard-like, that is to fay in clining rather in the whole maner of our life to hardnes and feveritie, than to effeminate fofneffe; whether in the enterprise of any actions we shew timiditie and slacknesse, rather thantemeritie and raffineffe, and last of all, whether we offend rather in admiring too highly the farings of men and the persons themselves, than in despising and debasing them too low : for like as we fay in physicke it is a good signe of health when diseases are not diverted and translated into the noble members & principal parts of the body; even fo it feemeth that when the vices of fuch as are in the way of reformation and amendement of life change into passions that are more milde and moderate, it is a good beginning of ridding them away cleane by little & little,

The Lacedamonian Ephori, which were the high countrollers of that whole State, demanded 30 of the Musician Phrynia, when he had fet up two strings more to his seven stringed instrument, whether he would have them to cut in sunder the trebles or the bases, the highest or the lowest but as for us, we had need to have our affections cut both above and beneath, if we desire to the duce our actions to a meane and mediocritie. And surely this progresse or proceeding of ours to perfection, professes that to let downe the lightest first, to cut off the extremitie of passin excesses, and to abate the acrimonic of affections before we doe any thing else, in which as saith Sophoeles:

Folke foolish and incontinent, Most furious be and violent.

As for this one point, namely that we ought to transferre our judgement to action, and not to so fuffer our words to remaine bare and naked words still in the aire, but reduce them to effect, we have alreadic faid, that is the chiefe propertic belonging to our progresse and going forward now the principall arguments and signes thereof be these; if we have a zeale and servent affection on to imitate those things which we praise; if we be forward and readie to execute that which we fo much admire, and contrariwife will not admit nor abide to heare of fuch things as we in our opinion dispraise and condemne. Probable it is and standeth with great likelihood that the Athenians al in general praised and highly esteemed the valour and prowesse of Militades; but when Themistocles said; that the victorie and Trophee of Miliades would not give him leave to fleepe, but awakened him in the night, plaine it is and evident, that he not onely praifed and admired, but had a defire also to imitate him, and do asmuch himfalse; semblably, we are to make 50 this reckoning, that our progresse and proceeding in vertue is but small, when it reacheth 100 farther than to praise onely and have in admiration that which good men have woorthily done, without any motion and inclination of our will to imitate the fame and effect the like. Forneither is the carnall love of the bodie effectuall, unleffe fome little jealoufiebe mixed withall, not the praise of vertue fervent and active, which doth not touch the quicke, and pricke the heart with an ardent zeale in stead of envie, unto good and commendable things, and the same delirous to performe and accomplish the same fully. For it is not sufficient that the heart should

be turned upfide downe onely, as Alcibiades was woont to fay by the words and precepts of the philosopher reading out of his chaire, even untill the teares gush out of the cies: but he that truly doth profit & go forward, ought by comparing himselfe with the works & actions of good men, and those that be perfectly vertuous, to feele with all in his owne heart, as well a displeasure with himselfe, and a griefe in conscience for that wherein he is short and descrive, as also a joy affection and motion that never resteth and lieth still, but resemble th for all the world (according to the similated of Simonides:)

The sucking soale that keeps just pace, And runs with damin everie place.

affecting and defiring nothing more than to be wholy united and concorporate with a good man, by imitation. For furely this is the paffion peculiar and proper unto him that truely taketh profit by the studie of Philosophic; To love and cherrish tenderly the disposition & conditions of him whose deeds he doth imitate and defire to expresse, with a certaine good will to render alwaies in words, due honor unto them for their vertue, and to affay how to fashion and conforme himselfe like unto them. But in whomsoever there is instilled or insused (I wot not what) contentious humor, envie, and contestation against such as be his betters, let him know that all this proceedeth from an heart exulcerated with jealousie for some authoritie, might and reputation, and not upon any love, honor, or admiration of their vertues. Now, when as we begin 20 to love good men in fuch fort that (as Plato faith) we effecte not only the man himselfe happie who is temperate; or those blessed who be the ordinarie hearers of such excellent discourses which daily come out of his mouth; but also that we do affect and admire his countenance, his port, his gate, the cast and regard of his eie, his smile and maner of laughter, insomuch as we are willing, as one would fay to be joined, fodered, and glued tinto him; then we may be affirred certainely that we profit in vertue; yea and so much the rather, if we have in admiration good and vertuous men, not onely in their prosperitie, but also (like as amorous solke are well enough pleased with the lisping or stammering tongue; yea and do like the pale colour of these whom for the flower of their youth and beautic they love and thinke it beforemeth them, as we reade of Ladie Panthea, who by her teares and fad filence, all heavie, afflicted and blubbered as fine was, 20 for the dolor and forrow that the tooke for the death of her husband, seized Araffes so as hee was enamoured upon her) in their adversitie, so as we neither start backe for feare, nor dread the banishment of Aristides, the imprisonment of Anaxagoras, the povertie of Socrates, or the condemnation of Phocion, but repute their vertue, defireable, lovely and amiable even with all thefe calamities, and runne directly toward her for to kiffe and embrace her by our imitation, having alwaies in our mouth at everie one of these crosse accidents this notable speech of Euripides:

Oh how each thing dosh well become, Such generous hearts both all and some!

For we are never to feare or doubt that any good or honest thing shall ever be able to avert from vertue this heavenly infoiration and divine inftinct of affection, which not onely is not grieved to and troubled at those things which seeme unto men most full of miserie and calamitie, but also admireth & defireth to imitate the. Hereupon also it followeth by good consequence, that they who have once received to deepe an impression in their hearts, take this course with themselves: That when they begin any enterprise, or enter into the administration of government, or when any finister accident is presented unto the, they set before their cies the examples of those who either presently are or heretofore have bene worthy persons, discoursing in this maner: What is it that Plato would have done in this case? what would have Epaminondas said to this? how would Lyenrgus or Agefilaus have behaved themselves herein? After this fort (I say) will they labour to frame, compose, reforme and adorne their manners as it were before a mirrour or lookingglasse, to wit, in correcting any unseemly speech that they have let fall, or repressing any passion 50 that hath rifen in them. They that have learned the names of the demi-gods called Idae Dacty-4, know how to use them as counter-charmes or preservatives against sudden frights, pronouncing the fame one after another readily and ceremoniously; but the remembrance and thinking upon great and worthy men represented fuddenly unto those who are in the way of perfection, and taking holde of them in all passions and perplexions which shall encounter them, holdeth them up, and keepeth them upright, that they can not fall; and therefore this also may go for one argument and token of proceeding in vertue.

Over and besides, not to be so much troubled with any occurrent, nor to blush exceedingly

for shame as before-time, nor to seeke to hide or otherwise to alter our countenance or any thing els about us, upon the fudden comming in place of a great or fage personage unexpe. cted, but to perfift resolute, to go directly toward him with bare and open face, are tokens that a man feeleth his conficience fetled and affured. Thus Mexander the great feeing a meffenger running toward him apace with a pleasant and smiling countenance, and stretching foorth his handafarre off to him: Hownow good fellow (quoth hee) what good newes canft thou bring me more, unlesse it be tidings that Homer is risen againe? esteeming in trueth that his woorthy acts and noble deedes already atchieved, wanted nothing els, nor could be made greater than they were, but onely by being confecrated unto immortalitie by the writings of iomenoble fpirit; even fo a yoong man that groweth better and better every day, and hath reformed his to maners, loving nothing more than to make himselfe knowen what he is unto men of worth and honour; to show unto them his whole house and the order thereof, his table, his wife and childten, his studies and intents; to acquaint them with his sayings and writings; insomuch asother whiles he is grieved in his heart to thinke and remember, either that his father naturall that begat him, or his mafter that taught him, are departed out of this life, for that they be not alive to fee in what good estate he is in and to joy thereat; neither would he wish or pray to the gods for any thing fo much, as that they might revive and come againe above ground, for to be spe-Atators and cie-witnesses of his life and all his actions. Contratiwise, those that have neglected themselves and not endevoured to do wel, but are corrupt in their maners, can not without search and trembling abide to fee those that belong unto them, no not so much as to dreame of them, to Adde moreover, if you please, unto that which hath beene already faid, thus much also fora good token of progresse in vertue: When a manthinketh no sinne or trespasse small, but is very carefull and wary to avoid and shunne them all, For like as they who despaire ever to be rich, make no account at all of faving a little expense; for thus they thinke: That the sparing of a finall matter can adde no great thing unto their stocke, to heape it up; but contrariwise, hope when a man fees that he wanteth but a little of the marke which he shooteth at, causeth that the neerer he commeth thereto, his covetousnesse is the more; even so it is in those matters that perteine to vertue : he who giveth not place much, nor proceedeth to these speeches: Well, and what shall we have after this? Be it io now: It will be better againe for it another time: and fuch like: but alwaies taketh heed to himselfe in every thing; and whensoever vice infinuating it 30 felfe into the least finne and fault that is, feemeth to pretend and fuggest fome colourable excufes for to crave pardon, is much discontented and displeased; he (1 lay) giveth hereby goodevidence and proofe that he hath a house within cleane and near, and that he would not endure the least impuritie and ordere in the world to defile the fame : For (as defchylus faith) an opinion conceived once, that nothing that we have is great and to be effected and reckoned of, causeth us to be carelesse and negligent in small matters. They that make a palaisado, a rampier or rough mud wall, care not much to put into their worke any wood that commeth next hand, neither is it greatly materiall to take thereto any rubbish or stone that they can meet with, or first comment into their cie, yea, and if it were a pillar fallen from a monument or fepulchre; femblablydoe wicked and leawd folke, who gather, thrumble & heape up together all forts of gaine, all actions of that be in their way, it makes no matter what, but such as profit in vertue, who are alredy planted, and whose golden foundation of a good life is laid (as it were) for some sacred temple or rotal palace, will not take hand over head, any stuffe to build thereupon, neither will they worke by aime, but every thing shall be couched, laied and ranged by line and levell, that is to

y aime, but every thing shall be couched, laied and ranged by line and levell, that is to say aime, but every thing shall be couched, laied and ranged by line and levell, that is to fay, by the squire & rule of reason: which is the cause (as we thinke) that Post-clet us the famous imager was wont to say: That the hardest piece of all the worke remained then to do, when the clay and the naile met together; signifying thus much: That the chire point of cunning and perfection was in the up-shoot and end of all.

OF



OF SVPERSTITION

The Summarie.

T should sceme that Plutarch composed this booke in mockerie and derision of the T should seeme that Plutarch composed this booke in mockerie and derison of the lewes whom he toucheth, and girdeth at in one place, and whose religion he mingleth with the superstition of the Fagans; to assume hurpose (1 wis) as that which he delivered hin a discourse at the table, where every any orderned by the eternal and almightic God, with the Bacchanalles and such stinking orderned by the eternal and almightic God, with the Bacchanalles and such stinking orderned by the eternal and almightic God of the superstitute. ordures of idolaters; thinking verily that Bacchus was the god of the Iewes. This slaunder of his and falle calumniation ought to be imputed unto that ignorance of the true God, wherein Plutarch did 20 remaine inswapped: yet is not be the man alone who hath derided and floured the religion of the Iewes: but such scoffes and derisions of the sages and wise men of this world, especially and above all when they are addressed against God, fall upon the head of the authors and devisers thereof to their utter confusion. Moreover as touthing this point, that some have thought this present discourse wherin he endevoureth and laboureth to prove super stition to be more perilous than Athelfme is dangerous to be read, & conteines h false doctrine; for that supersition of the twaine wnot so bad : I say that in regard of the foolish devotion of Plutarch and such as himselfe, which in no wise deservet bthe name of religion, but windeed a derission and profanation of truepietic and goddinesse, it were not amisse to affirme that Superstition is more wretched and miserable than Athersme, considering that lesse hurtfull and dangerount is for a man not to have his minde and soule troubled at all and disquieted with a fantasticall 30 illusion of idoles and Chimæres in the aire, than to feare, honor and serve them in such fort as justice & humanity should in maner be abolished by such super stittous idolaters. To be short, that it were better to defeat and overthrow at once all false gods, than to lodge any one in his head, for to languish thereby in perpetual miserie. Concerning true religion and the extremities thereof, the case is otherwife, and the question disputable, which we leave to Divines and Theologians to scan upon, to discourse and determine, since our intention and purpose urgeth us not at this time to discourse heere-

But to returne unto our author, considering that which we come to touch; As heists cannot find how to prevaile and maintaine their opinion: for institute their processes and accusation against themselves, they cary every minute of an houre in their cauterized & secretaeon science: but he sheweth that to worship and serve many idols, is a thing without comparison more deplorable than to disavow and disclaime them all. But to prove this, after be had discovered the course of superstition & Athelson, and declated discrence of these two extremities, he saith in the sust place, that superstition is them adeclated discrence of these two extremities, he saith in the suff place, that superstition is them showed the superstition while the passions of the soule, proving the same by divers reasons, to wit; That the superstitious man is in continual perplexity, he dreadeth his owne toole no less than a cruell tyrant, and imagineth a thousand evils even after his death. After this he taketh a view of the Atheist, and oppose thim against the superstitions, resolving upon this point; that the superstitious persons more opposed him against the superstition and eversus, a specific as prosperitie, and to confirme and satisfie his assertion, he settleth down emany arguments and notable examples. Moreover he sheweth that the superstition, he settleth down emany arguments and notable examples. Moreover he sheweth that the superstition was person in an eminite of all deitie or godhead, he putteth cleane out of his heart, and treadeth undersome settle superstition and righteons settle for to please his idols, and in one word, that he is the most wretched caitise in the world. And for a conclusion he exhorted his so to set superstition, that we ched caitise in the world. And for a conclusion he exhorted his so to set superstition, that we

hold our selves from falling into Atheisme, keeping in the middle betweene; of which point every good man ought to consider and thinke upon well andingood earnest in these latter times of the world, albeit he who advertise has thereof in this place, never knew what was trucreligion.

OF SUPERSTITION.



He ignorance and want of true knowledge as touching the gods divided even from the beginning i nto two branches, meeting on the one fide with stubborne and obstinate natures, as it were with a churlist peece of ground, hath in them engendred Impictic and Atheisme; and on the otherside, lighting upon gentle and tender spirits like a moist and soft soile, hath bred and imprinted therein superstition: now as all error in opinion and judgement, and namely in these matters, is hurtfull and dangerous enough; so if it be accompanied with some passion of the minde it is most per-

nitious. For this we must thinke, that every one of these passions resembleth a deception that is feaverous and inflamed; and like as the diflocations of any joints in a mans bodie out of their place joined with a wound be woorfe than others to be cured; even fo the diffortions and errors. of the minde meeting with fome paffion are more difficult to be reformed. As for example, let case that one doe thinke that the little motes and indivisible bodies called Atomi, together with voidnesse and emptinesse be the first elements and principles whereof all things are made; certeinly this is an erronious and false opinion of his; howbeit the same breedethno ulcer, no fea- 10 ver causing disordinate pulse in the atteries, nor yet any pricking and troublesome paine. Doth fome one hold that riches is the foveraigne good of man? This error and false opinion hatha rust or canker and a worme that eateth into the soule and transporteth the same besides it selfe. it suffreth it not to take any repose, it stingeth, it pricketh it and setteth it a gadding, it throweth it downe headlong (as it were) from high rocks, it stifleth and strangleth it, and in one wordit bereaveth it of all libertie & franke speech. Againe, are there some perswaded, that vertue and vice be substances corporall and materiall? this haply is a grosse ignorance and a foule error, howbeit not lamentable nor worthie to be deplored: but there be other judgements and opinions like unto this:

O vertue wretched and miferable,
Nought elfe but words and winde variable;
Thee ferv'd I daily with all reverence,
As if thou hadft beene fome reall effence:
Whereas injustice neglected I have,
Which would have made me a man rich and brave;
Intemperance eke have I cast behind.
Of pleasures all, she mother deere and kind.

Such as these verily we ought to pitie, yea and withall to be offended at, because in whose minds they are once entered and fetled they engender many maladies and paffions like unto wormes and fuch filthy vermine, But now to come unto those which at this present are in question: Im-40 pietie or Atheisme, being a false perswasion and lewd beliefe, that there is no soveraigne Nature most happie and incorruptible, seemeth by incredulitie of a God-head to bring miscreants to a certaine stupiditie, bereaving them of all sense and feeling, considering that the end of this misbeleefe that there is no God, is to be void altogether of feare. As for superstition, according as the nature of the Greeke word (which fignifieth Feare of the Gods) doth imply, is a paffionate opinion and turbulent imagination, imprinting in the heart of man a certaine fearfulnesse, which doth abate his courage and humble him downe to the verie ground, whiles he is perswaded that they be gods indeed, but fuch as be noyfome, hurtfull, and doing mischiese unto men: In fuch fort, that the impious Atheist having no motion at all as touching the Deitie and Divine power, and the superstitious person mooved and affected thereto after a perverse sort, and to otherwise than he should, are both out of the right way. For ignorance as it doth ingenerate in the one an unbeliefe of that foveraign Nature which is the cause of all goodness so it imprinteth in the other a misbeliefe of the Deitie, as being the cause of evill: so that as it should seeme, Impietie or Atheisme is a false judgement and opinion of the God-head; and superstition a pasfion proceeding from an erronious perswasion. True it is that all maladies of the soule are soule and the paffions naught; howbeit in fome of them, there is a kinde of (I wot not what) alacritie, haughtines and jollitic, proceeding from the lightnesse of the minde; and to say in a word, there

is in manner not one of them all, destitute of one active motion or other, serving for action; but a common imputation this is and a blame laid generally upon all passions, that with their violent pricks (as it were) they incite, provoke, urge, compell, and force reason; onely feare, which being no leffe voide of audacitie and boldnesse, than of reason; carrieth with it a certaine blockifhnesse or stupiditie, destitute of action, perplexed, idle, dead, without any exploit or effeet whatfoever; whereupon it is named in Greeke Acieus, that is to fay, a Bond, and Tayes, that is to fay, Trouble, for that it both bindeth and also troubleth the minde. But of all forts of feare, there is none fo full of perplexitie, none fo unfit for action as that of superstition. The man who faileth not, is not afraid of the sea; neither searcth he the warres, who followeth not warfare; no to more than he who keepeth home and stirreth not out of doores, is afraid of theeves that rob by the high way fide; or the poore man that hath nought to loofe, of the Sycophant or promoter; nor he that liveth in meane estate, of envie; no more (I say) than he that is in Gaule searcth earth-quake, or in Aethiopia thunder and lightning : but the superstitious man that stands in feare of the gods, feareth all things, the land, the fea, the aire the skie, darkeneffe, light, filence and his verie dreames. Servants whiles they be a fleepe, forget the rigour and hardneffe of their mafters. Sleepe eafeth the cheines, gives and fetters, of those that ly by the heeles bound in prifon; dolorous inflammations, finart wounds, painfull ulcers and marimuls that eate and confume the flesh, yeeld some ease and alleviation unto patients whiles they be asleepe, according as he faith in the Tragedie:

> O fweet repole, o fleepe fo gracious That doest allay our maladies, How welcome art thou unto us, Bringing in scason remedies?

Thus faid he: But suspensition will not give a man leave thus to fay: For it alone maketh no truce during fleepe; it permitteth not the foule at any time to breath and take reft, no nor fuffereth it to plucke up her spirits and take heart againe by remooving out of her the unpleasant, tart and troublesome opinions as touching the divine power; but as if the sleepe of superstitious folke were a verie hell and place of damned persons, it doth present unto them terrible visions and monstrous fansies; it raiseth divels, fiends and furies, which torment the poore and 20 miferable foule; it driveth her out of her quiet repofe by her owne fearfull dreames, wherewith the whippeth, scourgeth, and punisheth herfelfe (as if it were) by some other, whose cruell and unreasonable commandements she doth obey; and yet here is not all; for, that which worse is fuch superstitious persons after they be awakened out of their sleepe and risen, do not as other men, despife their dreames, and either laugh thereat or take pleasure therein, for that they see there is nothing true in all their visions and illusions which should trouble and terrific them; but being escaped out of the shadow of those false illusions, wherein there is no harme or hurt at all, they deceive and trouble themselves in good earnest, spending their substance and goods infinitly upon magicians, juglars, enchanters, and fuch like deceivers whom they light upon, who beare a man in hand and thus fay unto him:

> If frighted thou be with fansies in sleepe, Or haunted with Hecate that beneath doth keepe.

Call for an old trot that tends thy backhouse, and plunge thy selfe in the sea water, and sit a whole day upon the ground,

O Greekes, you that would counted be most wise, These barbarous and wicked toics devise.

namely, upon a vaine and foolish supersition, enjoining men to begrime and beray themselves withdurt, to lie and wallow in the mire, to observe Sabbaths and cease from worke, to lie prostrate and groveling upon the earth with the face downeward, to fit upon the ground in open place, and to make many strange and extravagant adorations. In times past the maner was, as mong those especially who would enterteine and observe lawfull musicke, to command those that began to play upon the harpe or citterne, to sing thereto with a just mouth, to the end they should speake no dishonest thing; and even we also require and thinke it meet to pray unto the gods with a just and right mouth, & not to prie in the beast facisficed, to looke into the intrails, to observe whether the tongue thereof be pure and right, and in the meane time perverting and polluting our owne tongues with strange and absurd names, insecting and defiling the same with barbarous tearnes, offending thereby the gods, and violating the dignitie of that religion which is received from our ancestours; and authorised in our owne countrey. The Comicall

Poet faid pleasantly in one Comedie, speaking of those who laied their bedsteds thicke with golde and filver: Why do you make your fleepe deare and costly unto your selves, which is the only gift that the gods have given us freely ? even fo may a man very wel fay (and with great reafon) unto those that are superstitious : Seeing that the gods have bestowed upon us sleepe, for the oblivion and repose of our miseries, why makest thou it a very hel & place of continual and dolorous torment to thy poore foule, which can not flie nor have recourfe unto any other fleep but that which is troublefome unto thee ? Heraelitus was wont to fay: That men all the whiles they were awake, enjoied the benefit of no other world, but that which was common unto all: but when they flept, every one had a world by himselfe; but furely, the superstitious person hath not fo much as any part of the common world, for neither whiles hee is awake hath hee the true to use of reason and wisdome, nor when he sleepeth is he delivered from seare & secured; but one thing or other troubleth him still: his reason is asleepe, his seare is alwaies awake; so that neither can be avoid his owne harme quite, nor finde any meanes to put it by, and turne it off. Po. Lycrates the tyrant was dread and terrible in Samos, Periander in Corinth, but no man feared either the one or the other, who withdrew himfelfe into any free city or popular State; as for him who standeth in dread and feare of the imperial power of the gods, as of some rigorous and inexorable tyranny, whither shall he retire & withdraw himselfe ? whither shall he flie ? where shall he find a land, where that he meet with fea, without a god? into what fecret part of the world (poore man) wilt thou betake thy felfe, wherein thou maiest lie close and hidden, and be affured that thou art without the puissance and reach of the gods? There is a law that provideth for milera 20 ble flaves, who being so hardly intreated by their masters, are out of all hope that they shallbe enfranchifed and made free, namely; that they may demand to be folde againe and to change their master, if haply they may by that meanes come by a better and more easie servitude under another: but this superstition alloweth us not that libertie to change our gods for the better, nay, there is not a god to be found in the world, whom a superstituous person doth not dread, confidering that he feareth the tutelar gods of his native countrey, and the very gods protectors of his nativitie: he quaketheven before those gods which are known to be faviours propitious and gracious; he trembleth for feare, when he thinketh of them at whose hands we crave riches, abundance of goods, concord, peace, and the happie fuccesse of the best words and deeds that we have. Now if these thinke that bondage is a great calamitic, saying thus:

O heavie crosse and wofull miserie, Man and woman to be in thrall-estate: And namely, if their slaverie Be under lords unsorrunate.

how much more grievous thinke you is their fervitude which they endure, who can not flie, who can not runne away and escape, who can not change and turne to another. Altars there be, unto which bad fervants may flie for fuccour; many fanctuaries there be and priviledged churches for theeves and robbers, from whence no man is so hardy as to plucke and pull them out. Enemics after they are defeated and put to flight, if in the very rout and chafe they can take holde of fome image of the gods, or recover fome temple and get it over their heads once, are fecured 40 and afforced of their lives; whereas the superstitious person is most affrighted, scared, and put in feare by that, wherein all others who be affraid of extreamest evils that can happen to man, tepose their hope and trust. Never goe about to pull perforce a superstituous man out of sacred temples, for in them he is most afficted and tormented. What needs many words? In all men death is the end of life; but it is not so in superstition, for it extendeth and reacheth farther than the limits and utmost bounds thereof, making feare longer than this life, and adjoining unto death an imagination of immortall miferies; and even then, when there feemeth to be an end and ceffation of all forrowes & travels, be superstitious men perswaded that they must enter into others which be endleffe & everlafting: they dream of (I wot not what) deepe gates of a certein Plute or infernall God of hell, which open for to receive them; of fierie rivers alwaies burning; 50 of hollow gulfs and flouds of Styx to gape for them; of ugly and hideous darkeneffe to overfpread them, full of fundry apparitions; of gastly ghosts and forrowfull spirits, representing unto them grizlie and horrible shapes to see, and as fearefull and lamentable voices to heare: what should I speake of judges, of tormentors, of bottomlesse pits, and gaping caves, full of all forts of torture and infinite miseries. Thus unhappy and wretched superstition, by fearing overmuch and without reason, that which it imagineth to be nought, never taketh heed how it submitteth it selfe to all miseries; and for want of knowledge how to avoid this passionate trouble, occationed

occasioned by the feare of the gods, forgeth and deviseth to it selfe an expectation of inevitable evils even after death. The impietie of an Atheist hath none of all this geere; most true it is, that his ignorance is unhappie, and that a great calamitie and miserie it is unto the soule, either to see amisse or wholly to be blinded, in so great & woorthy things, as having of many eies the principall and electest of all, to wit, the knowledge of God extinct and put out; but surely (as I said before) this passionate feare, this ulcer and fore of conscience, this trouble of spirit, this service abjection is not in his conceit; these goe alwaies with the other, who have such a suppositious opinion of the gods. Plato shith that mussicke was given unto men by the gods, as a singular meanes to make them more modest and gracious, yea and to bring them as it were to into tune, and cause them to be better conditioned, and not for delight and pleasure, not to tickle the cares: for falling out as it doth many times, that for default and want of the Muses and Graces, there is great confusion & disorder in the periods and harmonies, the accords and consonances of the minde, which breaketh out otherwhiles outragiously by meanes of intemperance and negligence; musicke is of that power that it setteth every thing againe in good order and their due place; for according as the poet Pindar we said.

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Towhat soever from above, God Iupiter doth east no love, To that the voice melodious Of Muses seemeth odious.

20 Infomuch as they fall into fits of rage therewith, and be very fell & angrie; like as it is reported of tygers, who if they heare the found of drums or tabours round about them, will grow furious and starke mad, untill in the end they teare themselves in peeces: so that there commeth lesse harme unto them who by reason of deasenesse or hard hearing, have no sense at all of musicke, and are nothing mooved and affected therewith: a great infortunitie this was of blind Tireflas, that hee could not fee his children and friends, but much more unfortunate and unhappie were Athamas and Agave, who feeing their children, thought they faw lions and stags. And no doubt when Hereules tell to be enraged and mad, better it had beene and more expedient for him, that he had not feene nor knowne his owne children, than so to deale with those who were most deere unto him, and whom he loved more than all the world besides, as if they had beene 30 his mortall enemies. Thinke you not then, that there is the fame difference betweene the paffitons of Atheifts and superstitious folke? Atheifts have no sight nor knowledge of the gods at all; and the superstitious thinke there are gods, though they be perswaded of them amisse; Atheists neglect them altogether as if they were not; but the superstitious esteeme that to bee terrible, which is gracious & amiable; cruell and tyranlike, which is kind and fatherlike; hurtful and damageable unto us, which is most carefull of our good and profit; rough, rigorous, savage and fell of nature, which is void of choler and without passion. And hereupon it is that they beleeve-braffe founders, cutters in stone, imagers, gravers and workers in waxe, who shape, & represent unto them gods with bodies to the likenesse of mortall men, for such they imagine them to be, such they adorne, adore and worship, whiles in the meane time they despise philo-40 lophers and grave personages of State and government, who do teach and shew that the majeflie of God is accompanied with bountie, magnanimitie, love and carefull regard of our good: So that as in the one fort we may perceive a certeine sencelesse stupiditie and want of beleise in those causes from whence proceed all goodnesse; so in the other we may observe a distrust full doubt and feare of those which cannot otherwise be than profitable and gracious. In sum, impietie and Atheisme is nothing else but a meere want of feeling and sense of adeitic or divine power, for default of understanding and knowing the soveraigne good; and superstition is a heape of divers passions, suspecting and supposing that which is good by nature to bee bad; for superstitious persons seare the gods, and yet they have recourse unto them; they flatter them, and yet blafpheme and reproch them; they pray unto them, and yet complaine of them. 50 A common thing this is unto all men, not to be alwaies fortunate, whereas the gods are void of ficknesse, nor subject to old age, neither taste they of labour or paine at any time: and as Pindarus faith,

> Escape they do the passage of the firth Of roaring Acheron, and live alway in mirth.

But the paffions and affaires of men be intermedled with divers accidents and adventures which run as well one way as another. Now confider with me first and formost the Atheist in those things which happen against his minde, and learne his disposition and affection in such occur-

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rences: if in other respects he be a temperate and modest man, beare he will his fortune patiently without faying a word; feeke for aide he will and comfort by what meanes he can; but if he be of nature violent, and take his misfortune impatiently, then he directeth and opposethall his plaints and lamentations against fortune and casualtie; then he crieth out that there is nothing in the world governed either by justice or with providence, but that all the affairesof man run confusedly headlong to destruction : but the fashion of the superstitious is otherwise. for let there never to finall an accident or milhap befal unto him, he fits him downe forrowing, and thereto he multiplieth and addeth other great and greevous afflictions, fuch as hardly be removed; he imagineth fundry frights, feares, fuspicions, and troublesometerrors, giving himselfe to all kinde of wailing, groaning, and dolefull lamentation; for he accuseth not any man, fortune, occasion, or his owne selfe; but he blameth God as the cause of all, giving out in plaine termes, that from thence it is that there falleth and runneth over him fuch a celeftiall influence of all calamitie and mifery, contesting in this wife, that an unhappie or unluckie man he is not, but one hated of the gods, woorthily punished and afflicted, yea and fuffring all defervedly by that divine power and providence: now if the godlefle Atheift be ficke, he discourfeth with himselfe and calleth to minde his repletions and full feedings, his surfeiting upon drinking wine, his disorders in diet, his immoderate travell & paines taken, yea and his unusual and abfurd change of aire, from that which was familiar, unto that which is strange and unnatuturall: moreover, if it chance that he have offended in any matter of government touching the State, incurred difference and an evill opinion of the people and country wherein he liveth, or to beenefailly accused and slandered before the prince or sovereigne ruler, he goeth no farther than to himselfe and those about him, imputing the cause of all thereto and to nothing els, and thus he reasoneth:

Where have I becner what good have I done? and what have I not done? Where have I slips? what dutie begun is left by me undone?

whereas the superstitious person will thinke and say, that everie disease and infirmitie of hisbodie, all his losses, the death of his children, his evill successe and infortunitie in managing civil affaires of State, and his repulses and differences, are so many plagues inflicted upon him by the ire of the gods, and the verie affaults of the divine juffice; informach as he dare not go about fecke for helpe and fuccour, nor avert his owne calamitie; he will not prefume to feeke force 10 medie, nor oppose himselse against the invalion of adverse fortune, for seare (forsooth) lest hee might seeme to fight against the gods, or to result their power and will when they punish him: thus when he lieth ficke in bed, he driveth his physician out of the chamber, when he is come to visit him; when he is in forrow, he shutteth and locketh his doore upon the Philosopher, that commeth to comfort him and give him good counfell: Let me alone (will he fay) and give me leave to fuffer punishment as I have deserved, wicked and profane creature that I am, accurled, hated of all the gods, demi-gods, and faints in heaven. Whereas if a (man who doth not beleeve nor is perswaded that there is a God) be otherwise in exceeding griefe and sorrow, it is an ordinarie thing with him to wipe away the teares as they gush out of his eies, and trickle downethe cheekes, to cause his haire to be cut, and to take away his mourning weed. As for a superstitious a person; how thoud one speake unto him, or which way succour and helpe him? without the doores he fits clad in fackloth, or elfe girded about his loines with patched clothes and tattered rags; oftentimes he will welter and wallow in the mire, confessing and declaring (I wotnot) what finnes and offenses that he buth committed; to wit, that he bath eaten or drunkethis or that, which his god would not permit; that he hath walked or gone some whither against the will and leave of the divine power. Now, say he be of the best fort of these superstituous people, and that he labour but of the milder superstition; yet will he at leastwife sit within house, having about him a number of all kindes of facrifices and facred aspersions; yee shall have old witches come and bring all the charmes, spels, and forceries they can come by, and hang them about his necke or other parts of his bodie (as it were) upon a stake, as Bion was woont to lay.

It is reported that Tyribajus when he should have beene apprehended by the Persians, drew his cemiter, and (as hee was a valiant man of his hands) detended himselfe valiantly; but so some as they that came to lay hands on him, cried out and protested that they were to attach him in the kings name & by commission from his Majestie, he laid downe his weapon aforesaid immediately, and offred both his hards to be bound and pinnioned. And is not this whereof we treat the semblable case? whereas others withstand sheir adversitie, repell and put backe their assistions, and worke all the meanes they can for to avoide, escape, and turne away that which

they would not have to come upon them. A fuperflitious person will heate no man, but speake in this wise to himselse: Wretched man that thou art, all this thou suffers at the hands of God, and this is befallen unto thee by his commandement, and the divine providence; all hope hee rejecteth, he doth abandon and betray himselse, and looke whosover come to succour and helpe him, those he shunneth and repelleth from him. Many crosses these be and calamities in the world, otherwise moderate and tolerable, which superstition maketh mischievous and incurable.

That ancient King Midas in old time being troubled and disquieted much in his minde (as it (hould feeme) with certaine dreames and visions, in the end fell into such a melancholy and despaire, that willingly he made himselfe away by drinking buls blood. And Ari flodemusking of Messenians, in that warre which he waged against the Lacedamonians, when it hapned that the dogs velled and houled like wolves, and that there grew about the altar of his house the herbe called Dent de chien, or Dogs graffe, whereupon the wifards and foothfayers were afraid (as of fome tokens prefaging evill) conceived fuch an inward griefe, & tooke fo deepe a thought, that he fell into desperation and killed himselfe. As for Wicias the Generall of the Athenian armie, haply it had beene farre better that by the examples of Midas and Aristodemus he had beene delivered and rid from his superstition, than for feare of the shadow occasioned by the eclipse of the moone to have fitten still as he did and do nothing, untill the enemies environed and enclosed him round about; and after that fortie thousand of Athenians were either put to the 20 fword or taken prisoners, to come alive into the hands of his enemies, and lose his life with shame and dishonor: for in the darken effe occasioned by the opposition of the earth just in the mids, betweene the funneand the moone, whereby her body was shadowed and deprived of light, there was nothing for him to feare, and namely at fuch a time, when there was cause for him to have stood upon his feet and served valiantly in the field; but the darkenesse of blinde funcrifition was dangerous, to trouble and confound the judgement of a man who was possesfed therewith, at the very inftant, when his occasions required most the use of his wit and understanding:

The fea already troubled is
With billowes blew within the found,
Up to the capes and elifs arife
Thicke miftie clouds which gather round
About their tops, where they do feat,
Fore-shewing shortly tempests great.

A good and skilful pilot feeing this, doth well to pray unto the gods for to escape the imminent danger, and to invocate and call upon those saints for helpe, which they after call Saviours: but all the while that he is thus at his devour praiers, he holded the helme hard, he letteth downe the cross faile-yard,

Thus having firuck the maine faile downe the mast,

He seapes the sea, with darknesse over east.

40 He sead give the husbandman a precept, before he begin to drive the plough or sow his seede:

To Cereschaste his vowes to make, To Jove likewife god of his land, Forgetting not the while, to take The end of his plough-taile in hand.

And Homer bringeth in Ajax being at the point to enter into combat with Hellor, willing the Greeks to pray for him unto the gods; but whiles they praied, he forgat not to arme himfelfeat all pieces. Semblablie, Agamemor after he had given commandement to his fouldiours who were to fight,

Esh one his launce and speare to wher, His shield likewise fit to set.

then, and not before, praieth unto Iupiter in this wife:

O Iupiter wonshifafe me of thy grace, The stately hall of Priamus to race.

for God is the hope of vertue and valour, not the pretenfe of floth and cowardife. But the Iewes were fo superfittious, that on their Sabbath (sitting still even whiles the enemies reared their scaling ladders and gained the walles of their citie) they never stirred foot, nor rose for the matter,

but remained fast tied and inwrapped in their superstition as it were in a net. Thus you see what superstition is in those occurrences of times and affaires which succeed not to our minde, but contrary to our will (that is to say) in adversity; and as for times and occasions of mirth, when all chings fall out to a mans desire, it is no better than impietie or atheisme; and nothing is so joy. One will superstition man, as the folemnitie of festivall holidaies, great feasts and facrifices before the temples of the gods, the mysticall and facred rites performed when we are purissed and cleansed ples of the gods, the mysticall and facred rites performed when we are purissed and cleansed from our sinnes, the ceremonial service of the gods when wee worship and adore them; in which all, a superstitious man is no better than the Atheist: for make an Atheist in all these, he will laugh at them untill he be ready to go beside himselse; these toises will set him (I say) into a will laugh at them untill he be ready to go beside himselse; these toises will set him (I say) into a will laugh at them untill he be ready to go beside himselse; these toises will set him (I say) into a will laugh at them untill he be ready to go beside himselse; these toises will set him (I say) into a will laugh at them untill he be ready to go beside himselse; and other whiles he will not sticke to say softly in the eare of some familiar friend about him: VVhat mad solke be these? how are to say softly in the eare of some familiar friend about him: VVhat mad solke be these? how are to say softly in the eare of some familiar friend about him: VVhat mad solke be these? how are to say softly in the eare of some familiar friend about him: VVhat mad solke be these? how are to say softly in the eare of some familiar friend about him: VVhat mad solke be these? how are to say softly in the eare of some same and solke be softly in the eare of some same solves.

Which at one sime is full of incense sweet, Resounding mirth with loud triumphant song, And yet the same doth shew in every street All signes of griefe, with plaints and groanes among.

he looketh with a pale face, under his chaplet of flowers upon his head; he facrificeth, & yet qua-10 keth for feare; he maketh his praiers with a trembling voice; he putteth incense into the fire, and his hand thaketh withall to be thort, he maketh the speech or sentence of Pythagoras to be vaine and foolish, who was wont to say: That we are then in best case, when we approach unto the gods and worship them. For verily even then it is, when superstitious people are most wretched & mi ferable, to wit, whether enter into the temples & fanctuaries of the gods, as if they went into the dennes of beares, holes of ferpents and dragons, or caves of whales & fuch monfters of the fea. I marvel much therfore at them, who call the miscreance & finne of atheits, Impiety, & give not that name rather to superstition. And yet Anaxagoras was accused of impletie; for that he held and faid that the Sun was a stone: wheras never man yet called the Cimmerians impious or god leffe, because they suppose & believe there is no Sunne at all. What say you then? shall he who thinketh that there be no gods at all, be taken for a profane person and excommunicate? and shall not he who beleeveth them to be such as superstitious folke imagine them, be thoughtinfected with more impious and wicked opinions? For mine owne part, I would be better pleafed and content, if men should say of me thus: There neither is nor ever was in the world a manna med Plutareh, than to give out of me and fay: Plutareh is an unconstant man, variable, cholericke, full of revenge for the least occasion that is, or displeased and given to grieve for a small matter; who if when you invite others to supper, he be left out and not bidden, or if upon some businesse you be let and hindered, so that you come not to his doore for to visit him, or otherwife do not falute and speake unto him friendly, will be ready to eat your heart with falt, to set upon you with his fangs, and bite you, will not flicke to catch up one of your little babes and a worry him, or will keepe some mischievous wild beast of purpose, to put into your corne-fields, your vineyard or orchards for to devoure and spoile all your fruits. When Timotheus the multician one day in an open Theater at Athens chanted the praifes of Diana, giving unto her inhis fong the attributes of Thyas, Phabus, Manas, and Lyffus, that is to fay, Furious, Poffeffed Enraged, and Starke mad; as Poets are wont to doe, Cinefias another minstrell or musician, roleup from out of the whole audience, and faid thus aloud unto him: Would God thou haddelt a daughter of those quallities. And yet these superstitious folkethinke the same of Diana, yea, and worse to: neither have they a better opinion of Apollo, Juno, and Penus; for all of them they feare and tremble at. And yet what blafphemic uttered Niobe against Latona, like unto that which superstition hath perswaded foolish people to believe of that goddesse? to wit, that she so being displeased with the reprochfull words that Nube gave her, killed with her arrowes all the children of that filly woman,

Even daughters fixe, and somes as many just,
Of ripe yeeres all, no helpe, but die they must.

fo insatiable was she of the calamities of another, so implacable was her anger. For grant it were so, that this goddesse was full of gall and choler; say, that she tooke an hatred to leawed and wicked persons, or grieved & could not endure to heare herselfe reproched, or to laugh at humane solice.

follic and ignorance; certes the should have bene offended and angry, yea, and discharged her arrowes upon these, who untruely impute and ascribe unto her that bitternesse and exceeding crueltie, and sticke nor both to deliver in words and also to set downe in writing, such things of her. Weecharge Heccuba with beastly and barbarous immanitie, for saying thus in the last booke of Homer's Iliads:

Othat I could his liver get Amid his corps, so bite and eat.

Asforthe Syrian goddeffe, fuperflitious folke are perfended, that if any one do cate Enthinfes or fuch little fifth as aphya, the will likewife gnaw their legs, fill their bodies with ulcers, and to puttific or rot their liver. To conclude therefore, is it impioufly done to blafpheme the gods and speake badly of them; and is it not as implous to thinke and imagine the same, considering that it is the opinion and conceit of the blafphemer and fould mouthed profane person which maketh his speech to be reputed naught and wicked? For even we our selves detest and abhorre foule language, for nothing fo much as because it is a figne of a malicious minde, and those we take for to be our enemies who give our badwords of us, in this respect that we suppose the to be faithlesse and morto be trusted, but rather ill affected unto us, and thinking badly of us! Thus you fee what judgement superstitious folke have of the gods, when they imagine them to be dull and blockish, treacherous and distoiall, variable and fickle minded, full of revenge, cruell, melancholike and apt to fret at every little matter: whereupon it must needs follow, that the su-20 perstitious man doth both liate and also dread the gods; for how can it otherwise be, consider ring thathe is perswaded that all the greatest calamities which either he hath endured in times palt, or is like to fuffer hecreafter proceed from them; now who loever hateth and fearerh the gods, he is no doubt their chemie; neither is it to be woondred at for all this, that although he standindread of them, yet he adoreth and worthippeth them, he praieth and sacrificeth unto them, frequenteth duly and devoutly their temples, and is not willingly out of them; for do we notifee it ordinarily, that reverence is done unto tyrants, that men make court unto them, and crie: God fave your grace; yea and crect golden statues to the honour of them: howbeit as great devotion and divine honour as they doe into them in outward apparence, they have and abhorre them fecretly to the heart. Hermolaus courted Alexander, and was ferviceable about 30 him: Paufanias was one of the squires of the bodie to king Philip, and so was Chareas to California the Emperour; but there was not of these but even when he served them, said thus in his heart, i januar

Certes in case it did now lie in mee,
Of thee (thou tyrant) revenged would I be.

Thus you fee the Atheist thinketh there being gods; but the superstitious person wishesh that there were none; yet he beleeveth even against his will that there be, nay he date not otherwise doe for feare of death. Now if he could (like as Tantalus defired to goe from under the stone that hung over his head) be discharged of this feare which no lesse doth pressent downersures ly he would embrace, yea and thinke the disposition and condition of an Atheist to be happie, as the state of steedome and libertie: but now the Atheist hath no sparke at all of superstition, 40 whereas the superstitious person is in will and affection a meere Atheist, howbeit weaker than to beleeve and thew in opinion that of the gods, which he would and is in his minde. Moreover, the Atheist in no wife giveth any cause, or ministreth occasion that superstition should arife; but superstition not onely was the first beginning of impietie and Atheisme, but also when it is forung up and growne, doth patronife and excuse it, although not truely and honestly, yet not without some colourable pretence: for the Sages and wise men in times past grew not into this opinion, that the world was wholly voide of a divine power and deitie, because they beheld and confidered any thing to be found fault withall in the heaven, some negligence and disorder to be marked, some confusion to be observed in the starres in the times and feasons of the yeere, in the revolutions thereof, in the course and motions of the sunne round go about the earth, which is the cause of night and day, or in the nouriture and food of beasts or in the yeerely generation and increase of the fruits upon the earth; but the ridiculous works and deeds of superstition, their passions woorthy to be mocked and laughed at, their words, their motions and geftures, their charmes, forceries, enchantments and magicall illusions, their runnings up and downe, their beating of drums & tabours, their impure purifications, their filthy castimonies and beastly fanctifications, their barbarous and unlawfull corrections and chastisements, their inhumane and shamefull indignities practized even in temples; these things(I fay) gave occasion first unto some for to say, that better it were there had bene no gods at all, than to admit such for gods who received and approoved these abuses, yea and tooke pleafure therein, or that they should be so outragious, proud, and injurious, so base and pinching fo easie to fall into choler upon a small cause, and so heard to be pleased againe. Had it not been farre better for those Gaules, Scythians, or Tartarians in old time to have had no thought, no imagination, no mention at all delivered unto them in histories, of gods; than to thinke there were gods delighting in the bloudshed of men, and to believe that the most holic and accomplished facrifice and service of the gods was to cut mens throates, and to spill their bloud; and had it not beene more expedient for the Garthaginians by having at the first for their law-gives either Critius or Diagorus to have beene perswaded that there was neither God in heaven nor thivell in hell, than to facrifice so as they did to Saturne, who not (as Empedocles said) reprooving an and taxing those that killed living creatures in facrifices

The fire lifts up his decre belooved for,
Who first some other forme and shape didtake:
He doth him slay, and sarrifice anon,
And sherewith vowes and sooly: praiers doth make.

but witting and knowing killed their owne children indeed for facrifice; and looke who had no iffue of their owne, would buie poore mens children, as if they were lambes, young calves, or kiddes, for the faide purpole. At which facrifice the mother that bare them in her wombe would stand by without any thewat all of being mooved, without weeping or fighing for pinie and compassion; for otherwise if thee either fetched a figh or thed a teare, thee must look the to price of her childe, and yet notwithstanding suffer it to be slaine and facrificed. Moreover, before and all about the image or idoll to which the facrifice was made, the place refounded and rung againe with the noise of flutes and hauthoies, with the found also of drums and timbrels, to the end that the pitifull crie of the poore infants thould not be heard. Now if any Tryphones or other fuch like giants, having chafed and driven out the gods, should usurpe the empire of the world and rule over us: what other facrifices would they delight in, or what offringselle and service besides could they require at mens hands ? Amestries the wife of the great Monarch Warses, buried quicke in the ground twelve persons, and offred them for the prolonging of her owne life unto Plute; which god (as Plate faith) was named Plute, Die, and Hades, for that being full of humanitie unto mankind, wife and rich befiles, he was able to entertaine the foules of 20 men with perswasive speeches and reasonable remonstrances.

Xenophanes the Naturalit, feeing the Egyptians at their folemne fealts knocking their breafts, and lamenting pitionfly, admonified them verie fully in this wife: My good friends, if these (quoth he) be gods whom you honor thus, lament not for them; and if they be men, factifice not tunto them. But there is nothing in the world so full of errors, no maladie of the minde so passionate and mingled with more contrarie and repugnant opinions, as this of superstition; in regard whereof, we ought to shunne and avoide the same, but not as many who, whiles they seeke to eschue the affaults of theeves by the high way side, or the invasion of wilde beasts out of the forcit, or the danger of fire, are so transported and catted away with fearethat they looke

not about them, nor fee what they doe or whither they goe, and by that meanes light upon by waies, or rather places having no way at all, but in flead thereof bottomleffe pits and gulfes, or elfe fleepe downe-fals most perilous; even fo, there be divers that feeking to avoid superfitition, fall headlong upon the cragged rocke of perverte and stif-necked Impietie and Atherisme, leaping over true religion which is seated just in the mids betweene both.





OF EXILE OR BANISHMENT.

The Summarie.

Here is not aman, how well soever framed to the world and settled therein, who can promise unto himselfe any peaceable and assured state, throughout the course of his whole life; but according as it seemeth good to the esernall and wise providence of the almighties which governes hall things) to chassis our faults or to try our constancy in fait habe ought in time of a calme, to prepare himselfe for a tempe st, and not to astend

the mids of a danger, before he provide for his safetie, but betimes and long before to fortifie and fur-20 nilh himfelfe with that, whereof he may have need another day in all occurrences and accidents whatlower: Our Authour therefore in this Treatife writing to comfort and encourage one of his friends, cast downe with anguish occasioned by his banishment, sheweth throughout all his discourse, that vertueit is which maketh us happie in everie place, and shat there is nothing but vice that can hart and endamage us. Now as touching his particularifing of this point, in the fuft place he treateth what kinde of friends we have need of in our affliction, and have we ought then to ferve our turnes with them and in regard of exile mone particularly, he adjoinesh this advertisment, above all other things to fee unto those goods which we may enjoy during the same, and to oppose them against the present griefe and forrows Afterwards be prooveth by fundrie and diversreasons, that banif ment is not in it felfe simply naught; he difeovereth and laieth open the folly and melerie of those, who are too much 30 addicted unto one country, thewing by notable examples that a wife man may live at eafe and contentment in all places; that the habitation in a frange region, and the same limited and confined firsightly within certaine precincts, doth much more good or dinierly than harme; that a large countreylying out faire everie way, maketh aman never a whit the more happie: whereas contrativife to be enclosed and pent up, bringesh many commodibles withit, dealiring that this is the onely life; and that it is no life at all to be every more flitting to and fro from place to place. If own hen he hat b beautified this theame above faid with many faire similatudes and proper inductions, he comfortet his hole a ho are debarred and excluded from any citie or province; refuting with very good and found arguments certaine persons who held banishment for a note of infamie ; shewing withall, that it is nothing else but finne and wice which bringeth a maninto a lament ple flute and condition: concluding

by the examples of Anaxagoras and Socrates that methor imprisoment nor death can enthrall or make miserable the man who loveth wertue.

And contrariws so give the us to understand by the examples of Phaethon and Carus, that without and sond sinful persons sall daily and continually ame way or other, into

most grievous calamisiessievous their
grane audacionnes and
fallie.

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OF EXILE OR BANISHMENT.



Emblable is the case of wise sentences and of good friends; the best and most and affured be those reputed, which are present with us in our calamities, not in vaine and for a shew, but to aide and succour us: for many there be who will not sticke to present themselves, yea, and be ready to conferre and talke with their friends in time of adversitie; howbeit, to no good purpose at all, but rather with some to danger to themselves, like as unskilfull divors, when they goe about to helpe those that are at point to be drowned, being classed about the body, sinke together with themselves, and discourses which come from friends and such as would seeme to

be helpers, ought to tend unto the confolation of the partie afflicted; and not to the defence and jultification of the thing that afflicteth: for little need have we of fuch perfons as should weepe and lament with us in our tribulations & diffresses, as the maner is of the Chori or quires in Tragedies, but those rather, who will speake their minds frankely unto us, and make remonstrance plainly: That for a man to be sachand for rowfull, to afflict and cast downe himselse, is not onely every way bootlesses and unprositable, but also most vaine and soolish; but where the adverte occurrents themselves being well handled and managed by reason, when they are discovered what they be, give a man occasion to say thus unto himselse:

A meere ridiculous follie it wore, to aske either of bodie and flesh, what it aileth, or of soule, what it suffereth, and whether by the occurrence of this accident it fare worse than before; but to have recourfe unto strangers without, to teach us what our griefe is, by wailing, forrowing and grieving together with us a and therefore when wee are apart and alone by our felves, wee ought ech one to examine our owne heart and foule, about all and every mithap and information tie, yea, and to peife and weigh them, as if they were fo many burdens; for the bodie is prefied a downe onely by the weight of the furdell that loadeth it; but the foule often times of it fellegi veth a furcharge over and above the things that moleft it. A flore of the owner ature is hard, and yee of it felfe colde; neither is there any thing without, that give the casually to the one the hardnesse to resist, or to the other the coldnesse to congeale; but banishments, disgraces, te pulse and losse of dignitic, as also contrariwise; crownes, honours, sovereigne magnifracies, pteeminences, and highest places, being powerfull either to afflict or rejoice hearts, in some meafure more or leffe, not by their owne nature; but according to judgement and opinion, every man maketh to himselse light or heavie, easie to be borne or contratiwise intolerable: whereupon we may heare Polymices answering thus to the demand made unto him by his mother: valdy, v castagi

How then? is it a great calamitie,
To quit the place of our nativitie?
POLYNICES.

The greatest crosse of all it is doubilesse, And more indeed than my torque can expresse.

but contrativite, you shall heare column in another fong, according to a little Epigram written of him by a certeine Poet:

de Grandsperier de

30

At Sardes, where mine ance stour's sometime abode did make,
If I were bred and nourished, my surname I skould take
Of some Celinus or Bacelus, in rober of golde ara'd,
And sewels sine, while I upon the tabour plas'd.
But now Aleman I cleped am, and of that Sparta great
A citizen, and poet: for in Greekish muse my vaine
Exults me more than Dascyles or Gyges, tyrants twaine.

for it is the opinion, and nothing els, that caufeth one and the fame thing to be unto fome, good and commodious, as currant and approved money, but to others, unprofitable and hurtfull.

But fet case, that exile be a grievous calamitie, as many men doe both say and sing; even so, among those meats which we eat, there be many things bitter, sharpe, hote and bitting in taste, howest,

howbeit, by mingling therewith formewhat which is fweet and pleafant, we take away that which dilagreeth with nature; like as there be colours also offensive to the sight, in such fort, as that the cies be much dazled and troubled therewith, by reason of their unpleasant hew, or excessive and intolerable brightnesse. If then, for to remedie that inconvenience by such offensive and resolendent colours, we have devised meanes, either to intermingle shadowes withall, or turne away our eies from them unto some greene and delectable objects; the semblable may we doe in those similter and crosse accidents of fortune; namely, by mixing among them those good and defireable bleffings which a man prefently doth enjoy, to wit, wealth and abundance of goods, a number of friends, and the want of nothing necessarie to this life: for I do not thinke, to that among the Sardinians there be many, who would not be very wel content with those goods and that estate which you have even in exile, and chuse rather with your condition of life otherwife, to live from home and in a strange countrey, than (like snailes, evermore sticking fast to their (hels) be without all good things els, & enjoy only that which they have at home in peace. without trouble and molestation. Like as therefore in a certaine Comædie, there was one who exhorted his friend being fallen into some adversitie, to take a good heart, and fight against fortune; who when he demanded of him againe, how he should combat with her, made answere: Marie after a Philosophicall maner; even so let us also mainteine battel, and be revenged of adverfitie, by following the rule of Philosophie, & being armed with patience as becommeth wife men. For after what fort doc we defend our felves against raine? or how be we revenged of the 20 Northwinde? marie we feeke for fire, we go into a ftouph, we make provision of clothes, and we get anhouse over our heads; neither doe we fit us downe in the raine, untill we be thorowly wet to the skinne, and then weepe our fill; and even fo, have you also in those things which are prefently about you, good meanes, yea, and better than any other, ro revive, refreth, and warme this part of your life which feemeth to be frozen and benummed with colde, as having no need at all of any other helps and fuccours, fo long as you will use the foresaid meanes, according as reafon doth prescribe & direct. For true it is, that the ventoses or cupping-glasses that Physicians use, drawing out of mans body the worst & most corrupt blood, do disburden & preserve all the reft. But they that are given to heavinefle & forrow, who love also evermore to whine and complaine, by gathering together & multiplying dontinually in their cogitations the worst matters 30 incident unto them, and eftloones confirming themselves with the dolorous accidents of their fortune, cause those meanes to be unprofitable unto them, which otherwise are wholesome and expedient, and even at fuch a time, especially when they should do most good. As for those two runnes my good friend which Homer faith to bee fet in heaven full of mens destinies, the one replenished with good and the other with bad, it is not supiter who sitteth to disperse and dillribute them abroad, fending unto fome milde and pleafant fortunes intermingled alwaies with goodnesse, but unto others continual streames (as a man would say) of meere misfortunes without any temperature of any goodnesse at all: but even among our owne selves as many as be wife and are of any found understanding, draw out of their happy fortunes whatfoever croffe and adverse matter is mingled therewith, and by this meaner make their life the pleasanter, 40 and as a man would fay more portable; whereas contrariwife, many men doe let their fortunes runne (as it were) through a colander or streiner, wherein the woorst sticke and remaine in the way behind, whiles the better do paffe and runne out; and therefore it behooveth that although webe fallen into any thing that is in truth naught and grievous unto us, we fet a cheereful countenance on the matter, and make the best supplie and recompence that we can by those good things that otherwise we have and doe remaine with us besides, lenisying and polishing the strange and adverse accident which hapneth without by that which is milde and familiar

within.

But as touching those occurrents that simply of their owne nature be not ill, and whetein whatsoever doth trouble and offend us, ariseth altogether and wholly upon a vaine conceit and so foolish imagination of our owne; we ought to doe as our maner is with little children that bee afraid of maskes and disguised visours; for like as we hold the same close and neere unto them, handle and turne them in our hands before them every way, and so by that meanes acquaint them therewith, untill they make no reckoning at all of them; even so by approching neere, by touching and perusing the said calamities with our understanding and discourse of reason, wee are to consider and discover the salie apparence, the vanitie and seigned tragazdie that they pretend; like to which, is that present accident which now is befallen unto you, to wit, the banishment out of that place, which according to the vulgar errour of men you suppose to be

your

your native countrie. For to fay a truth, there is no fuel diffined native foile that nature hathordeined, no more than either house, land, smiths forge or chirurgians shop is by nature, as Aria from was wont to say; but every one of these and such like according as any man doth occupie or use them, are his, or to speake more properly, are named and called his: for man, according to the saying of Plato is not an earthly plant, having the roote fixed fast within the ground and unmooveable, but celestiall and turning upward to heaven, whose body from the head as from a roote that doth strengthen the same abideth streight and upright. And heereupon it is that Hertuies in a certeine tragadic said thus:

What tell you me of Argive or Thebain, I do not wannt of any place certain, No burrough towne, nor city coms amid Through out all Greece, but it my countrie is.

And yet Socrates faid better than fo; who gave it out; That he was neither Athenian nor Grecian, but a citizen of the world; as if a man should say for example sake, that he were either a Rhodian or a Corinthian; for he would not exclude himselfe within the precincts and limits of the promontories Sunium or Tenarus, nor yet the Ceraunian mountaines,

10

But feest thou this starrie firmsment, So high above and infinitely vast, In bosome moist of water element, The earth beneath how it encloseth fast.

These are the bounds of a native countrie within the pour prise and compasse whereof whose ever is, ought not to thinke himselfe either banished, pilgrime, stranger or forcener; namely, whereas he shall meete with the same fire, the same water, the same aire, the same magistrates, the fame governors and prefidents; to wit, the funne, the moone, and the morning starte; the fame lawes throughout, under one and the felfe-fame order and conduct; the follfice and topicke of fummer in the north; the folflice and tropicke of winter in the fouth; the equinoxes both of fpring and fall, the starres Pleiades and Arcturus; the scasons of scednesse, the rimesof planting; one King, and the fame prince of all, even God, who hath in his hand the beginning, the mids, and the end of the whole and univerfall world; who by his influence goeth according to nature, directly through and round about all things, attended upon with righteoulnesseand 30 justice, to take vengeance and punishment of those who transgresse any point of divine law which all we likewife that are men doe exercise and use by the guidance and direction of naure against all others, as our citizens and subjects. Now fay that thou does not dwel and live in Sandeis, what matter is that? furely it is just nothing: No more doe all the Athenians inhabitein the burroughs or tribe Colyttus; nor the Corinthians in the fireet Cranium; ne yet the Laceda monians in the vilage Pytane : are those Athenians then to be counted strangers, and not inhabitants of the citie, who have removed out of Melite into Diomea: confidering that even there they doe folemnize yet the moneth of their transmigration named thereupon Metageltnion; yea and do celebrate a festivall holiday and sacrifice, which in memoriall of that remooving they call Metagetnia, for that this passage of theirs into another neighbourhood, they 40 received and interteined right willingly with joy and much contentment? I suppose you wilnever fay fo. Now tell me what part of this earth habitable or rather of the whole globe and compaffe thereof, can be faid farre diftant or remote one from the other, feeing that the Mathema ticians are able to proove and make demonstration by reason, that the whole in comparison and respect of heaven or the firmament is no more than a very pricke which hath no dimension at al? But we like unto pifmires driven out of our hole; or in maner of bees dispossessed of our hive, are cast downe and discomforted by and by, and take our selves to be foreiners and strangers, for that we know not how to effective and make all things our owne, familiar and proper unto us, as they be. And yet we laugh at the folly of him who faid: That the moone at Athens was better than at Corinch; being in the meane while after a fort in the fame error of judgement, as if so when we are gon a journey from the place of our habitation, we should mistake the earth, the sea, the aire and the skie, as if they were others and farre different from those which we are accustomed unto: for Nature hath permitted us to goe and walke through the world loofe and at libertie: but we for our parts imprison our selves, and we may thanke our selves that we are pent up in Itraight roomes, that we be housed and kept within wals; thus of our owne accord we leape into close and narrow places; and notwithstanding that we do thus by our selves, yet we mocke the Persian Kings, for that (if it be true which is reported of them) the drinke all of the water onely

of the river Choafpes, by which meanes they make all the continent besides waterlesse, for any good they have by it : whereas, even we also when we travell and remoove into other countries, have a longing defire after the river Cephifus or Eurotus; yea and a minde unto the mountaine Taiget us or the hill Pernaffus; whereby upon a most vaine and foolish opinion, all the worldbefides is not onely void of water, but alfo like a defett, without citie, and altogether inhabitable untous. Contrariwife, certaine Egyptians by occasion of somewrath and excessive oppresfing of their King, minding to remoove into Ethiopia, when as their kinsfolke and friends requelted them to turne backe againe, and not to forfake their wives and children, after a shameleffernanner thewing unto them their genitall members, answered them: That they would neito therwant wives nor children, fo long as they carried those about them. But furely a man may avonch more honefilie, and with greater modestie and gravitie; that hee who in what place foever feeleth no want or miffe of those things which be necessarie for this life, cannot complaine and fay: That he is there out of his owne countrey, without citie, without his owne house and habitation, or a stranger stall; so as he onely have as he ought, his cie and understanding bent hereunto, for to stay and governe him in maner of a fure anchor, that he may be able to make benefit and use of any haven or harborough whatsoever he arriveth unto. For when a man hath lofthis goods, it is not fo eafica matter to recover them foone againe; but furely everie citie is straight waies as good a native countrey unto him, who knoweth and hath learned how touse it; to him (I say) who hath such rootes as will live, be nourished and grow in every place 20 and by any meanes, fultaras Themistocles was furnished with; and fuch as Demetrius the Phalerian was not without; who being banished from Athens, became a principall person in the court of King Proloman in Alexandria, where he not onely himselfe lived in great abundance of all things, but also sent unto the Athenians from thence rich gifts and presents. As for Themistocles living in the estate of a Prince, through the bountiful allowance and liberalitie of the King of Per sia, he was woont (by report) to fay unto his wife and children: We had beene utterly undone for ever, if we had not been cundone. And therefore Diogenes furnamed the Doe, when one brought him word and faid, the Sinopians have condemned thee to be extled out of the kingdome of Pontus: And I (quoth he) have confined them within the countrey of Pontus with this charge,

That they shall never passe the atmost bonds

Of Euxine feathat hems them with her stronds. Stratonius being in the Isle Seriphos which was a veric little one, demaunded of his host, for what crimes the punishment of exile was ordained in that countrey; and when he heard and understood by him, that they used to banish such as were convicted of falshood and untructh: Why then (quoth he againe) haft not thou committed fome falle and leawd act, to the ende that thoumightelt depart out of this straight place and be enlarged? whereas one Comicall Poet faid: Aman might gather and make a vintage (as it were) of figs with flings, and foilon of all commodities might be had, which an Iland wanted. For if one would weigh and confider the truthindeed, fetting afide all vaine opinion and foolish conceits, he that is affected unto one 40 titicalone, is a verie pilgrim and thranger in all others; for it feemeth nether meete, honeft, nor reasonable, that a man should abandon his owne for to inhabite those of others. Sparta is tallen to thylor (faith the proverbe) adorne and honor it, for so thou art bound to doe; be it that it is of small or no account; say that it is seated in an unholesome aire, and subject to many diseases, or be plagued with civill diffentions, or otherwise troubled with turbulent affaires. But who soeverhebewhom fortune hath deprived of his owne native countrey; certes she hath graunted and allowed him to make choice of that which may please and content him. And verily the precept of the Pythagoreans serveth to right good stead in this case to be practised: Choose (lav they) the best life; use and custome will make it pleasant enough unto thee. To this purpose also it may bee wifely and with great profit faid: Make choice of the best and most pleasant citie, 50 time will cause it to be thy native countrey, and such a native countrey as shall not distract and trouble thee with any bufineffe, nor impose upon thee these and such like exactions: Make paiment and contribute to this levie of money: Goe in embassage to Rome: Receive such a captaine or ruler into thine house, or take such a charge upon thee at thine owne expenses. Now he that calleth these things to remembrance, if he have any wit in his head, and be not overblind every way in his owne opinion and felte-conceit, will wish and choose, if he be banished out of his owne countrey, to inhabite the veric life Graros, or the rough and barraine Hand Cina. www.whetetrees or plants do hardly grow, without complaining with griefe of heart, without lalamenting and breaking out into these plaints and womanly moanes, reported by the Poet st. monides in these words:

The roaring noise of purple sea, resounding all about, Doth fright memuch, and so inclose, that I can not get out.

but rather he will beare in minde and discourse with himselfe the speech that Philip king of Ma. eedonie, sometime delivered: for when his hap was in the wrestling place to fall backward and lie along on the ground; after he was up againe upon his feet, and faw the whole proportion and print of his bodic in the dust of the floore : O Hercules (quoth he) what a small deale of the to earth is our portion by the appointment of nature, and yet fee how we will not rest, but coverto conquer the whole world that is habitable. You have feene (I suppose) the isle Naxos; if not, yet at leastwise the island Thuria neere by; of which twaine, this was in olde time the habitation of Orion; but in the other there dwelt Ephialtes and Otus : as for Alemaon, he made his abode and refidence upon the muddy banke, which the river Achelous had newly gathered and caftup, after it was a little dried and compact together, to avoid the purfute (as the Poets) fay of the Furies; but in my conceit rather, because he would decline the offices of State, civill magistracies, feditious broiles, and biting calumniations fib to furies in hel, he chofe fuch a streight and narrow place to inhabit, where he might leade a life in quietneffe and repofe, fecured from all fuch busic affaires. And Tiberius Cafar in his latter daies, lived seven yees s (even untill his death) 10 in the little island Caprea, in such wife, as the very temple and imperial throne of the whole world retired and drawen in (as it were) into the heart, for all that time never went out from thence; and yet for his part, the ordinarie cares incident unto the empire, which were brought from all parts and came upon him to amuse his head continually, on every side, would not permit him to enjoy cleerely without turbulent anguith of minde, that intended reft and quietnelle of his, in the faid island. But even that man, who may by his departure into some little islandse freed and delivered from no fmall troubles and calamities, is notwithflanding miferable, ifhe do not eftloones fay unto himselse when he is apart, yea, and chaunt oftentimes these verses of Pindarus:

Lovewell the place where Cypres trees do gro, But thin and small. The forrest great let go Of Candic ssle, about the Ida bill: As for my selfe, small lands I holde and till, By fortune given, and those without an oke; My heart likewise no griefs nor cares do yoke.

exempt I am from civill tumults and feditions; I am not subject to the command of princes and governours; my hand is not in the charge and administration of State affaires, nor in any publike ministeries or services, which hardly admit excuse or resusals. For considering that Cullimachus seemeth not unwisely in one place to say thus: Measure not wisedome by the Persian 500. Station. 300. Schoene: why then should we (meting felicitie with Schoenes & Parasanges) complaine, Jament 400 and torment our selves, as if we were unhappie, if our fortune be to dwell in a little is le which is not incircuit above two hundred surlongs, and nothing nere source daies stailing about, as Sicilie is? for what good can a spacious and large region do, for to procure selicitie, or make a man to leade a quiet and peaceable life? Heare you not how Tantalus in the Tragædie crieth out, and saith thus?

The spacious land and countrey large,
cal'd Berecynthian platne,
Daies journeys twelve right out, I sow
yeerely with corne and graine.
and a little after, he proceedeth to this speech;
But now my soule, sometime an heavenly power,
Descended thence into this earthly bower,
Speaks thus to me: Learne, and betimes take heed,
Love not this world too much, I do thee reed.

And Nausishow leaving the wide and large countrey Hyperia, for that the Cyclopes were so need neighbours unto it, and departing into an island farre remote from other men, where he lived alone by himselfe without conversing with any people:

From other mortall men apart, Of surging sea within the hart.

provided for his citizens and fubjects a most pleasant life. As for the islands called Cyclades, they were at first (by report) inhabited by the children of Minos, and afterwards the of-spring of Coderna and Neleun held the same, into which, foolish persons now-adaies thinke themselves fore punished and undone for ever, if they be consined. And yet, what island is there destined and appointed for exiled and banished people, but it is larger than the territorie Seilluntia, wherein Xenophon after that renowned expedition and voiage of his into Persia, passed his olde age in elegancie and much happinesse? Semblably, the Academie; a little pingle or plot of ground, the purchase whereof cost not above three thousand drachmes, was the habitation of Plato, Xenorates, and Postenon, wherein they kept their schooles, and lived at repose all their life time: and yet the standard posterior and passed in the second of the city, for to see the plaies and passiness exhibited with new Tragædies at the seast called Bacchanles, onely to honour (as solke said) and countenance that solemnitie with his personal presence. Also Theorism of Chios challenged and reproched Aristotle many times, for that to live in the court of Philip and Alexander,

upon the mouth of Borborus to dwell He chose, and Academie bad farewell.

Now was this Borborus a river, so called by the Macedonians, which ran along the citie of Pella 20 in Matedonie. As for islands, Homer the Poet doth of purpose and expressly recommend unto us, and celebrate them with heavenly and divine praises, in this wise:

At Lemnos he arrived then, whereas the citie stood,
In which sometime that prince divine, king Thous made abode:
And what seever Lesbos isle, the pallace and the seas Of gods above conveines enclos dwhin her pour pringreat.
Also, When woon he had the stately isle, which Scytos sometime hight,

when woon ne matere juster just,
which Scytos fornesime hight,
The native place and towns of Mars,
the god of armes and fight.
Likewife,
And those came from Dulichium,

and eke the facredifles, Against Elis, Eclimades, within sea many miles.

40 Moreover it is said, that of famous and renowmed men, devout Aeolsu, and best beloved of the gods, dwelt in one ifle; the most prudent and wife uly/fes in another; Aux likewife, that right valiant and hardie warriour; and Alcinous the most courteous prince for hospitalitie and entertainment of strangers, were islanders. Zeno the Philosopher when newes was brought untohim: That the ship of his which remained alone of all the rest, was drowned in the sea with all the fraight and merchandise therein: Thou hast done well of fortune (quoth he) to drive us to our studying gowne and Philosophers life againe; even so, in mine opinion, there is no reason that a man (unlesse he be very much beforted and transported with the vaine wind of popularity) when he is confined and inclosed within an island, should complaine of fortune therefore, but rather praise her, for that she hath rid him of much anguish of spirit and trouble of his 50 head, delivered him from redious travell and wandring pilgrimages up and downe in the world from place to place; freed him from the perils of fea, remooved him from the tumultuous flirs of the multitude in judiciall courts and publicke affemblies of the citie; and reduced him to a fetled and staied life, full of rest and tranquillitie, not distracted with any supersuous and needleffe occupations, wherein he may live indeed properly to himfelfe, being raunged with in the center and circumference of those things which are required onely for necessitie. For what illand is there which hath not housen, walking places, stouphes and baines, or that is without fishes or hares, if a man be disposed to passe the time in fishing or hunting; and that which is the greatest matter of all, you may oftentimes there enjoy fully your rest and repose, which other do so much thirst and hunger after; for whereas when we are haply playing at dice, or otherwise keeping close at home, there will be some of these sycophants or busic priers and curious fearchers into all our actions, ready to draw us out of our houses of pleasure in the suburbes, or out of our delightfome gardens, to make our apparence judicially in the common place, or to performe our fervice and give attendance in the court: there will be none such a. bout to faile into the Island where thou art confined for to trouble thee; none wil come to thee to demaund or crave any thing, to borrow monie, to request thy suretiship, or thy affistance for to second him in the sute of any office and magistracie; unlesse peradventure some of thy best friends onely and neerest kinsfolke, of meere love and affectionate defire to see thee, faile over to for thy fake; for the rest of thy life besides is permitted to be as free and safe as a fanctuarie, not subject to any spoile, trouble, or molestation, if thou be willing & can skill to use thy liberty and repose. As for him who thinketh those to be happy who triudge up and downe in the world a. broad, spending most part of their time out of their owne houses, either in common innes and hostelries, or els in ferrying from place to place, he is much like unto him that supposeththe wandring planets to be in a better state than the other starres which be fixed in the firmament and remoove not; and yet there is not one of the faid planets but is carried round in a peculiat and proper sphære of the owne, as it were in a certeine Isle, keeping alwaies a just order in their revolution: for according as Heraclitus faith; The very funne himfelfe will never paffe beyond his bounds; and if he do, the furies which are the ministers of justice will finde him out and be to ready to encounter him. But these and all such like reasons my good friend we are to alledge unto them and fing in their eares, who being fent away and confined to some one Isle, cannot possibly change for another countrey, nor have commerce and dealing in any place els what foever, those I say,

Whom surging waves of seaboth night and day Enclose perforce, and cause them there to stay.

As for you unto whom no certeine place is limited and affigned for to inhabit, but who are debarred and excluded onely out of one, are thus to thinke, that the exclusion out of one citie

alone, is an overture and ready way made unto all others.

Now if any man will object and fay; In this case of exile and banishment we are disabled for 30 bearing rule and office of State, we sit not at counsell table in the Senate house; we are not presidents in the publicke plaies and solemnities &c. You may answere and reply againe in this maner; neither are we troubled with factions and civill differntions; we are not called upon, not charged with paiments in publike levies and exactions; neither be we bound to make court met to great governors, and to give attendance at their gates; nor to take care and regard whether he who is chosen to succeed us in the government of our province, be either hastic and cholericke, or otherwise given to oppression and hard dealing: but as Architechus making no account at all of the stuisfull corne-fields and plenteous vineyards in Thaso, despised and contemned the whole sile because of some other rough, hard, and uneven places in it, giving out thereof in these termes,

This Island like an asses baske doth slicke, Allower spred with woods so wild and thicke.

even so we casting our eies and fixing them upon that part onely of exile which is the woorst and vilest of the rest, doe contemne and make no reckoning of the repose from businesse, the libertie also and leasure which it doth association, the summer in Media, and the most sweet and pleasant part of the spring at Susa. May not hee likewise who is departed out of his ownenative country during the solemnitie of the mysteries of Ceres, make his abode within the city Elem street all the time of the Bacchanales, celebrate that seast in Argos; and when the Pythian games & plaies are exhibited, go to Delphos; as also when the Isthmain pastimes be represented, make so a journey likewise to Corinths in case he be a man who taketh pleasure in the diversitie of shewes and publike spectacles, if not, then either sit still and rest, or else walke up and downe, reade some what, or take a nap of sweet sleepe without molestation or interruption of any man; and according as Diogenes was wont to say, Aristote dineth when it pleaseth king Philip; but Diogenes taketh his dinner when Diogenes thinketh it good himselse, without any businesse & affaires to distract him, and no magistrate, ruler, or captaine there was to interrupt his ordinary time and maner of diet. This is the reason why very sew of the wisest and only prudent men that ever

were, have beene buried in the countries where they were borne; but the most part of them without any constraint or necessitie to enforce them, have willingly weighed anker, and of their owne accord sailed to another rode or haven to harbour in, and there to lead their life; for some of them have departed to Ashens, others have for saken Athens & gone to other places: for what manever gave out such a commendation of his owne native country as did Europides in these verses, in the person of a woman:

Our people all, at first no strangers were, From forraine parts who thither did arrive; Time out of minde tho fethat inhabite here. Were borne in place, and so remain dalive. All cities else and nations at one word With aliens peopled be who like to men At table play, or else upon chesse-boord Remooved have and leapt some now some then. If women we, may be allow dro grace Our native soile, and with proude words exalt, Presume we dare to say that in this place, A temperate airewe have without default, Where neither heat nor cold excessive u; If ought there be that noble Greece doth yeeld. Or Asia rich, of best commodities, And daintiest fruits, by river or by field, We have it here, in foison plentifull To hunt, to catch, to reape, to crop and pull.

And yet even he who hath fet such goodly praises upon his native countrey, left the same, went into Macedonia, and there lived in the court of King Archelam. You have heard likewise (I sup-

pose)this little Epigram in verse:

Enterred and entombed lieth here, Euphorians sonne the Poet Aeschylus

(In Athens towne though borne sometime he were)

To Gelas neere, incorne so plemeous.

For healso abandoned his owne countrey, and went to dwell in Sicilie, like as Simonides did before him. And whereas this title or inscription is commonly read (This is the Historie written by Herodotus the Halicarnasseum) many there be who correct it and written this maner; Herodotus the Thurian, for that he remooved out of the countrey wherein he was borne, became an inhabitant among the Thurians, and enjoied the freedome of that colonie. As for that heavenly and divine spirit in the knowledge of Muses and Poetrie,

Homerus, who with woondrom pen,

Set foorth the battels Phrygien. 40 what was it that caused so many cities to debate about the place of his nativitie, chalenging everie one unto themselves, but onely this; that hee seemed not to praise and extoll any one citie above the rest? Moreover, to Japiner surnamed Hospitall, know we not that there be many, & those right great, honors done. Now if any one shall say unto me, that these personages were all of them ambitious, afpiring to great honor and glorie, doe no more, but have recourfe unto the Sages, and those wife schooles and learned colledges of Athens; call to minde and consider the renowmed clerkes and famous Philosophers, either in Lycaum or the Academie: go to the gallerie Stoa, the learned schoole Palladium, or the Musicke Schoole Odaum. If you affect, love and admire above all other the fect of the Peripateticks, Aristotle the prince thereof was borne in Stagira, acitic of Macedonia; Theophrastum in Eressur, Strato came from Lamplacu; Glycon from 50 Tross; Ariston from Chios; and Critolam from Phaselm. If your minde stand more to praise the Stoickes, Cleanthes was of Affor; Zeno was a Citican; Chryfippu came from Soli; Diegenes from Babylon; and Antipater from Thar [111] and Archidamus being an Athenian borne, went to dwell among the Parthians, and left behind him at Babylon in succession, the Stoicke discipline and Philosophie. Who was it that chased and drave these men out of their native countries? certes none, but even of their owne accord and voluntary motion they fought all abroad for their contentment and repose, which hardly or not at all can they enjoy at home in their owne houses, who are in any authoritie and reputation; fo that, as they have taught us veriewell out of their bookes, bookes, other good sciences which they professed; so this one point of living in quietnes and rest they have shewed unto us by practife and example. And even in these dates also, the most renowined and approoved clerkes, yea and greatest men of marke and name, live in strange countries, farre remote from their owne habitations; not transported by others, but of them, selves removing thither; not banished, sent away, and confined; but willing to sie and avoide the troublesome affaires, negotiations and businesse, which their native countries amuse them with. That this is true, it may appeare by the most approoved, excellent, and commendable workes and compositions, which ancient writers have left unto posteritie; for the absolute finithing whereof it feemeth that the Muses used the helpe and meanes of their exile. Thus Thu. erdides the Athenian penned the warre betweene the Peloponnesians and the Athenians whiles to he was in Thracia, and namely necre unto a place called the Forest of the Foffe. Xenophon com. piled his storie at Seillos in Elea; Philip wrate in Epiruu; Timeus who was borne at Taurominum in Sietlie, became a writer in Athens; Androuon the Athenian at Megara, and Bachilides the Poet in Peloponnesus; who all and many others besides, being banished out of their countries, were never discouraged nor cast downe, but shewed the vivacitie and vigor of their good spirits, and tooke their exile at fortunes hands as a good maintenance and provision of their journey; by meanes whereof they live in fame and renowne now after their death: whereas on the other fide, there remaineth no memoriall at all of those, by whose factions and sidings they were dri ven out and exiled. And therefore he deserveth to be well mocked, who thinketh that banishment carrieth with it some note of infamie and reproch, as necessarily adherent thereto. For w what fay you to this? Is Diogenes to be counted infamous, whom when King Alexander fawfit ting in the funne, heapproched necre and flanding by him, demaunded whether he floodin need of any thing or no? he had no other answere from him but this, that he had need of nothing elfe, but that he should stand alittle out of the sunne-shine, and not shadow him as hedid; whereupon Alexander woondring at his magnanimitie and haughtie courage, faid prefently unto those friends that were about him; If I were not Alexander I would be Diogenes. And was Camillus disgraced any way for being banished out of Rome, considering that even at this date he is reputed and taken for the second founder thereof? Neither lost Themistocles the gloid which he had woon among the Greekes by his exile, but rather acquired thereto great honor& estimation with the Barbarians. And no man is there so base minded and carelesse of honorand a credit, but he would choose rather to be Themistocles banished as he was, than Leobates his accufer, and the cause of his banishment; yea, and to be Cieero who was exiled, than Clodius who chafed him out of Rome; or Timothem, who was constrained to abandon and forfake his naive countrey, than Aristophon who endited him and caused him to leave the same. But for that the authoritie of Euripides who feemeth mightily to defame and condemne banishment, mooveth many men; let us consider what be his severall questions and answeres to this point:

IOCASTA.

How then is it a great calamitie
To loofe the place of our nativitie?
POLYNICES.
The greatest cossel i hold it is doubtlesse,
And more indeed than my tongue can expresse.
IOCASTA.
The manner would I gladly under stand,
And what doth grieve man shut from native land?
POLYNICES.
This one thing first, the sorest griefe must be,
That of their speech they have not libertie.
IOCASTA.
A spight it is no doubt, and that of service kind,
For men to be debard to speake their mind.

POLYNICHS.

Besides, they must endure the foolish nesse.

And innovance of rules common or lesse.

And ignorance of rulers, more or lesse.

But herein I cannot allow of his sentence and opinion as well and truely delivered. For first and formost, not to speake what a man thinketh, is not the point of a slavish and base person, buttather he is to be counted a wise and prudent man, who can hold his tongue at those times and in

fuch occasions as require taciturnitie and filence; which the same Poet hath taught us in another place more wifely, when he saith,

Silence is good when that it doth availe, Likewise so speake in time and not so faile.

And as for the folly and ignorance of great and mightic persons, we must abide no lesse when we tarrie at home, than in exile; nay it falleth out many times, that men at home feare much more the calumniations and violence of those who injustly are in high places of authoritic withincities, than if they were abroad and out of their owne countries. Againe, this also is most false and abfurd, that the faid Poet depriveth banished persons of their libertie and stanke speech, to Certes, this were a woonderfull matter, that Theodorus wanted his freedome of tongue, confidering that when King Lysimachus faid unto him: And hath thy countrey chased and cast thee out, being so great a person among them; Yea (quoth he againe) for that it was no more able to beare me, than Semele to beare Bacehus: neither was he dannted and afraid, notwithstanding that the King shewed unto him Telesphorus enclosed within an iron cage, whose cies he had caused before to be pulled out of his head, his note and eares to be cropt, and his tongue to be cut, adding withal these words: See how I handle those that displease and abuse my person. And what shall we say of Diogenes? Wanted he (thinke you) his libertie of speech? who being come into the campe of King Philip, at what time time as he made an expedition against the Grecians, invaded their countrey and was ready to give them battell, was apprehended and brought before 20 the king as a spie, and charged therewith: I am indeed (quoth he) come hither to spie your infatiable avarice, ambition, and folly, who are about now to hazard in one houre (as it were) with the cast of a die, not onely your crowne and dignitie, but also your life and person; semblably, what thinke you of Anniball the Carthaginian? was he tongue tied before Antiochin, banished though himselfe were, and the other a mightie monarch? For when he advised Antiochus to take the opportunitie presented unto him, and to give battell unto the Romans his enemies, and the king having facrificed unto the gods answered againe, that the entrails of the beast killed for sacrifice, would not permit but forbad him fo to do: Why then (quoth he by way of reproofe and rebuke) you will doe that belike, which a peece of dead flesh biddeth you, and not that which a man of wisedome and understanding counselleth you unto. But neither Geometricians, nor 30 those that use linearie demonstrations, if haply they be banished, are deprived of their libertie, but that they may discourse & speake frankly of their art, and science of such things as they have learned and knowen: how then should good, honest and honorable persons be debarred of that freedome, in case they be exiled? But in trueth, it is cowardise and basenes of minde, which alwaies stoppeth the voice, tieth the tongue, stifleth the wind-pipe, and causeth men to be speechleffe. But proceed we to that which followeth afterwards in Eurpides:

IOCASTA.
But thus we fay those that are banished
With hopes alwaies of better daies be fed.
POLYNICES.

Good eies they have afarre off they doe fee, Staying for things that most uncertaine be.

Certainely these words implie rather ablame and reprehension of folly, than of exile. For they benot those who have learned and doeknow how to apply themselves unto things present, and touse their estate such as it is, but such as continually depend upon the expectance of future fortunes, and covet evermore that which is absent and wanting, who are tossed to and fro with hopeas in a little punt or bote storing upon the water; yea although they were never in their lifetime without the wals of the citic wherein they were borne: moreover whereas we reade in the same Euripides,

I OCASTA.
Thy fathers friends and allies, have not they
Beene kind and helpfull to thee, as they may?
POLYNICES.
Looke to thy felfe, from troubles God thee bleffe,
Friends helpe is naught if one bein diffress.
LOCASTA.

Thy noble blood from whence thou are descended:

As

Hath

Hath it not thee advanc'd and much amended?

POLYNICES.

I hold it ill, to be in want and need,

For parentage and birth doth not men feed.

These speeches of *polynices* are not onely untrue, but also bewray his unthankfulnesse, when he feemeth thus to blame his want of honor and due regard for his nobility, and to complaine that hee was destitute of friends by occasion of his exile, considering that in respect of his noble birth, banished though he were, yet so highly honoured he was that he was thought woorthieto be matched in marriage with a kings daughter, and as for friends, allies, and consederates, hee was able to gather a puissant armie of them, by whose aide and power he returned into his owne to country by force of armes, as himselfe testifieth a little after in these words:

Many a lord and captaine brave here stands With me in field, but h from Myccuse bright, And cities more of Greece, whose helping hands (Though loth) I must needes use in claime of right.

Much like also be the speeches of his mother lamenting in this wise;

No nuptiall torch at all I lighted have To thee, as doth a wedding feaft befeeme, No mariage fong was fung, nor thee to lave Was water brought from faire Hincous streame.

whom it had become and behooved rather to rejoice and be glad in heart, when the heatd that her fonne was fo highly advanced and married into fo rotall an houfe; but in taking griefe and fortow her-felfe that there was no wedding torch lighted, & that the river Ismenus affoorded no water to bathe in at his wedding; as if new maried bridegroomes could not be furnished either with fire or water in the city Argos; the attributeth unto exile, the inconveniences which more

truly proceed from vanitie and tollie.

But some man will say unto me; That to be banished is a note of ignominie and reproch: true it is indeed, but among fooles onely, who thinke likewife that it is a shame to be poore, to be bald, to be small of stature, yea and to be a stranger for sooth, a tenant, in-mate or alien inhabitant: For certes such as will not suffer themselves to be caried away with these vaine perswall 10 ons, nor do subscribe thereto, esteeme & have in admiration good and honest persons, nevertespecting whether they be poore, strangers, and banished or no: Do we not see that all the world doth honor and reverence the temple of Thefew aswell as Parthenon and Eleusinium, temples dedicated to Amerva, Ceres, and Proferpina? and yet was Thefeus banished from Athens; even that Thefeus by whose meanes the same citic was first peopled, and is at this day inhabited; and that citic loft he which he held not from another, but founded first himselfe. As for Eleasis what beautic at all would remaine in it? if we dishonor Eurolpus and be ashamed of him who remooving out of Thracia, instituted at first among the Greeks the religion of sacred mysteries, which continueth in force and is observed at this day: what shall we say of Codrus who became king of Athens? whose some I pray you was he? was not Melanthim his father a banished man 40 from Meßina. Can you chuse but commend the answere of Antisthenes to one who said unto him; Thy mother is a Phrygian: So was (quoth he) the mother of the gods: why answer you not likewise when you are reproched with your banishment? even so was the father of that victorious conqueror Hercules: the grand-fire likewise of Bacchus, who being sent out for to seeke lady Europa, never returned backe into his native countrie:

For being a Phanician borne, At Thebes be after did arrive, Far from his native foile beforne, And there begat a forme belive, Who Bacchus did engender the, That mooves to furse women, hight Mad Bacchus, runneth to and fro, In service such is his delight,

As for that which the Poet Aefehrlus would feeme covertly by these darke words to infinuate, or rather to show a farre off, when he saith thus:

And chaste Apollo facred though be were,

Tes banified a time, heaven did for beare.

I am content to paffe over in filence, and will for beare to utter according as Herodot mainth: and whereas Empedocles in the very beginning of his philosophic maketh this præface:

An associant law there stands in force,

decreed by gods above, Grounded upon necessite,

and never to remove:
That after man hath stein d his hands
in bloudhed horrible,

And in remonse of sime is vext with horrour terrible.

The long live dangels which attend in heaven, shall chase him quite, For many shous and yeares from view of every blessed wight:

By vertue of this law, am I
from gods, exiled now,

And wander heere and there throughout the world I know not how.

This he meaneth not of himfelfe alone, but of all us after him, whom he declareth and fheweth by these words to be meere strangers, passiongers, forreiners, and banished persons in this world, For it is not bloud (quoth he) o men, nor vitall spirit contemperate together, that hath given unto us the substance of our soule and beginning of our life; but hereof is the bodie only composed and framed, which is earthly and mortall; but the generation of the soule which commeth another way, and descendeth hither into these parts beneath, he doth mitigate and feeme to difguife by the most gentle and mildename that hee could devise, calling it a kinde of pilgrimage from the naturall place; but to use the right tearme indeed, and to speake according to the very truth, she doth vague and wander as banished, chased and driven by the divine lawes and statutes to and sto, untill such time as it setleth to a bodie, as an oister or shell fish to one 20 Tocke or other in an island beaten and dashed upon with many windes and waves of the sea round about (as Plato faith) for that it doth not remember nor call to mind from what height of honor, & from how bleffed an effate it is translated, not changing as a man would say Sardis for Athens, nor Corinth for Lemnos or Sogros, but her refiance in the very heaven and about the moone, with the abode upon earth, and with a terrestrial life; whereas it thinketh it strange and as much discontented heere for that it hath made exchange of one place for another not farre diffant; much like unto a poore plane that by removing doth degenerate and begin to wither away and yet we see, that for certaine plants some soile is more commodious and sortable than another, wherein they will like, thrive, and prosper better: whereas contrariwise there is no place that taketh from a man his felicitie, no more than it doth his vertue, fortitude or

wifedome: for Anaxagoras during the time that he was in prison wrote his Quawifedome: for Anaxagoras during the time that he was in prison wrote his Quadrature of the circle: and Socrates even when he drunke poisson, discourfed as a philosopher, exhorting his friends and familiars to the
fludie of philosophic, and was by them reputed happie; but
contrativise Phaeton and Icaram who (as the poets do
report) would needs mount up into heaven,
through their owne folly and inconfiderate rashnes, fell into most
greevous and wofull



calamities.

50



THAT WEOVGHT NOT TO TAKE HP

MONEY UPON VSVRIE.

The Summarie.

He covetous defire of earthly goods, is a passion incurable, but especially after that it hash gotten the masterie of the soule, in such sort, as the advertisements which are made in regard of covetous men, be not proposed for any thing els but sor the profit and benefit of those persons who are to keepe themselves from the nets and snares of 10 these enemies of humane societie. Now among all those who have need of good counfels in this behalfe, we must range shem that take up money upon interest, who serving as a pray and bootse to these greedie and hungry bunters, ought so much the rather to look ounto their owne presen viation, if they would not be cruelly devoured. And as this infortunitie hath bene in the world ever lines the entrie of sinne, that alwaies some or other, yea, and great numbers have endewoured to make their commoditie and gaine by the loffe and dammage of their neighbours; so we may see heere, that in Plurarchs sime things were growen to a woonderfull confusion, the which is nothing diminifued fines, but contrarriefe it feemeth that in thefe our daies is is come to the very height. And for to applie some remedie heereto, our authour leavesh usurers altogether as persons gracelesse, reprobate and ancapable of all remonstrance, addressing himselfe unto borrowers, to the end that be might discour 30 and lay open unto them the snares and nets into which they plunge themselves; and this he doth with out specifying or particularising over neere of usurie, because there is no meane or measure limited no any end of this furious defire of gathering and heaping up things corruptible. Considering then that covetous folke have neither nerve nor veine that reachesh or tendeth to the fittle of their neighbours, meet is is and good reason that borrowers should have some mercie and compassion of themselves, to weigh and ponder well the grave discourses of this authour, and to applie the same unto the right use. He laith therefore, that the principall meanes to keepe and fave themselves from the teeth of usurie, is to make the best of their owne, and shift with those things that they have about them, before they approch unto the denne of this hungrie and greedie beast, and that men ought to make an hand & quicke dispatch of that which is not very necessary, before they come this her; where he saxeth those who had go lever lay to gage and pawne their goods, and remaine under the burden of usurie, than to sell up all and diseage themselves at once. After this, be presented the true remedie of this mischiefe, namely, to spare and spend in measure; and to cause us to be more warie and bester advised, he proposeth the livelie image of this horrible monster, whom we call an Usurer, describing him in his colours, with all his practifes and passions. Which done, he sheweth she fourde of borrowing money upon interest, and the way to stop the same; he directeth his pen particularly for st unto the poore, giving them a goodly lesson, and then unto the richer sort, teaching the one aswell as the other, how they are to demeane and carie themselves, that they be not exposed in the clutches of usurers. And for a conclusion, be exhorteth them to behold the example of cer-50 teine Philosophers by name, who chose rather to abandon & for fake all their goods, than to undoe them felves in the poffe fron & bold-

ing thereof.

THAT

THAT WE OUGHT NOT TO take up money upon usurie.



19

Alaperan 1

Late in his books of Lawes, permitteth not one neighbour to make bolde with anothers water, before he have digged and finke a pit for deepe in his owne ground, that he is come to a veine of clay or portets earth; untill (I fay) he have founded thorowly, and found that the plot of ground is not apt to ingender water, or yeeld a foring; [for the faid potters clay being by nature fattie, folide and flrong, reteineth that moifture which it hath once received, and will not let it folke or paffe thorow:] but allowed they are, and ought to furnish themselves with water from others, when they have no meanes to find any of their own; for a function as the law interdeth to provide

for mens necessitie, and not to favour their idlenesse; even so there ought to be an ordinance and act as touching money; That it might not be lawfull for those to borrow upon usuric, nor to goe into other mens puries (as it were) to draw water at their welles or pits, before they have cast about all meanes at home, fearched every way, and gathered (as it were) from everic 20 gutter and fpring, trying and affaying how to draw and come by that which may ferve their owne turnes, and supplie their present necessities. But now it falleth out contrariwise, that manie there be, who to furnish their foolish and riotous expenses, or els to accomplish their superfluous and chargeable delights, never ferve their owne turnes, nor make use of those things which they have, but are readie to feeke unto others, even to their great cost, though they stand in no need at all: for an undoubted & certeine proofe hereof, marke how usurers do not ordinarily put forth their money unto those who are in necessity & distresse, but to such as be desirous to purchase and get that which is superfluous, and whereof they stand not in need; insomuch as that which is credited out and delivered unto him that borroweth, is a good proofe and sufficient teltimonie, that he hath fornewhat to take to of his owne; whereas indeed he ought (fince 30 he hath wherewith) to looke unto it, that he take not upon interest, and contrariwise, not to be credited nor to be in the ulurers booke, is an argument that fuch an one is needie.

Why doest thou repaire and make court (as it were) obsequiously to a banker or merchant? goe thy waies and borrow of thine owne banke, make a friend of thine owne flocke; flaggons thou half and pots, chargers, basons and dishes all of silver plate; imploy the same about thy necessities, for to supply thy wants, and when thou hast disfurnished thy table and cup-boord, the gentle towne Antis or els the ifle Tenedos, will make up all again with faire veffel of earth and pottery, which is much more neat & pure than those of filver; for these cary not the strong sines nor unpleafant fent of usury, which like rust or canker, every day more & more, fullieth, fretteth & eateth into thy costly magnificence; these will not put thee in minde daily of the calends and 40 new moones, which being in it felfe the most facred & holy day of the moneth, is by meanes of the usurers, become odious and accursed. For as touching those, who choose rather to lay their goods to gage, & to pawn them for to borrow money thereupon & pay for use, than to sel them right out, I am verily perswaded that god Jupiter himselfe surnamed Ctessus, that is, Possessor, can not fave them from beggery. Abashed they are to receive the price and value of their goods to the woorth; but they be not ashamed to pay interest for the lone of money. And yet that wife and politike Pericles caused the costly robe and attire of the statue of Minerva weighing forty talents in fine gold, to be made in fuch fort, that he might take it off and put it on as he would at his pleasure; To the ende (quoth he) that when we stand in need of money for maintenance of warre, we may ferve our turnes therewith for the time, and afterwards put in the place againe an-10 other of no leffe weight and woorth; even fo welikewife in our accusations and affaires, like as in the befreging of acitie, ought never to admit the garrifon of an ulurer or enemie, nor to endure to fee before our eies our owne goods delivered out for to continue in perpetuall fervitude, but rather to cut-off from our labour all that is neither profitable nor necessarie; likewise from our beds, from our couches, and our ordinarie expenses in diet what soever is heedlesse; thereby to maintaine and keepe our felves free, in hope and with full intent to supply and make amends againe for it, if fortune afterwards smile upon us. Certes, the Romane dames in times Patt were willing to part with their jewels and ornaments of gold, yea and give them away as an

offering of first fruits to Apollo Pythins, whereof was made a golden cup, and the same sente the citie of Delphi. And the Matrons of Carthage shore the haire of their heads, to make thereof twifted cords for to winde up and bend their engines and instruments of artillerie in the defence of their countrey, when the cittle was belieged. But we, as if we were alhamed of our owne luffi. ciencie, and to stand upon our owne bottomes, seeke to enthrall our selves by gages and obliga. tions; whereas it behooved us much more by restraining our selves and reducing all to such things onely as be profitable and good for us, of those needlesse, unprofitable and superstooms veffels which we have, after they be either melted, broken in pieces, or fold, to build a privileged chappell of libertie, for our felves, our wives and children. For the goddeffe Diana in Ephelia. yeelded fanctuarie, franchife and favegard unto all debters against their creditours, who fled for fuccour into her temple. But the fanctuarie indeed of parfimonie, frugalitie and moderate expenfe, into which no usurers can make entrie, for to hale and pull out of it any debter prisoner, standeth alwaies open for those that are wise, and affoordeth unto them a large space, of joious and honorable repose. For like as that Prophetesse which gave oracles in the temple of Pythiu Apollo, about the time of the Medians warre, made answere unto the Athenian Embassadors: That God gave vnto them for their fafetie a wall of wood; whereupon they leaving their lands and possessions, abandoning their citie, and for saking their houses and all the goods therein, had recourse unto their ships for to save their libertie; even so, God giveth unto us woodden tables. carthen veffels, and garments of course cloth, if we would live in freedome:

Set not thy minde upon fleeds of great price, And chariots brave in filver harneffe dight, With classes, with hookes, and studs by fine device Twrought, in race to siew a goodly sight,

for how swift soever they be, these usurers will soone overtake them and run beyond. But rather get upon the next affe thou meetelt with, or the first pack-horse that commeth in thy way, to flie from the usurer, a cruell enemie and meere tyrant, who demaundeth not arthy hands fire and water, as fornetimes did that barbarous King of Media; but that which woorle is, toucheth thy libertie, woundeth thine honor and credit by proscriptions, writs, and open proclamations. If thou pay him not to his conteut, he is ready to trouble thee; if thou have wherewith to fatisfie him, he wil not receive thy payment, unlosse he list; if thou prize and fell thy goods, he will have 20 them under their worth; att thou not disposed to make a sale of them? hee will force thee to it; doest thou sue him for his extreame dealing, he will seeme to offer parley of agreement; if thou Iweare unto him that thou wilt make paiment, he will impose upon thee hard conditions, and have thee at command; if thou goe to his house for to speake and conferre with him, hee will locke the gates against thee; and if thou stay at home and keepe house, thou shalt have him rapping at thy doore; he will not away but take up his lodging there with thee. For in what stead Terved the law of Solon in Athens, wherein it was ordained, that among the Athenians, mens bodies should not be obliged for any civill debt? considering that they be in bondage and slaverie to all banquers and uturers, who force men to keepe in their heads; and that which more is, not to them alone (for that were not fuch a great matter) but even to their verie flaves, being proud, 40 infolent, barbarous and outrageous, fuch as Plate describeth the divels and fiery executioners in hel to be, who torment the foules of wicked and godleffe perfons. For furely these curied ulurers make thy hall and judiciall place of justice, no better than a very hell and place of tormentto their poore debters, whereafter the manner of greedie geirs and hungrie griffons, they flay, mangle and eate them to the verie bones,

And of their beaks and talons keene, The markes within their flesh be seene.

And some of them they stand continually over, not suffring them to touch and taste their owned proper goods; when they have done their vintage and gathered in their corne & other fruits of the earth, making them saft & pine away like unto Tantalus. And like as king Darius sent against the citie of Athens his lieutenants generall Dasis and Artaphernes, with chaines, cordes and halters in their hands, therewith to binde the prisoners which they should take; semblablic these usurers bring into Greece with them their boxes and caskets full of schedules, bils, handwritings, and contracts obligatorie, which be as good as so many irons and setters to hang upon their poore debrers; and thus they go up and downe leaping from citie to citie, where they sown on as they passe and thus they go up and downe leaping from citie to citie, where they sown on as they passe along good and profitable seede, as Triptolemus did in old time; but plant their rootes of debts, which bring soorth infinite troubles and intolerable usuries, whereof there

isno end, which eating as they goe and spreading their spannes round about, in the end cause whole cities to stop and stinke, yea and be ready to suffocate and strangle them. It is reported of hares that at one time they suckle young leverets and be ready to kinnule others that be in their bellies, and withall to conceive a fresh; but the debts of these barbarous, wicked and cruell usurers, do bring soorth before they conceive. For in putting out their money, they redemand it presently; in laying it downe, they take it up, they deliver that againe for interest, which they received and tooke in consideration of sone and use. It is said of the Messenians citie,

Gate after gate a man shall here find,

And yet one gate ther's alwaies behind.

10 But it may better be faid of usurers:
Usure here upon usurie doth grow,

20

And end thereof you never shall know. and here withall in some fort they laugh at natural philosophers, who holde this Axiome, That of nothing can be engendred nothing; for with them usurie is bred of that which neither is, nor ever was; of that I fay which never had subsistence nor being. Howbeit these men thinke it a shame & reproch to be a publicane, and take to farme for a rent the publike revenewes, notwithftanding the lawes do permit and allow that calling, whereas themselves against all the lawes of the world, exact a rent and custome for that which they put foorth to usurie; or rather to speake atruth in lending their money they defraude their debtors as bankrupts do their creditors. For 20 the poore debter who receiveth leffe than he hath fet downe in his obligation, is most falsely coulened, deceived, and cut short of that which he ought to have. And verily the Persians reputelying to be a finne, but in a fecond degree: for in the first place they reckon to owe money and be indebted; in as much, as leafing followeth commonly those that be in debt. But yet usurers ly more than they, neither are there any that practife more fall hood and deceit in their day debt bookes wherein they write, that to fuch a one they have delivered fo much, whereas indeed it is farre leffe; and so the motive of their lying is faire avarice, & neither indigence nor poverty, but even a miferable coverousnes and defire ever to have more and more; the end whereof turneith neither to pleasure nor profit unto themselves, but to the losse and ruine of those whom they wring and wrong: for neither till they those grounds which they take away from their deb-30 ters; nor dwell in the houses out of which they turne them; nor cate their meat upon those tables which they have from them; ne yet clad themselves with their apparell, of which they spoile them; but first, one is destroied, than a second followeth after, and is allured as a prey by the other. And this is much like to a wilde fire, which still consumeth, and yet encreasethalwaies by the utter decay and destruction of all that falleth into it, and devoureth one thing after another. And the usurer which maintaineth this fire, blowing and kindling it with the ruine of fo many people, gaineth thereby no more fruit than this, that after a certaine time, he taketh his booke of accounts in hand, and there readeth what a number of debters he hath bought out of house and home, how many he had dispossessed of their land and living, from whence he hath come and whither he hath gone in turning, winding, and heaping up his filver. Now I would 40 not that you should thus thinke of me, that I speake al this upon any deadly war and comitte that I have fworne against usurers,

For God be praised they neither horses mine

Have driven away, nor oxen, ne yet kine.

But onely to thew unto them who are fo ready to take up money upon ufurie, what a villanous, flamefull, and base thing there is in it, and how this proceedeth from nothing else but extreame folly and timiditie of heart. If thou have wherewith to weld the world, never come into the usurers booke, considering thou hast no need to borrow. Hast thou not wherewith, yet take not money up and pay not interest, because thou shalt have no meanes to make paiment. But let us consider the one and the other apart by it selfe. Old Caro said unto a certaine aged man, who beso haved himselfe verie badly: My friend (quoth he) considering that old age of it selfe hath so manie evils; how commeth it to passe, that you adde thereto moreover the reproch and shame of leawdnesse and insidemeanor? even so may we say, seeing that povertie of it selfe hath so many and so great misseries, do not you over and above go and heape thereupon the troubles and anguishes that come of borrowing and being in debt; neither take thou from penurie that onely good thing, wherein it excelles in these, to wit, the want of carking and pensive cares; for otherwise thou shalt be subject unto the mockerie implied by this common proverbe:

Agoat alone when beare unneth I may, An oxe upon my (houlder you do lay.

Semblably, you being not able to fuftaine poverticalone, do furcharge your felfe with an usurer. a burden hardly supportable even for a rich and wealthie man. How then would you have me to live ? haply fome man will fay: And doeft thou indeed aske this queftion, having hands and feet of thine owne; having the gift of speech, voice, and being a man, unto whom it is given both to love and also to be loved; as well to doe a pleasure, as to receive a courtesie with thankes giving, Thou maist teach Grammar, bring up yoong children, be a porter or doore-keeper; thou maist be a failer or mariner, thou maist row in a barge or galley: for none of all these trades is more reprochfull, odious, or troublesome, than to heare one say unto thee: Pay me mine owne, or discharge the debt that thou owest me. Rutilius that rich Romane comming upon a time at Rome to Musonius the Philosopher, faid unto him thus in his care: Musonius, Jupiter furnamed Saviour, whom you and fuch other Philosophers as you are, make profession to imitate and sol. low, taketh up no money at interest : but Musonius smiling againe, returned him this presentan. fwere: No more doth he put foorth anic money for use.

Now this Rutilius who was an usurer, reproched the other for taking money at interest, which was a foolish arrogant humour of a Stoicke: for what need hadft thou Rutilius, to meddle with Jupiter Saviour, and alledge his name, confidering that a man may report the felfe fame by those very things which are familiar and apparent? The swallowes are not in the usurers booke, the pismiers pay not for use of money, and yet to them hath not nature given either hands or rea- 20 fon, or any art and mysterie; whereas the hath indued man with fuch abundance of understanding, and aptneffe to learne and practife, that he can skill not onely to nourish himselfe, but also to keepe horses, hounds, partridges, hares and jaies: why doest thou then disable and condemne thy felfe, as if thou wert leffe docible and fenfible than a jay, more mute than a partridge, more idle than a dogge, in that thou canst make no meanes to have good of a man, neither by double diligence, by making court, by observance and service, nor by mainteining his quarrell and entring into combat in his defence? feeft thou not how the earth doth bring foorth many thines, and how the sea affoordeth as many for the use of man? And verily as Crates faith:

30

I faw my felfe how Mycilus wooll did card, And how with him his wife the rols did fin: Thus during warre when times were extreame bard, Both jointly wrought, to keepe them from famin.

King Antigonus when he had not of a long time feene Cleambes the Philosopher, meeting him one day in Athens, spake unto him, and faid: How now Cleanthes, doest thou grinde at the mill, and turne the querne-stone still ? Yea fir (quoth Cleanthes againe) I grinde yet, and I doeit for to earne my living; howbeit, for all that, I give not over my profession of Philosophie. 0 the admirable courage and high spirit of this man, who comming from the mill, with that verie hand which turned about the itone, ground the meale and kneaded the dough, wrote of the nature of the gods, of the moone, of the starres and the sunne! But we do thinke all these to be base and fervile works; and yet verily, because we would be free (God wot) we care not to thrust our 40 selves into debt, we pay for the use of money, we flatter vile and base persons, we give them prefents, we invite and feaft them, we yeeld (as it were) tribute under-hand unto them; and this we do not in regard of povertie, (for no man uleth to put forth his money into a poore mans hand) but even upon a superfluity and riotous expense of our owne: for if we could content our selves with those things that are necessarie for the life of man, there would not be an usurer in the world, no more than there are Centaures and monstrous Gorgones. But excesse it is and deintineffe, which hath ingendered ufurers; like as the fame hath bred gold-fmithes, filver-finithes, confectioners, perfumers, and diers of gallant colours. We come not in debtto bakers and vinteners for our bread and wine; but wee owe rather for the price and purchase of faire houses and lands, for a great number and retinue of flaves, of fine mules, of trimme halles and dining so chambers, of rich tables and the coftly furniture belonging thereto, befides other foolilhand excessive expenses, which we often-times are at, when we exhibit plaies and solemne passimes into whole cities for to gratifie and do pleafure unto the people; and that upon a vaine ambition and defire of popular favour; and many times wee receive no other fruit of all our coff and labour, but ingratitude. Now he that is once enwrapped in debt, remaineth a debtour still all the daies of his life; and he fareth like to an horse, who after he hath once received the bit into his mouth,

mouth, changeth his rider eftfoones, and is never unridden, but one or other is alwaics on his backe. No way and meanes there is to avoid from thence, and to recover those faire pathures and pleafant medowes, out of which those indebted persons are turned; but they wander altray to and fro, like to those cursed fiends and maligne spirits, whom Empedacles writeth to have bene driven by the gods out of heaven:

For fuch the heavenly power first chas'd downe to the sea beneath; The sea againe, up to the earth did cast them by and by; Then afterwards, the earth them did unto the beames bequeath Of restlesse sunne, and they at last sent them to starrie sky.

10 Thus fall they into the hands of uturers or bankers, one after another; now of a Corinthian, then of a Patrian, and after of an * Athenian; fo long, untill when all of them have had a fling at * Or Cerinhim, he become in the end, wasted, eaten out, & confumed with usurie upon usurie. for like as he than agame, that is stepped into a quavernire, must either at first get forth of it, or els continue still there, and not remove at all out of one place; for he that striveth, turneth and windeth every way, not only doth wet and drench his bodie, but mireth it all over, and beraieth himselfe more than he was at first, with filthy durt; even so they that do nothing but change one banke for another, making attanscript of their name out of one usurers booke into anothers, loading their shoulders eftfoones with new and fresh usuries, become alwaies overcharged more and more; and they refemble for all the world, those persons who are diseased with the cholericke passion or flux, who 20 will not admit of any perfect cure to purge it at once, but continually taking away a certeine portion of the humor, make roome for more & more still, to gather and ingender in the place; for even fo these are not willing to be ridde and cleansed at once, but with dolour, griefe and anguish pay usurie enery season and quarter of the yeere; and no sooner have they discharged one, but another diffilleth and runneth downe after it, which gathereth to an head; and fo by that meanes they are grieved with the heart-ache and paine of the head; whereas it behooved that they should make quicke dispatch, and give order to be cleere and free once for all; for now I direct my speech unto those of the better fort, who have wherewith above their fellowes, and yet be nicer than they should be; and those commonly come in with such like words and excuses, as these: How then; would you have mee unfurnished of slaves and ser-30 vants ? to live without fire, without an house and abiding place ? which is all one as if hee that were in a dropfie and fwollen as bigge as a tunne, should fay unto a physician; What will you doe? would you have me to be leane, lanke, spare bodied and emptie; and why not? or what shouldest not thou be contented to be, fo thou maiest recover thy health and be whole againe? and even so may it be faid unto thee? Better it were for to be without flaves than to be a flavethy selfe; and to remaine without heritage and possessions, that thou maiest not be possesfedby another. Hearken a little to the talke that was betweene two geires or vultures as the tale goes; when one of them difgorged fo strongly, that he faid withall, I thinke verily that I shall cast up my very bowels: the other being by, answered in this wise: What harme wil come of thy vomiting foliong as thou shalt not cast up thine owneentrails, but those onely of some dead 40 prey which we tare and devoured together but the other day; semblably every one that is indebted felleth not his own land, nor his owne house; but indeed the usurers house & land of whom he hath taken money for interest, considering that by the law the debter hath made him lord of him and all. Yea marie will he fay anon; but my father hath left me this peece of land for mine inheritance: I wot well and beleeve it; so hath thy father left unto thee freedome, good name andreputation, whereof thou oughtest to make much more account than of land and living. Hethat begat thee made thy hand and thy foot; and yet if it chance that one of them be mortified, he will give a good fee or a reward to a chirurgian for to cut it off, Ladie Calypso clad ulysses with a vefture and robe fenting fweet like baulme, yeelding an odor of a body immortall which she presented unto him as a gift and memoriall of the love that she bare unto him; and this he 30 didweare for her fake; but after that he fuffred thipwracke and was readie to finke, being hardly able to flote above water, by reason that the said robe was all drenched and so heavie that it held himdowne, hedid it off and threw it away; and then girding his naked brest underneath with a certeine broad fillet or fwadling band, he faved himselfe by swimming, and recovered the bank: now when he was past this danger, and seemed to be landed, he seemed to want neither raiment nor nutriment: and what fay you to this? may not this be counted a verie tempest, when as the usurer after a certeine time shall come to affaile the poore debtors and fay unto them:

Which word once faid, therewith the clouds above, He gathereth thicke, and sea with waves doth moove: For why, the winds anon at once from east, From south, from west do blow and give no rest.

And what be these windes and waves? even usuries upon usuries, puffing, blowing and rolling, one after another; and he that is overwhelmed therewith & kept under with their heavy weight, is not able to swim foorth and escape, but in the end is driven downe and sinketh to the verie bottome, where he is drowned and perished together with his friends, who entred into bonds,

and became furcties and pledges for him.

Crates the philosopher of Thebes therefore did very well, who being in daunger and debeto no man, onely wearied with the cares and troubles of house-keeping, and the pensive thoughts how to hold his owne, left all, and gave over his effate and patrimonie which amounted to the value of eight talents; tooke himselfe to his bagge and wallet, to his simple robe and cloke of course cloth, and fledinto the sanctuarie and liberties of Philosophie and povertie. As for ... naxagoras he forfooke his faire lands and plenteous pastures : but what need I to alledge these examples? confidering that Philoxenus the mulician being sent with other to people & possesse a new colonie in Steilie, and having befallen to his lot a goodly houseand living to it, enioying(I fav) for his part a good portion wherewith he might have lived in fulneffe and plentie; when he fawe once that delights, pleasures, and idlenesse without any exercise at all of good letters reigned in those parts; Par die (quoth he) these goods heere shall never spoile and undoe me, but I 20 will rather (I trow) make a hand and havocke of them 3 leaving therefore unto othershis portion that fell unto him by lot, he tooke sea againe & failed away to Athens. Contrariwise thosethat be in debt are evermore fued in the law, become tributaries & very flaves, bearing and induring all indignities, like unto those variets that digge in filver mines, nourishing and mainteining as Phinew did the ravenous winged harpies: for furely these usurers alwaies flie upon them, and be ready to fnatch and carie away their very foode and fustenance; neither have they patience to flay and attend times and feafons; for they build up their debtors corne before it be ripe for the harvest; they make their markets of oile before the olives fall from the tree, and likewise of wine: For I wil have it at this price (quoth the usurers) & withal the debter giveth him presently a bill of his hand for fuch a bargaine; meane while the grapes hang still upon the vine, waiting 30 for the moneth of September, when the star Ar Etur me rifeth and sheweth the time of vintage,



THAT A PHILOSOPHER OUGHT TO CONVERSE ESPE-

CIALLY WITH PRINCES AND GREAT RVLERS, AND WITH THEM TO DISCOVESE.

The Summarie.

F there be any in the world who have need of good companie, they are Princes and so great Lords; for that their affaires being of fach confequence as everieman knoweth, the feeblenes of bodie and insufficiencie of spirit, not able to surnish them throughly; great reason they have to see by the cies, and to worke with the hands of others. Now in this case, three sorts of men there be who sails veriemuch: In the sast place, Princes

and Rulers themselves, who in stead of drawing and training neere unto their persons such as ean aide and assist them, give accesser at the runto statterers and other like pessilent members, who are ready to corrupt and ruinate their estates: Secondly, those (whose number at all times hath beene veries small)

whom we call Philosophers (that is to say) men of authorisie, wife sage learned friends to wertue, lovers. of the good of Princes and their subjects; who being of great power and able to doe much yet not withganding recule and draw backe, or being advanced to bigh place, have not alwates that respect and confideration, nor such courage as appertameth; suffering themselves otherwhiles to be carried away to the entertainment and maimenance of the greate ft opinion, and mingling a little too much of worldly wisedome with the apprehension of their true duty, whereof their conscience being lightned in sunary forts advertiseth the sufficiently. The last and shole as pernicious & exectable as the thought of min inot able to devise and comprehend) be the enemies of vertue (to wit) ignorant teachers, and profine schoolemasters & professors mockers scorners jesters statterers in sum, all the ministers of va-10 mities and filthie pleafures, who do infigurate and intrude themselves, by most leaved and wicked means into the fervice of Princes; and in recompence of the honor and rich gifts which they receive at their hinds, doe deceive and undoe their simple lords and masters, according as an infinite number of examples in Histories doe verifie and give evidence unto us. Plutarch therefore in consideration of these inconveniences, is desirous in this treatise to encourage those who wish that all things were well and in good order; and exhorterh them to approch neere unto Princes. Bus for asimuch asignorance and leawanes canfethmen to become fhameleffe, whereas wifedome and honefite maketh us modeft and considerate in all our actions; he sheweth in the first place, that it is no point of ambition for a wife and learned man to joine himselfeunto Grand seguiories & to sort with them; but that it is their duety so to do considering that such receive honor, pleasure, and profit by him. And this heprooves h by reasons, 20 similitudes, examples, at singular and notable. Afterwards he condemneth those who enter into Princes courts, onely because they would be great and powerfull, shewing that wise men indeed do aime cleane at another marke. And for the last point of all be treateth of the consentment which they receive, who by their fervice to one alone, helpe by that meanes an infinite number of others, who remaine bound and obliged unto them for fo great a benefit.

THAT A PHILOSOPHER OUGHT

to converse especially with Princes and great Rulers, and with them to discourse.



O embrace a common love, to finde out, accept, intertaine and maintaine that amitie which may be profitable and commodious to many in particular, and yet to more in generall, is the part of honest men, politike, wife and affectionate to the publike good; and not as fome thinke, of those that be ambitious and vaine-glorious.

But contrariwise, he is to be reputed vaine-glorious, or rather timorous and wanting courage, who doth shunne and is afraid to heare himselfe called, a follower, waiter and servicer to those that are in highest place. For what saith one of these personages who having

need to be cured, is detirous to learne and to becacquainted with some Philosopher? O that I were Simon the Souter, or Dionyfius the Pedante, in stead of Pericles or Cato, that a Philosopher might discourse and dispute with me, that he might fit by my side, as Socrates did sometime by thole. And verily Ariston of Chios being reprooved and blamed by the Sophisters in his time, for that he used to devise and discourse with all those that were disposed to heare him: I could wish (quoth he) in my heart, that the verie beasts themselves were able to give care and underfland those discourses that do excite and moove unto vertue. Doe we then avoide the meanes and occasions to converse and conferre familiarly with great personages and mightie men, as if 50 they were wilde and favage persons? The doctrine of Philosophy is not like unto an imager who casteth dumbe and dease idole statues, without any sense, onely for to stand upon a base as Pindarus was woont to fay, but is willing to make what foever it toucheth, active, operative and lively; it imprinted therein affections and motions, judgements also inciting and leading to things unprofitable; intentions desirous of all honestie, haughtic courage also and magnanimitie, joined with meekneffe, refolution and affurance; by meanes of which good parts, men of State & policie, are more readie and forward to converse and devise with persons of great puisfance and authoritie, and not without good cause; for an honest and gentle physician will take Вb

alwaies more pleasure to heale an cie that seeth for many, and which doth guard and looketo many; and even so a Philosopher wil be more affectionate to take care for that soule and spirit. which he feeth to be vigilant for many, and which ought to be wife, prudent, and just for many; for such an one if he were skilfull and cunning in the art, of finding, gathering, and conducting of waters (as we read in Histories that Hercules and many other in old time were) would not take delight to goe into some desertcorner, farreremote from the frequencie of men, and to dig or finke pitsthere, nere to the Ravens rocke (as the Poet faith) and to open that Swine-heards ma. rish Arethusa, but would studie rather to discover the lively sources and overruning springs of ariver, to serve some great citie or campe, or to water the orchards, gardens, and groves of kings. According as we heare that Homer called Alinos, Jupiters Oariftes, which is as much to fay 10 (as Plato himselfe doth interpret the word) his Familiar & Disciple; for he never meant that the disciples of the gods were private persons, home-keepers, and such as meddle in nothing but house matters, keeping in and living idlely without any action; but Princes and Kings whole. ing wife, just, debonaire and magnanimous, as many as be under their government and command, shall live in bliffe and happines.

An herbe there is called Eryngium or Sca-holly, which hath this propertie, that no fooner one goat taketh it in his mouth, but the herfelfe first, and afterwards all the rest of the slocke, will Aland still, untill such time as the goat-heard come and take away out of the slocke which he wilk in like maner, the defluxions which proceed from persons of great power and authoritie, have the fame swiftnesse and celeritie, which doth dilate and spread it selfe in one moment, and in ma- 10 ner of fire seiseth upon whatsoever is neere thereto on every side. And verily the speech and remonstrance of a Philosopher, if it be addressed and directed unto a private man, and that loveth to live in repose, and who doth limit and circumscribe himselfe, as within a center and circums ference geometricall, with the necessities of his owne bodie, the same speech is not distributed and divided unto others, but after it hath in that one man alone, composed and wrought a great tranquillitic and calme of all perturbations, it fadeth, vanisheth away, and so doth end incontinently; but on the contrarie fide, if the faid remonstrance meet with a man of State and government, a magistrate, a polititian, and one that dealeth in great affaires, and by the effectuall vertue thereof, replenish him with goodnesse and honestie, by the meanes of that one person, the benefit will be imparted unto many. In this wife Anaxagoras kept companie with Pericles, 30 Plato conversed with Dion, and Pythagoras did affociate himselfe to the princes and lords of Italie; and as for Cato, he departed alone from the campe, and failed to Athenodorus; Scipio likewife laid for Panatius, and fought after him, at what time as the Senate fent him forth with commission, for to goe in visitation (as it were) and survey, to see what right and wrong, what justice and injustice reigned in the world, according as Posidonius maketh report. What then ought Panatius for to fav? If you were either Caftor or Pollux, or some other private person, desirous to flie and avoid the frequency of great cities, and retire your felfe into some corner of a schoole apart, there at your leafure and full repose to folde and unfolde, to resolue and compound the syllogismes of Phylosophers, I would willingly accept your offer, and be desirous to converse and fray with you; but seeing you are the sonne of Paulus Aemilius, who had beene twife Con. 40 full, and the nephew of Scipio Africanus, who defeated Anniball the captaine of the Carthaginians, I will not reason and dispute with you. Moreover, to say that speech is two folde; the one interior or inward, the gift of Mercurie furnamed Hegemon, that is, Guide; the other pronounced and uttered foorth, which is inftrumentall, and a very interpreter to give notice of our conceptions, is a meere vaine and stale position, and may wel be comprised under this old proverbe: Thus much I knew before Theogms was borne. But let not this distinction trouble or impeach us in that which wee are about to fay; for aswell of that which is conteined within the secret minde, as of the other which is pronounced and uttered, the end is all one; to wit, Love or amitie of this, in respect of a mans owne selfe, and of that, in regard of others: for that speech which by the precepts of Philosophie, bendeth unto vertue, and there doth end, maketh a man in tune so and accordant with himselse, never repining and complaining of ought, full of peace, full of love and contentment:

In all his limmes is no fedition,

No strife, no warre, no strange diffention,

no passion rebellious and disobedient to reason, no combat of will or appetite against will and appetite, no repugnancie and contrarietie of reason against reason; there is no impleasant bit ternelle or turbulent disorder mixed with joies and pleasures, as it falleth out in the confines of

AP hilosopher ought especially to converse with princes.

defire, repentance and forow, but all things there be uniforme, delightfome and amiable, which cauleth each one to content himselfe, and joy as in abundance of all goods. As for the other kind offpeech that is pronounced, Pindar to faith: That the Mule thereof was never in old time covetous, greedie of gaine or meere mercenarie; neither beleeve I that it is so at this day; but rather, through the ignorance and negligence of men who be carelesse of their owne good and honour. Mercurie, who before was free and common, is now become an occupier and merchant, willing to doe nothing without a fee and reward. For it is not likely or probable, that Venumin times past was so deadly offended and angry with the daughters of Prospolus, because they devised first to sow hatted and enmity among yong tolke, and that Urana, Clio and Calliope take 10 pleasure in them who debase the dignitie of speech and literature, by taking filver; but in mine opinion, the workes and gifts of the Muses ought to be more amiable than those of Venus: for fame and honour, which fome propose for the end of their speech and learning, hath bene held deare and highly beloved, for that it is the very beginning and seminarie of friendship; and that which more is, the common fort of people measure honour by good-will and benevolence, efleeming that we ought to praise those onely whom we affect and love: but certeinly these men fare like unto Ixion, who in love following after the goddeffe Juno, fell upon a cloud; for even to they, in flead of amitie embrace a vaine image of popularitie, deceitfull, pompous, wandering and uncertaine: howbeit, a man of good conceit and judgement, if he manage State affaires, or intermeddle in government of the common weale, will feeke for honour and reputation fof ar 20 forth onely, as to mainteine his authoritie and credit in all his actions, for the better management of publike affaires: for it is no pleasure, neither is it easie, to doe them good who are not willing to profit and receive good; and the disposition of the will proceedeth from beliefe and confidence. Like as the light doth more good unto them that fee, than to those who are seene; even fois honour more profitable unto them who perceive and feele the fame, than to fuch as are neglected and contemned. But hee who dealeth not in affaires of State, who liveth to himselie, and setteth downe his selicitie in such a life, apart from others, in rest and repose, salutetha farre off vaine-glorie and popularitie, which others joy in, who be converfant in the view and fight of people, and in frequent affemblies and theaters, much like unto Hij polytess, who living chafte, faluted the goddeffe Venus a great way off, but as for the other glory which procee-30 deth from men of woorth and honour, he neither refuseth nor disdaineth it. Now when as the question is of amitie, we are not to seeke for it and to contract friendship onely with such as be wealthie, have the glorie, credit and authoritie of great lords, no more than we ought to avoid these qualities, if the same be joined with a gentle nature, which is of saire and honest conditions. The Philosopher seeketh not after beautifull and wel-favoured yoong men, but such as be docible, tractable, well disposed, and defirous of knowledge; but if withall they be endued with beautifull vifage, with a good grace, and are in the flower of youth, this ought not to fright him from thence, neither must the lovely casts of their countenance and amiable aspects drive him from comming neere unto those, not chase him away if he see them worthy paines taking and for to be regarded. Thus when power, riches, and princely authoritie shall be found in men of 40 good nature, who be moderate and civill; the philosopher will not for beare to love and cherish such, neither be afraid to be called a courtier or follower of great personages:

They that strive most dame Venus to eschue, Do fault as much, as they who her pursue.

Even so it is with the aunitie of princes and great potentates: and therefore the contemplative philosopher who will not deale at al in affaires of weale-publicke, must not avoid and thun such; but the civill philosopher who is busted in managing of the common weale, ought to seeke for them and finde them out, not forcing them after a troublesome maner to heare him, nor charging their eares with reports and discourses that be unseasonable and sophisticall; but framing himselfe willingly to joy in their companie; to discourse, to passe the time with them when they 50 are willing and fo disposed:

Twelve journeis long are Berecynthian plaines And those I sowe yeerely with sundry graines.

Hethat faid this, if he had loved men as well as he affected husbandry and tillage, would more willingly have plowed and fowed that ground which is able to maintaine and feed fo many men, then that little close or pindle of Antisthenes, which hardly was sufficient to find himselfe alone. Certes Epicurus who placed the foveraigne good and felicitie of man in most sound rest and deepe repose, as in a sure harbour or haven, desended and covered from all windes and surging Bb 2

waves of the world; faith: That to doe good unto another, is not onely more honest and hono. rable, than to receive a benefite at anothers hand, but also more pleasant and delectable; for there is nothing that begetteth fo much joy as doth beneficence, which the Greekes terme by the name of xiess, that is to fay, Grace. Well advised he was therefore and of wife judgement who imposed these names upon the three Graces, Aglaia, Euphrosyne, and Thalia; for without all question, the joy and contentment is farre greater and more pure in him who doeth a good turne and deserveth a thanke, than in the partie who receive the fame: and therefore it is that many times men doe blush for shame when a good turne is done unto them, whereas alwaies they rejoice when they confer a benefite or favour upon another. Now do they a benefit unto a whole multitude and nation, who are the meanes to make those good, whom the people and 10 multitude can not misse but have need of : whereas contrariwise, they that corrupt and spoile princes, kings, and great rulers (as doe thefe flatterers, false sycophants and flaunderous promoters) are abominable unto all, are chased out and punished by all; like unto those that cast dead. ly poison, not into one cup of wine, but into a fountaine or spring that runneth for to serve in publike, and whereof they fee all persons use to drinke. Like as therefore (according to Eupolis) it is faid onely by way of mockerie concerning those flatterers and comicall parasites who hanted the table of rich Callias, that there was neither fire, braffe, nor steele, that could keepe them out, but they would come to sup with him: but as for the minions and favorites of tyrant Appllodorus, Phalaris, or Dionysius, after the decease of their lords and masters, the people fell upon them, did beat them with cudgels, torture upon the rack, burne at a stake, & range them with the accurfed and damned crew; for that they before named did wrong to one alone, but these did injurie unto many by the meanes of corrupting one who was their ruler; even fo those philoso. phers that converse and keepe companie with private persons, do cause them to be well contented, pleafant, gracious and harmeleffe to their owne felves and no more: but who foever reformeth some evill conditions in a great ruler or soveraigne magistrate, framing and directing his will and intention to that which he ought; this man I fay after a fort is a philosopher to the publike State, in that he doth correct the mould and amend the pattern to which all the fubjects be composed, and according to it governed. The cities and states which be well ruled, decree and yeeld honour and reverence to their priefts; for that they doe pray unto the gods for good things, not in regard of themselves, nor of their kinsfolke and friends alone, but universally in 10 the behalfe of all the citizens; and yet these priests doe not make the gods good, nor the givers of good things, but being such alreadic of themselves, to them they powre their praiers & make invocations. But philosophers who live and converse with princes and great lords, cause them to be more just and righteous, more moderate and better affected to well doing; by meanes whereof it is like that they receive more joie and contentment. And if I should speake my conceit, it feemeth unto me that the harpe-maker wrought and made his harpe more cheerefully and with greater pleafure, when he knew that the mafter & owner of the faid harpe should build the wals about the citie Thebes, as Amphion did, orto state and appeale the great civil sedition of the Lacedamonians, by finging to the faide harpe and by fweet exhortations, as fometimes Thales did; femblably the carpenter or ship-wright who maketh the helme to a thip or gally, 40 wil joy more when he shal know that the said helme shal serve to guide & rule the admirals ship, within which Themistocles shal fight against the Persians in the defence of the libertie and freedome of Greece: or that of Pompeius, with which in a navall battell at fea he defaited and vanquished the armie of the pirats. What suppose you then will aphilosopher thinke of his owne speech and doctrine, when he shall come to discourse with himselfe; that he who shall receive the same being a man of authoritie, a prince or great lord, shall thereby doe good unto the common weale, in ministring right and justice indifferently to everie man; shall punish the wicked, and advaunce those that bee good and vertuous. I am verily perswaded (for my part) that a good and gentle ship-wright, will more willingly make an helme, when hee shall know that it must serve to rule the great shippe Argo, renowned throughout the 50 world: likewife a carpenter or wheele-wright, will not with fo good a will lay his hand to make a plough or a chariot, as he would to frame those tables or boords, in which he wish that Solon was to engrave his lawes. And (I affure you) the discourses and reasons delivered by Philosophers, if once they be well and furely imprinted in the hearts of great personages, who have in their hands the government of States, if they once get fure footing and take good rootin them, they become as forcible and effectuall as politive lawes. Hereupon it was that Plato failed into Sicilie, in hope that the grave sentences and principles of his Philosophy, would be as good

as lawes, and worke holefome and profitable effects in the affaires of Dionysius. But hee found that Diony flus was like writing eables all rafed, and full of blurs and blots, and that he could not leave off the tineture and deepe die of tyrannie, being fo furely fet on, and having by continuance of time entred and pearced deepe, fo that it could not be washed out; whereas it behooved that thole who are to make their profit by good advertisements and fage leffons, 'hould still be in motion and fo continue.



TOVCHING PRINCE OR RULER UNLEARNED.

The Summarie.

S in the former discourse he follicited Sages and Philosophers to joine themselves in acquaintance with Princes; so in this he desireth one point, whereof hee dareth not affure himselfeto compasse the same, by reason of some difficulties therein observed. For requiring in Princes thus much that they should be wel instructed, for to be capable of good counsell; he showeth withall that it is a verie hard thing to bring them thereto, and torange them in that order for certaine materiall and persinent reasons which he setteth downe. Neverthelesse he passeth on still and proceedesh farther; prooving that the law and lively reason 30 ought to command Kings and Princes; and for to cause them to condescend thereto, he declareth unto them, that the thing which they wish for and desire so ar dently to procure; namely, to maintaine themselves in happie estate, and to make their name immortall, lieth in vertue: then he pointeth out with his finger, four empeachments and hinderances that divert and turne away Princes from so just and nccesfarie a consideration. Which done, for to enrich this speech and treatise of his, and the bester yes to draw great personages to give eare unto reason, he letteth them see and under stand the difference betweene a good Prince and atyrant: also how dangerons a wicked Prince is; concluding by the benefit which commeth by equitie, and the hurt by injustice; that right, and justice, ought to serve as a counterpoise, against the greatnes and puissance of Princes.

AS TOVCHING A PRINCE or Ruler unlearned.



HE inhabitants of the citie Cyrene, requested Plate on a time to leave unto them by writing certaine good lawes; and withall to fee them downe an order in the government of their State, which he refused to do, faying. That it was a verie hard matter to give lawes unto the Cyrenians being fo rich and wealthie as they were for there is nothing so proude and insolent, so rough and intractable, fo favage and hard to be tamed, as a man perswaded well of his fortunate estate. This is the cause that it is no casie enterprise to give counfell unto princes and rulers, and to advice them as touching

their government. For they be affraid to receive and admit reason as a master to commaund them; for feare it should take away and abridge them of that, which they esteeme to be the onely good of their grandence and puissance, in case they were subjected once to their duety. Which is the cause also that they cannot skill to heare the discourses of Theopempus King of

Sparta, who was the first that brought into that citie the Ephori, and mingled their authoritie with the government of the Kings. For when his wife reproched him for leaving unto his chil. dren the royall power & dignitie, leffe than he received it of his predeceffors: Nay mary (quoti he) butrather farre greater, in that it shall be more firme and affured: for in remitting and letting downe a little that which in absolute royaltie was over stiffe, strait and rigorous, heea. voided by that verie meanes all envie and perill. And verily Theopompus deriving unto others from his owne authoritie, as from a great river, a little rill or riveret; looke how much he gave unto the Ephori, fo much he cut off from himfelfe: but the reason and remonstrance of Philo. fophie, being lodged (as it were) with the Prince himselfe, for to affish him and preserve his perfon, taking from his puissance, as in a full plight and plethoricke constitution of the bodie, that which is excessive and overmuch, leaveth that behind which is found and healthfull. But the most part of Kings, Princes, and Soveraigne rulers, who are not wise and of good understan. ding, refemble unskilfull cutters in stone and imagers, who are of opinion that the enormous and huge statues, called Colosses, which they cut, will seeme more vast and mightie, if they frame them stradling with their legs, with their armes spread abroad and stretched foorth, as also with their mouthes gaping wide open; for even fo, these princes and rulers by their big commanding voice, their grim and sterne visage, sierce lookes and regard of their eie, their odiousbehaviour, and living apart without fociety of any other person, weene and suppose to counterfeit a kinde of gravitie, greatnes and majestic that is required in a mightic potentate; but they differ nothing from the forefaid Coloffes, which without do represent the forme of some god or demi- 10 god; but all within are stuffed full of earth, stone, rubbish and lead: this onely is the difference that the waight and heavines of those monstrous statues, counterpoiseth and keepeth them standing in some fort upright, stedfast, and not enclining one way or other; but ignorant and unlearned princes, rulers, and generall captaines, by reason of their ignorance which is within them, oftentimes do wag and totter to and fro, yea and be overturned and laid along; for comming to build their puissance and licentious power aloft upon a base that is not laid directlieto the plumbe, they reele and tumble downe withall. But like as a rule or fquire, being of it felle even, ffreight and levell, not turning or twining any way, doeth direct and fet ffreight all other things, and make them like it felfe, by being laied thereto; even fo ought a prince, when he hath first established in himselfe, his principallity and power, that is to say, composed his ownelife 30 and maners, to accommodate and frame his subjects accordingly, and to make them semblable: for neither lieth it in him who is ready to stumble and fall himselfe, to susteine and keepe up another, nor he who is ignorant and knoweth nothing is fit to be a teacher, no more than he who is disorderly, meet to redresse and reforme, or who is irregular, able to range and set in order, or who knoweth not how to obey, like for to command. But the most part of men are heereindeceived and thinke not aright, who suppose that the first and principall good in commanding andruling, is not to be ruled and commanded. And thus the king of the Persians imagined all his subjects to be his slaves, unlesse it were his wife alone, of whom especially above all other, he should have the mastrie and lordship.

Against a ruler unlearned.

Who is it then, that thall command a king or prince? even the law, which is the ladie and 40 queene of all, aswell mortall men, as immortall gods, according as Pindarus faith: I meane not the written law in books or upon tables of wood, but the lively reason imprinted in his owne heart, remaining alwaies with him, his continuall refident-keeper, and never leaving his foule abandoned and forlorne without conduct and government. And verily the Persian king had evermore about him one of his chamberlaines ordeined for this office; namely, to fay unto him every morning as he entred into his chamber: Arife my lord, and have regard to those affaires for which Mesoromasdes (that is to say, The great God) would have you to provide. But if a prince be wife and well instructed, he hath alwaies within him this monitor and remembrancer, to refound the fame into his eares, and put him in minde of his dutie. Polemon was wont to fav: That love was a ministeric of the gods in yoong persons, such as they had care of, and were minded 30 to preferve: but more truely a man might fay: That princes be the ministers of the gods, to provide for the affaires and fafetic of men; to the end that of those good things which Godhath bestowed upon them, they should distribute some, and preserve other;

and the chief

erite e gaber

But feest though this starrie firmament, So high above and infinitely vast, In bosome moist of water element, The earth beneath how it incloses h fast?

for this is it, that by influence fendeth downe the principles of those feeds which be fit and conwenient, which afterwards the earth produceth and yeeldeth forth, whereof some grow by showers of raine, others by winds, some also gather warmth and heat by the starres & the moone, but it is the funne who ruleth and governeth all, he inspireth and insuseth into them from himselfe, the gracious inftinct of love. Now, all the goods and gifts (so many and so great) which the gods endow men withall, there is no meanes to enjoy & use aright, without law, without justice, without a prince or ruler: Justice is the end of law; law is the worke of a prince; and the prince is the image of God governour of all things: and this prince or fovereigne majestic hath no need either of Phidias, or of Polycletus and Myran, to cut, cast or forme him; but himselfe it is, who to doeth frame his owne person to the patterne and similitude of God, and by meanes of vertue, worketh and setteth up the most pleasant, excellent and divine statue that may be seene : and like as God hath placed in heaven (as a most beautifull image of himselfe and his divinitie) the funne and the moone; even fuch a representation and light is in a citie and realme. A prince or magistrate, so long as he hath in his heart imprinted the searcof God and the observation of justice; that is to fay, all while he hath divine reason, which is understanding; not a scepter in his hand, nor a thunder-bolt and lightning, or a three-forked mace, as fome foolish princes cause themselves to be portraied and painted, making their follie odious, in affecting that which they never can attaine unto: for God indeed hateth and punisheth those who will seeme to imitate thunder, lightning, fun-beames and fuch like; but contrariwife, those that be zealous followers 20 of his vertue, and who endevour to conforme themselves to his bounty, goodnesse and elemencie, he loveth and advanceth, to them he willingly doth impart his owne equity, loialty, justice, verity and elemency. These quallities are such, as there is nothing in the world more divine and heavenly, not fire nor light, not the course of the sunne, neither the risings or apparitions, nor the fettings and occultations of the starres, no nor eternity it selfe and immortality: for God is not counted happy and bleffed in regard of long life, but for that he is the prince of all vertue: and as this is divinity indeed, fo it is true beauty to be ruled thereby. Anaxarchus for to give comfort and confolation unto Alexander, who was cast downe and in despaire, for the blowly murder which he had committed upon the person of Clytus, faid unto him: That the goddesses Dice and Thenis (that is to fay) Justice and Equity, sat as affiltants to * Jupiter, to shew (quoth * Or as some 30 he) that what foever is done by a prince, is to be thought just and righteous; but hee offended reade, To Cityherein grofly, and faulted much, to the hurt of Alexander, in that he went about to remedy the forow and griefe which this prince conceived in remorfe of conscience and repentance for his heinous finne, by giving him heart and affurance to commit the like againe. And if it be meet and lawfull in this case, to project our conjectures; Jupiter hath not equity and justice for his asscissons, but himselfe is justice and equity; he (I say) is the most ancient and perfectest law that is: thus speake, write and teach all ancient authours; That even Jupiter himselfe can norwell command and rule without justice, which is the virgine (as Hesudus laith) not touched & desiled, but pure and immaculate, lodged alwaies with shamefastnesse, modestie, pudicitie and utilitie. Hercupon it is, that men ordinarily give this addition unto kings and princes, calling them 40 'Aldie, that is to fay, Reverend and venerable: for meet and convenient it is, that those who feare least, should have most majestic and honour. And verily a prince and ruler ought to be asraid much more to do ill, than to receive and fulfaine harme, for a finich as the one is the cause of the

to be afraid lest his subjects should (ere he be aware) take wrong or be hurr any way; Aluch like as dogs that be of gentle kinde, Who watchfully about the folds attend. In case they once by subtill hearing finde -A savage beast approch, and this her tend,

feare not for themselves, but in regard of the cartell which they keepe. In like maner, Epamie 50 nondas, when the Thebanes fell diffolutely to drinke and make good cheere at a certaine feltivall time, himselfe went all alone to survey the armour and wals of the citie, saying: That he would falt and watch, that all the rest might quaffe the while and sleepe with more securitie. Care likewifeat utied proclaimed by found of trumpet, to fend away by fea all those who escaped alive upon the overthrow which there hapned; and when he had embarqued them all, and made his praiers unto the gods to vouchfafe them abon voiage, he returned into his ownelodging, and killed himselfe; thewing by this example what aprince or commander ought to feare, and what

other. And this is a civill and generous feare; proper and peculiar to a good prince, namely;

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he should contemne and despite. Contratiwise, Clearehus the tyrant of Pontus, shutting himfelfewithin a cheft, flept there as a ferpent within her hole: and Aristodemus the tyrant of Agos went up into a hanging chamber aloft which had a trap dore, whereupon he caused a little bed or pallet to be fet, and there he flept and lay with his concubine and harlot which hee kept, and when he was gotten up thither, the mother of the faid concubine came ordinarily to take downe the ladder, and brought it thither againe every morning. How thinke you, did this tyrant tremble for feare, when he was in a frequent theater in the palace, in the counfell houle and court of justice, or at a feast, considering that he made a prison of his bed chamber? To say a verietruth, good princes are afraid for their subjects fake, but tyrants feare their subjects; and therefore as they augment their puissance, so doe they encrease their owne feare; for the more 10 persons that they commaund and rule over, the greater number they stand in dread of: for it is neither probable nor feemely as some philosophers affirme: That God is invisibly subsistent and mixed within the first and principal matter, which suffrethall things, receiveth a thousand constreints and adventures, yea and is subject to innumerable changes and alterations: but hee fitteth in regard of us above, and there is refiant continually in a nature alwaies one, and ever in the same estate, seated upon holy foundations (as Plato faith) where he insuseth his power, and goeth through all, working and finishing that which is right according to nature : and like as the funne in heaven, the most goodly and beautifull image of him, is to be seene by the reflexion of a mirror, by those who otherwise can not endure to behold himselfe as he is; even so God ordeineth in cities and focieties of men, another image of his, and that is the light of justice 20 and reason accompanying the same; which wife and blessed men describe and depaint out of fentences philosophicall, conforming and framing themselves to that which is the fairest and most beautifull thing in the world; and nothing is there that doth imprint in the soules and spirits of men such a disposition, as reason drawne and learned out of philosophie, to the end that the same should not befall unto us which king Alexander the great did; who having seene in Corumb, Diogenes how generous he was, effected highly and admired the haughtie courage & magnanimitie of the man, infomuch as he brake foorth into these words; Were I not Alexander furely I would be Diogenes: which was al one in maner as if he should have faid; That he was troubled & encombred with his wealth, riches, glory and puissance, as impeachments and his derances of vertue, and bare an envious and jealous eie to the homely course cloke of the phi-30 losopher, to his bagge and wallet, as if by them alone Diogenes was invincible and impregnable, and not (as himselfe) by the meanes of armes, harnish, horses, speares, and pikes: for surely he might with governing himselse by true philosophical reason have beene of the disposition on and affection of Diogenes, and yet continue neverthelesse in the state and fortune of Alexander; and so much the rather be Diogenes because he was Alexander; as having need against great fortune; (like a tempelt raised with boilterous winds, and full of surging waves) of a strongercable and anchor, of a greater helme alfo, and a better pilot: for in meane persons who are of lowestate, and whose puissance is small, such as private men be, follie is harmelesse; and sotish though such be yet they doe no great hurt, because their might is not answerable thereto; like as it falleth out in foolish and vaine dreames: there is a certeine griefe (I wot not what) 40 which troubleth and difordereth the mind , being not able to compasse & bring about the extution of her defires & luits: but where might & malice are met together their power addeth folly unto passions & affections; & most true is that speech of Denys the tyrant, who was wont to fay; That the greatest pleasure & contentment which he enjoied by his tyranny was this that whatfoever he would was quickly done, & prefently executed; according to that verse in Home:

No fooner out of mouth the word was gone, But presently withall the thing was done.

A dangerous matter it is for a man to will and defire that which he ought not, being not able to performe that which he willeth and defire the whereas malicious mischiese making a swift course through the race of puissance and might, driveth and thrusteth forward every vio 50 lent passion to the extremitte, making choler and anger to turne to murder, love to proove adultery; and avarice to growe into confiscation of goods; for no some is the word spoken, but the partic orace in suspicion is undone for ever; and presently upon the least surmisse and imputation ensueth death. But as the natural philosophers do hold; that the lightning is shown out of the cloud after the clap of thunder (like as bloud illusth after the wound is given and incision made) and yet the said lightning is seene before, for that the eare receiveth the sound

found or cracke by degrees, whereas the eie meeteth at once with the flash; even so in these great rulers and commanders, punishments oftentimes go before accusations, and sentences of condemnation before evident proofes:

For wrath in such may not long time endure, No more than flouke of anchor can assure A ship in storme, which taketh stender hold On sand by store, whereof none may be bold.

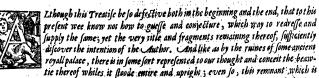
unlesse the weight of reason doe represse and keepe downe licentious power, whiles a Prince or great Lord doth after the manner of the funne, who at what time as he is most high mounted in to the septentrionall or northren parts, seemeth least to move, and by his slow motion maketh his race the more stedfast and affured. For impossible it is that vices in great persons should remaine covert and hidden; but like as those who are subject to the falling sicknesse, so soone as ever they be furprifed with outward cold, or turne round never so little, presently fall into a dimnes of fight, grow to be dizzie in the head and ready to stagger, which passions do bewray and detect their maladie; even fo ignorant persons and such as want instruction and good bringing up, no sooner are lifted up by fortunes favour to wealth and riches, to dignities, promotions, and places of high authoritie, but prefently shee sheweth them their owne fall and ruine; or rather to make the thing more plaine and familiar; like as a man can hardly know whether veffels be found or faultie, fo long as they be emptie, but in case you powre into them any liquor, 20 it appeareth whether they leake and filing or no; even fo, the foules of men that be putrified and corrupt, can not containe and hold fure their might and authoritie, but run out by meanes of their lults and defires, their cholericke fits, their vanities and abfurd demeanors. But what neede we draw foorth the discourse hereof more at large? considering that great men and noble personages are exposed to calumniations and reproches for the least delinquencie and fault that they commit. Cimon was blamed for his good wine; Scipio for his fleepe, and because hee loved his bed well; and Lucullus grew into an ill name in regard of his bountifull table and liberall fare that he kept.



THAT VICE ALONE IS

A MAN WRETCHED.

The Summarie.



lest unto us, sheweth sufficiently what wee have loss. But albeit the malice and injurie of the since hath deprived us of so great a benefit, and of many others semblably; yet notwithstanding, that so which remaineth may prosit us, mained and imperfect as it is, and suffice to range and contrue us nour datie. In the beginning, our Author discourse the miletie of a coverous person, and one that solvance work missing the master of the missing to the principal design and purpose. It has twee is the absolute work missingles of wretchednesses and instellect, having need of no other ministers or instruments to cause a man to be miserable; whereupon he doe hoolest and gather, that there is no danger nor calamitic, but we ought to choose rather than to be sufficiently and victions. Afterwards he answereth those objections which are made to the contrarie, and conclude th, that adversing can not prejudice or hurt us any thing so long as it is not accompanied with vice.

THAT

THAT VICE ALONE IS SVF-

ficient to make a man wretched.



Eabideth much who hath his bodie fold for a dowrie (as Euripides faith) to wit, small availes he hath thereby, and those verie uncertaine. But unto him who passeth not through much ashes, but a royall fire (as one would say) wherewith he is scorched and but at round about, who continually draweth his winde thicke and short, to and is full of sear and sweat by trudging over sea for gaine, she giveth in the end a certaine Tantalian riches (that is to say) such as he is not able to enjoy by reason of the continual occupations wherewith he is encombred. For verie wisely did that Sieyonian who bred and kept a race of horses, when he gave unto Agamemnon the king

of the Achæans as a present, a notable swift mare for a courser, because he might be dispensed with for going in warfare to Trop:

That unto Troy that fately towne, he might not with him go
To ferve in armes; but flay at home, and rest there far from wos
Where he might live in folace much, enjoying all his owne,
For Jupiter in measure great,

bad wealth on him be flowne.

to the end, that he staying behinde at home, might roule and welter at case in a depth of riches, and give himselse much time and leasure for assured repose void of all paine and trouble. However, who would be esteemed men of action and great affaires, never expect until they be called, but of themselves intrude and thrust their heads into princes cours pack until they be called, but of themselves intrude and thrust their heads into princes cours and stately palaces, where they must watch, waite and give attendance in all dutiful service, with 30 much paine and travell, to gaine thereby at last, a great horse, a faire chaine, or some such blessed favour.

Homerus de Prosefilas. Meane while the wife is left alone behind In Phylace, and thinkes he is unkind To leave her so: her face she rents and teares; The bouse remaines halfe built, when he it reares.

and the husband is carried here and there wandring in the world, drawen on with certaine hopes which oftentimes in the end deceive him and worke his shame. But if peradventure he obtains fomething that his heart defired, after a certaine time that he hath beene turned round about with the wheele of fortune, so long untill his head be dizzie, and mounted on high in the aire, he 40 wisheth and seeketh nothing more than evasion and meanes to escape, deeming and calling those happie, who leade a private life, without exposing themselves to such perils: and they again repute him bleffed and fortunate, feeing him fo highly advanced above themselves. This in one word you see, how vice doeth dispose men unto all forts of infelicitie, being of it selfea perfect artifan of infortunity, and needs none instruments and ministers besides. As for other tyrants, who study nothing more, than to make those most wretched and miserable whom they pinch, doe mainteine executioners and tormentours, devife red-hot fearing yrons to burne, and invent racks and other instruments for to put the reason lesse soule to extreame torture; but vice without any fuch preparation of engins, fo foone as it feizeth upon the foule, prefently overturneth and bringeth it to ruine and destruction, filleth a man with dolour and griefe, with la- 10 mentations, forowes and repentance. For a certaine proofe hereof, you shall see many endure to have their flesh mangled and cut, without faying one word; abide to be whipped and scourged patiently; who being put to the racke and other tortures by their cruell mailters or tyrants, will not give one screeke or crie, so long as the soule repressing the voice by reason, as with the hand keepeth it downe, and conteineth it from breaking out: whereas contrariwife, a man shall hardly or never command either anger to stay and be quiet, or dolour to be filent, no nor perfwade him that is surprised with sudden seare to rest still, or one who is stung with remorse and

repentance to forbeare crying out, to hold his hands fro tearing his haire & finiting his thighs; offuch force and violence is vice & finne, above either the heat of fire or the edge of the fword. Moreover, cities & states, when they publish their purpose to put forth to making any thips or huge statues called coloss, give eare willingly to the workmen disputing one against the other, as touching the workmanship, heare their reasons, & see their models & platformes which they bring, and afterwards make choise of him to goe in hand with that piece of worke, who with leffe coft and charges will do the deed as well or rather better, and more speedily. Now put the case that we publish by proclamation to make a man infortunate, or cause a life to be wretched and miserable, and that there present unto us for to enterprise this, fortune on the one side and to vice on the other; the one (to wit, fortune) is full of her tooles and inftruments of all forts, and provided of furniture costly and chargeable, for to make a life unhappie and milerable; as for example, brigandife and robbeties, bloody warres, inhumane cruelty of tyrants, and tempests at fea; the draweth after her flathes of lightning out of the aire, the mixeth and dreffeth a poisoned cup of deadly hemlocke, the bringeth fharpe edged fwords to do the businesse, the stirreth flanders and raifeth falle furmifes and calumniations, the kindleth burning agues and hote feavers, the commeth with fetters, manacles and other yrons jingling; finally, the buildeth cages and prisons for this purpose; and yet the most part of all this geere proceedeth rather from view than fortune : but suppose that all came from fortune; and that vice standing by all naked, and having need of no other thing in the world without it felfe to affaile a man, Thould demand of 20 fortune, how she could make a man infortunate and heartlesse in these tearnes? What fortune? doest thoumenace povertie? Metrocles will be ready to laugh thee to scorne, who in Winter time used to sleepe among sheepe, and in Summer scason tooke his repose in cloisters and church porches; and so challenged for his felicity the king of Perssa, who was wont to Winter in Babylon and paffe the Summer in Media: threateness thou servitude and bondage? bringest thou chaines and yrons, or the wofull condition to be folde in open market as a flave? Diogenes will despife thee for all that, who being exposed and offered to sale by the rovers and theeves that tooke him, cried and proclamed himfelfe aloud: Who will buy a mafter who? doest thou temper or brew a cup of poison? why didst not thou before offer such a cup to Socrates for to drinke? but hee full meekely with all mildneffe and patience, without trembling for feare and 30 changing either countenance or colour for the matter, drunke it off roundly; and after he was dead, those that survived, judged him happy, as one who in the other world made account to live an heavenly and bleffed life: presentest thou fire to burne withall? loe, how Decima a Romane captaine hath prevented thee; who when there was a fire made in the mids betweene two armies for to confume him, voluntarily and with a formall praier offered himfelfe as an holocaust or burnt offering unto Saturne, according to his you made for the safetic of the Romane empire. The honest and chaste dames of the Indians, such as entirely love their husbands, ftrive and be ready to fight one with another about the funerall fire; and as for her who obteineth the victorie, and is burned therein together with the dead corps of her husband, all the re? doe deemeright happie, and testifie so much in their hymnes and songs. As for the Sages at d 40 wife Philosophers of those parts, there is not one of them all reputed a holy man or bleffed, it he do not whiles he is alive, in perfect health and found fenfe and understanding, separate his owner foule from the body by the meanes of fire, and after he hath cleanfed and confumed all that was mortall, depart out of the flesh all cleane & pure: but (forfooth) from abundance of wealth and riches, from an house sumptuously built and furnished, from a costly and daintie table full of fine & delicate viands, thou will bring me to a poore thred bare cloake, to a bag and wallet, and to begging of my daily bread from doore to doore; well, even these things were the cause of Diogenes selicitie; these woon unto Crates freedome and glory: but thou wilt crucific mee or cause mee to be hanged upon a jibbet, or sticke my body thorow with a sharpe stake? and what cared Theodorus whether his corps rotted above ground or under the earth? these were the hap-50 piesepultures of Tartarians and of the Hircanians, to be eaten and devoured of dogs; as for the Bactrians, by the lawes of the countrey those were thought to have had the most bleffed end, whom the fowles of the aire did eat after they were dead; Who then are they whom these and fuch accidents do make unhappy ? even fuch as are false-hearted, base-minded, senselesse and void of understanding, untaught, and not exercised in affaires of the world, and in one word, fuch as reteine still the opinions which were imprinted in them from their infancie. Thus you fee how fortune alone is not a sufficient worke-mistresse of unhappinesse and infelicity, in case the have not finne and vice to aide and helpe her: for like as a thred is able to divide and faw (as

it were) thorow a bone which hath lien foaking long before in after and vineger; and as workemen can bend, bow and bring into what fashion they will, yvorie, after it hath bene infused and mollified in alc or beere, and otherwise not; even so fortune comming upon that which is al. ready of it selfe crazie and corrupt, or hath bene susteined by vice, is of power to pierce, wound and hollow the fame.

Moreover, like as the poison Pharicam, otherwise called Napeshus or Aconitum, being hunful to no other person, nor doing harme to those who handle and heare it about them; but if it touch never so little one that is wounded, presently killeth him by meanes of the fore or wound which receiveth the influxion and venim thereof; even fo he whose soule is like to be destroied and overthrowen by fortune, ought to have within himfelfe and in his owne flesh some ulcer. to fome impostume or maladie for to make those accidents which befall outwardly, wretched, pitifull, and lamentable. What ? is vice then of that nature that it had neede of fortunes helping hand to worke wretchednesse & infelicitie? from what coast I pray you doth not fortune raise tempests upon the sea, and trouble the water with surging billowes? environeth not she andbefetteth the foote of defart mountaines, with the ambuthes and forelayings of theeves and robbers? powreth not the downe with great violence, stormes of haile-stones out of the clouds upon the fertile come fields? was it not vice and malice that stirred up Melitus, Anytus, and Callixenses to be sycophants and false accusers? is it not she that bereaveth folke of their goods, empeacheth and disableth men for being commanders and leaders of armies, and all to make them unhappie ? nay the it is that maketh them rich and plentifull; the heapeth upon them he- 40 ritages and possessions; the accompanieth them at sea; the is alwaics close unto them and neer at hand; the caufeth them to confume and pine with lufts and defires; the enflameth and fetteth them on fire with choler and anger; the troubleth their minds with vaine superstitions and draweth them away after the lufts of their eies,



HOW A MAN MAY PRAISE

HIMSELFE WITHOUT IN-

CURRING ENVIE AND BLAME.

The Summarie.

Mposible it is during the time that we sojorne in this life, that our spirit which knoweth not how to be fill and at rest, It ould not stirre and moove the tongue to speaked the actions either of other men or of our owne; whereby we cannot choose but incure marvellow daungers of flatterie, slander, or els of selfe-praises insomuch as not without good cause that man hath beene called perfect, who knoweth well to moderate this lit-

tle member, which is at it were the bit and bridle of the whole bodie of man, and the verie helme and fterne of that ship or vessell in which we row and hull to and from the sea of thu world. Requisite it is therefore, that morall philosophie should speake, to the end that it may teach us for to speake. We have seene before in many discourses the dutie of everieone towards his neighbours, as well in words as in 50 deeds: but in this treatife Plutarch seweth the cariage of a man towards himselfe, and above all in that way which is most supperie, to wit, in the question of our owne praises: then after hee hath laide this for a ground and foundation; That it is an unseemely thing for a man to make himselfe seeme great by vaine babble, and alledged the reasons wherefore, he setteth downe one generall exception; to wil, that a vertuous man may praise himselse in certeine cases and occurrences, the which (after he hath taxed the ambition of those who set up a note of their owne praises to be chaunted aloud by others) he particularizeth upon these points ; to wit, if he be driven to answer unto some false slaunderer; if a man

Selfe-praise without incurring envie.

bein any diffresse and adversare, or if he be blamed for the best deeds that he bath done. After this, be enterlaceth certaine advertisements or corrections; to wit, that a man ought to mingle his owne praises with these of other meny that he ascribe not the whole honor of a woorthy deed to his own selfer that he atter only those things which be chiefe and principall, and stand upon that which is most commendable, and that he give a certaine luster thereto, by the foile of confessing his owne imperfections: which done, he proceedes hto declare what kinde of menthey ought to bee who are allowed to praise themselves; to what this praise ought to be referred and have respect; and wherefore they sould enter into it; moreover, at what time, and for what occasion he ought to make head unto a third, who would do sufficiently; and for a finall conclusion, he propose than excellent meanes to avoid the troubles to and inconveniences that might axise from importunate praise, willing that the partie who speaketh of his owne good parts should flie all ambition, not please himselfe in rehearing and recitall of his owne exploits, take heed have in selse-praising hee feigne praises, and neverthelesse in blaming his neighbour to be content for to be praised of another; without putting himselfe betweene and speaking in his owne behalfe. In fumme, fince there is nothing foodious as to fee and heare a man speake exceeding much of himselfe, he conclude the that in no wife a man ought so to do sunlesse there accrew therby great profit and commoditie to the bearers.

HOW A MAN MAY PRAISE

himselfe without incurring en-

vie and blame.



O speake much of ones selfe in praise, either what he is in perfon, or of what valour and power among others; there is no man (friend Herculanus) but by word of mouth will professe it is most odious, and unbefeeming a person well borne and of good bringing up; but in very deed few there be who can take heed and beware of falling into the inconvenience and enormitie thereof, no not even those who otherwisedo blame and condemne the same: as for Euo o o o ripides when he faith,

If words were costly men among, for to be bought and fold, Nomanto praise and magnifie himselse would be so bold: But now (fincethat each one may take out of the aire fo large, As much as will his minde suffice, without his cost and charge) Well pleas a are all men of themselves to beake what comes in thought, As well unitrath as what is true; To for perchibem coffeth nought.

doth use a most odious and importune vanteries especially in this, that he would seeme to interlace amongst the passionare accidents and affaires of Tragicall matters, the speech of a mans felfe) which is not befitting nonportinent unto the fubject argument; femblably Findaras, has ving faid in ong place, chim ຄົວວັນແຂວປ colliger. ສຳຄັດ ແຕ່ເຕັດ ກຸເຕັດ ເຂົ້າ ເຂົ້າ ເຂົ້າ ເຂົ້າ ເຂົ້າ ເຂົ້າ ເຂົ້າ

To brag and vaunt unfeafonably, or onthe little aspendies and vau Sound's much of rush and vain folly;

so ceaseth not neverthelesse, to magnific his owne sufficiencie in the gift of poetrie, as being (in trueth) worthy of right great praise jas no man can denie. But those who are crowned with garlands in those facred places and games, are declared victours and conquerous by the voice of others, who thereby calethem of that odious displeasure that solle-praise carrieth with it. And in very deed our heart rifeth again futhat vaine glory of Timothers, in that he wrote himselfe (as touching the victorie which the hechieved against Phrynis) Oh happy man thou Timothe was at what time as the herald proclamed with a loud voice thefe words ? Timothem the Milefian bath conquered Innocampies that Ionne of Carbo : for fixely this carrieth with it no grace at all, but is

a meere abfurditie and against all good fashion, for a man to be the trumpeter of his owne victo. rie : for true it is according to Xenophon; That the most pleasant voice that a man can heare, is his owne praise delivered by another, but the most odious thing unto others, is a man commending himselse: for first and formost, we esteeme them to be impudent who praise them. felves', considering that they oughtrather to blush and be ashamed even when others fall to praise them in their presence: secondly, we repute them unjust herein, for that they give and attribute that to themselves which they should receive at the hands of others : thirdly, either if we keepe filence when we heare one to praise himselfe, it seemeth we are discontented or do beate envieunto him, or if we feare that, compelled we are our felves to confirme and approve those praises, and to give testimonie thereof against our owne minde; a thing more befeeming vile 10 and base flatterie, than true honour, namely, if we can abide to praise any in presence. Howbeit, although this be most true, and that the case standeth so, such occurrences may so fall out, that an honourable person who manageth the politike affaires of a common-wealth, may hazzard and venture boldly to speake of himselse and in his owne behalfe for his advantage, not in regard of any glory, grace or pleasure to gaine thereby, but for that the occasion or action that is prefented, requireth that he should speake and give testimonic of himselfe, as he would and might doe of any other matter of trueth, especially when the deeds by him atchieved or the parts that be in him be good and honest, then he is not to forbeare or spare to speake hardly, that he hath done so or els much like: for surely such a praise as this, bringeth forth good fruit, and out of it as from a fruitfull graine or feed, there proceed many other praises, & those farre greater. And 10 certes, a civill and politikeman doeth not defire and love honour as a falarie, folace or recompende for his vertuous actions; but for that to have the credit and reputation among othersof a trustie and faithfull person, in whom men may repose their trust and confidence, doth affoord him good meanes and occasions to performe many other greater and more goodlier actions: for apleasant and easte matter it is to benefit them who love thee and put their trust in thee; whereas on the contrary fide, exceeding hard it is, or rather impossible, to make use of vertue, and to imploy it to the good of those who have thee in suspition, or be ready to raise salecalumniations against thee, and so to force them who do avoid the meanes of receiving any good

and pleasure at thy hands. Moreover, it would be confidered, what other occasions there may be, for which a man of 10 honour and honestie may praise himselfe; to the end that by taking good heed and avoiding of that which in selse-praise is so vaine and odious, we faile not to serve our turnes with the profit and commodity that may come thereby. Now of all others, most foolish is their praise who commend themselves to this end, that they would be praifed of others; and such praife as this we hold most contemptible, for that it seemeth to proceed from ambition and an unseasonable appetite of vaine-glory onely: for like as those who have no other food to feed upon, becomfireined to cat the flesh of their owne bodies against nature, which is the very extremity and end of famine; even so those that hunger after honour and praise, if they can not meet without thers to praise them, fall to praise themselves; wherein their behaviour is unseemly and shame full, for that upon a love of vaine-glory they are defirous to make a supply and sufficiency from 10 their owne selves; but yet when as they go not simply to worke nor seeke to be praised by themfelves, but upon a certaine emulation and jealoufie of other mens praifes, they come to compare and oppose their owne deeds for to dim and darken the actions of others; then over and befides their vanity, they adde thereto envie and malice; for according to the common proverbe: He is curious and ridiculous, who fetteth his foot in another mans daunce; but upon envie and jealoufic to thrult a mans felfe betweene the praifes of others, and to interrupt the fame with his owne selfe-praise, is a thing that wee ought to beware of; and not onely so, but also to take heed that wee fuffer not others at fuch a time to praise us, but gently to yeeld honour unto those who are worthy to be praised and honoured; and if peradventure, they be unworthy and deserve not the same, yet ought not wee to deprive them of the praises which are given unto so them, by interpoling our owne, but rather fland up against them, convince them openly, and prove by evident and pregnant reasons that there is no cause why they should be reputed so great, and be so highly honoured. As touching this point therefore, plaine and evident it is, that we ought not fo to doe, howbeit, a man may praise himselfe without blame: first and for most, if he do it by way of his owne defence in answering to a flander raised, or an imputation charged upon him; like as Perieles did in Thue dides, where he untereth these words: Andyet you my masters of Athens are angrie with me, who may vaunt of my selfe to be such an one 25

need not to give place unto any whatfoever, either in forefight and knowledge of that which is behovefull to the common-wealth, or in eloquence and delivery thereof, or in love to the State, or in fincere integrity, free from all corruption, bribery and avarice, against which I stand invincible: for in speaking thus magnificently of himselfe in such a case, he did not onely avoid the blame and reproch of vanity, of arrogancy and prefumptuous ambition, but also that which more is, he shewed with all his wisedome and greatnesse, yea, and the magnanimitic of vertue, which was so farre from being humbled and dejected, that it rather conquered and held under hand, envie; infomuch as others hearing fuch men speake in this wife, proceed not any farther nor be willing to judge and cenfure them, but are caried away and ravifhed with a certaine to joy, yea and inspired (as it were) from heaven to heare such brave vanteries; namely, if the perfons be constant and the reports which they make true, according as the effects which follow do testific. The Thebanes verily (at what time as their captaines were accused, for that when the terme of their government and magistracie, called Beet archia, was expired, they returned not incontinently home, but made an invafion and entred in armes into Laconia, and dealt in the administration of affaires about the citic of Meffene) hardly and with much adoo affoiled and quit Pelopidas, when he humbled himselfe and became a suppliant unto them for pardon: but contrariwife, when Epaminondas came and recounted in magnificent words those brave exploits which he had atchieved in that voiage and at the fame time, protesting in the endethat he was prest and readie to take his death, fo that they would confesse and acknowledge, that manger 20 their minds and against their wils he had pilled and spoiled Laconia, repeopled Mellane, and reduced into a league and amitie with them all the cities of Areadia, they had not the heart fo much as to give their voices and fuffrages in any fentence of condemnation against him, but departed out of the affembly, admiring the haughtie courage of the man, and rejoicing with mirth and laughter to heare him plead his cause with resolution. And therefore the speech of Sthenelus in Homer is not fimply and altogether to be reprooved, when he faith:

Pronounce I dare and it avow,
we better warriours be
In these daies than our fathers were
by many a degree.
30 If we call to minde and remember the precedent words a little before:

Thou sonne of noble Tydeus
a wise and har dy knight,
How hit that thy heart dothpant,
for sear e when thou shouldst sight?
Why do'st thou cast thine eie about,
and looke on everie side?
How thou maist our of battell scape,
and day st not field abide.

for it was not stherels himselfe unto whom this sharpe and bitter speech was addressed, but he 40 replied thus in the behalfe of his friend whom he had thus reproched, and therefore so just a cause and so fit an occasion gave him libertie to speake thus bravely and boldly of himselfe. As for the citizens of Rome, they were offended & displeased much with Citero praising himselfe so much as he did, and namely relating to often the woorthie deeds by him done against Catiline; but contrariwife, when Seipio faid before them all in a publike affembly: That it was not meet and feemely for them to fit as judges upon Scipio, confidering that by his meanesthey were growen to that grandence as to judge all the world; they put chaplets of flowers upon their heads, and in this wife adorned, mounted up together with him into the temple of the Capitoll, for to facritice and render thankes unto Jupiter: and good reason both of the one and the other; for Cicero rehearfed his owne praise-worthy deeds so many times without any need enforcing him there-50 to onely to glorific himselfe; but the present perill wherein the other stood, freed him from all hatred and envie, notwithstanding he spake in his owne praise. Moreover, this vanterie and glorious boalting of a mans felfe, is not befitting those onely who are accused or in trouble and danger of the law, but to as many also as be in advertitie rather than in prosperitie; for that it feemeth that these reach and catch (as it were) at glorie and take pleasure and joy therein, onely to gratific and content therein their owne ambitious humor; whereas the other by reason of the qualitie of the time, being farre from all suspition of vaine glorie and ambition, doe plucke up and creek themselves upright against fortune, suffaining and upholding what they can the gene-केत भी

riofitie of their minds, avoiding as much as lieth in them that bale conceit, to be thought for to beg commiseration and crave pittie, as if they would be mounted for their misadventures, and thereby bewray their abject hearts. For like as we take them for fooles and vaine-glorious fel. lowes, who as they walke ordinarily, lift up themselves, and beare their heads and neckes aloss; but contrariwife, we praise and commend those who erect their bodies, and do all they canto put foorth themselves, either in fight at sharpe, or in buffeting with fists; even so, a man who being overthrowen by adverse fortune, raiseth himselse up againe upon his seet, and addresseth his whole might to make head,

Like as the champion doth arife,

upon his hands to winne a prife. and in stead of shewing himselfe humble, suppliant and pittifull, by glorious words maketha thew of braverie and haughtie courage, feemeth not thereby proude and prefumptuous, but contrariwife, great, magnanimous and invincible. Thus in one place the poet Homer depainteth Patroclus modest and nothing at all subject to envie, when he had done any exploit forunately and with valour; but at his death when he was ready to yeeld the ghost, he described him to speake bravely in this wife:

If twentie Juch with all their might, Had met with me inopen fight, &c.

And Phoeion who otherwise was alwaies meeke and modest, after that he saw himselfe condemned, gave all the world to understand his magnanimitie, as in many other things, so especially 20 in this point, that he faid unto one of those that were to suffer death with him, who made apitious moane and great lamentation : How now man, what is that thou faiest? doth it not the good at the heart to thinke that thou shalt die with Phocion? And verily, no lesse, but rather much moreitis permitted to a man of State, who is injuriously dealt withall for to speake fomewhat frankly of himfelfe, namely unto those who seeme to be oblivious and unthankfull, Thus Achilles at other times rendred the glorie of fortunate successe in his affaires to the heavenly power of God, and spake modestly in this maner:

That Jupiter would give us power and strength, Troy citie strongly wall d to winne at length.

But otherwise when indignities were offred unto him, and he unjustly wronged and abused, he to fang another note, and displaied his tongue at large in anger, breaking out into these haughtic and brave words:

With ships of mine well man'd with fouldiours brave, By force of armest welve cities wonne I have.

For why? approcht bey dare not neere to me,

The brightnes of my morion for to fee.

For libertic of franke speech, being a part of justification and defence in law, is allowed to use great words for plea. And verily Themistocles according to this rule, who all the while that hee performed the exploits of noble service in his owne countrey, never did or faid ought that the 40 voured of odious pride; yet when he once faw that the Athenians were full of him, and that they made account of him no more, forbare not to fay unto them thus: What meane young masters of Athens thus to disdaine & be wearie of those at whose hands you receive so often times benefits; In time of storme and tempest you slie to them for refuge, and shroudyout felves in their protection as under the harbor and covert of a spreading tree; no sooner is the storme overblowne and the weather faire againe, but you, are ready to give a twitch at them, and every one to pull and breake a branch thereof as you passe by. Thus you see how these men perceiving themselves otherwise injuried, in their discontentment sticke not to rehearse their fervice and good deeds past and cast them in their teeth who are forgetfull thereof. But he that is blamed and suffreth a reproch for things well done, is altogether for to be excused and un- 50 blameable, in case he set in hand to praise his owne deeds, for a smuch as he seemeth not to proch and upbraid any , but to answere onely in his own defence, & to justifie himselfe. Certes, this it was that gave unto Demosthenes an honest and laudable libertie to speake for his ownebehoofe; and he avoided thereby all tedious fatietie of his owne praises, which he used through out that whole oration, entituled Of the crowne, wherein he gloried and vaunted of that which was imputed unto him as reprochable, to wit, the embaffages in which he went, and the decrees which he had enacted as touching the warre. Moreover, not farre from these points above to

hearfed, the reverfing of an objection by way of Antithesis may be placed, and carieth with it a good grace; to wit, when the defendant doth proove and thew that the contrary to that wherewith he is charged and accused, is wicked and dishonest: After which maner the oratour Lyeurgui, at Athens in his plea and answer to those who laid to his charge that he had given a piece of money to a fycophant for to stop his mouth & appeale him: What kinde of citizen (quoth he) do you take me for to be? who all this long time that I have dealt in the government and managing of State affaires among you, am chalenged before you rather to have given than taken filver injustly. Likewife Cicero, when Merellus faid unto him that he had undone and brought to confusion more men by his testimonie, than faved by his patronage and eloquence; And what to man is there (quoth he) who will not fay by this, that there is more fidelitie in me, than force of unterance. Allo these places in Demosthenes; And who would not justly have condemned me to die, if I had but once gone about in bare word to contaminate the honors and glorious titles that this citie hath? againe, And what (thinke ye) would these wicked persons have said, if whiles I discoursed particularly of these points, the cities had fallen away and revolted : In sum, that whole oration throughout concerning the Crowne, most finely and wittily inferreth his owne praises among those oppositions & solutions which he alledgeth. Over and besides, it is woorth the noting and learning, as a most profitable point, how cunningly in the said oration, and how artificially he intermedled with the speeches that he gave out of himselfe, the commendations also of the hearers, and thereby freed himselfe from the taint of envie, hatred, and 20 selfe-love; namely in avowing how good and gracious the Athenians were to those of Eubaus how woorthily they demeaned themselves toward the Thebanes; what good turnes they had done to the Bryzantines, as also how beneficiall they had bene to the inhabitants of Chersonnefus; faying withall, that himfelfe was but their minister. For I assure you by this meanes the hearer himselfe being secretly woon and gained ere he is aware by his owne praises, enterteineth more willingly and with greater pleafure the speech of the oratour; well contented he is and pleased to heare the good deeds related by another which he hath done; and upon this joy of his there inflieth incontinently an admiration and love of those, by whose meanes hee hath atchieved those acts. Hecreupon Epaminondas one day in open place, when Meneclidas, one of his envious and malicious advertaries mocked him for that he magnified and thought better of 30 himselfe than ever didking Agamemnon; Grand mercy, you my masters of Thebes (quoth he) with whom alone I overthrew in one day and subverted the whole dominion of the Lacedæmonians. Now for a fmuch as the most part of men ordinarily mislike in their hearts, and are mightily offended with one that praifeth himfelfe, but fare not so against him that commendeth another; nay many times they are well pleafed therewith, and ready to confirme fuch praifes by their ownetestimonies : some are wont to have this devise, namely, in taking their time and opportunitie, to commend those who love, chuse, and do the selfe same things, and briefly who are of the like conditions, and given to the fame humor with themselves, do winde and infinuate into the grace and favour of the hearer, and by fuch an occasion drawhis heart unto them; for streightwaies he doth acknowledge in the speaker although he speaketh of another, the re-40 semblance and similitude of the like vertue which deservesh the same praises: for like as he who reprocheth another man for those vices whereof himselfe is guiltie, doth hurt his owne perfon more than the party whom he feemeth to touch; even fo good and honest men in yeelding honor to those persons who are good, doe as much as make mention of themselves to such as are privie to their vertues, and know them well enough; infomuch as prefently they are ready to follow and second them them with these and such like acclamations; And are not you also the fame in every respect? After the soft Alexander in honouring Hercules; and Androcopus likewife in honouring Alexander, procured to themselves ech one due honour from the semblable. Contrariwile Dionyfine by mocking Gelon, and faying by allusion to his name; that he was Gelos indeed (that is to fay) the Laughter and mocketie of Sicilie, perceived not how before hee 50 was aware, by the envie that he drew upon him himselfe, he overthrew the greatnes and dignitie of his owne purssance and seignorie. Aman of State therefore and a politician, ought to learne, observe and practise these rules even in other cases also. And as for those who otherwhiles are enforced to praise themselves, they shall cause this selfe-praise of theirs to be more tolerable and leffe subject to envie and hard conceit, in case they take not all to themselves, and attribute the whole to their owne worthinesse; but as if glorie were some heavie and weightie burthen, discharge one part thereof upon fortune, and another upon God; and therefore wisely said 1-Chilles in Homer :

Since that th' almightie Gods have given me grace, Mine enemie to overthrow in place.

Selfe-praise without incurring envie.

Well likewife did Timoleon at Saracofe, who upon his valiant and noble exploits dedicated an al. tar to Bon adventure, and likewise consecrated an house to his good Angell. But best of all and most wisely did that Python the Aenean, who being arrived at Athens after he had murdered King Cotys, when the oratours strived avie one with another, who should extoll and set footh his praises most unto the people, and perceiving some to carrie an envious eie unto him, and be highly displeased with him; as he passed by, brake foorth into these words: It was some God (quoth he) ô yec Athenians that did this deed, as for my felfe, I did but lend my helping hand, Semblably, Sylla exempted his owne acts from envie, in giving alwaies the praise to his good to fortune; in fo much as in the end, he furnamed himselfe Emperimes, that is, lovely, fortunate, or Venus darling. For all men in manner would feeme to be vanquished rather by fortune, than conquered by vertue; for that they thinke the one to be a good, not pertinent to the conqueror, and the other a proper defect and imperfection of their owne, and which proceedeth from themselves: which is the reason by report, that the lawes of Zalenus wonderfully pleased the Loctians, for that he put into their heads and bare them in hand, that the goddeffe Minerva appeared and came many times unto him; that the endited and taught him those lawes which he penned and gave unto them; finally, that there was nor one of them proceeding from his head, counfell and invention. Peradventure therefore necessarie it is to devise these and such like remedies, and lentitive medicines to meet with those persons, who are by nature fierce and 10 envious; but to such as as be of the better fort, and of a modest and temperate disposition, it would not be impertinent and abfurd to use certaine corrections of praises in this case: as for example; If one haply in our presence fall to praise us for being eloquent, learned, rich, orin great reputation, to pray him not to give such reports of us, but rather for to commendusif we be good and bountiful, hurtful to none, and profitable to many; for in fo doing, we feem not to confer praises upon our selves, but to transfer them; not to take pleasure in them that praise us, but rather to be grieved and difpleased, that we are not praised for such things as we ought, nor as we should; as also to hide the woorse qualities under the better, not so much willing and desirous to be praised, as to teach how it is meet to praise: for this manner of speech (neither with stone nor bricke have I fortified and walled this citie, but if you will needs know how I have 30 fenfed it, you shall finde that I have furnished it with armor, horses, confederates and allies) see meth to come necreand tend unto fuch a rule: yea and the faying of Pericles toucheth it neces; for when the hower of his death now approched, and that he was to goe out of this world, his kinsfolke and familiar friends, weeping, wailing, and grieving thereat (as good reason was)called to minde and rehearled the armies that hee had conducted, the expeditions which heehad made, his puissance that he hadborne, as also how many victories he had atchieved, what Trophees he had erected, what townes & cities he had conquered, and laid to the feignorie of the Athenians; all which he now should leave behind him: but he listing up himselse a little, reproved and blamed them greatly, for relating and alledging those praises, which were common tomanie, and whereof fome were more due to fortune than to vertue; whiles they omitted and let 40 passethe greatest and most beautifull commendation of all others, and that which truely and indeed properly belonged unto him: namely, that for his take, there was never any Athenian that put on blacke or wore a mourning gowne: this example of his, giveth both unto an oratout if he be praifed for his fingular eloquence, meanes and occasion to transferre the praise unto his life and maners; and also to a warrior & generall captaine, who is had in admiration for his martiall proweffe, experience, or fortunate fuccesse in wars, to stand rather upon his elemencie and justice and thereof freely to discourse. And contrariwise againe, when a man hath excessive praifes heaped upon him (as the manner commonly of many is, by way of flatterie to give those commendations which moove envie) meet it is to use such a speech as this:

With gods in beaven above I have no share, To them therefore why dost thou me compare?

But if thou knowest me aright, and takest me truely for such an one as I am, praise these good parts in me; that I am uncorrupt and not overtaken with gifts and briberie; that I am fober and temperate; that I am sensible, reasonable, full of equitie and humanitie. For the nature of envie, is willingly to yeeld unto him that refuseth the greater praises those that be lesse and more modest; neither depriveth she of true commendation those who will not admit and receive sale and vaine praises: and thereforemen thinke not much to honor those Kings and Princes who

who are unwilling to be stilled gods or the children of gods, but rather to be intituled either Phi-Ladelphi, that is, Kinde to brothers and fifters; or Philometores, that is, Loving to their mothers; or Energetoi, that is, Benefactors; or elle Theophiles, that is, Deerely beloved of the gods; which are goodly and beawtifull denominations, meet for men and good princes: like as againe, those who hardly will endure them, that either in writing or speaking, attribute unto them the name of Sophi, that is, Sages or wife men, can well abide to heare those who name them Philosophi, that is, Lovers of wisedome; or such as say of them, that they profit in the study of wisedome, or give them fuch like attribute as is modest and not subject to envie; whereas these ambitious Rhetoritians and vaine-glorious Sophisters, who in their orations (to shew their learning) exto pect these and such like acclamations from their auditorie : O divine and angel-like speech ! ô heavenly and magnifically spoken; lose withall this commendation, as to be faid for to have delivered their minde modefly, courteoufly, and as becommeth civil men. Certes, like as they who be loth and take heed to offend and hurt them that are bleere-eied or otherwise given to the paine and inflamation of them, do mingle among the gallant and lively colours, some duskish thadowes; even fo, fomethere be, who in rehearfing their owne praifes not alrogether resplendent & cleere without any mixture at all, but intermedled with some imperfections, defects and light faults among, by that meanes discharge themselves of the heavie load of envie and hatred, Thus Epirem in Homer, giving out glorious words of his wrestling and buffer fight, vaunting bravely of his valour,

As if he would his teene and anger wreake upon him, and with fifts his boanes all breake.

faid withall:

Is't not enough that herein I do want? For other skill in combat I do want.

But haply this man is woorthy to be mocked and laughed at, who for to excuse his arrogant braverie of a wreftler and champion, bewraied and confessed that otherwise he was but a searcfull coward; whereas contrariwife that man is of judgement, civil also and gracious besides, who alledgeth against himselfesome oblivion or ignorance, some ambitious spirit, or els adesire to heare and learne the Sciences and other knowledge, like as utyffes when he faid:

But lo my minde desirous was to hearken and give eare, I will'd my mates me to unlose, that I might go more neare. And againe in another place; Alshough much better it had beene,

yet would I not beleeve: But fee his person, and then trie

if gifts he would me give. Tobe short, all sorts of faults, so they be not altogether dishonest and over-base, if they be set 40 unto praises, rid them of all envie and hatred; and many other there be, who interposing a confession of povertie, want of experience, yea, and (beleeve me) their base parentage, among their praises, cause them thereby to be lesse odious and envied. Thus Agathoeles, as he sat drinking unto yoong men out of golde and filver plate right curioufly wrought, commanded other veffels of stone, earth and potters worke to be set upon the table, saying unto them: Lo (quoth he) what it is to persevere in travell, to take paines, and adventure valuantly? for wee in times past made those pots, (pointing to the earthen veffell) but see, now we make these, (shewing the plate of golde and filver: and verily it seemed that Agathoeles (by reason of his base birth and povertie) was brought up in some potters forge, who afterward became the absolute monarch (almost) of all Sicile. Thus it appeareth what remedies may be applied outwardly, to avoide 50 envie, if a man be forced to speake of himselfe: other meanes there are besides, inhærent (after afort) even in them who be in this wife praifed; and fuch Cate made use of, when he faid, that hewas envied, because he neglected his owne affaires, and sat up watching whole nights for the good and fafetie of his countrey. Like to which is this speech :

What wifedome thinke you was in me, who cleane exempt from care, From charge and travell, like some one, who in the armie were

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A plaine and common fouldiour might enjoy within the hoft My fortune with the wife ft of them all that meddle most?

as also this other:

I doubt and feare, that of my labours past, The thanke is gone, and carried with a blaft; And yet those paines that now presented be

Afresh, reject unneth I will from me. For men ordinarily beare envie unto those who seeme to acquire glory grain, without any cost, to and to come by vertue easily, like as if they purchased house or land for a little or nothing; whereas feldome or never they envie fuch as have bought the fame very deare, with many travels and great dangers. And forasmuch as we ought in praising of our selves to effect not only this; that we offend not the hearers thereby nor procure their envie, but endevour also to profit them and doe them good, as if we feemed not to aime at our felfe-praise, but to shoot at some other thing: in fo doing confider first and formost when a man is in a veine of praising himfelfe, whether he may do it by way of exhortation, to kindle a zeale, and exercise a kinde of emislation and strive for glory in the hearers; after the example of Xeftor, who in recounting his owne proweffe and valiant fervice, encouraged Patroclus and the other nine gallants and brave knights, to enter combat and fingle fight with Hellor: for an exhortation which hath word and 20 deed to meet together, carrying with it example, with a familiar zeale and imitation, is wonderfull quicke and lively, it pricketh, provoketh and flirreth exceedingly, and together with a refo-Inte courage and ardent affection, it carieth with it the hope of compaffing things very accellible and in no wife impossible: and therefore of the three renowmed daunces and quites in Late damon, one which confifted of olde men, chaunted thus:

The ume was, when we gallants were, Youthfull and hardie, void of feare. another, of children, fung in this wife: And we one day shall be both tall and strong, And farre surpasse, if that we live so long. the third, namely of youg men, had this dittie:

But we are come to proofe, and now at best,

Trie who that will, to fight we are now prest. wherein the law-giver, who inflituted these dances, did wisely and politikely, to propose unto yong men fuch familiar examples and at hand, even by those things that were done and executed. Yet nevertheleffe, it were not amiffe, otherwhiles to vaunt and to speake highly and magnifically of ones (elfe, for to daunt, beat downe, represse, and keepe (as it were) under hand, a bragging and audacious fellow, like as Neftor himfelfe did againe in another place:

Conversed have I in my daies, with men of better deed Than you iwis, and yet disaine they never would my reed.

Semblably faid Aristotle unto king Alexander: That lawfull it was and befeeming not onely for those to have an haughtic minde, who had many subjects under them at their commaunds but such also as held true opinions as touching the gods. And verily these points are commodious for us otherwhiles, even in regard of our enemies, foes, and evill willers, according to that verle in Homer :

Children they are of wretched fires, and borne to misadventure, Whose lucke it is my force of armes in battell to encounter.

Age filam alfo, having speech upon a time as touching the King of Persia, who usually was called the Great Monarch: And wherein (quoth he) is that king greater than my felfe, if he beenot more just and righteous. Epaminondas likewise replied upon the Lacedæmonians, who had framed a long acculation against the Thebans: Well it is (quoth he) and a good turne that we yet have made you give over your accustomed short speech. Thus much of those rules which concerne either our private and particular evill willers, or our publike enemies. As

As for our friends and fellow-citizens, we may likewife by using fitly in time and place, and asthecase requireth haughty language, not onely take downe and cause those to vaile bonct who are over-proude and audacious; but also on the other side raise up and encourage such, as be distraied, astonied and beyond measure timorous. For Cyrus also in the mids of battell and dangers of warre was woont to speake bravely, but else where not. And Antigonus the yoonger or fecond of that name, who otherwife was in words fober, modeft, and nothing proude; yet in a battell at fea which he fought necre the ifle Cos; when one of his friends about him faid a little before the medley began: See you not fir how many more ships our enemies have than wee? Why (quoth he) for how many ships doest thou reckon me? And it should seeme that Homer to was of the fame minde and meant fo much, when he feigneth that ulyffes feeing his people affrighted with the hideous noise and fearfull tempest that issued out of the gulfe Charybdis, called to their remembrance his fubtill engine and fingular valour, in faying thus unto them:

My friends and mates, this accident is not fo dangerous, As when that monstrom Cyclops he, a giant furious, Usturn'd and courft with mightie force about his hollow cave? Tet thence we chac'd him by my wit,

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advice, and promeffe brave. For this manner of praifing proceedeth not from a glozing vaine glorious oratour, nor a vanting Sophister, nor from one that seeketh applause, and clapping of hands; but beseemeth a personage who pawneth unto his friends, as a gage of affurance and confidence his owne vertue and sufficiency. For a matter this is of great importance & consequence tending to safetie in dangerous times, to wit, the opinion, reputation and affiance, that we may have of a man in authoritie, and the experienced prowesse of acaptaine. Now albeit I have sufficiently shewed before, that it is neither convenient nor feemely for a man of State and honour to oppose himfelfe against the glorie and praise of another; yet neverthelesse when the case so standeth, that a false and perverse commendation doth bring hurt and damage, and by example inferreth a 30 dangerous imitation of evill things, together with a wicked purpose and leawd intention in matters of great moment, it were not amiffe to repulse the same backe, or rather to divert and turne away the hearer unto better things, and open unto him the difference: for in mine advice a man may well take content and delight, to see that men abstaine willingly from vice, when they perceive it to be blamed and reprooved; but in lieu of condemning it, if they heare it commended, and if over and befides the pleafure and profit that commonly it feemeth to bring with it, it be held also in honor and reputation, there is not a nature so happie and bleffed, nor so strong and flour withall, but shee is able to conquer it: and therefore a man of policie and government ought to make warre and fight, not so much against the praises of persons, as of things, in case they becorrupt and naught: for these they be that spill and marre our manners, by reason that 40 with fuch praises there entreth commonly a will to imitate and follow such dishonest and foule actions, as if they were good and feemely: but then most of all are they detected what they be, and do appeare in their colours, when they are compared in opposition with true praises indeed. Thus it is reported, that Theodorus the Tragardian actor, faid upon a time unto Satyrus a Comicall player. That it was no great marvell to make the spectators to laugh, but rather a matter of woonder to cause them for to weepe and crie: but (I suppose) a sage and wise philosopher may well fay thus unto the fame Theodorm: Nay (good fir) it is not fo great a matter to fet men a weeping and wailing, but rather to still and stay their forrow and lamentation, were an admirable thing; for if a man praise himselse in this fort, he profiteth the hearer and changeth his judgement. Thus did Zeno speake of the great number of Theophrastus his scholers, who refor-50 ted unto his schoole : His quite (quoth he) is greater than mine, but yet mine accordeth better and maketh the fweeter harmonie. Phoeton likewife, when as Leofthenes still flourished and bare a great name, being demanded by the Rhetoricians who used to make folemne orations, what good himselfe had ever done to the weale-publike, answered them in this manner: None other (quoth he) but this that all the whiles I was lord General, and had the conduct of an army, noncof all you made ever any funerall oration, but interred all your citizens who departed this life in the sepulchers and monuments of your ancestors. As for Crates when he read these verfescontaining the Epitaph of Sardanapalus: What

What hath gone downe my throat I have, my wanton sports remaine, Which Ladie Venus did vouchfafe, or else I count but vaine. wrate thus againe verie wittily and in a pleafant conceit: What during life I studied have and learned, is my gaine, The skill which muses then me gave, and nought else Iretaine.

for such manner of praise as this, is excellent, honest, and profitable, teaching men to love, to efteeme and admire fuch things as be commodious and expedient, and not those that are vaine and superfluous; and therefore this advertisement ought to be ranged with the rest before spe-

Selfe-praise without incurring envie.

cified as touching the subject argument now in question.

It remaineth now by order and course according as the present theame in hand requireth. and our discourse admonished us, to declare how every man may avoid this importunate and unseasonable selfe-praise: for surely to speake of a mans selfe, having selfe-love as a commodious fort from whence it issueth, seemeth many times to lay wait and give the assault even unto them who are of all others most modest and farthest from vain-glorie. And like as one precept of health there is, to flie and shunne altogether unholfome tracts and contagious, or at leastwife to take heed of them most carefully if a man be in them; even so there be certeine dange- 10 rous times and flipperie places which one shall flide and fall into upon the least occasion in the world, by rashly speaking of himselfe. For first and formost those who are by nature ambitious, when they heare another man praifed, commonly (as it hath beene faid before) advance forward to talke of themselves, and then anon this humour of selfe-praise being once provoked and tickled (as it were) with an itch, a certeine defire and furious appetite of glorie which hardly can be held in, taketh hold of them, especially if the partie who is praised before them be but equal or inferior to them in merit; for like as they who are hungrie have the greater appetite, and are provoked more to eate when they see others fall to their meate before them; even so the praise of another inflameth the jealousie of those who be given to the greedy desire of honor & glorie. Secondly, the recitall and discourse of those things which have beene happily executed 20 and to a mans minde, drive many men into a brave vaunting, for the joy that they conceive in relating the same: for after they be once fallen into a narration of their victories atchieved in warre, or the enterprises which they have fortunately managed in their foveraigne government of State, or their actions and affaires performd under other chiefe rulers and commanders, or of the speeches which they have made to great purpose and good successe and commendation, they cannot conteine and hold themselves: to which kind of vaunting & speaking of ones selfe, we see those are most subject who are warriors and serve especally at sea 3 likewise this happen usually unto such who are come from the courts of mighty princes, or from those places where there hath beene exploited some great service : for in making mention of princes and grand Seigneours, they can not chuse but interlace ordinarily among, some speeches which those 40 potentates have delivered to their commendation; and therein they doe not thinke that they praise themselves, but recite onely the commendable testimonies that others have given out, of them : and verily fuch as these, be of opinion that the hearers perceive them not, when they recount the embracements, greetings, falutations, and favours which kings, emperours, and fuch great potentates have bestowed upon them; as if for footh they reheated not their owne selfepraises, but the courtesies and demonstrations of the bountie and humanitie of others; whereof every one of us ought most fully and warily to looke unto our selves when we praise any one, that the faid praifes be pure and fincere, voide of suspition, that we do not respect & aime at an oblique felfe-love, & speech of our owne selves, for feare lest we make the commendation of \$2. troclin, as it is in Homer, a covert, colour and pretence of our owne praise, and by commending so others cunningly, praise our owne selves. Moreover, all the fort of blames and reprehensions of others, are otherwhiles very dangerous, cauling those to goe out of the way and stumble, who are never so little sicke of vain-glorie; into which maladie old folke many times incurre; and namely when they breake out into the reprofe of their youngers, finding fault with their leawed maners and fashions, for then in blaming others, they fall to magnifying themselves, asif in times past they had done wonders, in comparison of those things which now they condemne: and verily fuch as they be we ought to give place unto, in case they be not onely for age, but

alfo in regard of their vertue and reputation venerable : for this maner of rebuke is not unprofitable, but breedeth in those who are chastisfed by them, a great desire and emulation with all to atteine unto the like place of honour and dignitie. But as for our selves we ought to take heed and beware how we trip or tread awry in this case; for the maner of blaming our neighbours, being as it is otherwise very odious and almost intolerable, and which hath need of great caution and warineffe; he that medleth his proper praise with the blame of another, and seeketh glorie by his infamy, cannot chuse but be exceeding hatefull and unsupportable, as if he hunted after renowme and honour by the reprochfull and difhonorable parts of his neighbours. Furthermore, as they who naturally are enclined and disposed to laughter, are to avoid and decline the to ticklings and foft handling in those parts of the body that are most smooth, sliecke and tender, which soone yeelding and relenting to those light touches, stirre up and provoke immediately that passion of laughing; even so this caveat and advertisement would be given unto such as paffionately begiven to this defire of glory, that they ablteine from praifing themselves, at what time as they be collauded by other: for a man that heareth himselfe praised, ought indeed to blush for shame, and not with a bold and shamelesse face to hearken thereto, nay he should doe well to reproove those that report some great matter of him, rather then to finde fault for saying too little, and not praising him sufficiently; a thing iwis that many mendoe, who are ready of themselves to prompt and suggest, yea and to inferre other magnanimous facts and proweffes, fo far forth that they marre all, aswell the praise that they give themselves, as the lauda-20 ble testimoniall of others. And I assure you many there be who stattering themselves, tickle and puffe up their owne conceits with nothing els but winde; others againe upon a malicious iutent, laying some petie praise as it were a bait for them to bite at, draw them on thereby to fall into their owne commendation: some also you shall have who to that purpose will keepe a questioning with them, & propose certaine demands for the nonce to traine them within their toile, and all to have the more matter that they might foone after laugh at. Thus in Menander the glorious foldier made good sport, being demanded of one

DEMAND. Good fir how carne you by this wound and fear? SOLDIER. By dint of iavelin launced from a far. DEMAND. But how? for gods fake how? let us all know: SOLDIER. As I a wall did feale I caught this blow, But well I see whiles that I do my best This to relate, these make of me a jest.

And therefore in all these cases, a man ought to bee as warie as possibile hee can, that he neither himselfe breake out in his owne praises, nor yet bewray his weakenesse and folly by fuch interrogatoies; and that hee may in the best and most absolute manner take heede thereto, and fave himselfe from such inconveniences, the readiest way is to observe others neerely that love to bee praifers of themselves; namely to call to minde and reprefent unto their owne remembrance how displeasant and odious a thing it is to all the world, and that there is or can be no other speech so unfavory, tedious and irkesome to heare: for sup-40 pose that we are not able to say that we suffer any other harme at their hands who praise themfelves, yet we do all that we can to avoid fuch speech; we make shift to be delivered from it, and haften all that we may to breath our felves, as if it were an heavy burden which of it felfe and the owne nature overchargeth us, infomuch as it is troublesome and intolerable even to flatterers, paralites, and needy finel feafts in that necessitie and indigence of theirs, to heare a rich man, a prince, a governor, or a king to praise himselse: nay they give out that they pay the greatest portion of the shot, when they must have patience to give eare to such vanities; like unto that jester in Menander, who breaketh out into these words,

He killethme when at his boord I fat And with his cheere I fatter am no whit, But rather pine away, you may be fore, When fuch bald jests to heare I must endure. Andyet as wife and warlske as they feeme, A bragging foole and leaved for I him deeme.

For confidering that we are wont to fay thus, not onely against foldiers and glorious upstarts newly enriched, whose maner is to make much of their painted sheaths, powring out brave and proud discourses; but also against sophisters, rhetoritians, and philosophers, yea and great captaines, puffed up with arrogancy and prefumption, and speaking bigge words of themselves : If

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we would call to remembrance that a mans owne proper praises be accompanied alwaies with the dispraises of others, and that the end commonly of such vaine-glory is shame and infamie. alfo, that tediousnesseunto the hearers, is (as Demosthenes faith) the reward, and not any opinion to be reputed fuch as they fay, we would be more sparie and forbeare to speake so much of our felves, unleffe forme greater profit and advantage might afterwards grow either to us or to the hearers in place.



WHAT PASSIONS AND

MALADIES BE WORSE, THOSE

OF THE SOULE, OR THOSE has OF THE BODIE?

The Summarie.

His present question upon which Plutarch hath framed this declamation, wheresf there remains the extant in our hands but one little parcell, hath beene of long time dif. all cuffed and debated among men; the greater is our damage and detriment, that we have heere no better division, nor a more ample resolution of it by so excellent aphilo-Sopher as he was: but seeing that this losse can not be recovered, let us seeke for the cleering of all this matter in other authors; but principally in those, who search deepely to the verie bottom, for to discover the source of all the maladies of the soule, in stead of such writers who have treated of moral philosophie, according to the doctrine and light of nature, onely accompanied with 20 precepts out of her schoole, and have not touched the point but superficially, as being ignorant what is originall and hereditarie corruption; what is sinne; how it entred first into the world; what are the greatest impressions, asfaults, effects, and what is the end and reward thereof. But to come unto thu fragment, our author after he had shewed that man of all living creatures is most miserable, declareth wherein these humane miseries ought to bee considered; and prooveth withall, that the diseases of the foule are more dangerous than those of the body, for that they be more in number, and the same exceeding different, harded be knowen and incurable, as evidently it is to be seene in effect, that those who are afflicted with such maladies, have their judgement depenvate and overturned, refusing remedie with the loffe of rest and repase, and a singular pleasure which they take to discover their unquietvesse, anxietie and milerie.

WHAT PASSIONS AND MALA-

dies be worse, those of the soule or those of the bodie?



Omer having viewed and confidered very well the fundry forts of living creatures mortall, compared also one kind with another, as well in the continuance as the conversation and maner of their life, 50 concluded in the end with this exclamation,

Lo how of creatures, all on earth which walke and draw their wind. More miserable none there are nor wretched than mankind.

attributing unto man this unhappie foveraigntie, that he bath the superioritie in all miseries whatsoever thur we setting this downe

Maladies of soule and bodie compared.

for a supposition granted already, that man carieth the victorie, and surpasseth all others for his infortunitie, and is already declared and pronounced the most unhappie wretch of all living creatures, will fet in hand to compare him with his ownefelfe, in a certeine conference of his proper calamities that follow him; and that by dividing him, not in vaine and unfruitfully, but very pertinently and to good purpose, into the soule and the bodie, to the end that wee may learne and know thereby whether we live more miserablie in regard of our foules, or our selves, that is to fay, our bodies: for a disease in our bodie is engendred by nature; but vice and sinne in the foule is first an action, but afterwards becomment a passion thereof: so that it is no small confolation, but maketh much for the contentment of our minde, to know that the worle to is curable, and the lighter is that which cannot be avoided.

The fox in Aelope pleading upon a time against the leopard, as touching the varietie of colours in their skins, after that the leopard had shewed her bodie, which to the ele and in outward apparence was well marked & befet with faire spots, whereas the foxes skin was tawny, foule and ill-favoured to see to: But you (quoth he) fir Judge, if you looke within, shall finde me more fpotted and divers coloured than that leopard there; meaning the craft and subtilitie which he had, to turne and change himselfe in divers sorts, as need required; after the same maner let us fay within our felves: O man, thy body breedeth and bringeth foorth many maladies and paffions naturally of it felfe, many also it receiveth and enterteineth comming from without, but if thou wilt anatomize and open thy felfe, thou shalt finde within, a save, an ambrie, nay a storehouse and treasurie (as Democritus faith) of many evils and maladies, and those of divers and fundry forts, not entring and running in from abroad, but having their originall fources springing out of the ground, and home-bred, the which, vice abundant, rich and plenteous in paffions putteth forth. Now, whereas the diseases that possessed and the flesh, are discovered and knowen by their inflamations and red colour, by pulles also or beating of the arteries, and namely, when the vifage is more red or pale than cultomably it is, or when fome extraordinatie heat or laffitude, without apparent cause, bewraieth them: contrariwise, the infirmities and maladies of the foule are hidden many times unto those that have them, who never thinke that they be ficke and ill at ease; and in this regard worse they be, for that they deprive the patients of the fenfe and feeling of their fickneffe: for the discourse of reason, whiles it is found and 30 hole, feeleth the maladies of the bodie; but as for the difeases of the soule, whiles reason herselfe is ficke, the hath no judgement at all of that which the fuffereth, for the felfe fame that thould judge is diseased; and we are to deeme and esteeme, that the principall and greatest maladie of the foule is follie, by reason whereof vice, being remedilesse and incurable in many, is cohabitant in them, liveth and dieth with them: for the first degree and very beginning of a cure, is the knowledge of a difease, which leadeth and directeth the patient to fecke for helpe; but he who will not beleeve that he is amiffe or ficke, not knowing what he hath need of, although a prefent remedie were offered unto him, will refuse and reject the same. And verily, among those diseafes which afflict the bodie, those are counted worst which take a man with a privation of sense; as lethargies, intolerable head-ach, or phrenfies, epilepfies or falling-evils, apoplexies and fea-40 vers ardent; for thefe burning agues many times augment their heat fo much, that they bring a man to the loffe of his right wits, and fo trouble the fenfes, as it were in a muficall inftrument,

> They stirre the strings at secret root of hart, Which touched (hould not be, but lie apart.

which is the reason that practitioners in physicke desire and wish in the first place, that a man were not ficke at all, but if hee be ficke, that hee be not ignorant and fenfeleffe altogether of his disease; a thing that ordinarily befalleth to all those who be sicke in minde: for neither witlesse fooles, nor diffolute and loose persons, ne yet those who be unjust and deale wrongfully, thinke that they do amisse and sinne; nay, some of them are perswaded that they do right well. Never 50 was there man yet, who efteemed an ague to be health, nor the phthificke or confumption to be a good plight and habit of the bodie, nor that the gour in the feet was good footmanihip, ne yet that to be ruddy and pale or yellow, was all one, yet you shall have many who are diseased in minde, to call hastines and choler, valiance; wanton love, amitie; envie, emulation; and cowardife, warie prudence. Moreover, they that be bodily ficke, fend for the physicians (because they know whereof they stand in need) for to heale their diseases; whereas the other avoid and shun the fage philosophers; for they thinke verily that they do well when they fault most. upon this reason we holde, that the ophthalmie, that is to say, the inflamation of bloud shotten cies, is a leffe maladie than Mania, that is to fay, rage and furious madneffe; and that the gout in the feet is nothing to bad as the phrentie, which is an inflamation or impostume bred in the braine, for the one of these patients finding himselfe diseased, crieth out for paine, & calleth for the physic cian, and no fooner is he come, but he sheweth him his diseased eie for to dresse and anoint, he holdeth forth his veine for to be opened, & yeeldeth unto him his head for to becured; where as you shall heare ladie Agave in the Tragadies, so farre transported out of all sense and under ftanding (by reason of her raging fit) that sheeknew not those persons which were most deate and entire unto her; for thus the faith:

This list le one here newly kild, And cut in pieces in the field, ... From hilles we bring to dwelling place, How happy, ô, hat h beene our chace!

As for him who is ficke in bodie, presently he yeeldeth thereto, he laies him downe upon his pallet, or taketh his naked bed, he caseth himselfe all that he can, and is content and quiet all the while that the physician hath him in cure; but if peradventure he tumble and toffe in his bedde, fling and cast off his clothes, by reason that his bodie is tormented with some grievous hotfit, no fooner stirreth he never so little, but one or other that standeth or sitteth by to tend him, is ready to fay gently unto him:

Poore faule, be quiet, feare none ill, Deare heart, in bed fee thou lie ftill.

he staieth and keepeth him downe, that he shall not start and leape out of his bed : but contrari. wife, those that be surprised with the passions of the soule, at such a time be most busie, then they be least in repose and quiet; for their violent motions be the causes moving their actions, and their passions are the vehement sits of such motions: this is the cause that they will not let the foule to be at rest, but even then when as a man hath most need of patience, filence and quietretrait, they draw him most of all abroad into the open aire; then are discovered soonest his cholerike passions, his opinionative and contentious humors, his wanton love and his grievous forrowes, enforcing him to commit many enormities against the lawes, and to speake many words

unseasonably, and not befitting the time.

Like as therefore much more perillous is the tempest at sea, which impeacheth and put- 30 teth backe a ship, that it can not come into the harbour to ride at anchor, than that which will not suffer it to get out of the haven and make faile in open sea; even so those tempeltuous pallions of the foule are more dangerous which will not permit to be at rest, nor to fettlehis difcourse of reason once troubled, but overturneth it upside downe, as being disfurnished of pilots and cables, not well ballaifed in the storme, wandring to and fro without a guide and steeres men, carried mauger into rash and dangerous courses, so long, untill in the end it falleth into fome shipwracke, and where it overthroweth the whole life, in such fort that in regard of these reasons and others semblable, I conclude, that woorse it is to be soule-sicke than diseased in bodie; for the bodies being ficke, fuffer onely, but the foules if they be ficke, both fuffer and doe also amisse. To proove this, what neede we further to particularize and alledge for examples 40 many other passions, considering that the occasion of this present time is sufficient to admonith us thereof, and to refresh our memorie? See you not this great multitude and preasseof people thrusting and thronging here about the Tribunall and common place of the citie; they are not all affembled hither to facrifice unto the Tutelar gods, Protectors of their native countrey, nor to participate in common the fame religion and facred ceremonies of divine service; they are not all met heere together for to offer an oblation unto Jupiter Afraus, out of the first fruits of Lydia, and to celebrate and folemnize in the honor of Bacchus, during these holy nights, his festivall revils with daunses, masks, and mummeries accustomed: but like as by yeerhy accesse and anniversarie revolutions, the forcible vigor of the pestilence returneth for to initate and provoke all Asia; so they resort hither to entertaine their suits and processes in law to 50 follow their pleas; and a world here is of affaires, like to many brookes and riverets which run all at once into one channell and maine streame; so they are met in the same place, which is pestered and filled with an infinite multitude of people, to hurt themselves and others. From what fevers or colde, ague-fits, proceed these effects? from what tensions or remissions, augmentations or diminutions? from what diffemperature of heat, or overspreading of cold humours comes all this? If you aske of everie feverall cause here in suite, as if they were men and able to answere you from whence it arose, how it grew, and whereupon it came and first began? you

Precepts of wedlocke.

shall finde that one matter was engendred, by some wilfull and proud anger; another proceeded from a troublefome and litigious spirit; and a shird was caused by some unjust desire and unlawfull luft.



THE PRECEPTS OF WEDLOCKE.

The Summaric.

E have beere a mixture, and medley of rules for married folke, who in the persons of Pollianus and Eurydice, are taught their mutuall duety: upon which argument needlesse is to discourse at large, considering that the whole matter is set out particularly, and tendeth to this point: That both at the beginning, in the sequell also and continuation of mariage, man and wife ought to a first support, and love one another

with a fingle heart and affection, farreremooved from diffainfull pride, violence, vanitie, and fill hinesse; the which is specified and comprised in 45. articles; how beit in such fort, that there be some of tholeprecepts, which favour of the corruption of thole times, bewraying the insufficiency of humane wisedome, unlesseit belightened with Godstruth. We see also in this Treatise more particular adverresements appropriate to both parties, touching their devoir as well at home as abroad; and all emiched with notable similitudes and excellent examples. In summe, if these precepts following be well weighed and practifed, they are able to make mans life much more easte and commodious than it is. But Plutarch freweth sufficiently by the thirtieth rule, how hard a matter it is to reteine each one in their 30 severall dutie; and that in manner all doe regard and looke upon things with another eie, than they ought. How ever it be, those persons whom vertue hath linked and joined together in matrimonie, may finde here whereby to profit; and so much the more, for that they have one lesson, which naturall, equirie and conscience putteth them in minde of everie day, if they will enter never so little into themfelves, which being joined with the commandements of the heavenly wifedome, it can not be but hufband and wife shall live in contentment and bleffed estate.

P R E C E P T S O F WEDLOCKE.

PLUTARCH to POLLIANUS and EURY-DICE, sendeth greeting.



Fter the accustomed ceremoniall linke of marriage in this countrie, which the Priestresse of Ceres hath put upon you, in coupling you both together in one bed-chamber, I suppose that this difcourse of mine, comming as it doth to favorize and second this bond and conjunction of yours, in furnishing you with good leffons and wife nuptiall advertisements, will not be unprofitable, but found, veriefitting and comformable to the customarie wedding fong observed in these parts. The musicians among other tunes that they had with the haut-boies, used one kind of note which they called Hippotharos, which is asmuch to say as Leape-mare; having

this opinion that it stirred and provoked stallions to cover mares. But of many beautifull and good discourses which philosophic affoordeth unto us, one there is which deserveth no lesse

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to be esteemed than any other, by which shee seeming to enchant and charme those who are come together to live all the daies of their life in mutuall societie, maketh them to be more but xome, kinde, tractable, and pliable one to the other. Therefore I have made a certaine collection of such rules and precepts which your selves have heard already oftentimes, being both of you trained up and nourished in the studie of philosophie; and reduced them all in sew words to certaine principall heads and articles, to the end that they might be more easily remembred; the which I send as a common present to you both, befeeching withall, the Muses that they would vouchase in your behalfe, and for your owne sake to affist and accompanie the goddesse went is forasimuch as their office is to make a good consonance and accord in marriage and house-keeping, by the meanes of reason and harmonie philosophicall, no lesse than to set in tune a lute or harpe, or any mussicall instrument.

And to begin withall: This is the reason that our auncients ordeined, that the image of Penus should be placed jointly with that of Mercurie, as giving us thereby to understand, that the delight and pleasure of marriage, had need especially to be maintained with good language and wise speeches: they used to set also with these two images, the Graces, and Goddesseo Eloquence Ladie Pitho, that is, Perswassion, intending thereby that those solke whom the bondos matrimonie had linked together, might obtaine what they desired one at the others hand gent

ly and by faire meanes, not by debate, chiding and brawles.

2 Solon gave order and commanded that the new-wedded bride should eate of a quincebefore that the came in bed with her bridegrome; signifying covertly in mine opinion by this 10 darke ceremony, that first and above all, the grace proceeding from the mouth, to wit, the breath

and the voice, ought to be sweete, pleasant, and agreeable in everie respect.

In the countrey of Baotia, the custome was upon the wedding day when the nuptial vaile was put over the bride, for to fet also upon her head a chaplet made of wilde preckie Spirach branches, for that this plant out of a most sharpe and pricking thorne, putteth foortha most pleafant and delectable fruit; even fo, the wedded wife in case her husband do not reject and flie her companie, for the first difficulties and troublesome inconveniences incident to marriage, shall bring unto him afterwards a sweete and amiable societie; but they that can not endure at first the jarres and quarrels of their yoong wives, whom they married virgins, may for all the world be resembled to those who give away ripe grapes from themselves to others, because they 30 be sowre before they are ripe; semblably, many new wedded-wives, who take a disdaine to their husbands by reason of some debates and encounters at the first, doe much like unto those who having abidden the sting of the Bee, cast away the honie-combe out of their hands. It behooveth therefore new-married folke, to take heed especially in the beginning, that they avoideal occasions of diffention and offence giving; considering this with themselves, and seeing daily that the pieces of woodden vessels which are newly joined and glued together, at the first are foone disjoined, and go afunder agains upon the least occasion in the world, but after that in continuance of time the joint is strongly settled and soundly confirmed, a man shall hardly part and separate one piece from another with fire or yron edged toole.

4 And like as fire kindleth soone & catcheth a slame if it meet with light stubble, chaffe, or 40 the haire of an hare, but it quickly goeth out againe, if there be not put thereto some matter or fewell anon, which may both hold in and also maintaine and feede the same; even so, we are to thinke that the love of yoong-wedded persons, which is enslamed and set on fire by youth, and the beautie of the bodic onely, is not firme and durable, unlesse it be furely sounded upon the conformitie of good and honest maners, and take hold of wisedome, whereby it may engendera

lively affection and reciprocall disposition one toward the other.

Fishes are soone caught and taken up by baites made of empoysoned paste, or such like medicines, but their meat is naught and dangerous to be eaten; semblably, those women who compound certaine love drinkes, or devise other charmes and forceries for to give their husbands, and thinke by such allurements of pleasure to have the hand and command over them, it so is all to nothing, that afterwards in their life together they shall find them to be blockish, soolish, & sense companions. Those men whom Cree the famous sorceresse enchanted with hir witch craft, didher no pleasure, neither served they her in any stead, being transformed (as they were) into swine and affects; whereas the loved and affected entirely and exceedingly Ussse, an ingenious man and who conversed wisely with her; but such wives as had rather bee mistresses and over-rule their doltish husbands, than obey them that be wise & men of understanding, may very properly be compared unto them, who choose rather to leade and conduct the blind, than to be

guided by those that see, and to follow them that have knowledge. These women will never beleeve that Pasphaie being a Kings wife loved a bull, notwithstanding they see some wives that can not endure their husbands, if they be any thing austere, grave, sober, and honest, but they abandon and give themselves over more willingly to accompanie with such as be composed altogether of luxurious loosenesse, of sithie lust and voluptuousnesse, like as if they were dogs

Some men there be fo tender, feeble, and effeminate, that being not able to mount up their horse-backes as they stand, teach them to stoupe and rest upon their knees, that they may get upon them; and even so, you shall finde divers husbands, who having espoused rich wives and descended of noble houses, never studie to make them better, but keepe downe their wives and hold them under, being perswaded that they shall rule them the better when they are thus humbled and brought low; whereas indeed they should as well maintaine the dignitic of their wives, as regard and keepe the just stature and height of their horses, as well in the one as the other, make use of the bridle.

7 We fee that the moone, the farther that she is from the funne, the brighter she shineth and is more cleere, and when she approacheth neere unto his raies and beames, she loseth her light and is darkened; but a chaste, honest and wise woman must do cleane contrarie; for shee ought to be most seene with her husband, and if he be away, to keepe close and hold her selfe

within house.

8 It was not well faid of Herodotm: That a woman cafteth off her pudicitie, when she putteth off her smocke or inner garment; for cleane contrarie it is in a chaste and sober matron,
for in stead thereof she putteth on shamefastnes and honestie; and the greatest signe of all other
that matried solke do love reciprocally is this, when they have most reverence and shamefast
regardone to the other.

Julie as if one take two founds that accord together, the base is alwaies more heard, and the song is ascribed to it; even so, in an house well ordered and governed, all goes well which is done by the consent of both parties; but evident it is and apparent, that the conduct, counsell

and direction of the husband, is that which effecteth it.

To The funne upon a time (as the fable goeth) had the victoric over the northern winde; 30 for when the faid winde blew forcibly upon a man, and with the violence of his blafts, did what it could to drive his cloake or upper garment from off his shoulders, the man strived so much the more to hold it on and keepe it close about him; but when the sun came to be hot after the said wind was laid, and set the man in exceeding heat by his beames, he was glad to throw off his said cloake; yea and feeling himselfe to burne with heat, put off his coat, shirt and all; and even semblably do the most part of women, for when they perceive that their husbands by their authoritie, and perforce will take from them their superfluous delights and vaine pleasures, they strive againe and make resistance, and are offended and discontented therewith; but when as contrariwise they come unto them with gentle remonstrances and milde perswasions, then of themselves they will be content peacebly to lay them asside, and endure all with patience.

on 11 Cate deprived a fenatour of Rome of his honorable place, for that in the prefence of his owne daughter, he kiffed his wife, I cannot fimply commend this act of his, for it favoured per adventure too much of feveritie and rigor; but if it be (as no doubt it is) an unfeemely fight for man and wife to kiffe, clip, embrace, and ufe dalliance together in the prefence of others; how can it club but be more shamefull and unfeemly to chide, brawle, and taunt one another before strangers; and when a man hath plaied, sported, and used love delights in secret with his wife, afterwards in open place to checke, tebuke, nip and gird at her with spightfull speeches in the face

of the world?

to no purpose, if it doe not represent to the life the face of him or her that looketh into it; no 50 more is a woman worth ought (be she otherwise never so rich) unlesses the conforme and frame her selfe, her maners and conditions surable in all respects to her husband. A falle mit rour it is, and good for nothing, that sheweth a sad and heavie countenance to him who is merie and jocund, and contrariwise, which resemble that glad and smiling visage to one who is melancholike, angrie and discontent; even so, a bad woman is she, and a very untoward piece, who when her husband is desirous to solace himselfe and be merry in disporting with her, frowneth and looketh doggedly under the browes, and on the other side, when she feeth him amused in serious matters, and in a deepe study about his affaires, is set on a merrie pin, and given to mirth

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and laughter; for as the one is a figne of a fowre plumme and an unpleasant yoke-fellow, so the other bewraieth a woman that fetteth light by the affections of her husband; whereas indeed befitting it were, that as (by the faying of Geometricians) the lines and superficers move not at all of themselves, but according to the motions of the bodies; even so a wife should have no proper passion or peculiar affection of her owne, but be a partaker of the sports, serious affaires. fad countenance, deepe thoughts, and fmiling looks of her husband.

13 They that take no pleasure, nor can not away that their wives doe eat and drinke freelie with them at the table in their fight, doe as much as teach them how to cram themselves and fill their gorge apart when they be alone; even fo they that will not vouchfafe to live merrily and be pleasant with their wives, nor can abide to disport and laugh privately with them, teach them 10

the ready way to feeke their pleafures and delights by themselves.

14 The kings of Perfia at their ordinarie meales have their queenes or espouled wives to fit by them at the boord, but when they lift to be merrie indeed and carroufe luftily untill they be drunke, they fend them away to their chambers, and call for their concubines, finging wenches, and muficall trulles in their place; * I can commend them yet for fo doing, in that they would not have their owne lawfull wives to be partakers of their drunkennesse and licentious corruption in loofenesse. If therefore it chance that some private person abandoned to his owne pleasures, untaught, and given to leawd conditions, chance to do a fault in abufing himfelfeeither with his his tune : for paramour or his wives chamber-maid, his wife must not be angrie for the matter and frowneat him for it, but rather thus to thinke with her felfe, and make this construction, that her husband 20 neft matron will not able to being loth and affraid to offend her with his drunkennesse, unbridled lust and intemperance, turan injurie, nor ned another way for that purpose.

Kings if they love mulicke, cause many good musicians to be in their kingdome; if they fet their minds upon their booke, they make many learned clearks; if they be given to feats of activitie and exercise of the body, many of their subjects (by that example) will prove champions and tall men of their hands; even so a husband that loveth to trim and pamper his bodic, caufeth his wife (by that meanes) to study nothing els but the tricking and pruning of her selse; he that followeth his pleafures and wanton delights, maketh her alfo to be lascivious and toplay the harlot; but who that embraceth honestie, and ensueth vertue and good things, by his exam-

ple shall have an honest, vertuous and wise wife of her.

16 A young woman of Sparra being asked the question by one, whether she had medled or lien yet with her husband : Not I (quoth she) but he hath with me. And in very trueth, in this maner (by mine advice) it would become an honest matron and huswife to behave herselfe toward her husband, that the neither reject and disdaine dalliance and love sports with him, if he begin with her, nor yet herselfe offer such temptations first unto him; for as this is a trickeof a wanton and unshame-faced strumper, so the other bewraieth a proud woman, and one who is

nothing lovely nor amiable. 17 A woman ought to have no peculiar friends by herselfe, but to use her husbands friends and take them as her owne. Confidering then, that the gods challenge the first and principall place in friendship, * the wife is to acknowledge and worship the same gods (and none elsbut 40 those) whom her husband honoureth, serveth, and reputeth gods; moreover, the ought to shut and locke the gate against all curious and new inventions of religions, and not to enterteine any ftrange and forren superstitions; for I assure you, to none of the gods can those divine services and facrifices be acceptable, which a woman will feeme to celebrate by ftealth, and without the

knowledge and privitie of her husband.

18 Plate writeth, that the citie is bleffed and happie, wherein a man shall never heare these words: This is mine, and, This is not mine: for that the inhabitants thereof have all things there (especially, if they be of any woorth and importance) as neere as possibly they can, commonamong them: but these words ought rather to be banished out of the state of matrimonie, unlesse it be (as the Physicians holde) that the blowes or woundes which are given on the less 50 fide of the body, are felt on the right; even so a wife ought to have a fellow-feeling (by way of sympathic and compassion) of her husbands calamities, and the husband of his wives, much more; to the end, that like as those knots are much more fast and strong, when the ends of the cords are knit and interlaced one within another, even fo the bond of marriage is more firme and fure, when both parties (the one aswell as the other) bring with them a mutuall affection and reciprocall benevolence, whereby the fellowship and communion between ethem is mainteined jointly by them both; for nature herselse hath made a mixture of us, of two bodies, to

the end that by taking part of one and part of another, and mixing all together, the might make that which commeth thereof, common to both, in fuch fort, as neither of the twaine can difeerne and distinguish what is proper to the one or peculiar to the other. This communion of goodsespecially, ought principally to be among those who are linked in wedlocke, for that they should put in common, and have all their havorie incorporate into one substance, in such wife, as they repute not this part proper to one, and that part peculiar to another, but the whole proper to themselves, and nothing to another: and like as in one cuppe where there is more water than wine, yet we fay nevertheleffe that the whole is wine; even to the goods and the house ought to beare the name of the husband, although peradventure the wife brought with her the to bigger portion.

Precepts of wedlocke.

Helene was covetous, and Paris lascivious; contrariwise, Ulustes was reputed wise, and Penelope chafte; and therefore the mariage of these last named, was bleffed, happie and beloved; but the conjunction of those two before, infortunate, bringing upon the Greeks and Barbari-

ans both, a whole Iliad, that is to fay, an infinite maffe of miferies and calamities.

20 Agentleman of Rome, who espoused an honest, rich, faire and yoong ladie, put her away, and was divorced from her; whereupon being reprooved and sharply rebuked by all his friends, he put forth his foot unto them and thewed them his thoo: What finde you (quoth he) in this shoo of mine amisse? new it is and faire to see to; howbeit, there is not one of you all knoweth where it wringeth me, but I wot well where the fault is, and feele the inconvenience 20 thereof. A wife therefore is not to ft and fo much upon her goods and the down is thee brings, nor in the nobilitie of her race and parentage, ne yet in her beautie, as in those points which touch her husband most, and come neerest to his heart; namely, her conversation and fellowthip, her maners, her carrage & demeanor, in all respects so disposed, that they be all not harsh, nor troublesome from day to day unto her husband, but pleasant, lovely, obsequious, and agreeable to his humor: for like as Physicians feare those feavers which are engendred of secret and hidden causes within the bodie, gathering in long continuance of time by little and little, more than fuch as proceed from evident and apparent causes without; even so there fall out otherwhiles petie jarres, daily and continuall quarels betweene man and wife, which they fee and know full little that be abroad; and thefe they be which breed feparation, and cause them to part soo-30 ner than any thing els, these marre the pleasure of their cohabitation more than any other cause whatfoever.

21 King Philip was enamoured upon a certaine Theffalian woman, who was supposed and charged, by her forceries and charmes to have enchanted him to love her; whereupon queene Olympias his wife wrought fo, that the got the woman into her hands; now when the had well viewed her person, and considered her beautifull visage, her amiable favour, her comely grace, and how her speech shewed well that she was a woman of some noble house, and had good bringing up : Out upon these flanderous surmises (quoth she) and false impurations; for I see well that the charmes and forceries which thou usest, are in thy selfe. In like maner we must thinke, that an espoused and legitimate wife is as one would fay, a fort inexpugnable, namely, such an 40 one, as (in her felfe repofing and placing all thefethings, to wit, her dowrie, nobilitie, charmes and love-drinks, yea, and the very tiffue or girdle of Venus, by her study and endevour, by her gentle behavior, her good grace and vertue) is able to win the affectionate love of her husband

22 Another time, the same queene Olympias hearing that a certaine young gentleman of the Court had married a ladie, who though the were faire and well-favoured, yet had not altogether the best name: This man (quoth shee) hath no wit at all in his head, for otherwise hee would never have married according to the counfell and appetite of his eies only. And in trueth we ought not to goe about for to contract marriage by the cie or the fingers, as some doe who count with their fingers how much money, or what goods a wife bringeth with her, never ca-50 fting and making computation of her demeanour and conditions, whether she be so well qua-

lified, as that they may have a good life with her.

23 Socrates was woont to counfell young men who used to see their faces and looke upon themselves in mirrours, if they were foule or ill-favoured, to correct that deformitie by vertue; if they were faire, not to foile and staine their beautie with vice; semblably, it were very well that the mistresse of an house having in her hand a looking glasse, should say thus unto her selfe if the befoule and deformed: What a one should I beif I were nought or leawd withall? if faire and well-favoured: How highly shall I be esteemed, if I be honest and wife besides? for if an

* Herein alfo

hard-favoured woman be loved for her faire and gentle conditions, the hath more honor thereby, than if the wan love by beautie onely.

24 The tyrant of Sicily (Diony sim) lent upon a time unto the daughters of Lysander certaine rich robes, costly wreathes and precious jewels as presents; but Lysander would not receive these gifts, faying: These presents would bring more shame than honour to my daughters. And the Poet sophocles, before Lyfanders time, wrote to the like effect in thele verfes:

This will (ô wresch) to thee none honour bring, But may be thought a foule and shamefull thing; It doth bewray a fop and foole in kinde, And one who beares amost lascivious minde.

for (according as the Philosopher Crates faid) That is an ornament which doth adorne; and that adorneth a wife, which maketh her more comely and decent: this are not jewels of golde able to do, nor emerauds and other precious stones, nor purple and scarletrobes, but that only

which causeth her to be reputed grave, sober, lowly and modest.

25 Those that sacrificed to Juno (surnamed Gametia, that is, Nuptiall) offered not the gall with the rest of the beast that was killed, but plucked it out of the body, cast it aside, and laid it by, about the altar; by which ceremonie, he who oever he was that first instituted it, would give us to understand; that in matrimonie there ought to be no gall, that is to say, no bitter choler and anger at all; hee meant not thereby that a woman should not be grave, for a wife and matton that is mistresse of an house, must carie an austere countenance in some fort, but this austerity to or tartneffe ought to be like that verdure which is in wine, that is to fay, holfome and pleafant, not bitter or eager in any wife, as is Aloe Succotrine, nor refembling any fuch purgative drugs,

26 Plato perceiving Xenocrates the Philosopher (a man otherwise vertuous and welldis posed) to be given a little to over-much severitie, admonished him to sacrifice unto the Graces, even fo I suppose, that a vertuous dame hath need also of the Graces helpe, as much as of any thing els, when the converfeth with her husband, to the end that the may live in joy with him (as Metradorus faith) and not move him to anger and displeasure, for all she be an honest and chaste matron, and so repent another day of her pudicitie: for neither must a frugall huswife and faving dame neglect to be cleane and neat, nor fhe that loveth her husband entirely, ceafe to of fer kindnesse unto him, and deale with him after an amiable and loving fort; for surely the sowre 30 conversation of a woman maketh all her honesty to be but odious, like as sluttery also causethall her frugalitie and thrift to be hatefull and displeasant; insomuch as she who is afraid to look pleafantly, and finile upon her husband, or to fhew fome fuch like love-trickes, because for footh The would not be thought bold and wanton, is much like unto her, who because the would not feeme to have her head befineered with precious perfumes, forbearethalfo to be annointed with oile, and for that folke should not thinke that shee painteth her face, will not so much as wash the same. Poets we see and orators, as many of them as would avoide a base, illiberall, and ill affected kinde of stile, without good grace which breedeth tediousnes in the reader and hearer, studie and endevour with all the wit they have to entertaine and moove both the one and the other by their fine invention, good dispose, and naturall representation of the manners of each 40 person; and even so, an honest dame and huswife shall do well, to avoide and reject all superfluitie, all curiofitie, and in one word what foever favoureth of a whoore, or fuch an one as loveh to shew her selfe abroad in pompous manner, and rather employ all her wit, her art and industrie in the pleafant and amiable carriage of her felfe, in her affabilitie and lovely convertation with her husband, daily and howerly acquainting and accustoming him to honestie and decence with pleasure and delight. Howbeit, if it fall out so, that some one woman be so austere of nature, that by no meanes which the husband uleth, he can make her pleasant and sociable, in this case he must be content and beare his owne crosses and like as Phoeion answered to Antipate, who required him to do a dishonest act and little befeeming his estate: Sir (quoth he) you can not have me to be your friend and a flatterer to; even so must be say to himselfe of such a wife, so who is fowreand unpleafant, but yet honest: It is not meet that I should looke to converse with her as a true espoused wife and a light harlot also.

27 The Egyptian wives by the ancient cultome of their countrey, weare no shooes at all on their feete, to the endthat this fashion of going might put them in mind to keepe home; but far otherwise it is with our dames for the most part, from whom if you take their gilded pantofles, their carkanets, their bracelets, their fine garters, their purple garments and pearles, they

will never go once out of their houses.

28 Theano, as the one day dreffed her felfe and put on her raiment, chanced to thew her armea good way bare, and when one that flood by perceived it, and faid withall: Oh there is a faire elbow: True (quoth the) but it is not for every man; and even fo, not the arme onely of a chaste and honest dame ought not to be common, but also not so much as her verie speech; for theis as well in manner to take heed and beware how the open her mouth and speake much, as to discover and lay her bodie naked before strangers, for that her manners, actions, and conditions which the hath, the openeth unto others when the fpeaketh. 29 Phidias, when he made the image of Venus for the Elæans, devised that she should tread

with her feete upon a tortoile shell, fignifying thereby that a woman ought to keepe home and not goe foorth of doores, but flay within house with filence; for furely a wife is to speake either unto her husband onely, or elfe by the meanes of her husband; neither must the thinke much and be offended, if like the minftrell that foundeth the hautboies, she utter a lowder and bigger

voice than her owne, by the tongue of another.

30 Great men and rich, princes also and kings, in honouring Philosophers, do grace both them and their owne felves; but Philosophers in making court and doing fervice unto those rich and mighty personages, adde thereby no reputation unto them, but make themselves more honored and better accepted; femblably it fareth with wives, for when they be subject to their husbands, they winne praise and commendation, but when they will needs bee masters, they get greater shame by it, and do more undecently, than those whom they have the maithrie of. 20 For by good right, the husband ought to rule over the wife; not as the lord over his flave, or that which he possession; but after the same manner as the soule governeth the bodie, by a certaine mutuall love and reciprocall affection, wherewith he is linked unto her: for as the foule may well have a care of the bodie, without subjecting it selfe to the pleasures and disordinate lusts thereof; even so, may an husband have the soveraignty over his wife, and withall exercise

the same neverthelesse in all kindnes, and be readie to gratiste and please her. 21 Philosophers doe hold opinion that of bodies some constit of parts disjoined and diflinct, and separate one from another, as a fleet of ships or an armie of men; others of pieces joined together and touching close one another, as an house or a ship; and some againe bee composed of parts united and incorporate into one nature living and growing together, as the 30 bodies of living creatures. Much like to these compositions is wedlocke: for the conjunction of those in matrimonie, who love entirely one another, and for pure love be linked in marriage, refembleth a bodie, the parts whereof are naturally united together: that copulation of those who marrie for rich dowries, wealth, or procreation of children, may be compared to that bodie which standeth of pieces, that touch onely and meet together in a joint: but such a marriaage as respecteth nothing but carnall companie in bed together, is like unto those bodies, the parts whereof stand afunder, and neither be united in one, nor touch one the other. But like as the natural Philosophers affirme, that liquid bodies or humours be those which are apr to bee mingled wholy one with another in every part; even fo, it behoveth that of those who are joined together in matrimony the bodies, goods, friends, & familiars, be totally intermingled together: 40 which is the reason that the law-giver in setting downe the Romane lawes, forbad expresly fuch as were entred into the bond of wedlocke, to give and receive any gifts interchangeably, or to make mutuall donation; not intending thereby that they should participate in nothing, but that they should repute all things in common betweene them.

32 A custome their was in Lepris, a citie situate in Libra, that the new-wedded bride the morrowafter her marriage, should send unto the bridegroomes mother, for to borrow a brasle pot or kettle to hang over the fire; but his mother-inlaw must denie it and fay, shee hath none for her 3 to the ende that this yoong wife being at the first acquainted with the fashious of her mother-inlaw, favouring fomewhat of a crooked stepdame, might not thinke it strange or be much grieved if it chance afterward that the deale more hardly with her. A wife knowing thus 50 much, ought betimes to meet with all occasions of such ordinarie offences which proceed from nothing els, but a jealousie that the stepmother hath over her, for the love that she beareth unto her sonne: The only remedie of which passion is this, that the new-wedded wife endeuor so to win the affection of her husband, that the doe not withall diminish nor withdraw that affection of his which a fonne ought to beare unto his naturall mother.

33 It feemeth that mothers ordinarily of children, love their fonnes better than the daughters, as at whose hands they hope for more succour another day; and fathers contrariwise aftect their daughters more, as who have more need of their helping hand; and peradventure it may be, that in regard of the honor the one beareth to the other, either of them would feeme to carie greater affection to that which is more proper and familiar to the other : and yet happily this holdeth not alwaies, but there may be some difference therein: but certeinly a civill part it is and very well befitting a wife to fnew herfelfe to have a better inclination to ho nor and make much of hir husbands parents than hir owne; yea & if at any time she be offended or grieved at ought, to conceale her griefe from her owne father and mother, and to lay the fame open and make her mone unto his; for in declaring that the hath the better affiance and trust in them, the gaincth more confidence at their hands, and by feeming to love them better, the is the rather

beloved of them againe. The captaines under Cyrus gave commandement to their foldiors, that when the eni- 10 mies gave the charge upon them with great out-cries, they should receive them with silence; & contrariwife, if they came to affaile and fet upon them in filence, they should encounter them with mightic shouts; even so, women that are wife and of good understanding, when they perceive their husbands in choler, & thereupon growing to high words, use to hold their tongues; and on the other fide, if their husbands go up and downe and fay nothing, although they bean. grie, ought to moove speech unto them, and by faire language to appeale and mittigate their moode. Wifely did the poet Euripides in reprooving those that called for the harpe and other minstrelsie at feasts where they dranke wineliberally : For it behoved rather (quoth he) to have musicke when as men be in fits either of choler or melancholie, to delay their anger and heavinesse, than to enervate them yet more, who are in their meriments and pleasure enseebledal 10 readie, semblably you must thinke that you doe a fault, if you goe to bed and companie to gether for to pleasure one another, and when you bee at some debate and difference, youpar beds and lie afunder; not calling at fuch a time for the aide of lady Venus, who knoweth bestand is wont in fuch cases to remedicall: which the poet Homer in one place teachethus verie well, where he bringeth in dame Iuno speaking in this wife:

I heir long debates I will soone end, and bitter braules compose, By bringing them to bed both twaine, to sport and take repose.

Certes a wife ought stall times and in everie place to avoide the occasion of quarrels with 30 her husband, and the husband likewise with the wife; but especially they must beware how they fall out when they are in one bed, for to solace one another and to sleepe together. A good wife there was, who when the was in travell and ready to cry out as feeling the throwes comming thicke upon her, and not able to endure them, when the women about her would have laidher upon abed: And how can (quoth the) this bed eafe the paines of this my maladie, feeing I gat it first upon the same bed; and even so verily the quarrels, braules, shrewd words, and angie fits which arise in bed, hardly can be taken up and ended at any other time, or els where than

It feemeth that lady Hermion spake truely when in a tragedie of Euripides she said thus: Leawd women who to my house did resort,

Have me undone, andrais' da badreport.

Howbeit this is not simply true, neither falleth it out alwaies so when such use to come into an house, but onely at those times when the quarrellous braules and jealous fits of a wife withher hus band openeth not the doores onely of the house, but her eares also to such gossips, Atsuch a time therefore a wife woman ought to stop her cares and take heed of their whifpering and prailing suggestions, for seare least the stirre new coles, or put fire to fire, and to have in reading the faying of king Philip of Macedon: for we read of him, that when his friends incited him 10 anger against the Greekes, who (notwithstanding he was so gracious unto them, and had received many favors at his hands) ceased not to backbite and slander him, made them this answer: What thinke you will they doe then, if I should worke them a shrewd turne? semblablic when so make-bate women shall come twatling and say: How doth your husband missile you, loving him, and making so much of him as you doe in all dutie and loialty ? your answere must be: What will become of me then if I should begin to hate him and doe him injurie?

36 A certeine mafter there was upon a time who espied aslave of his that was long before runne away, and when he had fet his eieupon him, ranne apace for to take hold of him; the poore flave fled ftill, and gat at length a mil-house over his head: That's happie (quoth the mar fter to himfelfe) I would not with to meet with him in a better place 5 even to a woman who up on jealousie is upon the point to be divorced and depart from her husband, and being ill appaid inher mind for being driven to this hard exigent, should thus speake unto herselfe: What is it that my concurrent who is the cause of this my jealousse can wish in her heart to content her better than to feeme do this whereabout I am? namely, to vexe and torment my felfe thus as 1 do, to be fo far out, and in fuch tearmes with my husband, abandoning his house, and forfaking our mariage bed.

The Athenians observe and celebrate three seasons of sacred seednesse in the yeare; the first in the isle Seyros, in memoriall of the first invention of tillage and sowing in that countrey; the fecond in a place called Raria; and the third, under their owne citie walles, which they ro call Buzygion, in remembrance of yoking oxen to the plough: but the nuptiall tillage (as I may fo fay) which is imploied for iffue and procreation of children, and to mainteine our race and posterity, is the most facted of all other, and ought to be observed with all holinesse. And therefore Sophocles well and wifely gave this attribute unto Cytherea or Venus, when hee named her Eucarpos, that is, Fertile or Fruitfull; in which regard man and wife lawfully joined in matrimonie, are to use the same religiously and with all precisenesse, absteining wholly from all incestuous, illegitimate and forbidden conjunctions, and not plowing or fowing there, whereas they are not willing to reape, or if it chance that there come up any fruit, they are alhamed thereof, and willing to hide and conceale it.

38 Gorgias the oratour, in a great affembly at the Olympian games, made a folemne ora-20 tion to the Greeks, who were met there from all parts, exhorting them to live in peace, unitie and concord one with another; at which speech of his, one Melanthus there present: This man (quoth he) telleth us a tale of unitie, and exhorteth us all to concord here in publike, who cannot perswade in his private house at home, himselfe, his owne wife & her chamber-maid to agree and live peaceably together, being but three in all, and no more : for it should seeme that Gorgias call a fancie to the faid wench, and his wife was jealous of her : and therefore his house and familie ought to be in good order, who will buffe himselfe and intermeddle in ordering of publike affaires, or composing of matters among friends; for commonly it falleth out that the faults which we commit against our wives, be more divulged abroad in the world, than the mif-

demeanours of our wives.

39 Cats are much offended (they fay) with the odour and fent of sweet perfumes, insomuch as they will runne mad therewith; if it chance likewife, that a woman can not away with fuch perfumes, but that her braines be thereby troubled, and ready to overturne, her husband were of a very strange nature and should deale hardly with her, in case he would not forbeare to use sweet ointments or strong senting odours, but for a little pleasure of his owne, to suffer her for to fall into fo great inconvenience, and to neglect her contentment. Now if it be fo, that fuch accidents of brain-fickneffe happen unto women, not when their busbands be perfumed, but when they are given to keepe queanes and love harlots, it were meere injustice in them, for a fmall pleasure of their owne to offend and disquiet their wives, and not to doe so much for their fake as those who come among bees, who for that purpose will not touch their owne wives for 40 the time, because bees (as it is faid) hate such, and are ready to sting them above all others, but cary so bad a minde with them, as to come and lie by their owne wives side, being polluted and defiled with the filthic companie of other strumpets.

40 They that have the government of elephants, never put on white raiment when they come about them, no more do they weare red clothes who approch neere unto bulles; for that these beasts before named are afraid of such colours especially, and grow fierce and wood therewith. It is faid moreover, that tygers when they heare the found of drummes or tabours about them, become enraged, and in a furious madneffe all to teare themselves. Seeing it is so therefore, that there be fome men who can not abide, but are highly displeased to see their wives in their scarlet & purple robes; and others againe, who can not away with the found of cymbals or 50 tabours; what harme is it, if their wives wil forbeare both the one and the other, for feare of provoking and offending their husbands, and live with them without unquiet brawles and janglings in all repose and patience?

41 A certeine yong woman, when king Philip plucked and haled her unto him against her will: Hand off good fir (quoth she) and let me goe, all cats be gray in the darke, and when the candle is out all women are alike. It is not amiffe to fay to (I confesse) unto dissolute persons and adulterers; but an honest married dame ought (especially when the light is gone) not to be all one with other common naughty packs, but even then when as her body can not be feene, to let her chastitie, honestie, and pure love to her husband appeare most, that it may be well seene that she keepeth herselfe for him alone.

Precepts of wedlocke.

42 Plate exhorted elder folke to behave themselves more modestly before yong persons. than any other, that so they might learne also to reverence their elders and be respecteous of them; for where olde people be thamelesse, it is not possible to imprint any share or grace in the yonger. Now ought an husband evermore to cary in remembrance this precept: To have none in the world in better respect and more reverence, than his owne wife, for asmuch as the bed-chamber is unto her a schoole-house either of chastity and pudicity, or els of loosenesse and incontinence; for the husband that followeth those pleasures himselfe which he debarreth his wife of, doth as much as bid his wife to fight with those enemies unto whom he hath already to yeelded himfelfe prisoner.

43 Morcover, as touching the love and defire to go trim, and to decke and adorne the body, I would with you (ô Eurydice) to endevor for to call to your remembrance those rules which you have read in the treatife that Timexensu wrote unto Ariffilla concerning that argument, And as for you (ô Pollianus) never thinke that your wife will absteine from such curiosity, and lay away those delights and superfluities, so long as she perceiveth that you despise not, nor reject the like vanity in other things, but that you take pleasure both to see and have your cuppes and goblets gilt, your cabinets curioully and coftly painted, your mules and horses set out with rich caparisons, sumptuous trappings, and costly surniture: for an hard matter it is to chaseaway and banish such delicate superfluities out of the nurcery and womens chamber, so long as 20 they fee the fame to reigne in the mens parlour and where they have to do.

44 Furthermore, you Pollianus being now of ripe yeres to studie those sciences which are grounded upon reason, and proceed by undoubted demonstration, adorne from hence forward your maners by frequenting the company of fuch persons, and conversing with them, who may serve you in good stead and farther you that way : and as for your wife, see you doe the part of a studious and industrious Bee, in gathering for her and to her hand from all parts good things which you thinke may benefit & profit her, likewife bring the fame home with you, impart them unto her, devise and commune with her about them apart, and by that meanes make familiar and pleasant unto her the best bookes and the best discourses that you can meet with all:

For why? to her you are in stead, of fire and brother kind; A mother deere from henceforth now to her she must you find.

like as in Homer, Andromache faid of her husband Hettor. And verily in mine opinion it were no leffe honorable for a man to heare his wife fay thus unto him: My husband, you are my teachet, my regent, my master, and instructor in Philosophie, and in the knowledge of the most divine and excellent literature; for these sciences and liberall arts do above all other things divert and withdraw the minds of women from other unwoorthie and unseemely exercises. A matron or dame who hath studied Geometrie, will be ashamed to make profession of dauncing the measures; and she that is alreadic enchanted and charmed (as it were) with the fingular dif 40 courses of Plato and Xenophon, will never like of the charmes and enchantments of witches and forcerers; and if any enchantresse should come unto her, and make promise to draw downethe moone from heaven, the would mocke those women and laugh at their groffe ignorance, who fuffer themselves to be perswaded for to beleeve the same, as having learned somewhat in Aftrologic, and heard that Aganice the daughter of Hegetor, a great Lord in Thesalia, knowing the reason of the ecclipses of the moone when she is at the full, and observing the verietime when the bodie of the moone will meet right with the shadow of the earth, abused other women of that countrey, and made them believe that it was herfelfe who fetched downe themoon out of the skie.

45 It was never heardyet that a woman by course of nature should conceive, and bring 50 foorth a childe of her felfe alone without the companie of man: marie some there be who have beene knowen to gather in their wombe a rude masse or lumpe, without the true forme of a reafonable creature, refembling rather a piece of flesh engendred and growing to a consistence by meanes of some corruption, which some call a Mole. Great heed therefore would be taken that the like befall not to the foule and mind of women; for if they receive not from others the feeds of good matters and instructions, that is to say, if their husbands helpe them not to conceive good doctrine and found knowledge, they will of themselves fall a breeding and be delivered of

many strange conceits, absurd opinions, and extravagant passions. But mine advice unto you Eurydice, is to be studious alwaies in the notable sayings and sentences morall of sage, wise, and approved men: have alwaies in your mouth the good words, which heretofore when you were ayoong maiden you heard and learned of us; to the end that you may be a joy to your husband, and be praifed and commended by other women, when they shall see you so honorably adornedand beautified without any cost bestowed upon brooches, tablets and jewels: for you can not possibly come by the precious pearles of this or that rich and wealthie woman, nor have the filken gownes and velvet robes of fuch a Ladie of a strange countrey, for to array or trim your felfe withall, but you must buy them at an exceeding high and deere price : but the ornaments 10 and attite of Theano, of Cleobuline, of Gorgo the wife of king Leonidas, of Timoclea, the fifter of Theagenes, of Clodia the ancient Romane Ladie, of dame Cornelia, the fifter of Scipio, and of other Ladies and gentlewomen so much renowmed and bruited heretofore for their rare vertues, you may have gratu, freely and without a penie cost; wherewith if you decke and adorne your selfe, you shall live both happily, and also with honor and glorie. For if Sappho for her sufficiency in Poetrie, and the skill that the had in verfifying, stucke not to write thus to a certaine rich and wealthie dame in her time:

All dead thou shalt one day entombed be, There shall remaine of thee no memorie, For that no part of roses came to thee That flower upon the mountaine Picric.

Why shouldest not thou thinke better of thy selfe, and take more joy and contentment in thine heart, confidering thou hast thy part not onely of the roses and flowers, but also of the fruits which the Muses bring foorth and yeeld to those who love good letters, and highly esteeme of Philosophie?



THE BANQVET OF THE SEVEN SAGES.

The Summarie.

Hether it were that the persons named in this discourse following were at a banquet in deed, and there discoursed of such matters as are here by Plutarch handled; or that himselfe had collected and gathered the Apophthegmes and histories of his time; or how foever it was; we may fee by this prefent Treatife what was the custome of Sages andwife men in ancient time at their feasts, namely, to invite one another courteously, to solace themselves and make merrie hartily, without many scremonies and complements to shew sincers amitie, and without excessive cost and expense to keepe good cheere after a plaine, open, and simple manner. The principall part of which meetings and frequentings of the table, being emploied in devising sadly, and with setled minde both during their repast, and a prettie while after, of matters honest, pleasant, and tending to good instruction and edification; as this booke and the Symposiakes or Table-discourses, whereof we shall see more hereafter do plainly shew. This manner and custome deser-50 veth to be opposed partly against the solitarie life, and beggerly niggardise of basemisers, coverous penni-fathers, and fuch like enemies of humaine focietie, and in part against the excessive pompe, unmeasurable sumptuositte, dissolute riots and foolish vanitte and gourmandise of those that love nothing but their paunch, and know no other god to worship but their bellie; as also against the fond laughters, bragging vanteries, impudent facings, seurrile mockeries, and dogged backbitings, that sensiesse Jots and previle persons are given unto; and finally against the enormities, violences, and outrages, of Such as are wholy ab and oned and given over to smne and wickednes. Moreover, so come more particularly to this booke folowing, Plutarch bringeth in one named Diocles, who recouteth unto Nicarchus

all that was faid and done at Corinth in a certeine banquet, at which were these persons, namel, Periander the fovereigne lord of that citie, and the hoft who badall the guefts, to wit, Solon, Bias, Tha. les, Cleobulus, Pittacus and Chilon, named in those daies, The seven Sages or wise men of Greece. Item, Anacharsis, Aclope, Niloxenus, Cleodemus and certeine others. But before that he entreshimo any speech of that which passed during the banquet and afterwards, he rehearsethinecom. munication held betweene Thales and those of his company upon the way of Corinth, where they talke of matters handled more at large afterwards: then confequently hee treateth of that which a quell ought to do who is invited to a banquet, and describeth what hapned among some of the guests: proceeding a little forward, he declareth what was the maner of the entrance, the flint and end of the ban. quet, to wir, modest, and seasoned with pleasant speeches (and those most honest and crails) of the bost in and his familie : which done, he entreth into the recitall of the talke that was held after the supper or banques; of which the beginning grew from the musicke of flutes, and by a certeine comparison deviled with a good grace, he caufeth audience to be given unto Niloxenus a ftranger; by occasion whereof, Bias doth expound the riddle or darks question fent by a king of Acthopia unto the king of Acgypt, which in the same traine inferreth an excellent occasion to speake of the duevie and office of kings; of which argument, all the forefaid Sages is were their minds fummarily, together with the propertid. dles and anigmaticall questions from the king of Aegypt to the king of Acthiopia. Now after the descriphering and assoiling of the said riddles, the former Sages fall into a discourse as touching the co. ucrnment popular and occornomicall, upon which point they doe opine and speake their mindes inorder, comming afterwards to conference together of certaine particularities of house-keeping to wit of drin to king and other pleasures; of the quantitie of goods that may suffice a man; of the fingalitie, this and Sobrietie of men in olde time; of the necessitie and delight of drinking and eating; and finally of the difcommodities, inconveniences and miseries incident to mans life in this behalfe. And for a conclusion, bringethin one Gorgias, who being arrived unlooked for, and comming suddenly in place, relateishihe strange accident of Arion Swed by the meanes of a dolphin; which report draweth on the companie to other like narrations and tales: at the end whereof, after grace faid and thanks giving according to the accustomed maner of that people, the quests retire themselves and depart.

THE BANQUET OF THE

seven Sages.

Diocles.



Ertes, the long processe and continuance of time (my good friend Nicarchies) can not chuse but breed and bring much darknesse, obfeuritie and incertitude of mens actions and affaires; when as now in matters fo fresh, so new, and so lately passed, you have met with certeine falle reports, which notwithstanding are believed and received for true : for there were not onely those seven guests at the # table in this feaft, as you have heard and are borne in hand, but more than twife fo many, of whom my felfe made one, being familiar and inward with Periander, by reason of mine art and profession, and the host besides to Thales; (for by the commandement of Perian-

der, he lodged in mine house) neither hatin he (who soever he was that related the thing unto you) borne well in minde, and remembred what the speeches and discourses were, which they held; which maketh me verily to thinke that he was not himselfe one of them who were at the banquet. But seeing we are now at good leasure (and for that olde age is no suretie sufficient to give good warrantile for to defer and put off this report unto a farther time, and because you are so desirous to know the trueth) I will rehearse unto you all in order even from the very be 10 ginning.

First and formost, the feast was prepared by Periander, not within the citie, but about the port or haven Leeheon, in a faire great hall or dining chamber neere to the Temple of Venus, unto whom there was also a facrifice offered; for since the infortunate love of his mother, who voluntarily made herfelfe away, having not facrificed unto Venus, this was the first time that he was moved thereto, as being incited by certaine dreames of Meliffa to worship and adore the said goddesse. Now to every one of the guests invited to this banquet, there was a coatchbrought,

richly appointed and fet out accordingly, for to convey and conduct them to the place appoint red, for that it was the Summer feason, and all the port-way from the citie, as farre as to the featide, was full of dust, and refounded with great noise by reason of a number of chariots and a world of people going to and fro betweene. As for Thales, seeing at my gates a coatch standing andready to carie him, he fel a finiling and laughing, and fo fent it backe againe : he and I then put our selves in our way, and went faire and softly together on foot over the fields; and a third there was, who bare us companie, to wit, Niloxenus of Naucratia, a man of good woorth, and one who had beene familiarly acquainted with Solon and Thales before-time in Aegypt, and as then was he fent the fecond time unto Bias, but wherefore, himfelfe knew not, unlesse (as hee 10 suspected) it were to bring unto him a second question inclosed and sealed within a packet; for this charge and commandement he had: That if Bias refused and would not take upon him to affoile and expound the same, he should shew it to the wifest Sages of the Greeks. Then began Niloxinus: An happy feast (quothhe) is this to me (my masters) and unexpected, wherein I shall finde you all together, for I carie with me thither a packet as you see, and with that he shewedit unto us: Then (quoth Thales smiling) if you have therein any hard and untoward question to beedisfolved, cary it agains to Pyrene, for Biss will declare the meaning the eof, like as hee affoiled the former: What former question was that (quoth 1:) Mary (quoth he againe) hee tent unto him a theepe for facrifice, commanding that hee thould take out of it the best and woorst piece thereof, and so to fend the faid flesh unto him: hee therefore well and wisely 30 plucked foorth the tongue, and fent it unto him; for which hee was (by good right) well praised, highly effected, and held in great admiration. It was not therefore onely (quoth Miloxenus) that hee came to fo great a name, but also for that hee refused not the amitie of princes and kings as you doe: for Amasis admired many more things in you, and namely among others, when you tooke the measure of the height of the Pyramis in Egypt, he woondered exceedingly, and made high account of your conceit, for that without any great hand-labour, and the same requiring no instrument at all, by setting up a staffe onely plumbe upright, at the very point and end of the shadow which the said Pyramis cast, and by two Triangles which the beames of the funne caused, you made demonstration, that what proportion there was betweene the length of both shadowes, to wit, of the Pyramis and the 30 staffe, the same was betweene the height of the one and the other. But as I said before, you were accused unto the sameking Amasis for bearing no good will unto kings and their estate, which was the cause of your disgrace and disfavour with him; besides, there were brought unto him and presented many flanderous speeches and contumelious answers of yours as touching tyrants: as for example; when Molpagor as a great lord of Ioma demaunded upon a time of you what strange thing you had in your time scene? you answered: A tyrant living to be an old man: Againe, at a certeine banket there being some speech mooved as touching beasts which was the worst and did most harme? you made answer, that: Of wilde beasts a tyrant, and of tame bealts a flatterer was most dangerous; for I may tell you: Kings howfoever they fay that they differ from tyrats, yet take they no pleafure at fuch Apophthegmes as those. That answer (quoth 40 Thalesagaine) was none of mine, but Pittaew it was, who made it one day in fcoffing merilie to Myrillus: for mine one part, I doe not so much mervaile at an aged tyrant, as I doe woonder to fee an oldepilot: howbeit as touching this transposition and taking one for another, I am of the same minde, and am willing to say, as that yoong man did who flung a stone at a dogge, and miffing the dog hit his owne stepmother and felled her withall; whereat: It makes no matter (quoth he) for even fo, the stone hath not light amisse. For, and in truth I my selfe alwaies esteemed Solon a right wife man, for that he refused to be the tyrant of his owne country: and even fo Pittaeun if he had never come to take upon him a monarchie, would not have delivered this speech; Howhard a thing is it to beca good man! And it should seeme that Periander being feized upon (as a man would fay) by the fame tyranny, as an hereditarie disease from his father, 50 did not amisse to endevour what he could to free himselse and get out of it, by conversing with the best men and frequenting their companie, as hee hath done to this day, and training unto him the focietie of Sages and philosophers, and being ruled and advised by them, not approoving nor admitting the perilous and unhappiecounfell of my country-man Thrasibulus, perfwading him to cut the chiefmen shorter by the heads: For a tyrant who chooseth to command and rule flaves and vaffailes rather than free men indeed, nothing differeth from the husbandman, who had leifer gather locusts and catch foules, than reape and bring in good graine of wheat and barley; for these soveraigne domainions and principalities bring with them this

The banquet of the seven Sages.

onely good thing in stead and recompence of many evils; to wit, a kind of honor and glorie; if menbe so happie as in ruling over good men, they be better themselves, and in command ding great persons become greater themselves; as for such as in their government and place of command, aime at nothing but their fecuritie, without respect of honour and honestie, de ferve to be fet over a number of theepe, horfes, or beafts, and not of men: but this good gentleman stranger heere, hath (I wotnot how) cast us upon such discourses which are no. thing convenient for our present purpose, omitting both to speake and also to demaund those matters that befit better those who goe to a feast i for thinke you not that the guest who is bid. den, ought not to goe prepared as well as the very mafter himselfe is to make preparation. For the Sybarites (as it should feeme) folemnly invite their dames to their feasts, & feeme to bidly them a whole yeere before, of purpose that they might have time enough to trim themselves at their good leafure with rich aray and jewels of gold against they goe to a feast; and for mine owne part, I affure you of this mind I am, that the right preparative of one who is to go unto a great dinner as he should, would require a longer time than so, by how much harder it is to find fit and decent ornament for the manners of the minde, than to provide for the superfluous, needleffe, and unprofitable fetting out of the bodie: for a wife man who hath wit and underflanding, goeth not to a feast carying with him his body as a vessell to be filled, but he goes thither with an intention to passe the time either in serious discourses, or pleasant and mery talke; to fpeake I fay and heare according as the time that give occasion to the companie, if they means with joy and mirth to converse together one with another. A man that is come to a feast may if in he like not a dish of meat, or if it be naught refuse it; or if the wine be not good, have recounted unto the nymphes; but a troublefome gueft, a talkative bufi-bodie, and an unmannerly or untaught neighbour fitting at the boord, marreth all the grace of the viands, be they otherwisene. ver to deinty, he corrupteth the wine, yea and all the fweetnesse of the musicke, how melodious fo ever it be. Neither may a man when he lift vomit and cast up readily againe this trouble and vexation once received: but in fome, a mutuall discontentment and offence taken at therable one with another, flicketh by them and continueth as long as they have a day to live, infomuch as they cannot endure the enterview one of another againe; but like an old furfeit, arisen of wrong done, or of anger conceived by drinking wine, the spight remaineth seltering & compting in the stomacke and never will be digested. In mine opinion therefore did Chilon very well to and wifely, who being invited as it were yesterday to a feast, would never promise to comebe. fore he knew what other guests he should meet with there, even everic one of them; for this was his faying: That a man must endure will be nill he if he be once at sea, a rude companion and uncivil fellow-paffenger in the fame thip where he is embarked; as also in warfare a troublesome mate in the same pavilion, for that he is forced of necessitie to saile with the one and encampe with the other; but for a man to fort himselse indifferently and without discretion with alkinds of men at a banket, bewraieth one that is void of all wit and judgement. As for the fathion and maners of the Egyptians, namely to bring in place ordinarily at their feafts a Scelet, that is to fay, a drie and withered anatomic of a dead man, and there to flew it before all the guests at the boord, to put them in minde of death, and that within a while they all should become such; al- o though I must needs say that such a one were an unwelcome guest, and came very unseasonably among them; yet it cannot be denied but there is some good use thereof; for although he cheere not up the guests there to drinke freely and to make merry, yet he inviteth and stirreth them up to carie mutuall love and affection one to the other, in admonishing them to remember that their life being of it selfe short, they should not seeke to make it long and tedious by troublesome businesse and affaires.

Thus spent we the time by the way, until at length we were come to the banquetting house. And as for Thates he refused to wash or go into a baine: For that (quoth he) I am annointed alreadie; but in the meane time that the rest were bathing, he went walking up and downe to see the pleasant races, the wrestling places, and the faire grove which along the sea was very well so planted and kept accordingly; not because he woondered at the sight of any of all these delights, but for that he would not seeme to despise Periander, or dissaine his magnificence in any thing. As for the others, according as any of them were washed or anointed, the servitors were readie to conduct them into the hall or dining place, appointed for men, and that through a porch or gallerie, within which sate Anacharsis, and before him stood a damosell plaiting and combing the haire of his head with her hands (whom as she ran toward Thates) most willingly and courte-outly he kissed, and after a smilling manner: Well done (quoth he) make that stranger, who of

himselfe is the mildest and gentlest man in the world, to have a pleasant and faire countenance, that he looke not upon us fearfull and hideous to fee to. I enquired then what pretie maiden this was: Why (quoth Thales) know you not that wife damofell fo famous and fo much renowmed functis? for that is the name that her father gave her, howfoever the people call her after her fathers name Cleobuline. You praise this virgin (quoth Niloxenus, doc you not) for her quick fpirit in propounding, and her fubrill wit and wisedome in affoiling riddles and darke questions, fuch as be called Aenigmes? For by report there be some of her enigmaticall questions, which are gone as far as Egypt: No marie (quoth Thales againe) I fay not fo; for the ulerh them but as dice or coc-kall bones, when the lift to disport her felfe and passe away the time with those that to encounter her, and are disposed to enter into contention with her: but of a woonderfull courage and haughtie mind the is; a politike head the hath of her owne worthy to governe a State; of a courteous nature the is belide, and of fweet behaviour; in regard of which her carriage, thee maketh her father to feeme a more milde and popular ruler among his citizens and fubjects. It may well be fo (quoth N tloxenus) for furely the feemeth no leffe, if a man behold her homely apparell, and how fimply the goes: but how commeth this inward affection and kindnelle to Anachar sis, that so lovingly she dresseth and trimmeth him? Because (quoth Thales) he is a temperate and foberman, and befides a great fehollar and a learned clearke, and for that he hath willingly and at large recounted unto her the manner of the Tartarians life, and namely how they use to charme the maladies of those that are sicke; and I verily believe that even now whiles the 20 maketh fo much of the man, flroking his head, plaiting and broiding his haire, the learnest fomewhat of him, or discourseth with him about some point of learning. Now when we drew necre to the hall or dining chamber abovefaid, who should meet us but Alexidemus the Milefian, a baffard fonne of Thrasybulus the Tyrant? who was newly come foorth from thence in a great heat, diffempered and troubled, and faying (I wot not what) to himfelfe in a pelting chafe: for understad we could not plainly what his words were, he spake them so huddle: he had no sooner his eie upon Thales, but he feemed to reclaime himfelfe, and fo staied a little, breaking out into these audible tearmes: Periander (quoth he) hath offered me abuse & done me great wrong, in that he would not give me leave to depart, when I was willing and readie to embarke, but by his entreatie hath importuned me to ftay supper; and now fortooth that I am come, he hath 30 fet me at the table in a place most dishonorable for my person, and hath preferred the Acolians, the Islanders, and other base companions, and indeed whom not, and before Throsphulus; for apparantitis, that he despiseth my father who sent me, and meaneth that the disgrace offered unto me should redound upon him. How now (quoth Thales) is it so indeed? and are you afraid that like as the Egyptians hold opinion & fay? That the stars in making their ordinarie revolutions, are one while elevated on high, & another while afterwards falling as low, and according to their heights, or basenesse of the place, become either better or woorse than they were? so you in regard of the place that is given you, should be advanced or debased more or lesse; for by this meanes you are worfe & more base minded than the Laconian, who being by the mafter of the ceremonies fet in the lowest place of the quire or daunce, was no more mooved thereat, but 40 faid: Well done of you, I fee you can skill of the meanes how to make this place more honorable: for when wee bee fet at a table, wee ought not to looke and regard, either beneath whom we fit, or after whom we are placed, but rather how we may accommodate and frame our felves to fortand agree with those next to whom wee fit; shewing presently at the verie first that wee have in our felves the beginning and handle (as a man would fay) of amitic, in that we can finde in our hearts not to be offended with the place that is given us, but to praise our fortune in that wee are matched with fo good companie: for he that is angrie about a place or feat, is more offended with him to whom he fitteth next, than with the matter of the feast that bad him, and hee maketh himselfe odious as well to the one as the other. Tush (quoth Alexidemus) these are but words; for in verie deed I have observed, that even you who would be counted Sages and 50 wife men, lay for meanes enough to make your felves honored; and with that he paffed by us and went his way. Now as we mused and woondered much at this strange fashion and behaviour of the man: Thales turning unto us; This man (quoth he) is a brain-ficke foole, and of a monstrous nature, as you may well know by one tricke that he plaied when he was a verie youth: for when there was brought unto Thrasybulus his father, a most excellent, sweet and precious ointment, he powred it out all into a great boll or standing cup, and wine likwise upon it, and when he had so done, drunke it up himselfe every drop, working by this meanes enmitte in stead of friendship to Thrasybulus. Immediately after this there comes to mea servitor with these

The banquet of the seven Sages.

words: Periander requesteth you to take Thales & this other stranger with you, and to come and fee a thing that is newly prefented and brought unto him, for to know your opinon, whether he is to take it as an occurrent happened by meere chance, or rather a prodigie that doth prefage and prognosticate some strange event, for he himselse is much troubled in minde thereat, and mightily feareth that it be some pollution or staine to this his fealtivall sacrifice; hee had no fooner faid this, but he brought us into one of the housen that flood upon the garden, where we found a yoong lad, feeming unto us to be some heard-man, he had not yet an haire on his face, and otherwife (believe me) he was faire enough and well-favoured, who opening a leather poke or bag that he had, the wed unto us a yoong monstrous babe, which (as he said) was borne of a mare; in the upper parts about the necke and armes shaped like a man, but all the restre. fembling an horse, howbeit, crying and wrawling, as like as possibly might be to an infantnew come into the world : at which fight Niloxenus turning his face at one fide, cried out: God bleffe us, & turne away his displeasure from us. But Thales after he had looked wistly a good whileup. on the young lad aforefaid, imiled at the matter (as his maner was to play and make good game with me about mine art:) Are you not minded (quoth he) ô Diocles to go about some expiato. rie facrifice for this prodigious fight, and to fet on worke those gods whose care and charge it is to divert fuch imminent perils and misfortunes, this being as it is fo fearfull a prodigie and unluckie accident? Howelfe? (quoth I againe) for I affure you this is a token prefaging difcord and fedition; and I much feare left this matter proceed as farre as to marriages, and the actof generation, even to the prejudice of posteritie, considering that the goddesse before the expiation and fatisfaction of her former anger, threatneth thus the fecond time, as you fee. Thales answered never aword to this, but departed laughing. And when Periander met us at the verie hall doore, and enquired what we thought of this strange occurrent which we went to see? The. les left me, and taking him by the hand: As touching that (quoth he) which Diecles wil perswade you unto, do you as he willeth you at your best leasure: for mine owne part, mine adviseand counfell unto you is, that you entertaine no more fuch youthes as this to keepe your mares, or at least-wife, that you give them wives to wed. At the hearing of which words, it seemed unto me that Periander was exceeding well pleased; for he laughed a good, and after he had embraced Thales, kiffed him. Then Thales turning unto me: I suppose verily (quoth he) ô Diocles that this prodigious token hath wrought the effect, and is come to an end alreadie; for see you not what to an evill accident is befallen unto us, in that Alexidemus will not dine with us? Well, when wee were come within the hall, Thales beginning to speake with a loude voice: And where is the place (quoth he) wherein this honelt man thought fcorne, & tooke fuch fauffe to be fet: which when it was thewed unto him, he turned about, and went to fit there himfelfe, and so tookeus with him; faying withall, I would (for mine owne part) have given any money (rather than failed) to fit at the same boord with Ardalus. Now was this Ardalus a Troezenian, by profession on a Piper, and a Prieft ferving the Ardalian Muses, whose images ancient Ardalia the Trozzenian had erected and dedicated. Then Aesope, who not long before had beene sent by king Crafus, as well to Periander as to the oracle of Apollo in the citie of Delphos, being fet upon a low fettle necreto Solon, who fat above him, came in with his fable, and thus faid: A mule (quoth he)of 40 Lydia having beheld the forme and shape of his owne body within a river, and woondring much at the beautie and goodly stature thereof, began to runne with full carriere, to sling and shakehis head and his maine, like a luftie brave horse; but within a while, remembring that hee was an affes fonne, and foaled by an affe, he staid his swift course all on a sudden, and laid away his pride and infolent bravetie. At these words, Chilo briefly in his Laconian language: Thou hasttold (quoth he) a tale by thine owne felfe, who being a flow-backe like and affe, will needs runneas the faid mule. After this entered in dame Melisa, and tooke her place close unto Periander: Eumet is also sate downe to supper with them: Then 7 hales addressed his speech unto me who fate next above Bias, and faid: My friend Diocles, how hapneth it that you tell not Bias, that your friend and guest Niloxenus of Naucratia is come from beyond sea the second time, sent so from his lord the King unto him with new questions and riddles for to assoile, to the end that he may take knowledge of them while he is fober, and in case for to studie and thinke upon their folutions? Then Bias taking the word out of his mouth: It hath bene (quoth he) his old fashions of long time, for to feeme to fright & aftonish me with such admonitions & advertisements as thefe; as for me I know ful wel that as Bacchus otherwife is a wife and powerfull god, so in regard of his wisedome he is surnamed Lysus, which is as much to say, as unfolding and undooing the knots of all difficulties; which is the cause that I have no feare at all, that if I be full of him, I shall

bee leffe heartie and able to mainteine the combat when I come to it and am put to dispute. These and such like pleasant speeches passed to and fro in meriment as they fat at meat. Now when I faw the fetting out, and provision of this supper more frugall and sparie than ordinarie. I thought in my minde that to make a feast and give enterteinment to wise and good men. putteth a man to no greater cost and expences, but rather easeth him of some charges: for that it abridgeth all curiofity of daintie viands, exquifite cates, costly perfumes, precious ointments, confitures and march-pains brought from forreine and farre countries, yea and fine and delicate wines, wherewith Periander being served daily at his ordinary, according to the magnificence of his princely estate, riches, affaires and occasions, yet at such a time he tooke a gloric among these Sages and wife men, in sobrietie, frugalitie, and slender provision; for not in other things onely he cut-off and concealed all superfluitie and needlesse furniture which was usuall in his house-keeping, but also in his wives attire and ornaments, whom hee shewed to his friends and guests nothing costly arraied, nor keeping state, but meanely set out and adorned. Now when the tables were taken away, and that Meliffa had given and dealt chaplets of flowers unto us round about, wee rendred thanks and faid grace unto the gods, in powring out unto them devoutly a little wine; and the minftrell-woman having fung a while after our grace, and according to our vowes, departed out of the roome.

Then Ardalus calling unto Anachar sis by name, demanded of him whether among the Scythians there were any such singing women & minstrell wenches that could play upon wind 100 instruments? unto which demaund he answered extempore and without studying for the matter; No (quoth he) nor so much as vines; and as Ardalus replied againe: But yet there are some gods among them, are there not? Yes iwis (quoth he) that there be, and those who understand the speech and language of men; but yet the Scythians are not of the same mind that the Greeks, who although they thinke themselves to speak more freely and elegantly than the Scythians, yet they hold opinion that the gods take more pleasure to heare the sound of bones and wood, whereof their flutes and hautboies are made than the voice of man. But my good friend (quoth Aespe then) what would you say, if you knew what this pipe-makers do nowe a daies, who cast away the bones of young hind-calves and sawnes, and choose before them assess bones, saying for sooth that they make a better sound? whereupon Cleobuline made one of her

30 ænigmes or riddles touching a Phrygian flute,

Of braying affe Did force the eare Of mighrie stag
when he dead was, with sound so cleare with hornes to brag
The long shanke-bone. Upright anone, As hard as stone.

in fuch fort, that it is a wonder how an affe which is otherwife a most blockith and abfurd beaft, of any other most remote from all sweet harmonic of musicke, should yeeld abone so slicke, so smooth, and proper, to make thereof a most musicall instrument. Certes, (quoth Niloxenus then)this is the reason that the inhabitants of the city Businis, reproch al us of Naueratia, for that we likewise have already taken two asse-bones for the making of our pipes; and as for them, it is not lawfull to heare fo much as the found of a trumpet, because it fomewhat doth resemble 40 the braying of an affe; and you all know that the affe is infamous and odious with the Acgyptians, because of Typhon. upon this every man held his peace for a while; and when Persander perceived that Wiloxenus had a good minde to speake, but yet durst not begin or broach any speech; My masters (quoth he) I doe like very well of the custome of cities and head-magifirates, in that they give audience and dispatch unto all strangers, before their owne citizens; and therefore me thinks it were well that for a time both you & we forbeare our speeches which are to familiar and as it were native and home-borne among us in our owne countrey, to give accesse and audience, as it were in a solemne counsell and affembly of estate, unto those questions and demaunds which our good friend heere hath brought out of Aegypt; and namely fuch as are mooved from the king to Bias, and Bias I doubt not will confer with you about the fame. 50 Then Bias feconding this motion of his: And in what place (quoth he) or with what companie would a man with rather for to hazard and trie his skill than in this, for to make anfwers accordingly and give folutions, if he be put unto it and need require? especially, seeing that the king himselfe hath given expresse commandement, that in proposing this question he should first begin within, & afterwards go round about the rest & present the same unto you all? Heerupon Niloxenus delivered unto him the kings letter, defiring him to breake it open, and to reade the fame with an audible and loud voice beforeall the companie. Now the substance or tenor of the faid letter ran in this forme. Amasis the king of the Aegyptians, unto Bias the wiselt

"Sage of all the Greekes fendeth greeting. So it is, that the king of the Aethiopians is entred in the contestation and contention with me, as touching wisedome: and being in all other propositions put downe by me and found my inferior, in the end after all; he hath imposed upon me a commandement very strange, woonderfull, and hard to be performed, willing me for footh to drinke up the whole sea. Now if I may compasse the solution of this riddle and darke question, I finall gaine thereby many townes, villages & cities of his but in case I cannot associate the same, I must yeeld unto him all my cities within the country Elephantine. These are therfore to request you, that after you have well considered of the premisses, you sende backe unto me Xiloxenia incontinently with the interpretation thereof. And if either your selse or any of your citizens and country-men have occasion to use me in your affaires and occasions, be sure you shall not to

" faile of me wherein I may stead you. Farewell. This letter being read, Bias made no long stay, but after some little pause and meditation with himselfe, he rounded Cleobulus it the care, who fat close unto him: And then, what is that you fay (my friend of 2 aueratia) will your mafter and lord king Amasis (who commandeth so great a multitude of men, and possession fo large, so faire and plentifull a countrey) drinke all the fea, for to get thereby, I wot not what poore townes and villages of no importance? Then Niloxents laughing at the matter: I pray you (quoth he) confider upon the point what is possible to be done, even as you will your felfe: Mary then (quoth he) let him fend word vnto the Aethiopian king, and enjoine him to flay the course of all rivers that discharge themselves into the fea, untill he have drunke up in the meane time all the water in the fea that is now at this prefent; 20 for of that onely, his demand and commandement is to be understood, and not of the feathat shall be hereafter. These words were no sooner spoken, but Niloxenus tooke so great a contentment therein, that he could not holde, but needs he must embrace and kiffe him immediatly for it; yea, and all the rest commended and approved likewise his speech: but Chilo laughing heartily: O my friend (quoth he) of Naucratia, I befeech you before all the sea be drie and cleane fpent, faile home with all speed, and do the king your master to understand, that he shal not need to travell and busic his braines in searching how he may consume so great a quantitie of salt water, but rather how he may make his regiment and roiall rule (now brackith and unpleasant) to be sweet and potable unto his subjects; for in these seats Bias is a most cunning workeman and a fingular mafter, which when king Amasis hath well and throughly learned of him, he shall not 30 have any use of that golden basen to wash his feet in, and for to conteine the Aegyptians in awe and obedience, but they shall serve him all willingly and love him affectionately, when they shall see him become a good prince, although hee were a thousand times more odious unto them than he feemeth now to be. Certes (quoth Periander) then it were worthily done of usall to contribute unto K. Amasis such like first fruits & presents ars eines, as Homer speaketh, that is to fay, every one of us by the poll, and one after another in order; for by this meanes the accefaric haply and addition will arise to a greater matter, and be more woorth unto him than the principallor stocke for the negotiation wherefore this voiage was undertaken, and besides, there will accrew unto ech of us also some great profit. Meet it were then (quoth Chilo) that Solon should begin the speech; not only for that he is of all our ancient, and hath the highest place 40 of the table, but also because he beareth the greatest and most absolute office, being the man who ordeined and established the lawes of Athens. Niloxenus then turning toward me, and speaking softly in mine care : I believe verily (quoth he) ô Diocles, that many things goe for currant and are believed, although they be untrueths, and many men there be who are delighted with the false rumors and finisher reports that goe of great and wise men, both which themfelves do devife, and also which they receive readily from others; as namely those be which are brought unto us as farre as into Aegypt, of Chilan, namely, that he should renounce all amitte and hospitalitie with Solon for mainteining this: That all lawes were mutable. A foolifh and ridiculous report is this (quoth I:) for if it were fo, Chilon should have fallen out with Lyenrgus, and condemned him, who together with his lawes, altered and changed the whole State of the 30 Lacedæmonians. Then Solon, after a little pause made, began to speake in this wife: For mine ownepart, I am of this minde, that a king or fovereigne prince can finde no meanes to make himselfe more glorious, than by turning his monarchie or absolute government into a democratie or popular state, in communicating his authority sovereigne indifferently to his subjects. In the second place spake Bias, and said: That a prince could not do better for his owne honour, than to be the first man that submitted himselfe to the positive lawes of his conntrey. After him opined Thales: I repute (quoth he) that prince and fovereigne fuler happie, who liveth to olde

age, and dieth by a naturall death. Anachar sis inferred thus much more in the fourth place: If he be onely wife. With that faid Cleobulas in his turne: If he repose no confidence in any one about his person. Sixtly came Pittachus with his opinion, faying: If a prince could so nurture and schoole his subjects, that they should not feare him, but for his sake. And after him, in the last place, delivered Chilo this speech: That a prince ought to amuse his minde about no mortall and transitorie things, but meditate onely upon that which was eternall and immortall. Now when every one of these Sages had given out his mot, we requested of Periander, that he also would say somewhat for his part; but he with a countenance nothing mery and cheerefull. but composed to sadnesse and severitie: I will tell you (quoth he) what I thinke of all these sento tences thus delivered by these my lords; that they all in a maner be enough to fright a man who is of judgement and understanding, from all sovereigne rule and government. Then Aesope as one who ever loved to be croffe and finding faults: It were meet therefore (quoth he) that everie one of us should deale in this point apart and severally, lest in pretending to be counsellers unto princes, and make profession of friendship unto them, we become their accusers. Then Solon laying his hand upon his head, and fimiling withall: Thinke you not (quoth he) ô Aefope, that he maketh a ruler more reasonable and a tyrant more gracious and inclined to elemencie, who perswadeth him that it is simply better, not to rule, than to rule? And who is he (quoth Ac-(ope againe) that will believe you in this, rather than the very god himselfe who delivered unto vouthis sentence, by way of oracle:

I holde that citie happie alone, Where voice is heard of * Sergea**nt one.**

Why (quoth Solon) Is there any man heareth at Athens now any more voices than of one Sergeant, and one fole magistrate, which is the Law ? notwithstanding, the citie hold of a popular State; but you Aefore are to deeply feene in hearing and understanding the voices of crowes and gaies, that you heare not wel and perfectly in the meane time your owne speech and language; for you that thinke according to the oracle of Apollo, that citie most happie which heareth the voice but of one, suppose notwithstanding that it is the grace of a feast, when all the guests therein met, may reason and discourse, yea and of every matter. True it is (quoth Aesope) for you have not yet fet downe a law, that houthold fervants fhould not be allowed wherewith to be drunke; 20 like as you have made one at Athens, forbidding fervants to make love or to be anointed drie, that is, without the baine. Solon began to laugh at this reply of his: and Cleodemus the Physician inferred thereupon: In mine opinion (quoth he) it is all one to anoint (as you fay) drie, and to talke freely when a man is well whitled and drenched with wine, for most delectable and pleafant is both the one and the other. Chilo taking hold of this speech; Why then (quoth he) so much the rather it behooveth to abstaine from it. Aesope rejoined againe; and verily Thales seemed to fay, that it is a meanes whereby a man shall verie quickly age and looke old. Hereat Periander began to take up a laughter and faid: Now truely Aefope, we are well enough ferved, and are woorthily punished according to our defert, in that we have suffered our selves to be carried away into other discourses and disputations, before wee have heard out all the rest of the con-40 tents in King Amasis letters, according as wee purposed in the beginning; and therefore good fir Niloxenus go on with that which followethin your letters missive, and make use of these personages heere affembled, whiles they bee all in place together. Now truely (quoth Niloxenue) in my conceit that demand of the Aethiopian, a man may well and properly fay to bee nothing else (but if I may use the wordes of Archilochus) a tewed or bruised whip: but King Amasis your host, in proposing of such questions is more gentle and civil; for hee propounded unto him these demands to bee answered: What thing in the whole world is eldeft or most ancient? What is the fairest? What the greatest? What most wise? What most common? Over and besides, What most profitable? What is most hurtfull? What most puissant? and What most easie? What (quoth Periander) did the Aethiopian prince answere to 50 these demands, & affoile them all? Will you see (quoth Niloxenus then) what answers he made? and after you have heard his answers, be you judge whether he satisfied them or no? for the king my mafter hath proceeded therin fo fincerely, that he would not for any thing in the world, be justly thought to cavill and carpe like a fycophant at the answers of another, and yet his care and endevour is, not to faile in reprooving that wherein one hath erred and is deceived: but I will from point to point recite unto you his answers. What is most ancient? Time (quoth he.) Whatmost wise? Trueth. What most beautifull? The light. What most common? Death. What most profitable? God. What most hurtfull? The Divell. What most mightie? For-

tune. What most case? The thing that pleaseth. When these answers were read (ô Nicharchin) they all remained filent for a time: and then Thales asked of Niloxensu, whether King Amalis approved these solutions or no: Niloxenus answered, that some of them he allowed; but with others of them he rested not well contented: And yet (quoth Thales againe) there is not one of them all but deferveth great reprehension, for they doe everie one bewray much error and groffe ignorance; and to begin withall; How can it be held and maintained, that Time should be the eldest thing that is, considering that one part thereof is passed already; another present and a third yet to come? for the future time which is to followus, cannot choose but by all reason be efteemed yoonger than all men, or all things which are present. Againe, to thinke that veritie were wisedome, in my judgement is as much as if a man should say, that the cie and to the light is all one. Furthermore, if he reputed the light to be a faire thing (as no doubt it is) how happeneth it that he forgat the funne? Moreover, as touching his answers of God and the devils, they are verie audacious and dangerous. But concerning Fortune, there is no probalitie or likelihood of trueth therein ; for if the were fo powerfull and puissant (as he faith) how commeth it about that the turneth and changeth fo eafily as the doth? Neither is death the commonest thing in the world; for common it is not to the living. Burbecause it shall not be thought, that we can skill of naught, but reprooving and correcting others; let us conferred little our particular opinions and fentences in this behalfe with his: and if Wilexenss thinke fo good, Tam content to offer my selfe first, to answere unto these demaunds beforesaid, one after another. Now will I therfore declare unto you (Nicharchus) in order the interrogatories and answers, ac- 10 cording as they were propounded and delivered. What is most ancient? God (quoth Thales) for he never had beginning nor nativitie. What is greatest? Place; for as the world containest allthings elfe, so place containeth it. What is fairest? The world. And why ? because whatsoe ver is disposed in lively order, is a part thereof. What is wises? Time; for it hath found all things alreadic devifed, and will finde out all inventions hereafter. What is most common? Hope; for it remaineth still with them who have nothing else. What most profitable? Vertue; in that it makethall things commodious, according as they be used. What is most hurtfull? Vice; for it marrethall good things belides, where foever it is. What is most mightie? Necesfitie; for that onely is invincible. What is most easie? That which agreeth to nature; for even pleasures many times we do abandon and forsake. Now when all the companie had approprid 20 and commended highly the answers of Thales: These be questions in deed (quoth Cleodemus unto Niloxenus) meet for kings and princes, both to propose and also to associate : as for that barbarous king of Acthopia, who enjoined king Amasis to drinke up the sea, deserveth as short an answere as that was which Pittaeus made to king Alyattes, who when he demaunded somwhat of the Lesbians by his arrogant and proud letters, had no other answere returned him from Pittacm but this: That he should cate omions and hot bread upon which words Periander inferred and faid: I affure you Cleodemus, it hath bene the maner in old time among the ancient Greeks, to propose one unto another such questions as these. For we have heard by report, that in times pall, the most skilfull and excellent Poets which were in those daies, met at the funerals and obfequies of Amphidamus within the citie of Choleis: Now had this Amphidamus beene a man of 40 great honour in government of the common-weale in his country; who having put the Erettians to much trouble in those wars which they waged against those of Choleis, in the quarrell of Litantes, hapned to leefe his life at the last in a battell. And for that the curious verses which the faid poets provided and brought to be scanned of, were intricate and hard to be judged of by those who were chosen as judges of the doubtfull victorie; and besides the glorie of two renowmed concurrents, Homer and Hesiodus held the judges in great perplexitie, and shame to give their fentences as touching two fo famous personages, they grewe to suchas these questions in the end: and propounded one unto another as Lesches saith after this maner.

Now helpe me Muse for to endise
what things have never beene,
Nor hencesorth whiles the world endures
for ever shall be seene?
Unto which demand, Hespodus answered readily and extempore in this wise.
When seeds to win the prize, with sound
of seet shall runne amaine,
And at the tombe of Jupiter,
their chariors breake in twaine.

For which cause especially it is reported he was so highly admired, that thereby he wonso the tre-sect of gold. And what difference (quoth Cleodemus) is there betweene these questions and the riddles put soorth by Eumetis? which haply are no more unseemely for her to devise in sport and mirth, and when she hath (as it were) twisted them, to propose unto dashes like herselfe, than for other women to delight for their passime, to busic their heads in, and working girdles of rissue, or knitting net-worke coises and cawles; but certeinly that men of wisedome and understanding should make any account thereof, were very ridiculous and a meere more kerie. At which speech of his it seemed that Eumetis was willing enough to have replied, and said somewhat unto him againe, but that maidenly modestic stated her; for her bloud was up, to and she blushed as red as skarlet all her face over: But Aesope taking her part as it were to revenge her quarrell: Nay were it not (quoth he) more ridiculous farre, not to bee able to solve such questions? and namely such a riddle as this, which she pursoorth unto us a little before supper:

Aman I faw, with helpe of fire, who set a peece of brasse, Fast to aman, so as it seem'd to him it sodred was.

Nowtellme, can you with all your curning fay what this should be? No iwis (quoth Cleademuncither meane I to beate my braines about the knowledge of it: And yet there is no man 20 (quoth he) knoweth this thing better, nor uleth it more than you; and if you denie it, I will call to witnesse your ventoses and cupping boxes. Heereat Cleodemus could not chuse but laugh: for there was not a physician in those daies that used cupping and boxing so much as he, and in regard that he practifed it fo much, this remedie or devife in phyficke was in no finall request and reputation. But Mne fiphilus the Athenian a familiar friend and zealous follower of Solon, began to speake in this wife unto Persander: Sir, if I might be so bold, I thinke it good, & my defire is, that the speeches and discourses of this good company, may not bee dealt among the rich and noble perfons onely who are heere in place, but parted equally and indifferently among them all, and go round like a cup of wine, as the manner is in democratic or flate of a citie, governed by the people: this I speake for that we who live in a popular common-wealth, 30 participate in nothing of all that which you have right now delivered as touching foveraigne rule of prince & king: we thinke it reason therefore that you would enter every one of you into a discourse of popular government, & deliver your several opinions upon the point, beginning first agains at Solon. To this motion they all agreed, whereupon Solon thus began to speake: As for you (ô Mne siphilus) like as all the other inhabitants of Ashens, you have heard heeretofore what mine opinion is concerning the government of a weale publike: and yet if it please to heare me now also, I say againe that in my judgement that citie is right well governed, and maintaineth best the popular estate and libertie, wherein those very persons who have not been wronged and oppreffed, do profecute the law upon an oppreffor and wrong doer, yea and feeke to punish him, no leffe than the partie himfelfe who hath fuffeined the injurie & outrage. After 40 him Bias opined thus: That the popular government was best, in which all the inhabitants seared the law as much as a rigorous tyrant. Then Thales followed in this maner: That he reputed fuch a common-wealth best ordered which had in it neither too wealthie, nor yet over poorecitizens. Next to him tooke Anacharsis his turne and delivered his minde in these words: That in his conceit that citie was right well governed wherein all other things being equally determined among the inhabitants, the better codition was measured by vertue, & the worse by vice. In the fifth place Cleobulus affirmed; That the policie of that popular city was fimplie best, the citizens whereof did more dread dishonor than the law. Then Fistaces in his course gave his opinion thus: That he accounted a State passing well governed in which wicked persons might not beare any authoritie but good men onely. Then Chilo when his turne 50 came; pronounced: That pollicie to excel al others when as the people gave greatest care unto the lawes, and least hearkened unto oratours. After them all Pertander in the last place gave his judgement, faying: That he reckoned that popular estate seemed to be best, which came neerest unto an aristocratic or regiment of a wise and noble Senate.

Now when this diffurtation was ended, I requested them to proceed farther, and to instruct us as touching economie or an housholde, how it ought to be ordered; for that sew men were called unto the government of cities and realmes, but every one of us had an house and familie of his owne to be governed: Not so (quoth Aesope, & therewith he laughed) if you reckon Anachar sis

Anachar fis in the number of us, for no house hath he of his owne, and (for sooth) he glorieth therein, that none he hath, faying: That he maketh his abode in a chariot, as (men fay) the fun doth, who is carried round about the world in his chaire, and one while goeth to this quarter, and another while to that quarter of the heaven: And even in this respect (quoth Anacharsis) the funne onely is free, or at least-wife more at libertie, and at his owne dispose, than any other of all the god's, commanding all, and not commanded of any; and therefore he reigneth in deed, and having the remes in his owne hand, conducteth his owne chariothimfelfe: but me thinks you never conceived and comprised the grandence and beautie of the funne, how excellent and admirable his chariotiss for otherwise you would never in bourd and by way of merry jest have compared it to ours: furthermore, it feemeth that you take an house to be these cloisters covered with tile, and walled with clay or earth; which is as much to fay, that a tortoife is the shell, and not the living creature which is therein: and therefore I nothing woonder that you moc. ked Solon upon a time, for that he having viewed the palace of king Crafus, richly furnished and fumptiously adorned, deemed not by and by the owner and lord thereof to be stately and hap. pily lodged; but defired first to see and behold the good parts that were within him, rather than the goods which were about him; and heerein it feemeth unto mee, that you have forgotten your owne tale of the fox, who being come to contest and debate with the leopard, whether of the twaine were befet with more colours and divers spots, required of the judge betweenethem. that he would not regard and confider fo much the outward painting of the skin, as the varietie of the spirit and soule within, for that he should finde the same bedight with a world of divers 10 spots; but you looke onely to the workemanship of cutters in stone, and of masons, esteeming that onely to be the house, and not that which is domesticall and within, to wit, children, wife, friends and fervirours, unto whom (being wife, fober and of good conditions) the father of the familie, and housholder, communicating and imparting that which he hath (fay he were within a birds neaft or in an emmets hole) may avouch that he dwelleth in a good and bleffed house. Lo what mine answere is to Aesope, as also for my part, what collation and dole I contribute unto Diocles; now for the rest of you, let every man conferre (as reason is) to it, what he thinketh good, and utter his mind. Then Solon: That house (in mine opinion) is best, the goods wherein, were neither gotten by unjust and indirect meanes, nor bred any feare, suspition and doubt for the keeping, ne yet drew repentance for the spending of them. After him Bias opined: That 10 he held the familie belt, the mafter whereof was of himfelfe the fame man within, as (for feare of the law) abroad. Then Thales: Wherein the mafter may live at most ease and greatest leasure. And Chobulus: Wherein there be more persons that love, than feare the master. Next delivered Pittaeus his minde, and faid: That he tooke that to be the best house, wherein there wasno defire of superfluities, nor misse of necessaries. After him came Chilo with his sentence: That an house ought as much as is possible, to resemble acitie or state governed by the absolute commandement of a king; adding moreover, that which Lyeurgus answered sometimes unto one who advised him to establish in the citie Sparta the popular government : Beginne (quoth he) first thy selfe to ordeine in thine owne house a popular estate, where every one may be as greata lord and mafter as another. After this speech also finished, Eumet is and Melissa went footh, 40 Then Periander taking a great cup in his hand, dranke to Chilon, and Chilon likewise in orderto Biss. Then Ardalus stood up, & addressing his speech unto Aesope: Wil not you neither (quoth he) let the cup come unto us, seeing that they there send it round about from hand to handamong them, as if it were the can of Bathyeles, and will not impart and let it passe to others? Then (quoth Solon) neither is this cup (fo farre as I fee) any whit popular, standing as it hath done long time before Solon onely. Whereat Pittaeus calling unto Mnesiphilus by name: Whatis the reason (quoth he) that Solon drinketh nor, but goeth against his owne Poems, wherein himfelfe hath written these verses:

The sports of Venus ladie bright, And Bacchus, now are my delight: In musicke eke I pleasure take, For why? these three, mensjoies do make.

Then Anachar fis helped him out, and spake in his behalfe, saying: He doth it (Pittaem) for feare of you and that severe and rigourous law of yours, by which you have ordeined, that who soever by occasion of drunkennesse chances the commit a fault, what-ever it be, shall incurre a double penalty, and be fined twife as much as if he had done it whiles he was sober. Then Pittaem: Yet neverthelesse (quoth he) you carie your selfe so proudly and distainfully in mockage of this my

statute, that both the last yere not long fince, being at my brother Lybu his house, whe you were drunke, you demanded to have the prize therof & called for the garland & crown. And why not (quoth Anacharfis) confidering there was proposed a reward for the victory to him that drunke moftand if I were overcharged with wine & drunk with the first, should not I chalenge by right the prize & reward of victory? or els tell me what other end is there of drinking luftily, than to be drunke? Pittaess hereat began to laugh; & than Aefope told fuch a tale as this: The wolfe (quoth he)perceiving upon a time the shepheards to eate a mutton within their cottage, approched unto them and faid; Oh what a stirre and outcrie would you have made at us if I had done that which you doe? Hecreat Chilon: Aefope (quoth he) hath well revenged himfelfe now (whofe mouth ere-while we ftopped that he had not a word to fay) seeing at this present as he doth, that others had taken the answere out of Mnesiphilus his mouth, and not given him libertie to fpeake, being demaunded the question why Solon dranke not? and like it was that he should have answered inhis behalfe. Then Mnesiphilus rendered this reason and faid; That he wish well Solon was of this opinion, that the proper worke of every art and facultie, as well divine as humane, was rather the effect and thing by it wrought, than that whereby it was effected; and the end thereof rather than the meanes tending thereto: for fo I suppose that a weaver will say, that his worke is to make a web for a mantle, a coat or fuch a robe, and not to spoole, winde quils, lay his warpe, shoot oufe, or raise and let fall the weights and stones hanging to the loome: Alfo that the worke of a fmith is to foder iron, or to give the temper of steele for the edge of an 20 axe headrather than any other thing needfull to fuch an effect, to wit, the kindling of coles and fetting them on fire, or the preparing of any stone-grit serving for the former purpose, Semblably, a carpenter or mason emploied in architecture, would much more complaine and finde fault with us, if we should say, that neither a ship nor an house were their worke, but the boaring of holes in timber with an auger or the tempring of morter. In like manner would the muses take exceeding great indignation, and not without good cause, if wee should thinke that their workes were either harpes, lutes, pipes, and fuch instruments of musicke: and not the reforming and inflitution of folks maners, the dulcing and appealing of their passions who delight in long, harmonie, and muficall accord. And even so we must confesse that the worke of Venus is not carnall companie and medling of two bodies; nor of Bacchus, wine-bibbing and drun-30 kennelle, but rather mirth and folace, affectionate love, mutuallamitie, conversation, and samiliarity one with another, which are procured unto us thereby: for these be the works indeed which Plato calleth divine and heavenly: and these he faith that he defired and pursued when he grew aged and was well stept in yeeres. For I affure you Venue is the work-mistresse of mutuall concord, folace and benevolence betweene men and women, mingling and melting (as it were) together with the bodies their foules also, by the meanes of pleasure: Bacchus likewise in many who before had no great familiaritie together, nor any knowledge and acquaintance to speake of, by foftning and moisting the hardnes of their maners, and that by the meanes of wine (like as fire worketh iron to be gentle and pliable) hath engendred a beginning of commixtion and incorporation one with another. True it is I must needs say, that when such personages are met 40 and affembled together, as Periander hath hither invited, there is no need either of cup or flagon for to bring them acquainted: for the mules fetting in mids before them a cup of fobriety, to wit, their conference and speech, wherein there is not onely store of pleasure and delight, but also of erudition, learning, and serious matter, doe excite, drench, enlarge and spread abroad by the meanes of discourse and talke, the amiable joy of such guests, suffring for the most part the wine pot or flagon to stand still above the cup or goblet: a thing that Hesidiedus forbad exprefly among fuch as could skillbetter to carrouse than to discourse. And whereas we reade thus in Homer,

For how soever other Greeks
that we are their have so long,
Doedrinke about their measure just
allowed them among:
Your cap I see stands ever full,
no gage to you is set,
But hartie draughts you may carrouse,
no manthere ut o let.

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Me thinks I heare and understand heereby that our auncients called this manner of drinking one to another by way of challenge & provocation Aungin, according to the tearme that Homer Fr give the

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givethit, and so every man dranke a certaine measure in order: yea and afterwards (like as Alax did) ech one divided portions of flesh to his next fellow sitting at the boord: Now when Man siphilus had thus faid : Cher sias the poet, whom lately Periander had quit of certeine imputations charged upon him, and who was newly returned into his favour at the earnest request of chilon I would gladly know (quoth he) whether Jupiter gage the rest of the gods with a certeine mea. fure and thint of drinking, (for that they use to drinke one to another when they dine and fup with him) like as Agamemnon dealt by the princes of the Greeks when they were at his table? Then Cleodemus: If it be true (quoth he) friend Cherfus as you and other poets doe fay, that certeine doves flying hardly and with great difficultie over the rocks called Planeta, bring unto Inviter that celestials meat named Ambrosia; thinke you not likewise that he had much adoo 10 to get the heavenly drinke Nectar, and that he had but small store thereof, whereby he could not chuse but make spare and give of it to every one according to measure? Yes verily (quoth Cher (i.as) and peradventure they had it distributed equally among them: but fince we are fallen againe into a fresh discourse of house-keeping, which of you will goe on and finish therest which remaineth to be faid thereof? Then Cleebules inferred this speech and faid: As for wife men indeed, the law (quoth he) hath given them a prefeript measure; but as touching fooles, I will tell you a tale which I heard my mother once relate unto a brother of mine: The time was (quoth the) that the moone praied her mother to make her a peticoate fit & proportionable for her body: VVhy, how is it possible (quoth her mother) that I thould knit or weave one to save about thee confidering that I fee thee one while full, another while croiffant or in the waine, & to pointed with tips of horns, & fortime againe halferound? Even fo (friend Cher sias) a manismor able to fet downe a definit & just proportion of substance & goods to mainteine an houseumo a foolish or a naughtie person; for such a one hath need one while of this thing, and another while of that, according to his divers defires & variable events & occasions, much like to Aslow dog, who as he faith, in the winter feafon thrinking together, & lying round for cold wherewith he is ready to be frozen and sterved, is of mind to build himselfe an house: but in summer when helies fleeping stretched out at length, he thinkes himselfe to be very great, and supposeth ita needeleffe thing to builde an house, and besides no small peece of worke to set up a frame bigge and large enough to receive his bodie. See you not likewife ô Chersia, that these kinde of folke will bee thought nowe but fmall and little, and restraine themselves into a 10 narrow compasse, proposing forsooth a streight and laconicall manner of life; but anon all at once they will bee aloft, and if they may not have all that they fee, and poffession onely the estate of private persons, but also of kings and princes, they are undone for ever, and complaine as if they were pined and readie to die for hunger: at which words Cher fias heldhis peace. But Cleodemus then began and faid: Howbeit, we all fee (quoth he) that you my mafters your felves who are fage and wife, have your goods and possessions unequally dealt among you, if a man would go about to measure and count them. True indeed my good friend (answered Cleobulus againe) and this is because the law (like unto a good weaver or knitter) hath given unto everie one of us that which is fit, futable, and convenient for us; and even fo your you felfelit, in your direction for diet, nourishment, and purging of your patients by reason, after the pre-40 feription (as it were) of law, do not fet them downe receits and orders all alike, but fuch as are agreeable and meete for everie one. upon this speech Ardalus replied, saying: How then? Is there alaw that commaundeth Epimenides here our familiar friend and Solons hofte, to forbeare all other viands, and by taking onely in his mouth a little of the composition called Alimon, which hath vertue to put-by hunger (which pleafant electuarie or confection he maketh himfelfe) to continue a wholeday without meate and drinke, without dinner and supper. This speech mooved attention and filence in the whole companie there in place: onely Thales after a jocund and merrie manner answered: That Epimenides did well and wisely not to busie and trouble himselfe about grinding corne, baking meale, or dreffing his owne meates (as Pittacia did): for my felfe (quoth he) whiles I was in the Isle Lesbos, heard a wench of a forrein countrey, 50 as the turned the querne about, fing thus, Grind mil, Grind; for even Pittacus the king of Great Mitylena, is a miller and grindeth. But Solon faid; I woonder much Ardalus, that you never read in Hesiodus his Poeme, the receit of the regiment of that mans diet: for he was the first who gave unto Epimenides the feeds of this nourishment, and taught him to search:

The banquet of the seven Sages.

In Millowes and in Alphodels. which grow on everie ground: What use and profit manifold,

for mantheremay be found. Why thinke you (quoth Perlander) that Hefiodus had any fuch meaning in that verfe; and not rather (as he is alwaics a great praifer of sparing and frugalitie) that he exhorted us unto the simpleft viands, as to those which were most pleasant: for furely the Mallow is good to cate, and the Afphodell ftem verie fweete in tafte: as for those which the Physicians came Alima and Adiple. that is to fay, putting-by hunger and thirft; I heare fay and understand that they be medicines and not meats, and that among other ingredients that go to their making, they receive home and a certaine barbarous kinde of cheefe, befides many other feeds which are eafic enough to come by : for how elfe should not (as we read in Hesiodus)

The plough beame hang aloft in smoothrie smoke,

Theoxe and mule cease both to draw in yoke. if need there were of fo great provision? But I marvell much Solon, at your hofte, that having but lately celebrated a folemne feast of Purification among the Delians, he observed not how they themselves brought with great ceremonie into their temple, the enfignes and monuments of the ancient and primitive nourithment of mankinde? and namely, among other things very common, and which grow of themselves without mans hand, the Mallow and the Asphodell: which two hearbs (it is verie probable and like) that Hespodius also recommended unto us for their simplicitie & profit. Not in those regards onely (quoth Anacharsis) but for that they both the one as well as the other, are commended as especiall hearbs for the health of man. True 20 (quoth Cleodemus) and great reason you have so to say: for Hestodus was well seene in Physicke, as may appeare by that which he hath written to exactly and skilfully of dier, and the regiment of our feeding, of the manner of tempering wine, of the vertue and goodnesse of water, the use of baines, bathes and women, of the time of keeping companie with them, and of the positure of infants in the wombe, and when they thould be borne. But to judge aright, Aefope had more reason than Epimenides to avow himselfe the disciple of Hesiodia, for the talke which the hauke had with the nighting all, gave unto Aesope the first beginning of his faire, variable, and many tongued learning of his. But willing I am to heare Solon; for verie like it is, that he having lived and converfed fo familiarly many yeeres together with Epimenides at Athens, asked of him oftentimes and knew full well upon what accident or occasion, and for what purpose he chose 30 and followed this strait course of life. And what need was there (quoth Solon) to demaund that of him? for all the world knoweth, and most evident it is, that as the greatest and most soveraigne good of man, is to have no need at all of nouriture; so the next unto it is to require the leaft nourishment that is: Not so (quoth Cleodemus if I may be so bold as to speake my mind: For I do not thinke that the foveraigne good of man is to eate nothing, especially when the table is laide and furnished with meat; for to take away the viands set thereupon, is as much as to fubvert the altar and facrifice unto the gods, and to overthrow the amity and hospitalitie among men. And like as Thales faith: That if the earth were taken out of the world, there must of necesfitte enfue a generall confusion of all things; even so we may fay, put downe the boord, you doe as much as ruinate the whole house; for with it you abolish fire which keepeth the house; the 40 tutelar-deitie of Vesta; the amiable custome of drinking together out of one boll and cup; the laudable manner of feafting friends; the kindfashion of entertaining strangers, and all reciprocall hospitalitie, and mutuall usage of guests; which be the principalland most courteous conversations that can bee devised among men one with another; and to speake in summe more truely; farewell then, all the fweetnes of humane life and focietie, in case there be allowed any retrait at all, solace and passion apart from businesse and affaires, whereof the need of sustenance and the preparation thereto belonging, yeeldeth most matter, and affoordeth the greatest part. Moreover, the mischiese hereof would reach as far as to agriculture, and that were great pity, considering that if husbandrie were laid downe with the decay & ruine therof, there would ensue againe a rude & deformed face of the whole earth, as being neglected, & not clenfed from fruit-50 leffe trees, bushes & weeds, and overflowed with the inundation of waters & rivers running our of their chanels to and fro without order, for want of good husbandrie and the diligent hand of man: over and befides, perish there shall with it, all arts and handicrafts which the table mainteineth and keepeth in traine, giving unto them their foundation & matter, in fuch fort as they will come all to nothing, if you take it away:nay more than that; What will become of religion and worship done to the gods? for furely, men will exhibit but little or none honour at all unto the Sunne, and much leffe unto the Moone, as having nought els from them but their light & heat onely: and who will ever cause an altar to be reared and furnished as it ought to be, to Jupiter, for fending downe feafonable raine, or to Ceres the patronesse of agriculture, or to Nep. tune the protectour of trees and plants? who will ever-after offer any factifices unto them? how shall Bacchus be the authour of joy and mirth, if we have no more any need of that pleasant li. quor of wine which he giveth? what shall we facrifice? what shall wee powre upon the altars? what oblations shall we offer unto the gods? and whereof shall wee present any first fruits? In one word, this abuse would bring with it a totall subversion and generall consusion of the best and chiefest things. True it is, that to follow all kinde of pleasures, and in every maner were bruitishnesse; and even so to flie them all, and in no wife to embrace them, were no lesse follie and fortifhnesse. The soule may well enough enjoy other pleasures and delights, which are better and more noble; but the bodie can finde none at all more harmlesse and honest, to content to it selfe with, than to cat and drinke, whereby it is sed and nourished; a thing that there is no man but he both knoweth and acknowledgeth; in regard whereof, men use to set and spread their tables in publicke and open places, for to cat and drinke together in the broad day-light; whereas to take the pleasure of Venus, they wait for the night, and feeke all the darknesse they can, suppo. fing it to be as beaftly and fhameleffe to do the one in publike and common, as not at all to doe the other but forbeare it altogether. When Cleodemus herewith brake off, and ended his speech. I followed in the fame traine, and feconded his words in this wife: But you overpasse one thing befides, namely, that by this meanes, together with our food and nourithment, we banith and drive away all fleepe: now if there be no fleepe, there will be no dreames, & fo by confequence, we may bid farewell to a most ancient kinde of oracle and divination which we have by them, 20 Over and besides, our life will be alwaies after one fashion, and to no purpose, but in vaine shall the foule be clad (as a man would fay) within the bodie, feeing that the greatest number and the principall parts of the faid bodie were made and framed by nature for to serve as instruments of nourithment; as for example, the tongue, the teeth, the stornacke and the liver, &c. for thereis nothing in the whole structure and composition of mans body, that either lieth still & idle, or is ordeined for any other use; infomuch as who foever hath no need of food, needeth not the body alfo; which is as much to fay, as that hee standeth in no need of himselfe; for every one of us doth confift aswell of bodie as soule. Thus much may serve for my part, to have spoken in the defence of the bellie; now if Solon or any other have ought to fay and object against it, by way of accusation, ready we are and disposed to give him the hearing. Yes mary (quoth Solon) un- 20 leffe we would be reputed of leffe judgement and understanding than the Aegyptians, who ripping open the belly of a dead bodie, Thew it unto the funne, and cast away the guts and entrails together with the paunch, into a running river; but afterwards, when they have thus rid away the garbage, and cleanfed the corps, the rest they imbaulme and be carefull of: for to say a trueth, these inwards, be the very pollution and inquination of the flesh, and to speake properly, the very hell of our bodie; for to they fay, that the place of the damned is full of (I wot not what) horrible rivers and winds confused together with fire and dead carcases. For no creature living, is nourished with any food that liveth; but we (in killing thosecreatures which have foules, or in destroying plants, herbs and fruits which participate likewise of life, inasmuch as we see them to be nourifhed and grow) do evill, and finne very grievoully, foras much as what soever is transmu-40 ted and turned into another, loseth that nature which it had before, and wholly is corrupted, for to become nourishment to another. As for abstinence from eating of flesh, as (by report) Orpheus did in olde time, is rather a subtile shift of Sophistrie, than any perfect shunning or forbearing of those since which are committed in delicious fare and superfluous gormandize; but the onely way to avoid enormitie in this behalfe, and the meanes to keepe a mans felfe perfeetly pure and undefiled, according to the absolute rule of justice, is to be content with that which is within himselfe, and to live without defire of any thing without, whatsoever: but he that is by God framed to that nature and condition, that without the dammage and hurt of another, he can not possibly preserve his owne being and safetie; unto him he hath given a nature which will continually move him to injustice, & to commit wrong. Were it not then (my good 50 friend Diocles) very meet and requifit to cut off together with injustice and finfulnesse, the belly, stomacke and liver, yea, and all other such parts which give unto us the appetite of nothing in the world that is honest, but resemble partly the instruments of a cooke, and vessels of the kitchin, to wit, chopping knives, cawdrons, pots and kettles, and in part are like unto the utenfils of a mill, of a chimney, oven or furnace, or fuch tooles as serve either to digge pits, or be used in bake-house and pastrie? for to say a trueth, you may plainely see and perceive that the soule in many men lieth hidden within the bodie, as it were in a certeine mil-house, turning round con-

tinually (as one would fay) about a querne, in purface after the necessities thereof, even as we here, cre-while perceived by experience in our owne felves, when we neither faw nor heard, nor regarded one another; but every one of us inclining forward and stouping downe to our victuals ferved our owne need & looked to our food, but now when the tables be taken up, as you fee, having chaplets of flowers on our heads, we take delight in deviling together, & holding honest discourses, we rejoice in fellowship & good company, we passe the time away in ease & repose, being once come to that point, that we have no more any defire or need of nourithment: It then we could hold us fo flill, & continue while we live in this prefent flate, fo that we neither feared wat & poverty, nor yet knew what was covetousnes & desire of riches, should we not lead (thinke to you) a bleffed and eafie life, as having leifure to converfe together and joy in our mutual focietie? For know wel this, that looking after the needles superfluities immediately ensuch upon the appetite and defire of things necessarie. But whereas Cleobulus is of this opinion, that needes there must be meat & food, to the end that their might be tables and standing cups upon them, that men may drinke one to another, also that they might facrifice to dame Ceres & her daughter Proferpina: another man may as well and truely fay: There ought to be watres and battels, to the end that we may have wals and fortifications for our cities, arcenals for our navy, and armories also, that for the killing of an hundred enemies, wee might in chankes giving to the gods offer factifices thereupon, called Hecatomphonia, according as they fay, there is a thatute importing so much among the Messenians. Or all one it were as if some other should be angrie or 20 offended with health, faying: It were great pitie, if because there are none sicke, any more there should be no use of easie beds, fine linner sheets, soft pillowes and coverings, nor any need to facrifice unto Aefeulapius or other gods, to divert and turne away our maladies; and fo the art of phylick, with all the tooles, instruments, drugs and medicines belonging thereto, be cast aside and neglected, without honor and regard. For what ods is there betweene the one and the other, confidering that we receive food as a medicine to cure our hunger? Befides, all they that keepe a certaine diet, are faid to cure themselves, using this remedie, not as a pleasure delightsome and defireable, but as meanes to content and fatisfic nature. For furely we may reckon more paines than pleasures, that come unto a man by his feeding; or to speake more truely, the pleafure of eating hath but a little place, and continueth as fmall a while in mans bodie; but the trou-30 ble and difficultie which it hath in providing and preparing, with how many fhamefull inconveniences and painefull travels it peftereth us, what should I relate unto you? for I suppose, that in regard of all these vexations, Homer took upon him to proove, that the gods died not, by this argument, that they received no food:

For neither ease they bread in heaven, nor pleafant wine to drinke: Thus bloodlesse since they be, we them immortall name and thinke.

As if by these verses he would give us to understand, that our eating and drinking is not onely the meanes of our life, but also the cause of our death: for thereupon a number of diseases take 40 hold of our bodies, which are gathered within the fame, and proceed no leffe from fulneffe than emptineffe, and many times we have more adoe to concoct, confume, and diffipate our foode, than we had to get and provide it. And much like as if the daughters of Danaus were in doubt what to do, and what life to lead, or how to be emploied, after they were delivered and freed once from their fervile taske imposed upon them, for to fill their tunne boared full of holes; even so doubt we (in case we were come to this passe, as to cease from stuffing and cramming this upsatiable fiesh of ours, which will never say Ho, with all forts of viands that land or sea may affoord) what we should do? and al because for want of experience & knowledge what things be good & honest, we love all our life time to seeke for to be provided of necessaries : and like as they who have beene flaves a long time, after they come once to be delivered from fervitude, do of them-30 felves and for themselves the verie same services, which they were woont to performe for their masters, when they were bound; even so, the soule taketh now great paines and travel to feed the bodie, but if once the might be difpatched and difcharged from this yoke of bondage, no fooner shall she finde her selfe free and at libertie, but she will nourish and regard herselfe, she will have an eie then, to the knowledge of the truth, and nothing shall plucke her away, or divert and withdraw her from it. Thus much ô Niebarchue as touching those points which were then delivered concerning nourishment. But before that Solon had fully finished his speech, Gorgias the brother of Periander coured into the place, being newly returned from Tenarin, whither he

had beene fent before by occasion of (I wot not what) oracles, for to carrie thither certaine oblations unto Neptune, and to doe facrifice unto him; we all faluted him and welcomed him home; but Perlander his brother comming toward and kiffed him, caufing him afterwards to fit downe by himselse upon the bed-side, where hee made relation unto him alone of certaine newes, Perunder gave good eare unto his brother, and shewed by his countenance that he was diverfly affected, and verie paffionate upon that which he heard him to report; and by his vifage it feemed one while that he forrowed and grieved, another while that he was angrie and of fended; he made semblant for a time, as if he distrusted and would not give credit unto him. and anon againe he seemed as much to woonder and stand in admiration; in the end he laughed and faid unto us: Veric gladly would I out of hand recount unto you the tidings which my to brother hath told me, but hardly dare I, neither will I be over halfie fo to doe, for feare of Thales, whom I have heard otherwise to say: That well we might make report of newes that be probable and like to be true; but touching things impossible, we ought altogether for to hold our peace. Hereupon Bias: But as wife a faying (quoth he) was this of Thales: That as we ought not to beleeve our enemies in things that be credible, fo we are not to diferedit our friends even in those things that are incredible. For mine owne part, I thinke verily by this speech of his, that hee tooke those for his enemies who were leawd and foolish, and reputed for friends such as were good and wife. I would advise you therefore (ô Gergias) that either you would declare your newes here before all this companie, or rather reduce that narration which you come with all to pronounce aloude unto us, into those new kinde of verses which are called Dithyrambes, 10 Then Gorgius fet tale on end and began to speake in this maner: After we had facrificed for the space of three dates together, and the last day performed in a generall assembly all the night a feltivall folemnitie with plaies and dances along the ftrond by the fea fide, as the moone flone at full upon the sea, without any winde in the world flirring at all, so as there was a gentle gene rall calme, and every thing still and quiet; behold we might discover a farre off a certeine monon or trouble in the fea, bending toward a promontorie or cape, and as it approached neutr thereto, raifed withall a little fcumme, and that with a great noife by reason of the agitation of the water and waves that it made in such fort, as that all the companie of us woondered what it might be, and ran toward the place whereunto it feemed to make way and bend the course for to arrive; but before that we could by any conjecture geffe what it was, (the swiftnesse thereof 30 was fuch) we might evidently deferie with our eie a number of dolphins, some swimming round about it thicke together, others directing the whole troupe toward the easiest and gentlest landing place of the banke, and some there were againe that followed behinde as it were in the rereward: now in the mids of all this troupe there appeared above the water I wot not what lumpe or maffe of a bodie floting aloft, which we could neither differne nor devife what it was, untill fuch time as the faid dolphins all close together and shooting themselves into the shore, landed upon the banke a man both alive and alfo mooving; which done they returned toward the rocke or promontoric aforefaid, leaping and dauncing wantonly as it should seeme for we ric joy more than they did before: which the greatest part of our company (quoth Gorgian) see ing, were fo greatly attaid, that they fled from the fea amaine all amazed; my felfe with fome 40 few others tooke better heart and approached nere, where we found that it was Arion the harper, who of himselfe tolde to us his name, and easie he was otherwise to be knowne, for that he had the same apparell which he was wont to weare when he plaied in publike place upon his hape: So we tooke him up incontinently and brought him into a tent (for harme he had none in the world, fave only that by reason of the swiftnesse & violent force of his cariage he was wearie and feemed ready to faint) where we heard from his mouth a strange tale, and to all men incredible, unleffe it were to us who faw the end and iffue thereof. For this Arion reported unto us, that having beene of long time refolved to returne out of Italy, and so much the rather because Periander had written unto him for to make haste & come away upon the first opportunity presented to him of a Cotinthian carricke that made faile fro thence, he presently embarked, but no soo 50 ner were they come into the broad and open sea, and that with a gentle gale of winde, but he perceived that the mariners conspired together for to take away his life, whereof the pilot himselfe also of the same ship gave him advertisement secretly, namely, that they intended to put the thing in execution that night. Arion thus finding himselfe destitute of all succour, and not knowing what to doe; it came into his minde as it were by a certeine heavenly and divine infpiration (whiles hee had yet some time to live) for to adorne his bodie with those ornaments which he accustomed to put on when he was to play upon his harpe for a prize in some fre-

quent Theater; to the end that the fame habit might ferve him for his funerall weed now at his death; and withall to fing a dolefull fong and lamentable dittie before his departure out of this life, and not to shew himselfe in this case lesse generous than the swans : being therefore thus arraied and decked accordingly, and doing the marriners to wit before hand, that he had a wondeffulldefire to chaunta fonctor hymne unto Apollo Pythius, for the fatetic of himselfe, the thip and all those fellow passengers who were within it, he stood upright on his feet in the poope cloleto the thip fide, and after he had founded a certaine invocation or praier to the fea-gods, he chanted the canticle beforefaid, and as he was in the mids of his fong, the funne went downe and feemed to fettle within the fea, and with that they began to discover Peloponnesus. Then the 10 marriners who could no longer flay nor tarrie for the darke night, came toward for to kill him; when he saw their naked swords drawen, and beheld the foresaid Pilot how he covered his face, because he would not see so vilanous a spectacle, he cast himselfe over thip-boord, and leapt as farre into the seafrom the ship as he could; but before that his whole bodie was under the water, the dolphins made hafte, and from beneath were readie to beare him up for finking. Full of feare and perturbation of spirit hee was at first, insonuch as being associed thereat, hee wish not what it might be; but within a while after, perceiving that he was carried at eafe, and feeing a great flote of dolphins environing gently round about him; and that they fucceeded and feconded one another by turnes, for to take the charge of carrying him, as if it had beene a fervice imposed upon themail, and whereunto they were necessarily obliged; and seeing besides that 20 the carrike was a good way behind (by which he gathered that he went apace, and was carried a way with great celerity:) He was not (quoth Gorgias) so fearful of death, or defirous otherwise to live, as hee had an ambitious defire to arrive once at the haven of fafetic, to the ende that the world might know that he stood in the grace and favour of the gods, and that he reposed an affured beliefe and firme affiance in them, beholding as he did the skie full of flarres, the moone arifing pure and cleere with exceeding brightnesse, and the whole sea about him smooth and caline; but that the course of these dolphins traced out a certaine way and path, so that hee thought thus within himselfe, that the divine justice had not one cie alone, but as many cies as there were starres in the heaven, and that God beheld all about what soever was done both by fea and land: Which cogitations and thoughts of mind (quoth he) mightily ftrengthe-30 ned and fulfained my bodie, which otherwise was readie to faint and yeeld with travell and wearinefle: finally, when the dolphins were come as farre as to the great promontoric of Tenarus, fo high and fteepe, they were veric warie and careful that they ran not upon it, but turned gently at one fide, and fwom behind it a long the coast, as if they would have conducted a barke fafe and found, to a fure bay and landing place, whereby he perceived evidently that carried he was thus by the guidance of the divine providence. After that Arion (faid Gorgias) had made all this discourse unto us, I inquired of him, where he thought that the ship above said inteded to arrive. At Corinth (quoth he) without all doubt, but it will be very late first, for it being toward evening when I leapt into the fea, I suppose that I was carried upon the dolphins backs no lesse than a course of five hundred furlongs, and no sooner was I from ship-board, but there insued present-40 ly a great calme at fea. Moreover, Gorgias faid: That he having learned the names aswell of the fhip-mafter as the pilot, and withall knowen what badge or enfigne the fhip carried, made out certaine pinnaces, and those manned with souldiours, for to observe what creeks, commodious baies, and landing places there were upon the faid coast; but as for Arion, Gorgias conveied him secretly with him, for searc less if the mariners should have had any advertisement of his deliverie and fafetie, they might flie away and escape: But as God would have it, every thing fell out so, as we might see (quoth Gorgias) the very immediat hand of the divine power; for at one and the same instant that I arrived here, I had intelligence also that the said thip was fallen into the hands of those fouldiors whom I set out; and so the mariners and passengers within it were taken all prisoners. Hereupon Periander commanded Gorgias presently to arise to apprehend 50 them, and lay them up fast in close prison, where no person might have accesse unto them, or certifie them that Arion was alive and fafe. Then Aelope : Mocke on now (quoth he) at my gaies and crowes that talke and tell tales, when you fee that dolphins also can in this wife play their youthfull parts, and atchieve fuch proweffes. Nay (quoth I then) we are able to report, Mejope, another narration like to this, which hath bene fet downe in writing, and received for currant and good these thousand yeeres passed and more, even from the daies of Ino and Athamas. Then Solon taking occasion of speech by these words: Yea, but these matters, ô Discles (quoth he) concerne the gods more neerely, and furpaffe our puiffance; but as for that which

befell to Hefodus, was a meere humane accident and not impertinent unto us, for I suppose you have heard the historic tolde. No I assure you (quoth I:) But woorth it is the hearing (quoth Solon againe.) And thus by report it was. A certaine Milesian with whom as it should seeme Heliodus had familiar acquaintance, in fo much as they lodged, eat and drunke together ordinarily in the citic of Lorres kept their hofts daughter fecretly, and abused her body, so as in the end he was taken with the manner. Now was Hefiodus suspected to have beene privie to him of this vilannie from the verie beginning; yea and to have kept the doore and affifted him in concealing the fame, whereas indeed he was in no fault at all, nor culpable any way; howbeit, by means of false suspitions and finister surmizes of people, hee incurred much anger and was hardly thought of, neither could be avoide the unjust imputations of the world: for the brethren of to the young damofell lay in ambush for him neere unto a wood about Loeri, set upon and slew him outright together with his fervant or page Troilus, who tended upon him. After this murther committed, and their bodies cast into the sea, it chanced that the corps of Trailing being carried foorth into the river Daphnus, refted upon a rocke environed and dashed round about with the water, and the fame not far from the fea, which rocke thereupon tooke his name, and is fo called at this day. But the dead bodie of Hesiodus, immediately from the land was received by a float or troupe of Dolphins, and by them carried as farre as to the capes Rhion and Molychria. It fortuned at the verie fame time that the citizens of Locri, held a folemne affembly and celebrated festivall facrifices, called Rhia, which they performe even at this daie also in the verie fame place with great magnificence and state: this corps being espied floating toward them, 20 (you may wel thinke) canfed all the company there to marvell not a little, who thereupon ranne all to the thore, and taking knowledge that it was the corps of Hestodus, because it seemed stell killed, they laid all other bufineffe apart & with all speed, sent about and made inquisition of this murther, by reason of the great renowme and name that went of Hesiudus: and this they sollowed with fuch diligence, that quickly they found out the murtherers, whom after they were apprehended, they threw alive headlong prefently into the fea, drowned them, and razed their house. Now was the corps of Hesiodus enterred neere unto the said Nemeium; howbeit, sew ftrangers there be that know of this his fepulcher, for concealed of purpose it is, by reason of the Orchonenians who made fearch for it (by report) and were definous by the appointment of certaine oracles to take up his reliques, and burie them in their countrey. If then the Dolphins be 30 fo kind and lovingly affected to the dead, much more probable it is, that they be willing and readie to helpe those who are alive, especially if they be drawen and allured by the found of the pipes, fluits or other harmonic: for who is there of us all that knoweth not how these creatures are delighted in fong, following and fwimming along those vessels where they heare musicke, as taking great pleafure in the fongs and muficall inftruments of those passengers, who do sing or play in a faire and calme feafon: also they are not a little pleased to see young children swimming & they joy and strive to be douffing, badling, & diving together with them: and therefore provided it is by an unwritten law, as touching their fecuritie, that they foould not be hurt; by vertue whereof none doe fish for them, no nor doe them any harme, unlesse haply when they chance to be taken in any nets, they hinder the taking of other fifthes, or otherwise hurt them, 40 and then beaten they are and corrected gently for it, like as little children who have done amilie and made a fault. And here I call to minde what I have heard recounted for certaintie of the inhabitants of Lesbos, that in times past within their countrey, there was a young maiden faved by a Dolphin, from perill of being drowned in the fea: but for that Pittaeus should know this much better, it were more reason that he himselfe reported it. True it is indeed (quoth Pittaeus) the tale is verie notorious and related by many. For there was an answere given by oracleto those founders, who first peopled Lesbos; that when in failing upon the sea they arrived at a rock called Meffog wan, that is to fay, Mediterranean, they should cast into the sea for Neptune abull, but for dame Amphitrite and the Nymphs Nereides a virgin alive. Now seven principall conductors & kings there were of that company which were to inhabit there, and Echelaus made the 50 eight, expressly named by the oracle for the planting of a colony, and he as yet a batcheler & unmaried. Now when the other feven, who had daughters mariageable, & yet unwedded, call lots among themselves whose daughter should be offered (as is before said) it fell out so, that the lot light upon the daughter of Smintheus; her therfore they arraied with rich robes, & adorned with coftly jewels of gold for that purpose, and being come to the place appointed, after they had made their praiers and oraifons accordingly, as in fuch a case, and were now at the verie point to throw her into the sea; a certaine young man, one of the passengers in the ship, of a gentle

nature and good disposition (as it appeared) whose name was Enalus, being enamoured of the faid yong damofell, entred prefently into a refolution to fuccor her in this extremitic, although hee faw well that it was in manner unpossible, and embracing her fast about the middle, he call himselfe and her together into the fea: and even then there ran a rumor, although without any certaine ground or author; howbeit beleeved by many of the armie, that both of them were caried to land and faved alive: but afterwards (by report) the faid Enalus was feen in the ifle Lesbos. who made relation, that he and shee both were mounted upon dolphins backes, and so carried fafe to the firme land without any danger. I could rehearfe other strange narrations belonging hereto, more marvellous than these, able as well to ravish with admiration, as to affect with deto lectation the minds of any that shall heare them; but hard it is to averre them all for true, and to bring proofe thereof, namely: That when there arose a mightie huge billow of water about the island like a rocke, so as no men durst approch nere unto the sea, Enalus only came thither and anumber of Polype fifhes, or poulpes followed after, and accompanied him to the temple of Neptune, where the biggeft of them brought unto Enalus, a ftone which he tooke and dedicated there in memoriall of this miracle; which stone we call Ei to this day. But in summe (quoth he) if a manknew well the difference betweene impossible and unusuall, and could distinguish betweene that which is contrarie to the order or course of nature, and the common opinion of men, in not beleeving too rashly, nor discrediting a thing too easily, he might observe wel from time to time your rule ô Chilon, [Nothing overmuch] which you ordeine to be kept. After him 20 spake Anachar sis, saying: That is not to be wondered at, that the good lieft and greatest matters in the world were done by the will and providence of God, confidering that according to the good and wife opinion of Thales, there is in all the chiefe and principall parts thereof a certeine foule: for as the organ and instrument of the foule is the body; fo the instrument of God is the foule: and like as the body hath many motions of the owne, but the greater part of them, and namely those which are most noble, proceed from the soule; even so the soule likewise doth worke some of her operations by her owne instinct, but in others she yeeldeth herselfe to be ordered, turned, managed and directed by God, as it pleafeth him to use her, being indeed of all instruments the most meet and handsome: for it were a very strange and absurd thing, that wind, water, clouds & raine, should be Gods instruments, by meanes wherof he nourisheth and main-30 teineth many creatures, and whereby he destroieth and overthroweth as many; and that he should use the ministerie of no living creatures in any worke of his: Reason it is yet and probable, that feeing fuch creatures depend wholy upon the puissance and omnipotencie of God, that they should serve al his motions, yea and obey his wils and second his purposes, more than bowes are accommodate to the Scythians, and harpes or hauthoies to the Greekes. After this speechthe poet Chersias made mention of many others who had beene miraculously and beyond all hope & expectation faved from death, and among the reft he gave instance of Cypfelus the father of Periander, whom being but a yoong babe and infant new borne, certeine bloudie murderers were fent to kill, and upon the fight of him, for verie pittie turned away and forbare to commit fo bloudy afact; but afterwards bethinking themselves, and repenting such soolish 40 compassion, they returned backe agains to seeke him out but could not finde him, for that his mother had hidden him within a little corne flasket or twiggen hamper, called in Greek Cyp/ele: in remembrance whereof Cypfelus afterwards when he was a man dedicated a chappell within the temple of Apollo in Delphos, as believing how at that time hee had been emiraculously preserved, and by the hand of God kept from crying, which might have bewraied him to the murderers. Then Pittaew addressing his speech to Persander faid thus: Chersias hath done me a great pleasure to mention this chapell or cell; for many a time desirous I was to know of you what should be the meaning of those frogs which are seene graven round about the foot of the palme tree therein; and what they did concerne either the faid God Apollo, or the man himselfe who built and dedicated the faid house. And when Periander willed him to aske Chersias that 50 question, who wist well enough what it was, for that he was with Cypfelus at the dedication thereof 3 Chersias smiled and said: I will not expound the mysteric thereof, unlesse I may know first of them that be heere, what is meant by these olde said sawes; Nothing too much. Know thy felfe: and that other mot, (which hath caused some to continue single and unmaried, others to forbeare fureti-ship, and many to be distrustfull, to be mute and filent) to wit, Give thy word and pay: Be furety, and be fure of a shrewd turne. And what need is there quoth Pittacias that we should interpret and declare these sentences, considering you so greatly praise the sables that Descript hath composed, which show the substance of every one? Aesope answered: So faith Chersias indeed when he is disposed to jest and be merry with me: but when he speaketh in good earnest, he affirment that Homer was the sirst author of these sentences, saying that Homer knew himselfe well enough, who advancing forward to set upon other captaines of the Greeks, Refused well and wifely for to fight,

With Ajax, some of Telamon that knight.

He faith moreover, that use fer approach and commended this fentence, Nothing too much; when he admonished Diomedes in these tearnes:

Sir Diomede, prasse not me overmuch

Ne yet dispraise I lo ve no doings such.

And as for furcti-thip, others are of opinion that he condemneth it as a leawd, naughty, and to dangerous thing in these words

Who sureties are for men distrest

and in calamity,

Taste oftentimes for their kind heart

much infortunity.

But this Poet Chersus here saith: That the fiend Ate, which is as much to say as Plague or Infortunitie, was by Jupiter stung downe from heaven to earth, for that she was present at the caution or warrantise which he interposed as touching the nativitie of Hercules, whereby Jupiter was circumvented and overtaken. Then Solon: Seeing it is so (quoth he) I am of this minde, that we should give eare and credit to the most wise Poet Homer, whose counsell this is:

Since that the night comes on apace, and hath surprised us, Full meet it is her to obey,

and end our speeches thus.

After we have therefore given thanks in powring out wine and offering it to the Muses, Negture and Amphirite, let us (if you thinke so good) end this our affembly and banquet. Thus Nieurehus this our mery meeting brake up, and was for that time dissolved.



INSTRVCTIONS FOR THEM THAT MANAGE AFFAIRES OF STATE.

The Summarie.



Trannie in any publike government, be it of prince, seignourie or people, as it is daugerous and det estable; so we are no lesse to seare anarchie, and the horrible consusion of those States where every one is a lord of master. The wise man said very wel: That a people or citie destitute of government, is necre to ruine; and publike assaires prosper well, when there be store of good counsellers. And on the other side, ex-

perience sheweth that humane societic can not stand without magistrates, the mainteiners of lawes of good order, which be the nerves or snewes, she cords and props of our life and conversation one with mother. But if there be any way in the world slipperie, it is that of the management of State assaires, by 50 reason of the leawanesse of some whom I may call Sage sooles, who runne by heaps after publike offices, not suffering men of honour to enter into them, as searing to be afterwards ranged and ordered by the sone of since then that ambition is a mortall plague in the mind and underslanding of him who would advance himselfe by crooked and indirect meanes, it behoweve ho not he contrary side, that those who have a sincere assection to serve in publike place, take heed that they be not discouraged, although other whiles they be kept under and put downe by such persons as by good right ought to serve, and not command. To holde therefore some meane in this case, between mounting up unto wain-glory, and salling

imo cowardife, Plutarch for to content and fatisfie a friend of his, greeth good inflructions to every manshat entrethintothe managing of State affaires: and in the first place he requireth at his hands a good will, free from vanitic and lightnesse, void of avarice, and delivered from ambition and envie: afterwards , his advice is, that be endevour to know shofe well, whom he must governe, for to acquis him well in his owne durie, in case he be inducted unto any high degree, in reforming himselfe and being furnified with a good confcience, knowledge & eloquence, proper instruments for to go thorow all difficulties. This done, he teacheth a States manto manage well his owne words, also what way he ought to take for the entrance into the conduct of his weightic affaires; what friends he is to chuse, and how he is to demeane himselfe aswell with them as his enomies: afterwards, he discusseth and handleth 10 this question, to wis, Whether such a person as he whom he hathrepresented, ought to intermeddle and deale in all offices, and resolveth that he ought to manage none but that which is of greatest importance. From this be proceedes be to fleake of that discretion which is requisit for the ranging and bringing into order of flanderers and enemics; and withall, with what maner of affaires a politician should buse and implay himselfe, and where to his spirit and minde is to tend; wishing above all, that he should enterteine the amitie of other lords and rulers, who are able to further and advance the publike good; and in the meane time to be well advised that he doe not goe about to save, or ruinate rather, his owne countrey by forren meanes. Heerenpon he discourseth of those maladies whereumo common wealths be subject, and holdeth this: That if there doe arife any mischiefe, it ought to be repressed, kept downe and cured at home. Confequently, he flewethunto a magistrate the maner of conversing with his col-20 leques or companions in office : and after he had commended those who walke singly & goroundly and plainly to worke, hee entreth very pretily into a discourse arising from the precedents, namely, astouching policie and good government, declaring wherein it doth confift : and fo toucheth in a word, the ductie of good jubjects in a state well ruled. Which done, hereturnesh to his former purpose, and makethmention of certeine cases, wherein a magistrate may accommodate and frame himselfe to his owne people: alfowhat persons he ought to use & employ for assistance in the execution of important affaires, and from what vices he is to keepe himselfe pure and cleane; how he ought to ofteeme and regard true honour, standing upon two points: the one, that he do trust and relie upon himselfe: the other, that he bewell beloved of the people, unto whom he ought to shew himselfe liberall. To this above said, there is joined accreeine discretion to be used in the largestes of magistrates to their subjects (athing much 30 practifed in oldetime, and in these daies turned cleane against the haire) proposing all in one traine, the true and most expedite way how to gaine the hearts of men, to which no prince nor governour shall ever attaine unleffe he be fuch an one as our authorit doth describe: and representing on the other side, the ridiculous and unhappie condition of ambitious persons, and other such as thirst after shamefull olorie, whose name serveth for nought els but to play with the least peties in a common-wealth. And for a finall conclusion, he treateth of seditions and civill warres; namely, how a good magistrate ought to cary himselfetherein; what a care he should have to quench with all speed such fire, and keepe his subjects in good unitie and concord, and how he should easily come thereto, which is the very closing up of the booke, inriched with notable arguments, sentences, similitudes and examples, for those especially, who have the command of others, and yet are besides, to appeare before the throne of their so vereigne, 40 the examination, triall and fearefull judgement of whom, they can not avoid.

INSTRVCTIONS FOR THEM that manage affaires of State.



F therebe any speech in the world, sir Menemachus, unto which a

Of all the Greekes there is no man, Who blame the se words or gaines are, Bus yet for sooth you say not all, Nor come are so the finiall.

certes, it is in the case of those Philosophers, who exhort sufficiently in generall tearmes, to undertake the affaires of State and publike government: but they teach us not how, nor give us precepts and directions thereto; who (me thinks) may well be resembled to those,

who fauffe and draw out the wicke of a lampe, but they powre no oyle into it, Seeing then that

you

you have upon verie good reason deliberated and resolved to meddle in the State affaires of your countrey, and desire according to the nobilitie of your house and native countrey, from whence you are descended,

To frame your speech with seemely grace, And deeds performe, meet for your place.

and considering that you are not yet come to that maturitie of yeeres, as to have seene evident. It the life of a wise man and true Philosopher in matters of government, or viewed his carriage and demeanor in State affaires; ne yet to bee a spectator of worthie and goodly examples practised in deed and effect, and not discoursed upon in word onely; in which regards you have requested me earnessly to give unto you certaine rules, precepts, and advertisements for your better knowledge & instruction, how you ought to behave your selfe in this behalfe; me thought I could not with any honessie denic your request: but my desire & wish rather is, that whatsoever I have collected to this purpose, may be answerable both to the ardent zeale of your intention, and also to the willing forwardness of mine affection; and verily to gratise your minde, I have accompanied these precepts with many faire and beautifull examples.

First and formost therefore, let this be laid for a fure ground & strong foundation, That who. foever mindeth to be a States man, and to mannage affaires of policie, bring with him a good intent, mooved by reason and judgement, and in no wise arising upon any blind passion, or defire of vaine-glorie, or jealousie and emulation of another, or finally upon default of other occupations: for like as there be some who spend most of their time in the common-hall or market 20 place, although they have nothing there to do, because they have no good thing at home tobe emploied about; even fo, you shall have diverse men that thrust themselves into civill and publike affaires, for that they have no private busines of their owne, worth tending, and so they use policie as a course of life, or rather a pastime and recreation. Others there be againe, who being by fome fortune or chance arrived, or rather cast upon the management of common-weale, and having thereof enough & (as it were) their bellies full, can not with any eafe withdraw and retire themselves, when they are once in, resembling those for all the world, who being embarked in fome vessel take the seasonly for to be rocked & shaken therin a little for their exercise; but after they be caried by a gale of winde into the deepe, when their heads once begin to turne, and their ftomacks ficke and readie to cast, they looke out backe toward the land, but for all that, forced 30 they be to tarrie still on ship-boord, and to frame themselves to their present fortune.

Their lovely joies and pleasures are then gon, To walke upon the batches gaily dight, With rowers seats in foist or gallion, Whiles sea is calme and weather faire and light: Which yeelds prospect most pleasant so their sight, And bearts content, so cut the waves aright.

And these are they, who as much as any, or rather most of all, discredit the thing, in that they repent and be much discontented with their choise; namely, when in stead of glorie which they promifed themselves, they fall into infamie, and whereas they looked to be feared of others by 40 the meanes of their great credit and authoritie, they bee carried into a world of affaires full of troubles and dangers. But he who commeth to the government of weale publike, and beginneth to enter upon it by found judgement and true discourse of reason, as a most honest vocation in it felfe, and most agreeable to his estate and qualitie, will no whit be discouraged or dismaied at any of these accidents, nor ever change his resolution. For a man is not to take upon him the managent of State affaires, with intent to negotiate and trafficke there, or to make a gainefull trade and occupation thereof to himselfe, like as in times past at Athens, Stratocles and Dromoelidas, with those about them, for to go unto their golden harvest (for so by way of jest and merrie speech they called the Tribunall seat, and publike pulpit where orations were made unto the people) no nor upon any fit of a fudden paffion that commeth upon him, as Cajus Gracebus did 50 at Rome sometime, who at the verie time when his brothers troubles were hot, and his death fresh and new, retired for a while out of the way, and betooke himselfe to a private course of life, farre remote from the common-wealth affaires; but afterwardes, being suddenly enkindled and inflamed againe with choler, upon certaine outragious dealings and opprobrious wordes given him by fome, would needes in all the hafte upon a spleene, rush into the government of State, and quickly had his handes full of bufineffes, and his ambitious humour was soone sed and satisfied: but then when as he would with all his heart have withdrawen himfelfe, changed his life, and taken his repofe, he could not by any meanes lay downe his authoritie and puffance (to fuch greatnes it was growen) but was killed before he could bring that about. As for these who compasse and dresse themselves as plaiers for to act upon the scatfold in some great Theater, and champions to contend with other concurrents, or else aime at vaine-glorie; it can not be, but they must needs repent of that which they have done, especially when they once see that they must ferve those whom they thought they were woorthie to rule, or that they can not chuse but displease them, whom they were destrous to gratific and content. And verily this is my conceit of such, that they runne headlong upon policie and State matters, like unto those who by some misdeventure, and sooner than they looked for, be fallen thereof, and wish they had never come there, but were out againe, whereas they, who considerately, and upon good deliberation goe downe into the said pit, carrie themselves soberly with quietnes and contentment of spirit, they are vexed, offended and difinated at nothing, as who at their fust entrie, put on a resolute minde, proposing unto themselves vertue and their dutie onely, and intending no other thing for to be the scop and end of all their actions.

Thus when as men have well grounded their choise in themselves, untill it be so furely setled & confirmed, that unnerh or hardly it can be altered or changed; then they ought to bendall their wits to the confideration and knowledge of the nature, of their citizens and fubjects, whole charge they have undertaken, or at least wife of that disposition, which being compounded (as to it were) of them all, appeareth most and carrieth greatest sway among them. For at the verie first and all at once, to goe about a change and to order and to reforme the nature of a whole comminaltie, were an enterprise, neither easte to be effected nor fase to bee practifed : as being a thing that requireth long time and great authoritie and power. But doe they must as wine doth in our bodies; which at the beginning is moistned (as it were) and overcome by the nature of him who drunke it, but afterwards by gentle warming his ftomacke, and by little and little entring into his veines, it becommeth of ftrength to affect the drinker, and make a change and alteration in him; femblably, a wife politician and governor, untill fuch time as he hath wonne by the confidence reposed in him, and the good reputation that he hath gotten, so much authority among the people, that he is not able to rule and lead them at his pleafure, will accommodate 30 and apply himselfe to their manners and fashions such as he sinder them, and thereby conjecture and confider their humors, untill he know wherein they take pleafure, whereto they are inclined, and what it is, wherewith they will foonest be lead and carried away. As for example, the Athenians as they are given to be hastic and cholcricke; so they be as soone turned to pitte and mercy; more willing to entertaine a fuspition quickly, than to have patience and at leasure to be enformed, and take certaine knowledge of a thing; and as they be more enclined and readie to fuccour base persons and of low condition; so they love, embrace and esteeme merrie words and pleafant conceits, delivered in game and laughter, more than fage and ferious fentences; they are best pleased when they heare themselves praised, and least offended againe with those that flour and mocke them; terrible they are and dread, to their verie rulers and magistrates, and 40 yet courteous and milde enough, even to the pardoning of their professed enemies. The nature of the Carthaginian people is farre otherwise, bitter, fell, fierce, sterne and full of revenge; obsequious to their betters and superiours; churlish and imperious over their inferiours and underlings; in feare most base and cowardly; in anger most cruell; firme and constant in their resolution, and where they have taken a pitch; hard to be mooved with any sports, pastimes, and jolitie; and in one word, rough & untractable. You should not have seene these fellowes, if Clean had requested them sitting in counsell (for a smuch as he had sacrificed unto the gods, and was minded to feast some strangers that were his friends, and come to visit him) to put off their affembly to another day; to arife laughing and clapping their hands for joy; nor, if whiles Alcibiades was a making unto them a folemne oration, a qualle should have escaped from under 50 his gowne and gotten away, would they have runne after her away to catch her, and given her to him againe? nay they would have fallen all upon him; they would have killed them both in the place, as if they had contemned them and made fooles of them: confidering that the banished captaine Hanne, because in the campe and armie when he marched, he used a lion as a sumpter horseto carrie some of his baggage; saying, that this savoured strongly of a man that affected tyrannic. Neither do I thinke that the Thebanes could ever have contained themselves, but have opened the letters of their enemies, if they had come into their hands: like as the Athenians did, who having furprized king Philips posts and curriers would never suffer one of their letters miffive to be broke open, which had the superscription to Queene Olympias my wise; nor discover the love-secrets and merrie conceits passing from an husband being absent in another countrey, and writing to his wise. Neither doe I thinke, that the Athenians on the other side, would have endured and borne with patience the proude spirit and scornefull contempt of Eparmondas, who would not make answere to an imputation charged against him, before the bodie of the people of Thebes, but arose out of the Theater where the people was assembled, and thorow them all went his way, and departed into the place of publike exercises. The Lacedamonians likewise would never have put up the insolent behaviour and mockerie of Stratesles, who having perswaded the Athenians to sacrifice unto the gods, in token of thankesgiving for a victorie, as if they had beene conquerours, and afterwards upon the certaine newes of adeleas to ture and overthrow received, when he saw the people highly offended and displeased with him, demaunded of them what injurie he had done them, if by his meanes they had beene metrie and feasted three daies together?

As for the flatterers that belong to Princes courts, they play by their lords and mallers. as those fowlers do, who catch their birds by a pipe counterfeiting their voices; for even fo they, to winde and infinuate themselves into the favour of kings and princes, doe resemble them for all the world, and by this devise entrap and deceive them. But for a good governour of a State, it is not meet and convenient that he should imitate the nature and the manners of the people under his government; but to know them and to make use of those meanes to every particular person, by which he knoweth that he may best win and gaine them to him: for the igno- 20 rance and want of skill in this behalfe, namely, how to handle men according to their humours, bringeth with it all disorders, and is the cause of irregular enormities, as well in popular governments, as among minnions and favorites of princes. Now after that a ruler hath gotten authoritie and credit once among the people, then ought he to strive and labour, for to reforme their nature and conditions if they be faultie; then is he by little and little to lead their gently (asit were) by land unto that which is better: for a most painefull and difficult thing it is to change and alter a multitude all at once: and to bring this about the better, he ought first to begin with himselse, and to amend the misdemeanours and disorders in his owne life and manners, knowing that he is to live from thence foorth (as it were) in open Theater, where he may be seene and viewed on everie fide. Now if haply it be an hard matter for a man to free his owne mind from 10 all forts of vices at once, yet at least wise he is to cut-off, and put away those that bee most apparent and notorious to the eies of the world. For you have heard (I am fure) how Themistoeles when hee minded to enter upon the mannaging of State-matters, weaned himselfe from fuch companie wherein hee did nothing but drinke, daunce, revell and make good cheere; and when he fell to fitting up late and watching at his booke, to fasting and studying hard, hee was woont to fay to his familiars, that the Trophea of Miltindes would not fuffer him to fleepe and take his reft. Pericles in like case altered his fashions in the whole course and maner of his life, in his person, in his sober and grave going, in his affable and courteous speech, shewing alwaies a staied and settled countenance, holding his hand ever-more under his robe, and never putting it foorth, and not going abroad to any place in the citie, but onely to the tribunall and 40 pulpit for publike orations, or els to the counsell house. For it is not an easie matter to weld and manage a multitude of people, neither are they to be caught of every one, and taken with their fafetie in the catching; but a gracious and gainfull piece of worke it were, if a man may bring it thus much about, that like unto suspicious & crastie wilde beasts, they be not affrighted nor let a madding at that which they heare and fee, but gently fuffer themselves to be handled, and be apt to receive instruction; and therefore this would not in any wife be neglected, neither are such to have a small regard to their owne life and maners, but they ought to studie and labor as much as possibly they can, that the same be without all touch and reproch : for that they who take in hand the government of publike affaires, are not to give account, nor to answere for that onely which they either fay or doe in publike, but they are fearched narrowly into, and manie a 50 curious eie there is upon them at their boord; much listening after that which passeth in their beds; great fifting and feanning of their marriages and their behaviour in wedlocke, and in one word all that ever they doe privately, whether it be in jest or in good carnest. For what need we write of Alcibiades, who being a man of action and execution, as famous and renowmed a captaine as any one in his time, and having borne himselfe alwaies invincible and inferiour to none in the managing of the publike State, yet notwithstanding ended his daies wretchedly, by meanes of his diffolute loofenes and outragious demeanour, in his private life and convertation

athome, infomuch as he bereft his owne countrey of the benefit they might have had by his other good parts and commendable qualities, even by his intemperance and fumptuous superfluitie in expence? Those of Athens found fault with Cimon, because he had a care to have good wine: and the Romaines finding no other thing in Scipio to reproove, blamed him for that hee lovedhis bed too well: the ill-willers of Pompey the Great, having observed in him that otherwhiles he scratched his head with one finger, reprochedhim for it. For like as a little freckle, mole or pendant-wert in the face of man or woman is more offensive, than blacke and blew marks, than scars or maimes in all the rest of the bodie; even so, small and light faults otherwise of themselves, thew great in the lives of Princes, and those who have the government of the 10 weale-publike in their hands, and that in regard of an opinion imprinted in the minds of men touching the estate of governous and magistrates, esteeming it a great thing, and that it ought to be pure and cleere from all faults and imperfections. And therefore deserved Juliu Drusus, a noble Senatour and great ruler in Rome to be highly praised, in that, when one of his workemen promifed him (if he fo would) to devife and contrive his house so, that whereas his neighbours overlooked him, and faw into many parts thereof, they should have no place therein exposed to their view and discoverie, and that this translating and alteration thereof should cost him but five talents: Nay (quoth he) thou shalt have tentalents, and make mine house so, that it may bee feene into on everie fide, to the end that all the citie may both fee and know how I live; for in trueth he was a grave, wife, honest, and comely personage. But peradventure it is not so neces-20 sarie that a house lie so open as to be looked into on all sides: for the people have cies to pierce and enter into the verie bottom of governours manners, of their counfels, actions, and lives, which a man would thinke to be most covert & fecret, & no leffe quick-fighted are they in their private carriage, as in that which they fee them doe, and heare them speake in publike; loving fome with a kinde of admiration, and hating others in difdainfull and contemptuous manner. What? will some one say, do not some cities otherwhiles love to be ruled by governors, whom they know to be diffolute and difordinate in their manner of life ? Yes, I believe it verie well. And so for sooth, we see some women when they are with childe, long many times to cate grit of flones, and they who are flomacke-ficke, and have a peevifh appetite, defire falt-fifh, and fuch other naughtic meates; but within a while after, when the fit is once past, they reject, refuse and 20 lothethetame; even to many States and Comminalties often-times upon an infolencie, wantonnesse and disordinate desire, or for default of better governours, be served with those that come first, and they care not with whom, notwithstanding they have them in contempt and detestation, but afterwards they are very well content when such speeches goe of them, as Plate a comicall Poet in one of his Comedies inferreth to be spoken by the people themselves:

Take me by band, take holde and that right soone,

Agyrtius els 1'll captaint chuse anon.

And againe in another place, he bringeth in the people calling for a bason and a seather for to provoke vomit, saying thus:

At my tribunall feat most eminent, Herselse to me Mantile doth present.

And a little after,

Assuming headit keepes and feedeth now, Amaladie most foule, I do avow.

And the people of Rome, at what time as Car boavouched a thing, and bound it by a great oath, yeadand the famewith a curfe and exectation, if it were not for yet for all that all with one voice fware aloud to the contrary, and protefled that they would not beleeve him. Also at Lacedemon, when one Demosthenessa wicked and diffolute person, had delivered his opinion and advice, verie well sitting and behoovefull to the matter in question, the people rejected it; but the Ephori having chosen one of their Ancients and honourable counsellers of Estate, willed him to speak 50 to the same point and the like effect; which was as much as if they had taken it out of one soule and slittine vessels, and all to please and content the people and multitude so effectuall is for the government of an Estate, the affured perswasion of the honors is of a personage, and as forcible likewise is the contrarie. I write not thus to this end, that we should inegled the grace of eloquence and the powerfull skill of well-speaking, as if all should lie upon vertue, and nothing els, but that we are to thinke, that Rhetoricall speech and brave utterance is not the thing alone which perswadeth the people, but that it

is a good helpe, and doth cooperate in perswasson, so that we may in some fort correct and a. mend that sentence of Menander:

The honest life of him that speakes in place, And not his tongue, doth credit win and grace.

For life and language both ought to concurre, unlesse haply one would say, That it is the pilot onely that governeth the ship, and not the helme; and the rider alone turneth the horse head. and not the reines or bridle; semblably, that the science of policie and government of wealepublike useth maners and not eloquence, as an helme or bridle, to manage, direct and governea whole citie, which is (according to Plate) a creature (as one would say) most easie to be turned. fo that it be conducted and guided, as it were, in the poope : for feeing that those great kings, to the formes of Jupiter (as Homer calleth them) fet out and puffe up their magnificent part, with long robes of purple, with scepters in their hands, with a guard of squires and pensioners about their persons, with whom they were environed on everie side, yea, and with the oracles of the gods in their favour, subjecting unto their obeisance (by this outward venerable shew) the com. mon fort, and imprinting an opinion that they are in greater state than men; and yet for all this, were defirous to learne how to speake wisely, and not carelesse and negligent to winne grace by good speech,

And eloquence, whereby more perfect they In warlike feats might be another day.

not recommending themselves to Jupiter onely the Counseller, nor to bloodie Mars and war- 10 like Minerva, but invocating likewise the Muse Calliope,

Who doth upon great kings attend,

And makes them ay more reverend. with her perswasive grace and vertue dulcing and appealing the violent mood and siercenesses the people. Seeing (I fay) that mightie princes be furnished with so many helps and meanes; is it possible that a private person, with a simple robe and popular habit, taking upon him to weld and rule a whole citie or State, should ever be able to effect his purpose, namely, to rame and range into order an unruly multitude, unlesse he have eloquence to aide him in this businesse, for to perswade and bring them to the bent of his bow? for mine owne part, I thinke No. Assor the masters and captaines of gallies and other ships, they have other officers under them, as 10 their boat-swaines, to give knowledge what they would have to be done; but a good governout of State ought to have within himfelfe the skill and knowledge of the steeres-man to sit at steme and guide the helme, and besides that, good speech also to make known his will and pleasure, to the end that he need not at all the voice of another, nor beforced to fay as Iphierates did when he was overcome and braved out by the eloquent words of Aristophon: My adversaries plaier acteth better than mine, but furely my play is much better than theirs: and that he have notneed often-times to have in his mouth these verses of Euripides:

Would God the feed and race of mortall men Were speechlesse cleane, or could not speake words ten. these: As also of these:

Oh God, that mens affaires and causes all Required no words, and for no speech did call, That oratours, whose tongues do plead so hard, Were not emploied, nor in fo good regard.

d, orthographic d, orthographic (consisting compatible (consistency consistency compatible For these sentences perhaps might give leave to some Alcamenes, Nesiots, and Ictines, or such maner of people, who live by their handy-worke, gettheir living by the sweat of their browes, and are past all hope to atteine unto any perfection of eloquence, to flie there-fro: as it is reported of two Architects or great Masons at Athens sometimes, who came in question for their skill, whether of the twaine was more fufficient to make a great fabricke and publike piece of worke; the one, who could speake very well and expresse his minde with varietie and eleganicie so of words, pronounced a premeditate oration as touching the frame and building thereof; which he did to well, that he moved the whole affembly therewith; the other, who was more skilfill in Architecture, & the better workman by far, but one that could not deliver his mind fo eloquents ly, when he came before the people, faid no more but thus: My masters of Athens, that which this man here hath faid, I will do. And verily fuch good fellowes as these, acknowledge no other goddesse or patronesse than Minervathe artisan, surnamed Ergane, and who as Sophocles faith:

upon the massive anviletame, Withweightie strokes of hammer strong, A liveleffe barre of gron, and frame Obeifant to their labours long.

But the minister or prophet to Minerwa Polias, that is to fay, the protectresse of cities, and to Themis or Justice the protectresse of counsell:

Who of mens counsels president.

Diffolves, or holds them resident. he (I say) having but one instrument to use and occupie, which is his speech, by forming and 10 fashioning some things to his owne mould, and others which he findeth untoward and not pliable to the desseine of his worke (as if they were knurres and knots in timber, or flawes and rifings in yron) by foftning, polithing and making plaine and finoothe, embelifheth in the end a whole citie. By this meanes the Common-wealth of Pericles, in name and outward appear rance being popular, was in trueth and effect a principality and regall State, governed by one man the principall person of the citie: and what was it that did the deed ? furely the force and power of his eloquence: for at the fame time there lived Cimon, a good man, Fphialtes also and Thursdides, who being one day demanded by Archidamus the king of the Lacedamonians, whether hee or Pericles wreftled better : That were (quoth hee) very hard to fay; for when in wreftling I beare him downe to the ground, he is by his words able to perswade the standers by 20 and beholders, that he is not fallen, and so goeth cleere away with it. And verily, this gift of his brought not onely to him honour & glorie, but also safetie to the whole citie; which being by him ruled and perswaded, preserved and mainteined full well the wealth and estate which it had ofher owne, and forbare to defire the conquest of any other: whereas poore Wicias, although hee had the fame good meaning and intention, yet because he wanted that perswafive facultie with his smooth tongue and eloquent speech, like unto a gentle bit, when he went about to bridle & restraine the covetous desire of the people, could not compasse it, but mauger and in fpight of his heart was overfwaied, caried away, and haled by the very necke into Sicilie; fuch was the violence of the people. An olde faid faw it is, and a true proverbe: That it is not good holding of a wolfe by the eares; but furely of a city or State, a man must principally take 30 hold by the cares; and not as some doe, who are not sufficiently exercised nor well seene in the feat of eloquence, fearch other abfurd and foolish handles to catch hold by, for to win and draw the people unto them: for divers you shall have, who thinke to draw and leade the multitude by the belly, in making great feafts and banqueting them; others by the purfe, in giving them largeffes of filver; fome by the eie, in exhibiting unto them goodly fights of plaies, games, warlike dances and combats of fencers at the utterance; which devices are not to draw and leade the people gently, but to catch them rather cunningly: for the drawing or leading of a multitude, is properly to perswade them by force of eloquence; whereas the other allurements and enticements refemble very well the baits that are laied for to take brute and wilde beafts, or the fodder that herd-men use to feed them with. Since then it is so, that the chiefe instrument of a wise and 40 fage governour, is his speech, this principall care would be had, that the same be not too much painted and fet out, as if he were some young gallant that defired to shew his eloquence in a Theater and frequent affembly of a great faire or market, composing his oration as a chaplet of flowers with the most beautifull, sweet and pleasant phrases or tearmes that he can chuse; neither ought the same to be so painfully studied and premeditated as that oration of Demosthenes was, which Pytheas faid (by way of reproch) that it smelled of lamp-oile; nor full of over-much fophisticall curiofitie of enthymemes and arguments too witty and subtile; nor yet with clauses and periods exactly measured to the rule and compasse. But like as Musicians are defirous that in touching and stroke of their strings there should appeare a sweet and kinde affection, and not a rude beating; even so in the speech of a sage ruler, whether it be in giving counsell or decree-50 ing any thing, there ought not to be seene the attificiall cunning of an Oratour, nor any curious affection; neither must it in any wife tend to his owne praise, as if he had spoken learnedly, formally, tubully, wittily and with precise respect and distinctions : let it be full rather of naturall affection without arte, of true heart and magnanimitie, of franke and fatherly remonstrance, as may become the father of his countrey, full of forecast and providence, of a good mind and understanding, carefull of the common-weale, having together with honest and comely dignitie a lovely grace that is attractive, confifting of grave tearmes, pertinent reasons, and proper sentences, and the same fignificant and persuasive. For in trueth the oration and stile of a Statesman and governour admitteth in comparison of a lawier or advocate pleading at the batte in court, more sententious speeches, histories, sables and metaphors, which do then move and affect the multitude most, when the speaker knoweth how to use them with measure, in time and place convenient; like as he did, who said: My masters, see that you make not Greece one-cied: (speaking of the citie of Athens, when they were about to destroy it) and according as Demades also did, when he said, that he sat at sterne to governe, not a ship, but the shipwracke of a citie and Commonwealth: Semblably Archibechus in saying,

Let not the stone of Tantalus This isle alwaies hang over thus.

Likewise Pericles when he gaue advice and commanded to take away th.: eie-fore of the haven 10 Pirean, meaning thereby the little ifle Aegina. In the same maner Phocion speaking of the victoric atchieved by Generall Leosthenes, said thus; The stadium or short race of this watre is good, but I sear (quoth he) the doliehus thereof; that is to say, the afterclaps and length there. of. In summe, as speech standing somewhat of hautinesse, grauitic, and greatnesse, is more besitting a gouernour of State: and for example heereof, go no surther than to the orations of Demosthenes penned against king Philip, and among other speeches, set downe by Thurydidin, that which was delivered by the Ephorus Sthenelaidas: also that of king Archidamus, in the citie Platese: likewise the oration of Pericles after that great pestilence at Athens. As for those long sermons, cariying a great traine of sentences and continued periods after them, which Theopompus, Ephorus and Anaximenes, bring in to be pronounced by captaines unto their 20 sold of the same they be armed and stand arranged in battell-ray, a man may say of such as the Poer did.

What fooles would speake thus many words, So neere to edge and dint of swords.

Over and befides; true it is that a man of government may otherwhiles give a taunt and nipping scoffe, he may cast out also amerrie jest to moove laughter, and namely, if it be to rebuke, chaftife, yea and to ouippe one and take him vp for his good, after a modest maner, and noto touch him too neere and wound him in honour and credite to his difgrace, with a kinde of fcurrilitie. But about all it may befeeme him thus to doe when he is provoked thereunto, and is driven to replie and give one for another by way of exchange : for to begin first in that fort, 20 and to come prepared with fuch premeditate stuffe, is more befitting a pleasant or common jefter, who would make the companie laugh, befides that, it carieth also an opinion of a malicious and spitefull minde: and such are the biting frumpes and broad jests of Cicero and Cato the elder; likewise of one Euxithem a familiar and disciple of Aristotle; for these many times began first to scoffe and taunt; but when a man never doth it but by way of reply or rejoinder, the fodaine occasion giveth him pardon to be revenged, and withall such requitals carie the greater grace with them. Thus dealt Demosthenes by one who was deepely suspected to be a theefe: for when he would feeme to twit Demosthenes by his watching and fitting up all night at his booke for to endite and write: I wot well (quoth Demostheres) that I trouble and hinder thee very much with keeping my candle or lampe burning all night long. Also when he answe. 40 red Demades, who cried out aloud: Demosthepes would correct me (as much to fay forfoorth) as if according to the common proverbe, the fow should teach Minerva: Minerva (quoth he, taking that word out of his mouth) what's that you fay? Minerva was surprized not long since in adulteric. Semblably it was with no ill grace that Xenet wanswered his country-men and fellow citizens, who cast in his teeth and upbraided him, for that being their leader and captaine he fled out of the field: With you(quoth he) my loving and deere friends, I ran away for companie. But great regard and heed would be taken, that in this kinde he overpasse not himselse, not go beyond the bonds of mediocritie in fuch ridiculous jelts, for feare that either he offendand displease the hearers unseasonably, or debase and abject himselfe too grofly, by giving out such ridiculous speeches: which was the fault of one Democrates, who mounting one day up into the 50 pulpit or publicke place of audience, said openly to the people there assembled; That himselfe was like unto their citie, for that he had finall force, and yet was puft up with much winde. Another time also, and namely when the great field was lost before Charonea, he presented himselfe to speake unto the people in this maner: I would not for any thing that the common wealth were driven to fuch calamitie and fo hard an exigent, that you should have patience to heare me, and neede to take counfell at my hands: for as in the one he shewed himselse a base and vile person, so in the other he plaied the brain-sicke soole and sencelesse asse: but for a man of

State, neither is the one nor the other decent and agreeable. Furthermore, Phoeion is had in admiration for his brevitie of speech, insomuch as Polyeuctus giving his judgement of him, faid: Demoss heres indeed is the greatest Oratour, and the most famous Rhetorician, but Phocion beleeve me, is the best speaker; for that his pithie speech was so couched, that in few words it contained much substance and good matter. And even Demosthenes himselfe, howsoever he made no reckoning of all other orators in his time, yet if Phoeson rose up to deliver a speech after him, would fay: Lo heere standeth up now the hatchet or pruning knife of my words. Well then, endevour you as much as possibly you can, when you are to make a speech before the multitude to speake considerately and with great circumspection, directing your words so, as to they may tend to fafetie and fecuritie, and not in any case to vse vaine and frivolous language: knowing well that Pericles himselse, that great governour, was woont to make his praier unto the gods before hee entred into his oration in publicke audience : That he might let fall no word out of his mouth impertinent to the matter which he was to handle; and yet for all this, you must be well exercised neverthelesse, and practised in the knowledge how to be able to answere and replie readily; for many occasions passe in a moment, and bring with them as many fuddencases and occurrences, especially in matters of government. In which regard, Denos shees was (by report) reputed inferior to many others in his time, for that otherwhiles he would withdraw himselfe and not be seene when occasion was offered, if he had not well premeditated and studied aforehand of that which he had to say. Theophrastus also writesh 20 of Alibindes, that being defirous to speake, not onely that which was convenient, but also in maner and forme as it was meet; many a time in the mids of his oration would make a flay, and be at a nonplus, whiles he fought and studied for some proper tearmes, and laboured to couch and compose them fitting for his purpose: but he who taketh occasion to stand up for to make a speech of sudden occurrences, and respective to the occasions and times presented unto him, fuch a one I fay of all others doth most moove and astonish a multitude, he I fay is able to leade them as he lift and dispose of them at his pleasure. After this maner plaied Lean the Bizantine, who was fent upon a time from those of Constantinople vnto the Athenians, being at civill debate and diffention among themselves, for to make remonstrances unto them of pacification and agreement: for a very little man was he of stature, and when the people sawe him 20 mounted up into the place of audience, everie one began to teigh, tittre, and laugh at him; which he perceiving well enough: And what would you do and fay then (quoth he) if you fawe my wife, whose crowne of hir head will hardly reach up so high as my knee? At which word, they tooke up a greater fit of laughter then before throughout the whole affembly: And yet (quoth he againe) as little as we both be, if we chance to be at variance and debate one with another, the whole citie of Constantinople is not big enough for us, nor able to holde us twaine. Pytheas likewise, the Orator, at what time as he spake against the honors which were decreed for king Alexander, when one faid unto him: How now fir, dare you prefume to speake of so great matters, being as you are, fo yoong a man? And why not (quoth he) for Alexander whom you make a god among you by your decrees, is yoonger than my felfe.

Furthermore, over and befides a ready tongue and well exercised, he ought to bring with him astrong voice, a good breast and along breast, to this combat of State government; which I assure you, is not lightly to be accounted of, but wherein the champion is to be provided for all feats of masteries or fight; for searce lest if it chance that his voice saile or be wearie and faint, he be overcome and supplanted by some one

Catchpoll, Crier, and of that ranke, Wide-mouth d Jugler or mount-banke.

And yet Cath the yoonger, when he suspected that either the Senate or the people were fore-fitalled by graces, laboring for voices and such like prevention, so as he had no hope to perswade and compasse since the ment about, would rise up and holde them all aday long with an 50 oration; which he did to drive away the time, that at least-wise upon such a day there should be nothing done or passe against his mind. But as touching the speech of a governor, how powerfull and effectuall it is, and how it ought to be prepared, we have this already sufficiently treated, especially for such an one as is able of himselse to devise all the rest, which consequently sollow-th hereupon.

Moreover, two avennes (as it were) or waies there be to come unto the credit of government; the one short and compendious, yeelding an honourable course to win glory and reputation; but it is not without some danger; the other longer and more base and obscure, howbeit

lwates

alwaies fafe and fure. For somethere be, who making faile and setting their course (as a man would fay) from some high rocke situate in the maine sea, have ventured at the first upon some great and worthy enterprise, which required valour and hardinesse, and so at the very beginning entred into the middes of State-affaires, supposing that the Poet Pindar w faid true in these his

Precepts of policie.

Aworthy worke who will begin, Must when he enters first therein, Set out a gay forefront to view Which may farre off the luftre shew.

For certeinly the multitude and common fort being fatisfied and full already of those gover-10 nours whom they have bene used to a long time, receive more willingly all beginners and new commers, much-like as the spectatours and beholders of plaies or games have better affection a great deale to fee a new champion entring freth into the lifts. And verily all those honours, dignities and powerfull authorities which have a fudden beginning and glorious encrease, doe ordinarily aftonish and daunt all envie: for neither doth the fire (as Ariston faith) make a smoke which is quickly kindled; and made to burne out of a light flame; nor glorie breed envie when it is gotten at once and speedily; but such as grow up by little and little, at leisure, those be they that are caught therewith, some one way and some another. And this is the cause that before they come to flower (as it were) and grow to any credit of government, fade and become dead and withered about the publike place of audience. But whereas it falleth our according to the 20 Epigram of the courrier or runner Ladas,

No sooner came the sound of whip to eare, But he was at the end of his carreare, And then withall, in one and selfe-same trice

He crowned was with laurell for his price. that fome one hath at first performed an ambaffage honourably, rode in triumph gloriously, or conducted an armic valiantly, neither envious persons nor spightfull ill-willers have like power against fuch as against others. Thus came Aratus into credit the very first day, for that he had defaited and overthrowen the tyrant Nicocles. Thus Alcibiades woon the spurres, when hepra-Etifed and wrought the alliance betweene the Mantimeans and the Athenians against the Lace-30 damonians. And when Pompey the great would have entred the citie of Rome in triumph, before he had shewed himselfe unto the Senate, and was withstood by Sylla, who meant to impeach him, he flucke not to fay unto him: More men there be fir, who worthip the Sun rifing, than the Snn fetting; which when Sylla heard, he gave place and yeelded unto him without one word replying to the contrary. And when as the people of Rome chose and declared Cornelius Scipio Confull all on a fudden, and that against the ordinary course of law, when as himselfe flood onely to be Aedile, it was not upon some vulgar beginning and ordinary entrance into affaires of State, but for the great admiration they had of his rare and fingular proweffe, in that being but a very youth, he had mainteined fingle fight and combat hand to hand with his enemy in Spaine, and vanquithed him; yea, and within a while after, in the necke of it, had atchieved many 40 worthy exploits against the Carthaginians, being but a militarie Tribune or Colonel of a thoufund foot, for which brave acts and fervices of his, Cato the elder as he returned out of the campe cried out with a loud voice of him:

Right wife and sage indeed alone is he, The rest to him but slitting stadowes be.

But now fir, feeing that the cities & States of Greece are brought to fuch tearmes, that they have no more armies to conduct, nor tyrants to be put downe, nor yet alliances to be treated and made, what noble and brave enterprise would you have a yoong gentleman performe athis beginning and entrance into government? Mary, there are left for him publike causes to plead, ambaffages to negotiate unto the Emperour or some sovereigne potentate; which occasions 50 do ordinarily require a man of action, hardy and ardent at the first enterprise, wife and warie in the finall execution. Befides, there be many good and honest customes of ancient time, either for-let or growen out of kinde by negligence, which may be fet on foot, renewed and reformed againe: many abuses also by ill custome are crept into cities, where they have taken deeperoot, and beene fetled, to the great dishonour and damage of the common-wealth: which may be redreffed by his meanes. It falleth out many times, that a great controverfie judged and decided aright; the triall likewife and proofe of faithfull trust and diligence in a poore mans cause main-

teined and defended frankly and boldly against the oppression of some great and mightie adverfarie; also a plaine and stout speech delivered in the behalfe of right and justice, against some grand Signiout who is unjust and injurious, have affoorded honorable entries unto the management of State affaires. And many there be, who have put foorth themselves, made their parts knowen, and come up, by enterteining quarrels and enmitties with those personages, whose authoritie was odious, envied and terrible to the people : for we alwaies fee that prefently the puiffance and power of him that is put downe and overthrowen, doth accrue unto him who had the upper hand, with greater reputation: which I speake not as if I did approve and thought it good for one to oppose himselfeby way of envie unto a man of honour and good respect, and who by his vertue holdeth the chiefe place of credit in his countrey, thereby to undermine his estate, like as Simmias dealt by Pericles, Alemson by Themistocles, Clodius by Pompeius, and Meneclides the Oratour by Epaminondas; for this course is neither good nor honourable, and besides, lesse gainefull and profitable: for fay that the people in a fudden fit of furious choler commit fome outrage and abuse upon a man of worth; afterwards, when they repent at leasure (being coole) that which they did hastily in their heat of blood, they thinke there is no readier nor juster means to excuse themselves to him, than to deface, yea, and undoe the said partie who first moved and induced them to those proceedings. And verily, to set upon a wicked person, who either by his audacious and inconfiderate rashnesse, or by his fine & cautelous devices hath gotten the head over a whole citie, or brought a state to his devotion, such as were in olde time Cleon and Clino-20 phon at Athens; to fet upon those (I say) for to bring them under, yea, and atterly to destroy them out of the way, were a notable preamble (as it were) to the Comedy for him that is mounted upon the stage of a common wealth, and newly entred into the government thereof. I am not ignorant likewife, that fome by clipping the wings, or paring the nailes (as a man would fay) of an imperious Senate and lordly Seignoury, taking upon them too much, and tyr mnizing by vertue of their absolute sovereigntie, which was the practise of one Ephraltes at Athens; and another in the citie Elis, whose name was Phormio, have acquired honour and reputation in their countrey: but I holde this to be a dangerous beginning for to be enterprifed by them that would come to the managing of State affaires. And it feemeth that Solon made choife of a better entrance than fo, for the citie of Athens being divided into three parts or regions; the first 30 of those that did inhabit the hill; the second of them who dwelt upon the plaine; and the third of fuch as kept by the water-fide; he would not feeme to fide with any one of these three parts, but caried himfelfe indifferent unto them all, faying & doing what he could to reconcile and reunite them together: by which meanes chosen he was, by the generall consent of them all, the lord Reformer, to draw new lawes and conditions of pacification among them; and by this practife he established and confirmed the State of Athens. Thus you see how a man may enter into the government of the common-wealth by honourable and glorious commencements: and this may suffice for the former avenue of the twaine aforesaid unto the affaires of State;

As for the other way, which as it giveth more fure accesse, so it is not so expedite and short; there have beene many notable men who in old time made choise thereof, and loved it better: 40 and by name, Aristides, Phocion, Pammenes the Theban, Lucullan in Rome, Cato and Agefilaus at Lacedamon : for like as the ivie windeth about trees stronger than it selfe, and riseth up alost together with them; even so each one of these before-named, being yet yoong novices and unknowen, joining and coupling themselves with other ancient personages who were already in credit by rifing leafurely under the wing and shadow of others, and growing with them, grounded themselves and tooke good root against the time that they undertooke the government of State. Thus Clifthenes raised Aristides; Chabrias advanced Photion; by Sylla, Lucullus rose; Cato by Fab. Maximus; Epaminondas came up by Pammenes; and Agesilaus by Lysander; but this man named last, upon a certeine inordinate ambition and importune jealousie did wrong unto his owne reputation, by casting and rejecting behind him a worthy personage, who guided and 50 directed him in all his actions: but all the rest wisely and honestly reverenced, acknowledged, yea, and aided with all their power, even to the very end, the authors of their rifing and advancement; much like unto those bodies which are opposed full against the Sunne, in returning and fending backe the light that shineth upon them, doe augment and illustrate the same so much the more. Thus when evill tongued persons, who envied and maligned the glory of Seifio, gave out thathe was but the plaier and actour onely of those woorthy feats of armes which lice keed ted ifor the authour thereof was Lalim his familiar friend: yet Lalim for all these speeches was never mooyed nor altered in his purpose, but continued still the same man to promote and second the glory and vertue of Scipio. As for Afranius the friend of Pompeius, notwithstanding he was but of base and low degree, yet being upon tearmes to be chosen Consult, when he underflood that Pompeius favoured others, gave over his fute, and let fall the possibilitie that he had; faying withal: That it would not be so honourable unto him for to be promoted unto that dignitic of Consulate, as grievous and troublesome, to obteine the same against the good will, and without the favour and affiltance of Pompeius; and so in deferring and putting off the matter but one yeere longer, he had not the repulse when the time came, and therewith he kept his friend fill, and enjoied his favour. And by this meanes it commeth to passe, that those who are thus led by the hand of others, and trained to the way of preferment and glorie, in gratifying one do gratifie many withall; and befides, if any inconvenience chance to enfue, the leffe odious they to be and hatefull for it: which was the reason that Philip king of Macedonie earnestly exhorted and admonished his some Alexander that he should provide himselfe of many friends and servitours whiles he might, and had leafure, even during the reigne of another; namely, by converfing and conferring graciously with every one, and by cheerefull behaviour and affabilitieto all, for to winne their love and favour; but when he was once invested in the kingdome, to chuse for his guide and conductour in the managing of State-affaires, not simply him who is of most credit and greatest reputation, but rather the man who is such an one by his desert and vertue for like as every tree will not admit a vine to wind about the trunke & body thereof; for some there be that do choke & utterly marre the growth of it; even so in the government of cities & States, those who are not truely honest and lovers of vertue, but ambitious and desirous of honour and 20 fovereignty onely, affoord not unto yong men the meanes and occasions of worthy enterprises and noble acts, but upon envie and jealousic holde them under and put them backe as farreas they can, and thus make them to confume and languish, as if they deterined from them their gloric, and cut them (hort of that which is their onely food and nourishment. Thus did Marine in Afrike first, and afterwards in Galatia by Sylla, by whose meanes hee had performed much good service; and in the end would not use him at all, but cast him off; for that in trueth, hee was vexed at the heart to fee him growe up as hee did, and to winne fo great reput ation under him, howfoever hee would have feemed to colour the matter, and make the fignet in the colet of his ring which he fealed withall, the pretenfe and cloake thereof. For sylla being treasurer in Africke, under Marius the lord General, was fent by him unto king Bocchus, and brought with 30 him Jugurtha prisoner; and being a yoong gentleman as he was, and beginning to taste the fweetenesse of glorie, he could not carrie himselfe modestly in this good fortune of his, but must needs weare upon his singer a faire scale ring, wherein he caused to be engrauen the historic of this exploit, and namely how Bocchus delivered into his hands Jugurtha prisoner: heereat Syllatooke exceptions, laid this to his charge, and made it a colourable occasion of rejecting and putting him out of his place : but he joining himselfe with Catulus and Metellus, good menboth, and the adversaries of Marius; soone after chased Marius and turned him out of all in a civill war, which was well neere the ruine and overthrow of the Romaine empire. Sylla dealt not fo with Pompeius, for he evermore advanaged & graced him from his very youth, he would arise out of his chaire, and vaile boner vnto him when hee came in place: semblably hee carried 40 himselfe toward other yong gentlemen and gallants of Rome, imparting unto some the meanes of doing the exploits of captaines and commanders: yea quickning and putting others for ward who were unwilling of themselves; and in so doing he filled all his armies with zeale; emilation, and defire of honor, striving who should doe better, and by this meanes became himfelfe superior evermore, and ruled all; at length desirous to be not the onely man, but the first and the greatest among many that were likewise great. These bothe men therefore with whom? young States man ought to joine; to these he ought to cleave, & in them as it were to be incorporate: not as that cockatrice or Basilisk in Aelops sables, who being carried alost on the shoulders of the eagle, no fooner came neere to the funne beames, but fuddenly tooke his flight, and came to the place before the eagle: and after that maner to rob them of their honour, and fe- 50 cretly to catch their glorie from them; but contrariwise to receive it of them with their consent and good favour, and to give them to understand that they had never known how to rule unleffe they had learned first of them to obey well, as Plato faith.

Precepts of policie.

Next after this followeth the election and choise that they ought to make of their friends: In which point, they are not to take example either by Themistocles or Cleon: As for Cleon when he knewthat he was to undertake the government upon him, affembled all his friends together, and declared unto them that he renounced all their amitie, faying; That friendship was

oftentimes a cause that disabled men, and withdrew them from their right intention in affaires of State; but it had beene farre better done of him to have exiled and chased out of his minde all avarice and contentious humors, to have clenfed his heart from envie and malice: for the government of cities hath not need of those who are friendlesse and destitute of familiar companions, but of fuch as be wife and honest: but when he had banished and put away his friends, he entertained round about him a fort of flatterers, who daily stroked and licked him, as the comicall poets use to fay. He became rough and severe to good and civill men, but in stead thereof he debased himselfe to court, flatter, and please the multitude, doing and saying all things to content them, and taking rewards at every mans hand, combining and forting himselfe with the to woorst and most leaund people in the whole citie, by their meanes to make head, and set against the best and most honorable persons. Themistocles yet tooke another course, who when one faid unto him; You shall do the part of a good ruler and magistrate, in case you make your selfe equall unto every one alike; answered thus; I pray God I may never sit in such a throne or seate, wherein my friends may not prevaile more with me, than they that are not my friends. But herein he did not well, no more than the other, thus to promife any part and authoritie of his government unto those with whom he hadamitie, and to submit the publicke affaires unto his private and particular affections: howbeit, for all this, he answered very well unto Simonides, requesting somewhat at his hand that was not just: Neither were he a good musician or poet, (quoth he) who should fing against measures: nor the magistrate righteous who in favour of a-20 ny person doth ought against the lawes. For intruth a shamefull thing it were and a great indignitie; that in afhip the mafter or owner thereof should give order to be provided of a good pilot and steresman; that the pilot also should chuse good bote-swaines and other mariners,

Who can the helme rule in the sterne below, And hoife up faile above, when windes do blow.

Also that an architect of master builder, knoweth how to chuse those workemen and laborers under him, who will in no case hurt his worke, but set it forward, and take paines with him for his best behoofe: and a States-man or governour, who as Pindarus saith well,

Of justice, is the architect,

And policy ought to direct. 30 not know at the very first to chuse friends of the same zeale and affection that he is himselfe, to fecond and affift him in his enterprifes, and to be as it were the fpirits to inspire him with a defire of well doing; but to fuffer himselfe to be bent and made pliable unjustly and violentlie; now to gratifie the will of one; and anon, to ferve the turne and appetite of another: For fuch a man refembleth properly a carpenter or mason, who by error, ignorance, and want of experience, useth his squires, his plumbs, levels and rules so, that they make his worke to rise crooked and out of square in the end. For certeinly frends be the very lively tooles, and sensible instruments of governors; and in case they doe amisse and worke without the right line, the rulers themselves are not to slip and go awry with them for companie, but to have a carefull eie unto this, that unwitting to them they doe not erre and commit a fault. For this it was that wrought 40 Solon dishonor, and caused him to be reproched and accused by his owne citizens, for that having an intention to case mens greevous debts, and to bring in that which at Athons they called Sifachthia, as if one would fay, an aleviation of fome heavie burden, which was a pleafing and plaufible name, importing a generall striking out of all debts, and a cancelling of bonds; he imparted this deffeigne and purpose of his to some of his friends, who did him a shrewd turne, and most unjustly wrought him much mischiefe; for upon this inkling given unto them, they made hafte to take up and borrow all the money they could, as farre as their credite would extend: not long after when this edict or proclamation aforefaid concerning the annulling of all debts was come foorth and brought to light; these frends of his were found to have purchased goodly houses, and faire lands, with the monies which they had levied. Thus Solon was charged 50 with the imputation of doing this wrong, together with them, when as himselfe indeede was wronged and abused by them. Agestlam also shewed himselse in the occasions and sutes of his frends most weake and feeble minded, more iwis than in any thing else, resembling the horse Pegasus in Euripides,

Who shrunke full low and reelded what he could, His backe to mount, more than the rider would.

and helping his familiar frends in all their diffresses more affectionatly and willingly than was meet and reason: for whensoever they were called into question in justice for any transgressions,

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he would seeme to be privie and partie with them in the same. Thus hee saved one Phabidas, who was accused to have surprised secretly the castle of Thebes called Ladmia, without commission on and warrant, alledging in his defence, that fuch enterprifes ought to be executed by his owne proper motive, without attending any other commandement. Moreover, he wrought fo with his countenance and favour, that one Ephodrias, who was attaint for an unlawfull and heinous act, and namely, for entring by force and armes with a power into the countrey of Atties, what time as the Athenians were allied and confederate in amitie with the Lacedæmonians, escaped judgement, and was found unguiltie; which he did, being wrought thereto and mollified (as it were) by the amourous praiers of his sonne. Likewise, there is a missive of his found, and goeth abroad to be seene, which he wrote unto a certaine great lord or potentate in these tearmes: If 10 N wim have not trespassed, deliver him for justice sake; if he have transgressed, deliver him for my fake; but howfoever it be, deliver him and let him go. But Photion contratiwife would not fo much as affift in judgement Charillus his own fonne in law, who had married his daughter, when he was called into question and indited for corruption & taking money of Harpalu, but lesthim and departed, faying: In all causes just and reasonable I have made you my allie, and wil imbrace your affinitie; in other cases you shall pardon me. Timoleon also the Corinthian, after thathe dealt what possibly he could with his brother by remonstrance, by praiers and intreaty tore. claime and diffinade him from being a tyrant; feeing that he could doe no good on him, turned the edge of his fword against him, and joined with those that murdered him in the end : for a magiftrate ought to friend a man and stand with him not onely with this gage, as farre as to theal- 20 tar, that is to fay, untill it come to the point of being forfworne for him, according as Periules one day answered to a friend of his, but also thus farre forth onely, as not to doe for his sakeany thing contrary to the lawes, against right, or prejudiciall to the common-weale: which tulebeing neglected and not precifely observed, is the cause that bringeth great losse and ruine to a ftate; as may appeare by the example of Phabidas and Sphodrias, who being not punished according to their deferts, were not the least causes that brought upon Sparta the unfortunate warre and battell at Leuttra. True it is, that the office of a good ruler and administratour of the weale-publicke, doth not require precifely and force us to use severity and to punish every slight and small trespasse of our friends; but it permitteth us after we have looked to the main-chance and secured the State, then as it were of a surplussage to succour our friends, to assist and helpe 30 them in their affaires, and take part with them. Moreover, there be certeine favours which may be done without envie and offence; as namely, to stand with a friend rather than another, for the getting of a good office; to bring into his hand fome honourable commission, or an eafie and kinde ambassage, as namely, to be sent unto a prince or potentate in the behalfe of acity or State, onely to salute him and doe him honour; or to give intelligence unto another city of important matters, in regard of amity, league and mutual focietie; or in case there fall our some bufinesse of trouble, difficulty and great importance, when a magistrate hath taken upon himfelfe first the principall charge thereof, he may chuse unto him for his adjunct or assistant in the commission some especiall frend, as Diomedes did in Homer:

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To chuse mine owne companion,
              since that you will me let,
           ulyssesthat renowmed knight,
              how can I then for get?
inlyffes likewife as kindly rendreth unto him the like praise againe:
           These coursers brave, concerning which
              of me you do demand,
           O aged fire , arrived heere
               of late, from Thracian land
           Are hither come, and there were bred:
               their lord them lost in fight,
           Whom valiant Diomedes flew
               by force of armes outright,
           And twelve friends more and doughtie knights,
               as ever horfe didride,
            Were with him flaine for companie,
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This modest kinde of yeelding and submission to gratific and pleasure friends, is no lesse ho

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nourable to the praifers than to the parties praifed; whereas contrariwife, arrogancie and felfelove (as Plato faith) dwelleth with folitudes, which is as much to fav, as it is forfaken and abandoned of all the world. Furthermore, in these honest favors and kinde courtesies which we may bestow upon some frends, we ought to affociate other frends besides, that they may be in some fortinteressed therein also; and to admonith those who receive such pleasures at our hands, for to praife and thanke them, yea, and to take themselves beholden unto them, as having bene the cause of their preferment, and those who counselled and perswaded thereto: but if peradventure they moove us in any undecent, dishonest and unreasonable fittes, we must flatly denie them; howbeit, not after a rude, bitter & churlish fort, but mildly and gently by way of remonthrance, 10 and to comfort them withall, shewing unto them that such requests were not beforming their good reputation and the opinion of their vertue. And this could Epaminondas do of all menin the world best, and shift them off after the cleanliest maner; for when hee refused at the instant fute of Pelopidas, to deliver out of prison a certeine Tavernor, and within a while after, let the famepartie goe at libertie at the request of his lemmon or harlot whom he loved, he said unto him: Pelopulas, such graces and favours as these, we are to grant unto our paramours and concubines, and not unto fuch great captaines as your felie. But Cate after a more furly and boiflerous fortin the like case answered unto Catulus, one of his inward and most familiar friends. This Catalus being Cenfour, mooved Cato who then was but Questour or Treasurer, that for his fake he would difmiffe and fet free one of his clerks of the Finances under him, against whom 20 he had commensed fute and entred processe in law: That were a great shame in deed (quoth he) for you, who are the Cenfour, that is to fay, the corrector and reformer of our maners, and who ought to schoole and instruct us that be of the yonger fort, thus to be put out of your course by our under officers and ministers: for he might well enough have denied to condescend unto his request in deed and effect, without fuch sharpe and biting words, and namely, by giving him to understand that this displeasure that he did him in refusing to doc the thing, was against his will, and that he could neither will nor chuse, being forced thereto by justice and the law. Over and besides, a man in government hath good meanes with honesty and honor to helpe

Precepts of policie.

his poore friends, that they may advantage themselves and reape benefit by him from the common-wealth. Thus did Themistocles after the battell at Marathon; for feeing one of them that 30 lay dead in the field to have hanging at his necke chaines, and collars, with other bracelets of gold about his armes, passed by, and would not seeme for his owne part to meddle with them, butturning backe to a familiar friend of his, one of his folowers; Here (quoth he) off with thefe ornaments and take them to your felfe, for you are not yet come to be fuch an one as Themifooles. Moreover the affaires and occurrences daily incident in the world, doe prefent vnto a magistrate and great ruler such like occasions, whereby he may be able to benefit and enrich his friends: for all men cannot be wealthy nor like to you o Menemachus. Give then unto one friend a good and just cause to plead unto and defend, which he may gaine well by and fill his purse; unto another, recommend the affaires and businesse of some great and rich personage, who hath neede of a man that knoweth how to manage and order the fame better than himfelfe; for ano-40 ther, harken out where there is a good bargaine to be made, as namely, in the undertaking of fome publicke worke, or helpe him to the taking of a good farme at a reasonable rent, whereby hemay be a gainer. Epaminondas would do more than thus; for upon a time he fent one of his friends who was but poore unto a rich burgesse of Thebes, to demannd a whole talent of money freely to be given unto him, and to fay, that Epammondas commanded him to deliver fo much; The burgeffe woondring at fuch a meffage, came unto Epaminondas, to know the cause why hee should part with a talent of filver unto him; mary(quoth he)this is the reason; The man whom I sent is honest, but poore, and you by robbing the common-wealth are become rich. And by report of Xenophon, Agefilaus tooke no final joy & glory in this, that he had enriched his friends,

whiles himselfe made no account at all of money. But forasmuch according to the saying of simonides, as all larks ought to have a cap or crest upon the head, so every government of State bringeth with it enmitties, envices, and litigious jealousies; this is a point wherein a man of estate and affaires ought to be well enformed and instructed. To begin therefore to treat of this argument, many there be who highly praise Themisteles and Arifides, for that when foever they were to goe out of the territorie of Attica, cither in embaffage or to manage warres together; they had no sooner their charge and commission, but they presently laid downe all the quartels and enmitte betweene even in the very confines and frontiers of their countrey, and afterwards when they were returned, tooke up and

enterteined them againe. Some also there are who be wonderfull well pleased with the practise and fashion of Cresinas the Magnesian. This Cretinas had for his concurrent an adversary in the government of State, a noble man of the same citie named Hermias, who although he were not very rich, yet ambitious he was, and caried a brave and hautie minde: Cretinas in the time of the warre that Mithridates made for the conquest of Asia, seeing the citie in danger, went unto the faid Hermias, and made an offer unto him to take the charge of captaine generall for the defence of the citie, and in the meane while himselfe would go foorth to retire to some other place; or otherwife, if he thought better that himselfe should take upon him the charge of the warre, then he would depart out of the citie into the countrey for the time, for feare left if they taried both behinde and hindered one another as they were woont to doe by their ambitious minds they should vidoo the state of the citie: This motion liked Hermias very well, who confeffing that Cretinas was a more expert warrior than himselfe, departed with his wife and chil. dren out of the citie: Now Creunas made meanes to fend him out before with a convoy, putting into his hands his owne money, as being more profitable to them who were without their houses and fled abroad, than to such as lay belieged within the citie, which being at the point to be loft, was by this meanes preserved beyond all hope and expectation: for if this be a nobleand generous speech proceeding from a magnanimous hart, to say thus with a loud voice:

My children well I love, but of my hart,

My native foile by farre hath greater part. Why should not they have this speech readier in their mouthes, to say unto every one ? I hate 10 this or that man, and willing I would be to doe him a displeasure; but my native countrey I love fo much the more? For not to defire to be at variance and debate still with an enimie, in such causes as for which we ought to abandon and cast off our friend, were the part of a most fell, savage, and barbarous nature: yet did Phocion and Cato better in mine opinion, who enterteined not any comitic with their citizens in regard of difference and variance betweene them about bearing rule and government; but became implacable and irreconcilable onely in publike causes, when question was of abandoning or hurting the weale publike; for otherwise in private matters, they caried themselves kindly enough, without any ranckor or malice even toward them, against whom they had contested in open place, as touching the State; for we ought not to esteeme or repute any citizen an enimie, unlesse such an one be bred amongst them as 10 Aristion, or Nabis, or Catiline, who are to be reckoned botches rather, and pestilent maladies of a citie than citizens; for all others if haply they be at a jarre or discord, a good magistrate ought to bring them into tune and good accord againe, by gently fetting up and letting downe, asa skilfull Mufician would doe by the strings of his instrument; and not in anger to come upon those that are delinquents, roughly and after an outragious maner, even to their detriment and differace; but after a more milde and civill fort, as Homer speaketh in one place:

Certes, faire friend, I would have held, That others for your wit you had exceld.

As alfo in another:

You know, if that you lift (iwis) Totell a bester sale than this.

Yea, and when they shall either say or do that which is good and convenient, not to shew himfelfe to grieve and grudge at their credit and reputation which they win thereby, nor to be sparie in affoording them honourable words to their commendation and advantage: for in fo doing, thus much will be gained, that the blame which shall be laied upon them another time when they deserve it, will be better taken, and more credit given to it: and besides, by how much more we shall exalt their vertues, so much the more we may beat downe and depresse their vices when they do amisse, by making comparison of them both, and shewing how much the oneis more worthy and beforming than the other: for mine owne part, I holde it meet and good, that a man of government should give testimony in the behalfe of his adversaries in righteous & just 50 causes; also affilt and helpe them out of troubles, in case they be brought into question by some leawd fycophants, yea, and difcredit and difable the imputations charged upon them, namely, when he feeth that fuch matters for which they are molested, be farre from their intention and meaning. Thus Nero, a cruell tyrant though he was, a little before he put Thraseas to death, whom he hated and feared most of all men in the world, notwithstanding one laied to his charge before him that he had given a wrong dome or unjust sentence: I would (quoth he) that I could be affured that Thraseas loved me so well as I am sure he a is most upright and just Judge. Neither were it amille for the altonishing & daunting of others, who be of a naughty nature, when they doe commit any groffe faults, to make mention other-whiles of some adversarie of theirs who is of a more modelt behaviour and civill carriage, by faying: Such an one (I warrant you) would never have faid or done thus. Moreover, it were not impertinent to put some, who doe offend, in minde of their fathers and ancestours, that have bene good and honest, like as Homer did:

A fonne (invis) fir Tydeus left behinde, unlike himselfe, and much growen out of kinde.

And Appin Claud in being the concurrent to Scipio Africanus, when they flood both for one magistracic, said unto him as he met him in the street: O Paulus Aemilius, how deeply wouldest thou figh for griefe and forow, in case thou wert advertised that one Philomew a Publicane or Banker and no better, accompanied and guarded thy fonne thorow the city, going downe toward the affembly of Cornices for to be chosen Censour? This maner of reprehension, as it admonitheth the offender, foit doth honour unto the admonisher. Nessor likewise in a Tragedie of Sophseks, answereth as politickly unto Ajax; when he reproched him, faying:

I blame not you fir Ajax, for your speech, Naught though it be; your words are nothing liceh.

Semblably, Care who had conteffed against Pompey, for that being combined and in league with Julius C.efar, he affaulted and forced the citie of Rome, when as afterwards they were growen to 20 open warre one against the other, opined and gave his advice to conferre the charge and regiment of the common weale upon Pompeius, faying withall : That they who could doe most mischiefe, were the fittest men to stay the same : for thus a blame or reproofe mingled with a praise and commendation, especially, if the same grow to no opprobrious tearmes, but be conrained within the compatie of a franke and free remonstrance, working not a spightfull stomacke, but a remorfe of confcience and repentance, feemeth kinde and dutifull; whereas despiteousteproches are never feemely and decent in the mouth of a magistrate and man of honour. Marke the opprobrious termes and taunts that Demosthenes let flie against Aefchines, those also that Aeschenes gave him; likewise the bitter frumps which Hyperides wrote against Demades; and fee if Solon ever delivered fuch, or if there came the like out of the mouth of Pericles, of Lyeur-30 gm the Lacedamonian, or of Pittaem the Lesbian; and as for Demofibenes, he forbare fuch Tharpe and cutting tearmes otherwife, and never used them but in pleading against some criminall causes; for his orations against Philip are electe and voide of all nips, flouts, and scoffes whatfoever and in truth fuch maner of dealing diffameth the speaker more, than those against whom they bee spoken; they bring confusion in all affaires; they trouble affemblies both in counsell house and also in common hall; In which regard, Phoeion yeelding upon a time to one that was given to raile, brake off his oration, held his peace for a while and came downe; but after, the other with much a doo held his tongue and gave over his foule language, he mounted up into the place of audience againe, and going on in his former speech which was interrupted and discontinued, faid thus: Now that I have already my masters spoken sufficiently of horse-40 men, men of armes, and foldiours heavily armed at all peeces, it remaines th to discourse of light footemen, and targuatiers nimbly appointed.

But for as this is an hard matter unto many, to beare with such broad language, and to conteine, and oftentimes these taunting scoffers meete with their matches, and have their mouthes stopped, and are put to silence by some pretie replies; I would wish that the same were short, pithie, and delivered in very fewe words, not shewing any heate of anger and choler, but a kinde of sweete mildenesse, after the maner of a grave laughter, yet withall somewhat tart and biting; and such ordinatily be those that are returned firly in the same kinde against them that first began: for like as those darts which are recharged upon them that flung them first, seeme to be driven with good will, and fent backe againe with great force and firme flrength of him 30 who was stroken with them 3 even so it seemeth that a sharpe and biting speech retorted against him who first spake it, commeth forceable and with a power of wit and understanding from the partie who received it; such was the replie of Epaminondas unto Callistratus, who reproched and upbraided the Thebanes and Argives with the parents of Oedipus and Orestes, for that the one being borne in Thebes slew his owne father, and the other at Argos killed his mother: true indeed quoth Epaminondas, and therefore we banished them out of our cities, but you receive them into yours. Semblable was the answer of Antaleidas a Lacedæmonian unto an Athenian, who faid unto him after a boatting and vaunting maner: We have driven you oftentimes from

the river Cephasus; but we (quoth he) never yet drave you fro the river Euroras: In like for treplied Phoeion pleasantly upon Demades when he cried aloud, The Athenians will put thee to death if they enter once into their raging fits: But they (quoth he) will doe the same by thee, if they were in their right wits: and Crassia the oratour whe Domition demanded this question of him; When the lamprey which you keprand sed in your poole was dead, did you never weepe for it, and say true? E came upon him quickly againe in this wise: And you sir when you had buried three of of your wives one after another, did you ever shed teare for the matter, & tell troth? And verilie these rules are not onely to be practised in matters of State-affairs, but they have their use also in other parts of man life.

other parts of mans life. Moreover, somethere be who will intrude and thrust themselves into all forts of publike af- to faires, as Cato did; and there are of opinion, that a good citizen should not refuse any charge or publike administration fo farre foorth as his power will extend: who highly commend Epaminondas; for that when his adversaries and evill willers upon envie had caused him to be chosen a bailife and receiver of the citie revenues thereby to doe him a spight and shrewd turne; hee did not despile & thinke basely of the said office; but saying, that not onely magistracie snewth what maner of man one is, but also a man sheweth what the magistracie is, he brought that of fice into great dignitie and reputation, which before was in no credite and account at all, ashaving the charge of nothing els but of keeping the streetes cleane, of gung farming and carying dung foorth out of the narrow lanes and blinde allies, and turning water-courses. And even I Plutarch my felfe doubt not, but I make good sport and game unto many who passe through 10 our citie, when they fee me in the open streetes otherwhiles busic and occupied about the like matters; but to meete with fuch, I might helpe my felfe with that which I have found written of Antisthenes; for when fome there were that meruailed much at him for carrying openly in his hands through the market place a peece of falt fifth, or flock-fifth which he had bought: It is for mine own felfe (quoth he alowd) that I carie it; but cotrariwife mine answer is to such, as reprove me when they finde me in proper person present, at the measuring and counting of bricks and tiles, or to see the stones, fand, and lime laid downe, which is brought into the citie; it is not for my selfe that I builde, but for the city and common wealth, for many other things there be, which if a man exercise or manage in his owne person and for himselfe, hee may bee thought base minded and mechanical; but in case he do it for the common-wealth and the State, and for 10 the countrey and place where he liveth, it cannot be accounted a vile or ungentleman-like fervice, but a great credite even to bee serviceable, ready and diligent to execute the meanest functions that be. Others there are, who thinke the fashion that Pericles used to be more stately, grave, and decent, and namely Critelaus the peripateticke among the reft, who was of this mind, that as the two great galiaffes, to wit, Salaminia at Athens, and Paralos were not shot or lanched into the sea for every small matter, but onely upon urgent and necessarie occasions; even so a man of government should be emploied in the chiefe & greatest affaires, like as the soveraigne and king of the worlde, according to the poet Euripides,

איני שאַמוּ אֵל בּדינְיהִינּ.
For God himfelfe doth manage and diffence
things of molt weight, by his fole government.
But matters high and of finall confequence,
he dothreferre to fortunes regiment.

For we cannot commend the excessive ambition, the aspiring and contentious spirit of Theogenes, who contented not himselfe to have gone through all the ordinary games with victory, and to have wonne the prizes in many other extraordinary mastries and seats of activity, to wit, not onely in that generall exercise Paneration, wherein hand and soote both is put to the uttermost at once, but also at buffers, & arrunning a course in the long race: Finally, being one day at a solemne anniversarie feast or yeeres-maund in the memorial of a certaine demi-god (as the manner was) when he was set, & the meat served up to the boord, he would needs rise from the 50 table for to performe another general Paneration: as if forsooth it had belonged to no man in the world to atchieve the victoric in such feats but himselfe, if hee were present in place: by which prosession he had gotten together as good as twelve hundred coronets, as prizes at such combats, of which the most part were of small or no valew at all; a man would say they had beene chaste or such results and risteraste. Like unto him for all the world be those, who are readic (as a man would say) at all howers to cast of all their clothes to their verie single wastcot or shirt, for to underteke all affaires that shall be presented; by which meanes, the people have

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enough and too much of them; they become odious and ytkelome unto them; in such fort that if they chance to do well and prosper, they envie them; if they do otherwise than well and miscarrie, they rejoice and be glad at heart therefore. Againe, that which is admired in them at their first entrance into government, turneth in the end to a jest and meere mockeric, much as ter this order, Metiochus is the Generall captaine; Metiochus looketh to the high maies; Metiochus bakes our bread; Metiochus grinds our meale; Metiochus doth everiething, and is all in all; finally, Metiochia thall pay for this one day, and crie woe is me in the end, Now was this Metiochus one of Pericles his followers and favorites, who making use of his authoritie out of measure and compasse, by the countenance thereof, would employ himselfe in all pub-10 like charges and commissions whatsoever, untill at the last he became contemptible and despifed. For in truth a man of government ought fo to carrie himselfe, as that the people should evermore have a longing appetite unto him, he in love with him, and alwaies defirous to fee him againe, if he be absent. This policie did Scipio Africanus wilely practife, who aboud the most part of the time in the countrey; by this meanes both easing himselfe of the heavie loade of envie, and also giving those the while, good leasure to take breath, who seemed to beekept downeby his gloric. Timefine the Clazomenian, was otherwise a good man and a sufficient polititian, howbeit little wift he, how he was envied in the citic, because he would feeme to do everie thing by himselfe, untill such time as there befell unto him such an accident as this. There chanced to be playing in the mids of a street as he passed by, a companie of boies, and their 20 game was, who could draw with a cudgell a certaine cockall bone our of an hole. Some boies there were who held, that the bone lay still within; but he who had smitten it, maintained the contrarie (and faid with all) I would I had as well dashed out Time fins braines out of his head, as I am fure this bone was fitticken out of the hole: Time fias ouerheard this word, and knowing thereby what envie and malice all the people bare unto him, returned home prefently to his house, and told his wife the whole matter, commaunding her to trusse and packe up all both bag and baggage, and to follow after him; who immediately went out of doores, and departed for ever out of the citie Clazomene. It should feeme also that Themistocles was almost in the fame plight, & wanted but a litle of the like shrewd turne from the Athenias, when he was driven thus to fay unto them: Ah my good friends and neighbours, why are you wear leand thinke much to 30 receive fo great good at my hands? But as touching these persons above said, some words of theirs were well placed, & others not. For a wife States man, in care, affection & forecast, ought not to refuse any publik charge what soever, bur to take paines in having an cice oall, & to underfland and know everie particular, and not to referve himselfe close, as it were, some holy anchor or facred tackling laid up in some secret cabin of a ship, and not to attend onely upon extremities, and to tarrie untill he be emploied upon occasions of great necessitie and utmost danger. But like as good patrons or matters of a thip, lay their own hands to some businesse, but others they performe fitting themselves a farre off by the meanes of their tooles and instruments, and by the hands of other fervitors, turning about, stretching and winding up, or letting downe and flacking the ropes as they fee cause, employing the mariners, some to row, others to attend and 40 be occupied in the proo and forethip; and others against o crie unto their fellowes to ply their worke; and some of them they call many times into the poope, and putting the helme into their hands, let them to steere and guide the sterne; even so ought a wife governor of the common-wealth to yeeld now and then anto others the honor of commaund, and otherwhiles to call them after a gratious and courteous fort to the pulpit or publike place of audience, to make orations to the people, and not to moove all matters belonging to the State by his owne perfonall speeches nor by his decrees, sentences, and arts (and as it were) with his owne hands execute everiething; but to have about him faithfull and truffie persons to be his ministers, who might fecond and affift him; and those he should employ, some in this charge, and others in that, according as he feeth them to be sufficient meet and fit for employment. After this manso ner did Pericles use Memppus for his expeditions and conduct of warre affaires: thus by the meanes of Ephisites he tooke downe and abridged the authoritie of the high court Areiopagus. Charinus he employed in compassing and contriving the law or decree that passed against the Megarians; and Lampon he fent with a colonie for to people the citie of Thurit. And in this doing, he not onely diminished the envise of the people against himselfe, in that it seemed that his power and authoritie was thus divided and parted among manie; but also hee managed the affaires of the State better and more commodiously by far. For like as the division of the hand into fingers enfecbleth not the force of the whole hand, but maketh it more fit for use, to handle Hh3

all tooles and inftruments, or to worke any thing more artificially; even so, he that in matters of government doth communicate part of the management of the publike affaires with his friends, causeth by this participation all things to be better done, and with more expedition; whereas that man, who upon an unfatiable define to shew himselfe, to have credit, and to winne name and authoritie, laieth all the weight of the State upon his owns shoulders, and willbee doing of everie thing; undertaking oftentimes that charge, whereunto he is neither framed by nature, nor fitted by exercise; as Cleen did in leading an armie; Philopamenes in conducting a navie; and Annial in making orations to the people, maketh himselfe inexcusable, if happly ought fall out otherwise than well. To such an one may well be applied a verse out of Entiplace:

You worke not in timber, but in other matter Being your selfe but onely a Carpenter.

even so, you not able to deliver an eloquent speech, have undertaken an embassage; being idle and given to take your case, you will needs have the charge of a steward and governe an house: nor skilfull and readie in cafting accounts, you will needs be a Treasurer or receiver, being aced and fickly, you are become a commaunder and generall of an armie. Perioles did farrebener than fo; for he parted the government with Cimon; and retaining to himselfe the whole power of ruling within the citie, he left unto Cimon full commission and authority to man the Armado, and in the meane while to make war upon the Barbarians, because he knew his owne selfemore fir for civill regiment at home, & the other more meet for warlike command abroad. In this re-10 spect Eubalus the Anaphlystian is highly commended, who, notwithstanding the people hada great affiance and trust in him, yea and gave him as much credit as no man more, yet could hee never be brought to deale in the forraine affaires of Greece, nor to take upon him the conduct of an armie; but refolving with himselfe ever fro the beginning to attend & be emploied in manie matters he mightily encreased the revenewes of the citie, and enriched the State exceedingly. But tohierates for exercifing & practifing to make declamations at home in his owne houle in the presence of many others made a foole of himselfe, & was laughed to skorne for his laborsfor fay that he had prooved no bad orator, but a most excellent speaker; yet should he have stood contented with the reputation that he had woon of a good warrior, by feats of armes, and have left the schooles of Rhetoricke, for sophisters, orators, and such professors.

But for a smuch as all common people are by nature malignant, especially to those who are in place of authoritie, taking pleafure to quarrell and finde fault with them; and suspecting ordinarily that many profitable acts and ordinances by them fet downe, unlesse they be debated by factions & with some contradiction, are contrived by secret intelligence under hand, & by way of conspiracie; even this is the thing that most of all bringeth the private amities and societies of States-men and governours into an ill name and obloquie: howbeit, for all this, we are notto admit or grant unto them any true enmittie in deed or difcord, as did fometimes a popular man and a governour of Chios; named Onomademus, who after he had in a certeine feditious tumult gotten the upper hand of his adverfaries, would not banish out of the citie all those who had uken part against him: For fearelest that (quoth he) we fall out with our friends, when we have 40 no more enemies: for furely this were meere follie. But when foever the people shall supect any ordinance or act proposed which is of great consequence and tending to their good, it behosveth not at fuch a time, that all (as it were) of one complot should deliver one and the same sentence; but that two or three opposing themselves without violence, should contradict their friend, and afterwards being convinced and overweighed by found reasons, change their minde and raunge themselves to his opinion; for by this meanes they draw the people with them, namely, when they seeme themselves to be brought thereto in regard of a publike benefit and comoditie. And verily in trifling matters & of no great importance, it were not amiffe to fuffer our very friends in good earnest to differ and disagree from us, and to let every one take his way and follow his owne minde, to the end that when some maine points and principall matters of 50 greatest moment shall come in question and be debated, it might not be thought that they have complotted together, and so growen to a point and accord about the best.

Moreover, we are thus to thinke: That a wife man and a politician is by nature alwaiesthe governour and chiefe magistrate of a citie, like as the king among the Bees: and upon this perswalion he ought to have evermore the reines in his hand, and to sway the affaires of State: howbeit he is not very often nor too hotly for to seeke after and pursue the offices and dignities which the people doe nominate and chuse by their free voices: for this office-managing, and

defire to be alwaies in place of authoritie, is neither venerable for his person, nor yet plausible to the people; and yet must not he reject the same, in case the people call him lawfully to it, and conferre the same upon him, but to accept thereof, although peradventure they be offices somewhat inseriour to the reputation that he hath already, yea, and to employ himselfe therein willingly and with good affection; for reason it is and equitie, that as we our selves have bene honoured already by places of great dignitie, so reciprocally we should grace and countenance those which be of meaner qualitie; and whensoever we shall be chosen to superame magnitraties, to wit, unto the estate of L. Governour and generall captaine in the citie of Ashens, or the Prytanship in Rhodes, or Boeotarchie which is here in Bootin, it may be seem us very well in moto destine to yeeld and rebate a little of the sovereigne power in our port, and with moderation to exercise the same; but contrariwise unto meaner roomes to adde more dignity, and shew greater countenance, to the end that we be not envied in the one or despited in the other.

Now for a man that entreth newly into any office whatfoever it be, he ought not onely to call to remembrance, and use the speeches that Pericles made the first time that he tooke upon him the rule of State, and was to fnew himselse in open place: namely, Looke to thy selfe Perieles, thou ruleft free men and not bond-flaves 5 thou governest Greeks and not Barbarians 5 nay, thou art the head magistrate of the citizens of Athens; but also he is to reason and say thus to himselse: Thou are a commander and yet a subject withall; thou are the ruler of a citie under Romane Proconfuls, or els the Procuratours, Lieutenants and Deputies of C. sfar. Here are not 20 the plaines (as he faid) of Lydia for to runne with the launce, nor the ancient city Sarden, ne yet the puissance of the Lydians which was in times past. The robe must not be made so large, it must be worne more straite; your eie must be alwaies from the Emperours pavilion unto the tribunal feat of justice; and you are not to take fo great pride, nor trust so much unto a crowne flanding upon the head, feeing how horned thoes of the Romane Senators are above the fame: but herein you ought to imitate the actours and plaiers in Tragedies, who adde fomewhat of their owne to the roll or written part that they do play, to wit, their passionate affection, getture, accent and countenance which is fit and agreeable to the person that they do represent; and yet withall, they forget not to have an eie and care both, to the prompters. This (I fay) we mult do, for feare left we paffe those bounds and exceed the measures of that libertie which is given us 30 by those who have the power to command us, for I affure you, to goe beyond those precincts and limits, bringeth with it danger; I fay not to be hiffed from off the stage, and to be laughed out of our coats; but many there have bene

Upon whose neeks for punishment, The edge of srent bant axe and gleave Hath fallen, to end all their torment, And head from bodie soone didreave.

as it befell to Pardatus your countrey-man, with those about him, for stepping a little at one side without their limits. And such another also there was, who being confined into a certaine desert isle, became (as Solon faith)

A Sicinitan or Phologandrian,

Who borne sometime was an Athenian. We laugh hartily at little children, to fee how otherwhiles they goe about to put their fathers shoots upon their owne feete, or to set crownes upon their heads in sport; and governors of cities relating foolishly oftentimes unto the people, the woorthic acts of their predeceffors; their noble courage and brave minds, their notable enterprifes atchieved, farre different and disproportioned to the present times & proceedings in their daies, and exhorting them to follow the fame, fet the multitude aloft: but as they doe ridiculously, so afterwards (beleeve me) they suffer not that which deserveth to be laughed at, unlesse haply they be so base minded, that for their basenesse there is no account made of them. For many other histories there bee of ancient 50 Greece, which affoord examples to bee recounted unto men living in this age, for to inftruct and reforme their manners; as namely, those at Athens which put the people in remembrance, not of the prowelle of their ancestors in martial affaires, but for example to decree of that generallabolition and oblivion of all quarrels and matters past, which sometimes was concluded there after that the citie was delivered and freed from their captivitie under the thirtie Tyranes, as also another act, by vertue whereof they condemned in a grievous fine the Poet Phryrichus, for that he represented in a Tragedie the winning and racing of the citie Miletus. Likewise, how by a publike ordinance, every man woare chaplets of flowers upon their heads, when they head fay that Cassander reedified Tbebes : and how, when intelligence came of the cruell execution and bloody massacre committed in Arges, wherein the Argives caused to be put to death 1500, of their owne citizens, they caused in a solemne procession and generall assembly of the whole citie, an expiatoric sacrifice to be carried about, that it might please the gods to avert and turne away such cruell thoughts from the harts of the Athenians; semblaby, how at what time as there was a generall search made throughout the citie in everic house for those who banded with Harpalus, they passed by one house onely of a man newly married, and would not suffer it to be searched. For in these precedents & such like, they might well enough in these daies imitate and resemble their ancient forefathers. But as for the battell of Marahon: the field fought neere the river Eurynedon, and the noble fight at Platea, with other such examples which doe nothing else but blow and puffe up a multitude with vanitie, they should leave such stories for the schooles of Sophisters and masters of Rhetorike.

Well, we ought not in our feverall governments to have a due regard onely to mainteine our selves and our cities so wisely, that our sovereignes have no occasion to complaine; but we must take order also to have one great Seigniour or other, who hath most authoritie at Rome, and in the court of the emperour, to be our fast and speciall frend; who may serve us in fteed of a rampier to backe us, and to defend all our actions and proceedings in the government of our countries: for such lords and great men of Rome stand ordinarily passing well affected to those affaires, which their dependants and favorits doe follow, and the fruit which may bereaped by the amitie and favour of fuch grand-Seigniours, it were not good and honest to convent 10 into the advancement and enriching of our felves, and our particular private frends; but to imploy the fame as Polybian did fometime and Panatius, who by the meanes of the good grace of Scipio wherein they stood, did benefit and advantage their countrey exceeding much: in which number may be ranged Arius, for when Cafar Augustus had forced the citie Alexandria, he entred into it, holding Arim by the hand, and deviling with him alone of all his other friends what was to be done more: afterwards when the Alexandrians looked for no other but fackage and all extremities, and yet befought him to pardon them; I pardon you (quoth he) and receive you into my grace and favour, first in regard of the nobilitie and beautic of your city; secondly tor Alexander the great his fake, the founder thereof; and thirdly for the love of this my friend Arius your citizen. May a man with any reason compare with this gracious favour, the most 20 large and gainfull commissions of ruling and governing provinces, which many make so great fuit for at the court, and that with fuch abject fervitude and base subjection, that some of them have even waxen old in giving attendance thereabout, at other mens gates; leaving in the meane while their owne home affaires at fixe and feven? were it not well to correct and amend a little the fentence in Euripides, finging and faying it thus? If it bee honest and lawfull to watch and make court at the gates of another, and to be subject to the fute of some great Stigniour: furely most commendable and behoovefull it were so to doe, for the love and benefit of a mans country, in all other cases to seeke and embrace amities, under just and equal con-

Moreover, a governour in yeelding and reducing his country unto the obedience of mightie sovereignes abroad, ought to take good heed that he bring it not into fervile subjection, lest when it is once tied by the legge, he suffer it to be bound also by the necke: for some there be who reporting all things both little and great unto these potentates, make this their servitude reprochable; or to speake more truely, they deprive their country of all policie and forme of government, making it so fearefull, timorous, and fit for no authoritie and command at all; and like as they who afe themselves to live so physically, that they can neither dine nor suppe, nor yet bath without their physitian, have not so much benefit of health as nature it selfe doth affoord them; even so those cities and States which for every decree and resolution of their counsell, for all grace and favour, yea and for the smallest administration of publike affaires, must needs adjoigne the consent, judgement, and good liking of those Seigniours and good 50 mafters of theirs, they even compell the faid great lords to be more powerfull and absolute over them than they would themselves. The causes hereof commonly be these; to wit, the avarice, jealousie, and emulation of the chiefe and principall citizens in a State; for that being desirous otherwhiles to oppresse and keepe under those who be their inferiors, they constraine them to abandon their owne cities, or elfe being at fome debate and difference with other citizens their equals, and unwilling to take the foile one at anothers hand in their owne citie; they have recourse unto other superior lords, and so bring in forreiners who are their betters. Heereupon

it commeth to passe, that Senate, people, Judiciall courts, and all that little authoritic and power which they had is unterly loft. A good governour therefore ought to remedy this mifchiefe, by appealing such burgesses as be private and meane citizens, by equalitie, and those who are great and mightie, by reciprocall yeelding one to another; and fo by this course to keepe all affaires within the compaffe of the citie, to compose all quarrels, and determine all controverfies at home, curing and healing fuch inconveniences as fecret maladies of a common-wealth, with a civill and politicke medicine; that is to fay, to chuse rather for his owne part for to be vanquished and overthrowen among fellow-citizens, than to vanquish & win the victorie by forren power, & not to offer wrong unto his natural country, and be a cause to overto throw the rights and priviledges thereof; as for all others, he is to be eech them, yea and to perfwade with them particularly one by another, by good reasons and demonstrances, of how manie calamities peevish obstinacie is the cause; and now because they would not ech one in his turne & courfe frame and accommodate themselves at home to their fellow-citizens, who manietimesbeof one minde and linage to their neighbours and companions in charges and offices, and that with honour and good favour; they are come to this passe, as to detect and lay open the fecret diffentions and debates of their owne citie, at the gates of their advocates, and to put their causes into the hands of pragmaticall lawyers (at Rome) with no lesse share and ignominie, than loffe and damage.

Physicians are wont when they cannot expell and fully exclude out of the bodie inwardlie Physicians are wont when they cannot expell and fully exclude out of the bodie inwardlie 20 some kinds of maladies, to turne and drive the same without forth to the superficiall parts; but contraiting, a man of government, if he be not able to keepe a citic altogether in peace & concord, but that some troubles will arise, yet at least wise he must endevour to conteine that within the citic which is the cause thereof, and nurceth the sedition, and in keeping it close to labour for to heale and remedicit; to this end, that if it be possible he have no need either of physician or physicke from forren parts; for the intentions of a man of State and governments ought to be these, namely; to proceed in his affaires surely, and to slie the violent and surious motions of vaine-glorie, as hath beene said alreadie, howbeit in his resolution,

A courage bold and full of confidence
Undaunted heart, and fearlesse must have
Which will not quaile for any consequence,
But see the end: much like to sculdiors brave
In field themselves who mans do behave,
And hazard lims and life for to de send

and not onely to oppose himselfe against enemies, but also to be armed against perilous troubles and dangerous tumults, that he may be readie to resist and make head: for he ought not in any case himselfe to moove tempess and raise commotions, no nor when he seeth boisterous stormes comming, for sake and leave his countrey in time of need. He must not (I say) drive his citie under his charge upon apparent danger, but so some as ever it once begin to be to sled, and to sloat in jeopardie, than is it his part to come to succor, by casting out from himselfe (as it were) a sacred Anchor, that is to say, to use his boldnesse and libertie of speech, considering that now the maine point of all lieth a bleeding, even the safetie of his countrey. Such were the dangers that hapned unto Pergamm in Nervest time, and of late daies to the Rhodians, during the Empire of Domitian, as also before unto the Thessalians, while Augustus was Emperour, by occasion that they had burned Petraus quick. In these and such like occurrences, a man of State and government, especially if he be woorthie of that name:

N ever shall you see Steepie for to bee.

nor drawing his foote backe for feare, no nor to blame and lay the fault of others, ne yet to make
to fhift for one, and put him felfe out of the medley of danger, but either going in embaffage, or
embarked in some ship at fea; or else readie to speake first, and to say not onely thus

Wewe Apollo, have this murder don

but although himselse be not culpable at all with the multitude, yet will be put his person into danger for them. For surely this is an act right honest, and besides the honestie in it selse, it hapneth divers times; that the vertue and noble courage of such a man hath beene so highly admired, that it hath daunted the anger conceived against a whole multitude, and dispatched all the fiercenesse.

fiercenesse and surie of a bitter menace: like as it befell unto a King of Persia in regard of Bulis and Sperthis two gentlemen of Sparta: and as it was feene in Pompey to his hoft and friend Sthenon: for when he was fully determined to chaffice the Mamertines sharpely, and to proceede against them in all rigor, for that they had rebelled, the faid Sthenon stept unto him, and thus frankly spake: That he should do neither well nor justly, in case he did to death a number of innocents, for one man who alone was faultie; for it is I my felfe (quoth he) who caufed the whole citie to revolt and take armes, inducing my friends for love, and forcing mine enemies for feare. These words of his went so necre unto the heart of Pompey, that he pardoned the citie, and most courtcoully entreated Sthenon; femblaby, the hoft of Sylla, having thewed the like valour and vertue, although it were not to the like person, died a noble death: for when Sylla had woon to the cine Pranelle by affault, he meant to put all the inhabitants thereof to the fword, excepting onely one holf of his, whom in regard of old holpitalite he spared and pardoned: but this holf & friend faid flady unto him, that he would never remaine alive to fee that bloudy maffacre, nor hold his life by the murtherer of his countrey; and fo cast himselfe into the troupe of his fellowcitizens in the heate of execution, and was killed with them. Well, pray unto the gods we ought to preserve and keepe us that we fall not into such calamities and troublesome times; to hope alfo and looke for better daies.

Morcover, we are to esteeme of everie publike magistracie, and of him who exerciseth it, as of a great and facted thing, and in that regard to honour the fame above all. Now the honour which is due unto authoritie, is the mutuall accord and love of those who are set in place to exet-20 cife the fame together: and verily this honor is much more worth, than either all those crownes and diadenes which they beare upon their heads, or their flately mantles and roabes of purple, wherewith they be arraied. Howbeit, they that laid the first ground and beginning of amine; their fervice in warres, when they were fellow-fouldiors, or the paffing of their youthfull yeeres together, and contrariwife, take this a cause now of enmitte, that they either are joined captaines in commission for the conduct of an armie, or have the charge of the Common wealetogether, it can not be avoided, but that they must incur one of these three mischieses. For either if they effects their fellowes and companions in government to be their equals, they begin them felves first to grow into tearmes of diffention; or if they take them to be their betters, they fall to be envious; or elfe in cafe they hold them to be inferiour unto them in good parts, they de 30 fpife,& contemne them. Whereas they should indeed make court unto the greater, honor and adorne their equals, and advance their inferiors, and in one word to love and embrace all, as having an amitic and love engendred among themselves, not because they have eaten at one table, drunke of the same cup, or met together at one feast, but by a certaine common band and publike obligation, as having in some fort a certaine fatherly benevolence, contracted and growen upon the common affection unto their countrey. Certes, one reason why Scipio was not so well thought of at Rome was this; that having invited all his friends to a folemne feaft at the dedication of his temple to Hercules, he left out Mummius his colleague or fellow in office: for lay that otherwise they tooke not one another for so good friends; yet so it is that at such a time and upon fuch occasions, they ought to have honored and made much one of the other, by reason 40 of their common magistracie. If then Scipio, a noble personage otherwise, and a man of woonderfull regard, incurred the imputation and note of infolencie and prefumption, because heforgator omitted fo finall a demonstration and token of humanitie: how can it be, that he who goeth about to impaire the dignitie and credit of his companions in government, or discrediteth and digraceth him in those actions, especially which proceed from honour and bountie, or upon an arrogant humour of his owne, will feeme to do all, and attribute the whole to himfelfe alone, how can fuch an one (I fay) be reputed, either modest or reasonable? I remember my felfe, that when I was but of yoong yeres, I was fent with another, in embaffage to the Proconful; and for that my companion staid about (I wor not what behind) I went alone and did that which we had in commission to do together: after my returne, when I was to give an account unto the 50 State, and to report the effect of my charge & meffage back againe; my father arose, and taking me apart, willed me in no wife to speak in the singular number, & say, I departed or went, but We departed, Item, not I faid, or (quoth I) but We faid; & in the whole recitall of the rest to joine alwaies my companion, as if he had been affociat & at one hand with me in that which I did alone. And verily this is not onely decent, convenient, and civill, but that which more is, it taketh from glorie that which is offensive, to wit envie, which is the cause that great captaines attribute and alkribe their noble acts to fortune and their good angell, as did Timoleon, even he who overthrew

the Tyrannies established in Sieille; who founded and erected a temple to Good-Fortune. Pr the also when he was highly praised and commended at Athens for having flaineking Cotys with his owne hand; It was God(quoth he) who for to doe the deed used my hand. And Theopampus king of the Lacedemonians, when one faid unto him that Sparta was faved and flood vpright, for that their kings know how to rule well; Nay rather (quoth he) because the people know how to obey well: and to fay a truth, both these depend one upon the other; howbeit, most men are of this opinion, and so they give out; that the better part of policie or knowledge belonging to civill government lieth in this, to fit men, and frame them meete to be well ruled and commanded; for in every citie there is alwaies a greater number of fubjects than rulers, and 10 ech one in his turne (especially in a popular state) is governour but a while, and for it, afterwards continueth governed all the rest of his life, in such fort, that it is a most honest and profitable apprentiship (as it were) to learne for to obey those who have authoritie to command, although haply they have meaner parts otherwise, and be of lesse credite and power than our selves: for a meer abfurditie it were, that (wheras a principall or excellent actour in a Tragedie, fuch as Theodorus was or Potus, for hire waiteth oftentimes upon another mercenaric plaier who hath not above three words in his part to fay, and speaketh unto him in all humilitie and reverence, because peradventure he hath the roiall band of a diademe about his head, and a seepter in his hand) in the true and unfained actions of our life, and in case of policie and government, arich and mightie person should despise and set light by a magistrate for that he is a simple man o-20 therwife, and peradventure poore and of meane estate, yea and proceede to wrong, violate and impaire the publike dignitie wherein he is placed, yea and to offer violence thereby unto the authoritie of a State; whereas he ought rather with his owne credite and puissance; helpe our the defect and weakenesse of such a man, and by his greatnesse, countenance, his authoritie: for thus in the citie of Lacedemon, the kings were woont to rife up out of their thrones before the Ephori, and who foever els was furnmoned & called by them, came not an ordinary foot-pace, or faire and foftly, but running in great hafte, in token of obedience, and to shew unto other citizenshow obeifant they were, taking a great joy and glorie in this, that they honour their magistrates, not as some vaine-glorious and ungracious sots, voide of all civilitie and manners, wanting judgement and difcretion, who to thewe forfooth their exceeding power upon which 30 they stande much and pride themselves, will not let to offer abuse unto the judges and wardens of the publike games, combats, and pastimes, or to give reprochfull termes to those that leade thedance, or fet out the plaies in the Bacchanale feast, yea and mocke captaines, and laught at the prefidents & wardens of the publik exercises for youth, who have not the wit to know; That to give honour is oftentimes more honorable than to be honored: for furely to an honourable person who beareth a great sway,& carieth a mightic port with him in a citic, it is a greater ornament & grace to accompany a magistrate, and as it were to guard and squire him, than if the said magistrate should put him before or feeme to waite upon him in his traine; and to say a truth, as this were the way to worke him displeasure and procure him envie from the hearts of as manie as fee it; fo the other would win him true glorie which proceedeth of love and benevolence: 40 And verily when fuch a man is feene otherwhiles in the magistrates house, when he faluteth or greeteth him first, and either giveth him the upper-hand, or the middle place as they walke together, he addeth an ornament to the dignitie of the citie, and loofeth thereby none of his own. Moreover, it is a popular thing, and that which gaineth the hearts of the multitude, if fuch a perfon can beare patiently the hard tearmes of a magistrates whiles he is in place, and endure his cholericke fits; for then he may with Diomedes in Homer fay thus to himselse:

> How ever now I little do say, It will be mine honor another day.

Or as one faid of *Demost benes*; Well, he is not now *Demost benes* onely, but he is a law-giver, he is a prefident of the facred plaies and folemne games, and a crowne he hath upon his head, &c. 50 and therefore it is good to put up all nowe, and to deferre vengeance untill another time; for either we shall come upon him when he is out of his office, or at least wife wee shall gaine thus much by delay, that choier will be well cooled and allaied by that time.

Moreover, in any government or magistracie whatsoever, a good subject ought to strive (as it were) a vie with the rulers, especially if they be persons of good fort and gracious behaviour, in diligence, care, and fore-cast for the benefit of the State; namely, in going to them, to give socice and intelligence of whatsoever is meet to be done, in putting into their hands for to be executed that which he hath with mature deliberation rightly resolved upon, in giving meanes

unto them for to win themselves honour, and that by the benefit of the common-weale: But if fuch persons they be, as either for seare & false heart, or upon a froward peevishnesse & disposition give no eare to such motions, and are not willing to putthat in execution which is present ted unto them; then it is his part himselfe in person to go and declare the same in publike place to the body of the people, and in no wife to neglect, difanull, or paffe with connivence any thing that concerneth the weale-publike, and never to pretend any colourable excuse, by fav. ing, it appertained unto none other but the head magistrate, thus to deale curiously and be bus. he occupied in medling with the affaires of States for a general law there is which giveth alwajes the first and principall place of rule in a common-wealth unto him who dealeth justly, practifeth righteousinesse, and knoweth what is expedient and profitable, as we may see by the example of to Xenophon, who in one place writeth thus of himselfe: There was in the armie (quoth he)onenamed Xenophon, who was neither Lord Generall, nor Lieutenant; but for skill and knowledge of that which was to be done, and for resolution to enterprize and execute the same, put himselfe forward and gave charge unto others, wherein he so behaved himselfe that he saved the Greeks. And the most glorious feate of armes that ever Philopemen atchived was this, that when her heard newes how king Agis had furprized the citie of Meffene, and that the generall of the Achaeans would not go with aide and rescue, but drew backe for feare; he with a troupe of the most forward and resolute gallants, without warrant or commission from the State, delivered the faid citie from out of the hands of Agu: which I write not as if I allowed innovations or fuch newe enterprizes and extraordinary attempts upon every finall and light occasion, but 10 onely either in time of need and extremitic, as Philopemen did then, or for honest occasions, as Eparimendas, who continued in his Beotarchie fower moneths longer than was ordinary by the lawes of the countrey, during which time he put on armes, and entred into Lacoma, reedified Meffene, and peopled it, to the end that if afterwards there should ensue any complaint or imputation, we may answer with credit, and either alledge for excuse, necessitie, or set against ithe perill to which we exposed our selves, the bravenesse of the exploit, and the service so well performed, to make amends and recompence.

There is reported a fentence of Jason who long fince was the Tyrant or Monarch of Sielle, which he had often in his mouth, and alwaies repeated so often as he did violence or outrages to any of his subjects, that they cannot choose but commit unjustice in sinal matters, who would go justice in great causes; as if a man would say, that necessarie it is for him to offer wrong in detaile who mindeth to do right in the grosse. But a stouching this sentence, a man may some perceive at the first sight, that it is a speech meet for him that intendent to make himselse and folute lord, and to ulurpe tyrannie. Yet is this rule more civill and politike, that a governour to gratisfe the peole, is to passe by small matters, and to winke at them, that hee may in greater things stand against them, and stay them from breaking out to farre. For he that in everiething will be peering and looking too narrowly without any yeelding or relaxation, but is alwaies severe rigorous and inexorable, doth by his example traine and accustome the people likewise to be quarrelsome and contentious with him, yea and to be readie upon all occasions to take of sense and discontentionent:

But lofily for to strike the saile Or stacke the helme doth much availe With violence when billowes great Arise and on the ship do beat.

and even so a governour ought in somethings to yeeld, and not to bee so precise and straight laced himselfe, but to sport as it were and take his passimes graciously with his people, as namely to celebrate settivall facrifices, beholde solemne plaies, games, and combats, and to sit in the theaters with them, partly in making semblant as though he neither saw nor heard many things, like as we are wont to doe by the saults at home of our little children; to the end that the authoritie of reproving them roundly, and admonishing them frankely, like unto the vertue of a me so dicine not dull and enervate with much use, but remaining still in sully sign and strength, may be more effectuall, carie the greater credite, touch the quicke indeed, and sting in matters of greater consequence. Alexander the great, when he heard that his sister had beene too samiliarly acquainted with a lustie yoong gentleman and a beautifull, was nothing displeased therewith, but said; Weimust give her also a little leave to enjoy somewhat the pleasure and prerogative of a prince; which was neither well done of him to allow such things in her, nor yet with good respect of his owne honour and dignitie; for we ought not to thinke this the fruition, but

the ruine and dishonour rather of a princely State. And therefore a wife governour will not permit as much as possibly lieth in him, that the bodie of the people shall doe injurie to any particular inhabitants, as namely in confifcation of other mens goods, or in distribution and parting among themselves the money of the common stocke; but to resist such courses with all his power, and with remonstrances, perswasions, threats, and menaces withstand the inordinat defires of a multitude: contrarie to the practife of Cheon and his followers at Uthens, who feeding and foftering fuch foolish appetites and corrupt humors of the people, caufed many drone bees (as Plato faith) to breed in the city, who did no other good but fling and pricke one or other. But if the people at any time take occasion by solemnising some festivall to day, according to the cultome of the countrey, or by the honour of fome god or goddeffe, to fer out any goodly fliew, play or stately spectacle, or to distribute some small dole, or to exhibit a pleafant gratuitie, honest courtesie, or publicke magnificence; lawfull it is and reasonable, that they should in such cases enjoy in some fort the fruit both of their libertie, and also of their wealth and prosperitie. For in the governments of Pericles and Demetrius Phalereus, there bee many examples extant of the like nature; as for Cimon he beautified the market place of Athens with rowes of palme trees, planted directly, and raunged by him, with pleafant walkes and faire allies. And Cate feeing about the time of Carilines conspiracie, that the commons of Rome were in a commotion and hurliburly by the faction of Julius Calar; and growen in manner to these tearmes, for to bring in a change and alteration of the whole State; perswaded the Senate 20 to ordeine, that there fhould be some pery dole of money given among the poore commoners; which comming in fo good and fit a time, appealed the tumult, and repressed the sedition and infurrection that was like to grow. For like as a learned and expert physician, after hee hath taken away a great quantitie of corrupt blood from his patient; giveth him anon fome little nourishment that is good and holsome; even so a discreet and well advised ruler of a popular State. when he hath put the people by fome great matter which tended to their thame and loffe, will againe by fome light gratuitie and pleafure which he is content to graunt, cheere and recomfort them, yea and allay their moode when they bee readie to whine and complaine. And otherwhiles, good pollicie it is, of purpose to withdrawthem from fome soolerie, unto which without all sense and reason their minde and affection standeth, to draw and leade them unto other 20 things that be good and profitable; like as Demades his practife was, at what time as he had the receit of all the revenues of the citie under his hands; for when the people of Athens were fully bent to fend foorth certeine gallies, for to fuccour those who had taken armes and rebelled against Alexander the great, and to that effect commaunded him to disburse money for the charges, hee made this speech unto them; My matters, there is money ready for you, for I have provided fo, that I purpose to deale among you at this feast of Bacchanales, that everie one of you may have halfe a Mua of filver now if you lift to employ the fame money to the fetting out of a fleet, you may doe what pleafeth you with your owne, use it, or abuse it at your pleasure, it is all one to mee: by this cunning device, having turned them from the rigging and manning of the armado which they purposed to set out, and all for feare 40 they should lose the benefit of the foresaid dole or largeste which hee promised and pretended. he staied them from offending king Alexander, that he had no cause to finde himselfe greeved with them. Many fuch fits and humors are the people given unto, both hurtfull and dammageable unto them; which it were impossible to breake them of, going directly to worke; but a man must go about with them, & by turnings & windings compasse them to his mind-like as Phoeion did upon a time when the Athenians would have had him in al hafte to make a road & invade the countrey of Benia; for he caused incontinently proclamation to be made by found of trumpet; That all citizens from fourteene yeeres of age upward unto threefcore, should shew themfelves in armes and followhim; upon which proclamation, when there arose a great noise and flirre among the elder fort, who began to mutine, for that he woulde force them at those yeeres 50 to the warres: What a strange matter firs is this (quoth he) I my selfe am fourescore yeeres of age, and you shall have me with your for your captaine. By this meanes a politicke governour may put by and breake the ranke of many unfeafonable and needleffe embaffages; namely, by joining many of them in commission together, and those whom he seeth to be unfit altogether for fuch voiages; thus may he stay the enterprises of going in hand with many great buildings unnecessary and to no purpose, in commanding them at such times to contribute money there-

to out of their owne purfes, also hinder the processe of many uncivill and undecent sures, name-

ly, by affigning one and the fame time for apparance in court, and for to be emploied in follici-

ting causes abroad in forren parts: & for to bring these things about, he must draw and affociate unto him those principall authors who have drawne out in writing any such bils to be proposed, or have incited the people and put those matters in their heads; and to them he shall intimate those crosse courses above said; for either if they start backe and keepe out of the way, they shall feeme themselves to breake that which they proposed; or if they accept thereof and be present, they shall be sure to take part of the trouble and paines that is imposed upon them. Now when there shall be question of any exploit to be done of great consequence, and tending much to the good of the State, which requireth no finall travell, industrie, and diligence; then have a foe, ciall regard and endevour, I advise you, to chuse those friends of yours who are of most sufficiencie, and of greatest authoritie, and those among the rest which are of the mildest and best na. 10 ture; for fuch you may be fure will croffe you least, and affift you most; so long as they have wit at will, and be withall voide of jealousie and contention. And heerein it behooveth a man to know wel his owne nature, and finding that whereunto he is leffe apt than an other, to chuse for his adjuncts those rather who he perceiveth to be better able to go through with the businessein hand, than fuch as otherwife be like unto himfelfe: for fo Diomedes being deputed to go inefviall for to view the campe of the enimies, chose for his copanion the warieft & best advised perfon of all the Greeks, & let passe the most valiant souldiours. By this meanes all actions thallbe counterpoifed best, & lesse jealousie and emulation will grow betweene them who are desirous to have their good parts & valor feeme indifferent in vertues & qualities. If you have a caple to plead, or be to go in embassiage; chuse for your companion & affistant (if you find your selfenot 20 meet to speak) some man that is eloquent, like as Pelopidas in the like case chose Epaminondas. If you thinke your felfe unmeet to enterteine the common people with courtefie & affability, and of too high and loftie a minde for to debase your selfe and make court unto them, as Callitratidas the captaine of the Lacedemonians was; take one unto you who is gracious, and can skill to court it and give enterteinment. If your bodie be weake or feeble, and not able to endure much paines; have one with you who hath a stronger bodie, and who can away with travell, as 24 juins did Lamachus. For this is the reason that Geryones was so woonderfull, because that having many legs, many armes, and many eies, yet hee with all them was ruled and governed by one foule. But wife governors if they accord and agree well, may conferre and lay together not onely their bodies and goods, but also their fortunes, their credits and their vertues, and make 10 use of them all in one affaire, in such for that they shall compasse and execute fully whatsoever they enterprise, much better than any other whatsoever; and not as the Argonautes did, who after they had left Hercules, were constrained to have recourse unto the charmes, socceries and enchantments of women for to fave themselves, and to steale away the golden sleece.

Certaine temples there be, into which who foever did enter, must leave without doores all the gold that they had about them; and as for iron they might not prefume to goe with all into any one what foever. Confidering therefore that the tribunall and judiciall feat of justice is the temple of *Justice*, furnamed the Counsellor and Patron of cities, of *Themis* also and *Dice*, that is to fay, equitie and justice; before ever thou set foote to mount up into it, presently rid and cleete thy soule of all avarice and covetous nesses of monie, as if it were iron, and a very maladie full of 40 rutt, and throw it faire from thee into the merchants hall, into the shops of tradelinen, occupi-

ers, banquers and usurers:

As for thy selfe, flie from such pelfe.

Thun it I say as far off as you can, & make this reckoning, that who soever enricheth himselfe by the managing of the common-weale, is a church-robber, committing sacrilege in the highest degree, robbing temples, stealing out of the sepulchers of the dead, picking the coffers of his friends: making himselfe rich by treachery, treason, & false-witnes: thinke him to be an untrusty and faithlesse connseller, a perjured judge, a corrupt magistrate, and full of briberie; in one word polluted and defiled with all wickednesse, and not cleere of any sinne whatsoever that may be committed; and therefore I shall not neede to speake more of this point.

As for ambition, although it carrie with it a fairer shewe than avarice, yet neverthelesse bringeth after it a traine of mischieses and plagues, no lesse dangerous and pernitious unto the government of a common-wealth: for accompanied it is ordinarily with audatious rashnesse more than it; inasmuch as it useth not to breed in base mindes, or in natures seeble and idle, but principally in valiant, active, and vigorous spirits; and the voice of the people, who by their praises list it up many times and drive it forward, maketh the violence thereof more hard to be restrained, managed, and ruled. Like as therefore Plate written, that we ought to accustom yong

boies even from their verie infancie to have this sentence resounding in their cares: That it is not lawfull for them neither to carrie gold about their bodies as an outward ornament, nor fo much as to have it in their purses, for that they have other golde as a proper coffer of their owne, and the same incorporate in their hearts: giving us to understand by these anigmaticall and covert speeches (as I take it) the vertue derived from their auncestors, by descent and continuation of their race; even fo wee may in some fort cute and remedie this defire of glorie, by making remonstrance unto ambitious spirits, that they have in themselves gold, that cannot corrupt, bee wasted or contaminated by envie, no nor by Monus himselfe the reproover of the gods, to wit Honour, the which we alwaies encrease and augment, the to more we discourse, confider, meditate, and thinke upon those things which have beene performed & accomplished by us in the government of the common-weale; and therefore they have no need of those other honours, which are either cast in moldes by founders, or cut and graven in braffe by mans hand, confidering that all fuch glorie commeth from without foorth, and is rather in others than in them, for whom they were made. For the statue of a trumpeter which Polycletus made, as also that other of an halbarder are commended in regard of the maker, and not of those whom they do represent, and for whose sake they were made. Certes, Cato at what time as the citie of Rome began to be well replenished with images and statues, would not fuffer any one to be made for himfelfe faying: That he had rather men would aske, why there was no image fet up for him, than why it was ? For furely fuch things bring envie, and the com-20 mon people thinke themselves indebted stil & beholden unto those, upon whom they have not bestowed such vanities: and contrariwise, such as receive them at their hands are odious & troublefom unto them, as if they had fought to have the publike affaires of the State in their hands, in hope to receive fuch a reward and falarie from them againe. Like as therefore he that hath failed without danger along the gulfe Syrtis, if afterwards hee chaunce to bee call away and drowned in the mouth of the haven, hath done no fuch doughty deed, nor performed any speciall matter of praise in his voyage and navigation; even so, hee that hath escaped the comon Treasurie, and done well enough and faved himselse, from the publike revenewes, customes, and commodities of the State; that is to fay, hath not defiled his hands, either with robbing the citie-money, or dealt underhand with the farmers and undertakers of the cities hands, reve-30 newes,&c. and then shall suffer himselfe to be overtaken and surprised with a defire to be a prefident and fit higheft, or to be the head man and chiefe in counfell of a citie, is runne in deed upon an high rocke that reacheth up a loft, but drenched hee is over the eares, and as like to finke as the rest, neverthelesse. In best case he is therefore, who neither seeketh nor desireth any of these honours, but rejecteth and refuseth them altogether. Howbeit, if peradventure it bee nocalie matter to put backe a grace and favour, or some token of love, that the people otherwhiles defire to show unto them who are entred into combat, as it were in the field of government, not in a game and maisterie for a filver prize, or for rich presents, but in the game in deed which is holy and facred, yea and woorthie to be crowned, it may fuffice and content a man to have some honourable inscription or title, in a tablet, some publike act or decree, some branch 40 of lawrell or the olive : like as Epymenides who received one branch of the facred olive, growing in the castle of Athens, because he had cleansed and purified the citie: and Anaxagorus resisfing all other honours which the people would have ordained for him, demaunded onely, that upon the day of his death the children might have leave to play, and not go to schoole all that day long. The feven gallant Gentlemen of Persia, who killed the Tyrants, called Magi, were honoured onely with this priviledge, that both they and their posteritie might weate the Persian pointed Cap or * Turbant, bending forward on their heads: for this was the signall which they were agreed upon among themselves when they went to execute the said enterprise, Likewise the honor which Pitmens received, did shew some modesty & civilitie: for when his citizens had permitted & granted unto him to have and enjoy of those lands which he had con-50 que red from the enemie, as much as he would himfelfe; he ftood contented with fo much, & no more as lay within one fling or fhot of the javelin which he launced himselfe. And Cooles the Roman tooke fo much ground onely as he in his owne person could care with a plow in one day, being as he was a lame and maimed man. For a civill honour ought not to be in the nature of a falarie for a vertuous act performed, but a token rather and a memoriall that the remembrance thereof might continue long, as theirs did whom erewhiles we named: whereas in those three hundred statues of Demetrius Phalereus, there gathered not so much as rust, canker, or any ordure or filth whatloever, but were all of them ere himselfe died, pulled downe and broken.

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And as for the images of Demades, melted they were everie one, and of the mettall were made pispots and basins for closestooles: yea and many such honours have been defaced, as being displeasant and odious to the world, not in regard onely of the wickednesse of the receiver. but also of the greatnesse and richnesse of the thing given and received: and therefore the good. lieft and fureft fafegard of honour, that it may endure and laft longeft, is, the least cofflineffe and price beflowed thereupon: for fuch as bee excessive massie and immeasurall in greatnesse. may bee well compared unto huge coloffes or flatues not well ballaifed and counterpoifed, nor proportionably made, which soone fal downe to the ground of theselves. And here in this place I cal Honors, these exterior things which the common people (so far forth as beseemeth them, according to the faying of Empedocles) lo call. Howbeit I also affirme as wel as others, that a wife to governor & man of State ought not to despife true honor which consisteth in the benevolence & good affection of those who have in remebrance the services and benefits that they have received neither ought he altogether to contemne glorie, as one who forbare to pleafe hisneighbours among who he liveth, as Democratus would have him: for neither ought horse-keepers or esquierries of the stable, reject the affection of their horses lovingly making toward them; nor hunters the fawning of their hounds & spaniels; but rather seeke to win & keepe the same for that it is both a profitable, and also a pleasant thing, to be able for to imprint in those creatures who are familiar, & do live & converse with us such an affectio to us as Lysimachus his dogshe. wed toward his master; & which the poet Homer reporteth that Achilles horses shewed to Patro. elus. For mine own part I am of this mind, that Bees would be better entreated & escape better, 20 in case they would make much of those, & suffer them getly to come toward them, who north them and have the care and charge of them, rather than to sting and provoke them to anger as they do; whereas now, men are driven to punish them and chase them away with smoake: also to breake and tame their frampold and unruly horses with hard bits and bridles, yea and curst dogs which are given to run away, they are faine to lead perforce in collars, or tie up and hamper with clogs. But verily there is nothing in the world that maketh one man willingly obcifant and subject to another, more than the affiance that he hath in him for the love which hee beareth, and the opinion conceived of his goodnesse, honestie and justice; which is thereafon that Demosthenes said verie well: That free cities have no better meanes to keepe and preferve themselves from tyrants, than to distrust them; for that part of the soule whereby webe-10 leeve, is it, which is most case to be taken captive. Like as therefore the gift of prophesie which Caffandra had, stood her countrey-men and fellow-citizens in no steed, because they would no ver give credit or beleefe unto her: for thus the speaketh of her selfe,

Godwould not have my voice propheticall When I for etell of things, to take effect, Nor do my countrey any good at all: Or why? alwaies they do my words reject. In their distresse and woes, they would correct Their folly past, then am I wife and sage: Before it come they say I do but rage.

even fo, on the otherfide, the trust and confidence that the citizens reposed in Archytas, the good will and benevolence which they bare unto Battus, ferved them in right good flead: for that they used and followed their counsell, by reason of the good opinion which they conceived of them.

This is then the first and principall good which lieth in the reputation of States-men, and those who are in government, namely, the trust and considence which is in them; for it maketh an overture, and openeth the doore to the enterprise and execution of all good actions. The second, is the love and affection of the people, which to good governours is to them a buckler and armor of defence against envious and wicked persons:

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Much like unto a mother kind who keepes away the flies From tender babe whiles (weetly it a fleepe in cradell lies.

putting backe envie that might arise against them; and in regard of might and credit, making equall a man meanly borne & of base parentage, with those who are nobly descended, the poore with the rich, & the private person with the magistrates : and to be briefe, when vertue & vertiy are joined together with this popular benevolence, it is as mightie as a strong and steedy gale of

a forewind at the poope, and driveth men forward to the managing and effecting of all publikeaffaires what foever. Confider now and fee what contrarie effects the disposition of peoples hearts, doth produce and bring foorthby these examples following. For even they of traffe when they had in their hands the wife and children of Denys the Tyrant, after they had vilanoully abused, and shamefully forced their bodies, did them to death, and when they had burnt them to ashes, threw and scattered the same out of a ship into the sea. Whereas one Menander who reigned graciously over the Bactrians, in the end, when he had loft his life in the warres was honorably enterred: for the cities under his obeifance joined altogether, and by a common accord folemnized his funerals and obsequies with great mourning and lamentation; but as tou-To thing the place where his reliques should be bestowed, they grew into a great strife and contention one with another, which at the last with much adoo was pacified upon this condition and composition, that his ashes should be parted and divided equally among them all, and that evericcitie should have one sepulcher and monument of him by it selfe. Againe, the Agrigentines after they were delivered from the Tyrant Phalaris, enacted an ordinance: That from thence foorth, it should not be lawfull for any person what soever to we are a roabe of blew colour, for that the Guard & Pensioners attending about the faid Tyrant, had blew cassockes for their liveries. But the Persians tooke such a love to their Prince Cyrm, that because he was hauke noted, they ever after and even to this day, affect those who have such noses, and take them to be best favoured. And verily of all loves, this is the most divine, holy and puissant, which cities and 20 States do beare unto a man for his vertue: as for other honors to fallely called, and bearing no true enfignes in deed to reftifie love, which the people bestow upon them, who have builded theaters and shew-places, given them largesses, congraires and other doles, or exhibited combats of Sword-fenfers at the sharpe: these wrong entituled honors do resemble the glosing flatteries of harlots and ftrumpets, who fmile upon their lovers, fo long onely as they give them any thing or gratific them in any pleafure; and fuch a glorie as this latteth not long, but after a

Precepts of policie.

day or two patieth away and is gone. He who foever he was, that faid first: That he who began to give money by way of largeste unto the people, taught the verie high way to overthrow a popular state, knew verie well, that the people lofe their authoritie, when they make themselves subject and inseriour by taking 30 fuch gifts: and even they also who are the givers must know thus much: That they overthrow themselves in buying their reputation so costly & at so high a price: & by that means they make the multitude more haughtie and arrogant, because thereby the people do presume, that it is in their power to give or take away fo great a thing. I write not this, as though I would have a man of estate in his lawfull expenses and allowable liberalities, to shew himselfe too neere and mechanicall, especially when his State will beare and maintaine the same: for that, in truth, the people carrie a greater hatted to a rich man, who will not part with any of his goods among them, than a poore man who robbeth the common cheft: for they suppose the one to proceed from pride and contempt of them, and the other from meere need and necessitie. I would wish therefore that first and principally these largestes should come by way of gratuitie and for no-40 thing, for that in fuch a fort, they make the authors thereof better efteemed and admired, and befides they binde and oblige the receivers fo much the more. Secondly, I would that they were done upon a good, honest, and laudable occasion, as namely for the honour of some god; a thing that draweth on the people more and more to devotion and religion, because withall, it imprinteth in the hearts of the people a vehement opinion and strong apprehension that the majestie of the gods, must need sbe a great and venerable thing, when they see those who honor them, and whom they repute for fo woorthie and noble personages, so affectionate unto them, as for their fervice and worthip to be at fuch coft and spend so liberally, Like as therefore Plato forbad yoong men who went to the Musicke schoole, that they should not learne either the Lydian & Phrygian harmony; for that the one stirred up in our hearts all lamentable, dolefull, and 50 dumpish affections, the other increased the inclination to pleasure, riot, and voluptuous sensualitie; even so, as touching these largesses and publike expenses, banish and chase out of your citie as much as you can, those which provoke in our hearts beaftly, barbarous, and bloody affections, or fuch as feed loofeneffe and scurrilie: or if you be not able to rid them out cleane, yet do your endevour at least wife to hold off and contest against the people, to your uttermost power, who cal upon you for fuch spectacles; & order the matter so alwaies, that the subject matter of your dispense may be honest and chast, the end and intention good and necessarie, or at

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ture your State be but meane, and that the center & circumference of your goods containeand comprehend no more than to ferve and supply necessities, know well this: that it argueth neither a base mind nor an illiberall & ungentlemanlike heart to be known of your poverty, and so to give place unto other, who have wherewith to defray fuch ambitious expenses & liberalities, and in by endebring & engaging your felfe in the usurers books, to be a spectacle both to be pit. tied & laughed at, for fuch publike ministeries: for asmuch as they who soever they be that so do, cannot go to worke fo fecretly, but it will be thought and knowen how they enterprize above their abilitie, be driven to trouble and make bolde with their friends in borrowing of them, or els to flatter and court usurers to take up money at interest, in such fort as that they shall win so honour and credit, but rather shame and contempt by such expenses; in which regard, good it to were in these cases to set alwaies before your eies the examples of Lamachus and Phocion. For Photion one day when the Athenians at a folcome facrifice called inflantly upon him to contribute fome money toward the charges: I would be ashamed (quoth he) to give you any thing, and in the meane while not be able to keepe my credit, and paie that I owe to this man heere, and withall he pointed unto Callieles the userer unto whom he was then indebted. As for La. machus in his accounts of charges whiles he was lord generall of an armie under the Athenians in any expedition, put in alwaies, Thus much for a paire of shoes or pantofles for himselfe: Item, fo much for a garment. The Theffalians ordeined and allowed unto Hermon who refufed to be their captaine generall, because he was poore, a slagon or little runlet of wine moneth. ly, and a measure or bushell and halfe of meale every fower daies: whereby you see it is no to shame for a man to confesse his povertie; neither have poore men lesse meanes to winnecredit and authoritie in the government of cities, than they who lay out and fpend much in making fealts or exhibiting publike thewes and spectacles, for to gaine the good will and favour of the people; provided alwaies, that by their vertue they have gotten reputation and libertie to speake their mindes frankly and freely unto them. And therefore a good governour ought wifely to mafter and rule himfelfe in thefe cafes; he must not (I fay) enter into the plaine and champion ground on foote for to encounter with horsemen; nor being poore, to be seene in the race and shew-place for to set out games, or upon the scatfold & theater to represent plains, or in great hals full fet with tables to make feafts, and all to contend with rich men about gloric and magnificence; but he is to studie how to manage the people by vertue, by gentlenesse, by to wit and understanding joyned alwaics with wife words, wherein there is not onely honestic and a venerable port, but also a kinde of grace more amiable, attractive, and defireable,

Than Cræsius coine of silver and gold, Or all the money that can be told.

For to a good man it is not necessarie to have a surly, coy, and presumptuous looke; neither is it required that a wise and sober person should carie a sterne and rigorous countenance,

Who as he walks along the streets, in citie or in towne, Doth cast a strarpe and hideous eie,

and on his neighbours frowne. But contrariwife, a good man is first and formost affable and lightfome of language, of easte acceffe, and readie to be spoken withall who soever comes, having his house open alwaies, (as it were) an haven or harbour of refuge, to as many as have occasion to use him. Neither is this debonairity and care of his, feene onely in the bufineffe and affaires of fuch as employ him, but also in this; that he will as well rejoice with them who have had any fortunate and happie succeffe, as condole & greeve with those unto whom there is befallen any calamitie or misfortune; never will he be knowen to be troublesome, and looke for double diligence of a number of servitors and verlets to waite upon him to the baines or flouphes; nor to keepe a stir for taking up and keeping of places for him and his traine at the theaters where plaies and pastimes are to bee seene, ne yet desire to be conspicuous and of great marke above others in any outward signes of 50 excessive delights and sumptuous superfluities; but show himselfe to be equall, like and surable to others in apparell, in his fare and furniture at the table, in the education and nouriture of his children, in the keeping of his wife for her state and array, and in one word, be willing to carrie and demeane himselfe in all things, as an ordinary and plaine citizen, bearing no greater port and shew than others of the common multitude; moreover, at hand to give advise and counsell friendly to every man in his affaires, ready to enterteine, defend, & follow their causes as anadvocate, freely, and without taking fee or any confideration whatfoever; to reconcile man and

wife when they be at ods, to make love daies and peace betweene friends, not fpending one littlepecce of the day for a fnew at the tribunall feat, or in the hall of audience for the commonwealth, and then afterwards all the day & the rest of his life, drawing unto himselfe al dealings, all negotiations and affaires from everie fide for his owne particular behoofe and profit, like unto the north-eaft winde Cecias, which evermore gathereth the clouds unto it; but continually bending his minde and occupying his head in carefull studie for the weale publike, and in effect making it appecre unto the world, that the life of a Statef-man and a governor, is not as the commonfort thinke it, easte and idle, but a continuall action and publike function: by which fashiops and semblable courses that he taketh, he gaineth and winneth unto him the hearts of the to people, who in the end come to know, that all the flattering devifes and entifements of others be nothing else but false baits and bastard allurements, in comparison of his prudence and carefull diligence. The flatterers about Demetrius vouchfafed not to call any other princes and potentates of his time, Kings, but would have Seleuen to be named the Commander of the clephants; Lyfmachus the keeper of the treasurie; Ptolomeus the admirall of the sea; and Agathoeles the governour of the iflands. But the people although peradventure at the first they reject a good wife and fage person among them; yet in the end after they have seene his truth, and knowen his disposition and kinde nature, they will repute him onely to bee popular, politike, and woorthie to be a magistrate indeed, and as for the rest, they will both repute and call one, the warden and fetter out of the plaies; another the great feaster; and a third, the president of 20 games, combats, and publike exercises. Moreover, like as at the feasts and bankets that Callias or Alcibiades were at the cost to make, none but Socrates was heard to speake, and all mens eies were cast upon Socrates; even so in cities and States governed aright, well may Ismenias deale largesfes; Lichas make feasts, and A iceratus defray the charges of plaies, but Epaminondas, Aristides, Lylander, and such as they, are those which beare the magistracie, they governe at home, they command and conduct armies abroad. Which being well and duly confidered, there is no cause why you should be discouraged or dismaid at the reputation and credit that they win among the people, who have for them builded theaters, and erected flew-places, founded halles of great receit, and purchased for them common places of sepulture, for to burie their dead: all which glorie lafteth but a while, neither hath it any great matter, or venerable substance in it, 30 but vanisheth away like smoke, and is gone even associate the places in such theaters, or games in shew-places are done and ended.

They that have skill and experience of keeping and feeding bees, doe hold opinion and faie, that those hives wherein the bees yeeld the biggest found, make most humming and greatest stir within, like best, are most found, healthfull, and yeeld most store of honie: but he upon whom Godhath laid the charge and care of the reasonable swarme (as I may say) and civill societie of men, will judge the happineffe and bleffed state thereof most of all by the quietneffe and peace therein, and in all other things he will approove the ordinances and statutes of Solon, endevoring to follow and observe the same to his full power; but doubt hee will and marvell what hee should meane by this, when he writeth, that he who in a civill fedition would not range himselse 40 to a fide, and take part with one or other faction, was to bee noted with infamie: for in a naturall bodie that is ficke, the beginning of change toward the recoverie of health, commeth not from the diseased parts, but rather, when the temperature of the found and healthie members is so puissant, that it chaseth and expelleth that which in the rest of the bodie was unkind & contrary to nature; even so in a citie or State where the people are up in a tumult & sedition, so it be not dangerous and mortall, but fuch as is like to be appealed and ended, there had need to be a farre greater part of those who are found and not infected, for to remaine and cohabit still; for to it there commeth and hath recourse that which is natural and familiar, from the wise and discreet within, and the fame entreth into the other infected part and cureth it: but fuch cities as be in an univerfall uprore and hurly-burly, utterly perish and come to consussion, if they have not 50 some constreint from without, and a chastisement which may force them to be wise and agree among themselves. Neither is my meaning, that I would have you a politike person and Statef-man in such a fedition and civill discord to sit still, insensible and without any passion or feeling of the publike calamitie, to fing and chaunt your owne repose and tranquillitie of bleffed and happie life, and whiles others be together by the eares, rejoice at their follie; for at fuch a time especially you are to put on the buskin of Theramenes, which served as well the one legge as the other; then are you to parley and common with both parties, without joyning your felfe to one more than to the other; by which meanes, neither you shall be thought an adversarie, because you are not ready to offend either part, but indifferent to both, in aiding as well the one as the other, and envie shall you incurnone, as bearing part in their miserie, in case you seeme to have a fellow-feeling and compassion equally with them all: but the best way were to provide and forecast, that they never breake out to tearmes of open sedition; and this you are to thinke for to be the principall point, and the height of all pollicie and civill government; for evident it is, and you may easily see, that (of those greatest blessings which cities can desire, to wit, peace, libertic, and freedome, plentie and fertilitie, multitude of people, and unitie and concord) as touching peace, cities have no great need in these daies of wise governors, for to procure or mainteine the same, for that all wars both against the Greekes and also the Barbatians are chased away and gone out of sight; as for libertie, the people hath as much as it pleases their sovereignes and princes to give them, and peradventure if they had more it would be woorse for them; for the fertility of the earth, and the abundance of all fruits, the kind disposition and temperature of all seasons of the yeere,

That mothers in due time their babes into the world may beare, Refembling in all points their fires, to wit, their fathers deare.

and that children fo borne may live and be live-like, every good and wife men, wil crave at Gods hands in the behalfe of his owne fellow citizens. Now there remaineth for a States-man and politike governour, of all those works proposed one onely, and that is nothing inferiour to the 20 rest of the blessings above-named, to wit, the unitie and concord of citizens that alwaies dwell together, and the banishing out of a citie of all quarrels, all jarres and malice, as the maner isin composing the differences and debates of friends; namely, by dealing first with those parties which seeme to be most offended, and to have taken the greatest wrong, in seeming to be injuried as well as they, and to have no leffe cause of displeasure and discontent than they; afterwards by little and little to fecke for to pacific and appeale them, by declaring and giving them to understand, that they who can be content to strike faile a little, do ordinarily go beyond those who thinke to gaine all by force; furmount them I fay not onely in mildeneffe and good nature, but also in courage and magnanimitie, who in yeelding and giving place a little in small matters, are masters in the end and conquerors in the best and greatest; which done, his part is to make 30 remonstrance both particularly to every one, and generally to them all, declaring unto them the feeble and weake estate of Greece, and that it is very expedient for men of found and good judgment to enjoy the fruit and benefit which they may have in this weakenesse and imbeciline of theirs, living in peace and concord one with another as they does confidering that fortune hath not left them in the midft any prize to winne or to strive for. For what glorie, what authoritie, what power or preeminence will remaine unto them that haply should have the better hand in the end, & be mafters over their adversaries, but a proconfull with one commandement of his will be able to overthrow it, and transport it unto the other fide, as often and when so everit pleafeth him; but fay that it should continue stil, yet is it not woorth all this labour and travell about it. But like as scare-fires many times begin not at stately temples and publike edifices, but 40 they may come by fome candle in a private and little house, which was neglected or not well looked unto, and so fell downe and tooke hold thereof, or haply straw or rushes and such like stuffe might earth fire and suddenly flame, and so thereupon might ensue much losse, and a publike wafting of many faire buildings; even so it is not alwaies by meanes of contention and variance about affaires of State, that feditions in cities be kindled, but many times braules and riots arifing upon particular causes, and so proceeding to a publike tumult and quarrell, have beene the overthrow and utter subversion of a whole citie. In regard whereof, it perteinethunto a politike man, as much as any one thing els, to foresee and prevent, or else to remedy the fame, to fee (I fay) that fuch diffentions do not arife at alsor if they be on foot to keep them down from growing farther and taking head, or at leaftwife that they touch not the State, but reft fill to among whom it began: confidering this with himfelfe & giving others to understand, that private debates are in the end causes of publike, and, small of great, when they be neglected at first, and no convenient remedies used at the verie beginning. Like as by report the greatest civill diffention that ever hapned in the citie of Delphos, arose by the meanes of one Crates, whose daughter Orgilaus the sonne of Phalus was at the point to wed : now it hapned by meere chance that the cup, out of which they were to make an effay or effusion of wine in the honour of the gods first, and then afterwards to drinke one to another, according to the nuptiall ceremonies

ofthat place, broke into peeces of it felfe, which Orgilaus taking to be an evill prefage, for fooke his espouled bride, and went away with his father, without finishing the complements of marriage. Some few daies after, when they were facrificing to the gods; Crates conveied covertly or underhand a certaine vessell of gold, one of those which were facred and dedicated to the temple, unto them, and so made no more adoo, but caused Orgilans and his brother, as manifest church-robbers, to be pitched downe headlong from the top of the rocke at Delphos, without any judgement or forme and processe of law: yea and more than that, killed some of their kintfolke and friends, notwithft anding they entreated hard, and pleaded the liberties and immunitie of Minerones temple, furnamed Provident, into which they were fled and there tooke functuarie. 10 And thus after divers fuch murders committed, the Delphians in the end put Crates to death and those his complices, who were the authors of this sedition, and of the money and goods of these excommunicate persons (for so they were called) seazed upon by way of confiscation, they built those chapples which stand beneath the citie. At Syracuse also, of two young men who were verie familiarly acquainted together, the one being to travell abroad out of his countrey, left in the custodie of the other a concubine that he had, to keepe untill his returne home againe; but he in the absence of his friend abused her bodie: but when his companion upon his returnehome knew thereof, he wrought fo, that for to crie quittance with him he lay with his wife and made him cuckold: this matter came to hearing at the counfell table of the citie, and one of the ancient Senatours mooved the rest, that both twaine should be banished out of the 20 citie, before there arose further mischiese, and lest the citie by occasion of their deadly sewd should be filled with parts taking of both sides, and so be in danger of atter destruction; which when he could not perswade and bring to passe, the people grew into an open sedition, and after many miserable calamities, ruinated and overthrew a most excellent State & government. You haue heard I am fure of domesticall examples, and namely the enmitte of Pardalus and Tyrrhenus, who went within a verie little of overthrowing the citie of Sardis, and upon finall and private causes, had brought the same into civill war and open rebellion by their sactions and particular quarrels. And therefore a man of government ought alwaies to be watchfull and vigilant, and not to neglect, no more than in a bodie naturall the beginnings of maladies, all little heart-burnings and offences that quickly paffe from one to another, but to flay their course, and reme-30 diethe same with all convenient speed. For by a heedfull eie and carefull prevention, as Cato faith, that which was at first great, becommeth small, and that which was small commeth to nothing. Now to induce and perfwade other men fo to doe, there is not a more artificiall device, nor a better meanes, than for a man of government to fhew himselfe exorable, inclined to pardon, & easie to be reconciled in like cases; in principal matters of weight & greatest importance resolute and constant without any rankor or malice, and in none at all seeme to be selte-willed, peevish, contentious, cholerike, or subject to any other passion which may breed a sharpnesse and bitterneffe in neceffarie controverfies, and doubtfull cafes which can not be avoided. For in those combats at buffets which champions performe for pleasure in manner of foiles; the manner is to binde about their filts certaine round mustles like bals, to the end that when they 40 come to coping and to let drive one at another, they might take no harme, confidering the knocks and thumps that they give are so fost, and can not put them to any paine to speake of; even so in the sutes, processes and trials of law which passe betweene citizens of the same citie, the best way is to argue and plead by laying downe their allegations and reasons, simply and purely, and not to tharpen or envenime their matters like darts and arrowes, with poiloned taunts, railing tearmes, opprobrious speeches and spightfull threats, and so to make deepe wounds, and the fame feltured with venim, whereby the controverfies may grow incurable, and augment still in such fort, that in the end they touch the State. He that can so cary himselfe in his owne affaires, as to avoid these foresaid mischies and dangers, shalbe able to compasse others in the like, and make them willing to be ruled by reason: so that afterwards, when once the particular occasions of privile grudges be taken away, the quarrels and discords which touch a common-wealth, are sooner pacified and composed, neither doe they ever bring any inconveniences hard

to be cured or remedilefle.

WHETHER



WHETHER AN AGED MAN OUGHT TO

NAGE PUBLICKE AFFAIRES.

The Summarie.

He title of this discourse discovereth sufficiently the intention of the Author: but, for that they who manage affaires of State, and namely men in yeeres, fall oftentimes I into one of these two extremities as touching their duetie, namely, that they be either 100 flacke and remisse, or else more stiffe and severe than they ought; these precepts of 20

100 flacke and remije, or eye more juye and you to be flacke, and who (as we may gather Plutarch, a man well conversed in high places and offices, and who (as we may gather to be dilivently read consider by his words)was well striken in age when he wrote this Treatise, ought to be diligently read considered and practifed by men of authoritie. And albeit this booke containeth some advertisements in that behalfe, which fort not wholy with the order of government put in practife in these our daies: yet foit is, that the fundamentall reasons are sowell laid, that any politician or States-man building therupon, may affure himselfe that he shall raise & edific some good piece of worke. Now he beginneth with the refutation of one common objection of certaine men, who enjoine & command elder folke to fa If ill and remaine quiet, and he prooveth the contrarie, namely, that then it is meet that they should put themselves foorth more than ever before; but he addeth this correction and caveat withall, that they have beene a long time alreadie broken (as it were) to the world, and beaten in publike affaires, to 30 the end that they be not taxed and noted for their slender carriage or light vanitie, nor proove the cause of some great mischiefe, medling as they do in that which they had not wel comprehended before, After this he proposeth and laieth abroad the examples of men well qualified, who have given good proofe of their sufficiencie in old age: whereupon he inferreth, that those be the persons indeed unto whom government doth appertaine, and that to go about for tomake such idle now in their latter dates, were as absurde and as much injurie offered unto them, as to confine a prudent Prince and wife King to some house in the countrey: and this he inforceth and verifieth by eloquent comparisons, and by the example of Pompoius. Which done he settesh downethe causes which ought to put forward, and moove a manwell flept in yeeres to the government of a common-weale, confusing those who are of the contrarie opinion, and prooving that elderly persons are more fit therefore than younger, be 40 cause of the experience and authoritie that age doth association, as also in regard of many other rea-Jons: then he returneth the objection upon them, and sheweith that young folke are unmeet for publike charges, unleffethey have beenethe disciples of the aged, or be directed and guided by them: be refuteth those also who esteeme that such a vocation resembleth some particular trafficke or negotiation: and when he hath so done, he takethin hand againe his principall point, detecting and laying open the folly of those who would bereave old men of all administration of publike matters: and then he exhorteth them to take heart and skunne idlenesse (which he doth dissame wonder fully) and setteth before their eles their duetie, which he also considereth inparticular: then he adviseth them not 10 take so much upon them; not to accept any charge unworthie, or not beseeming that gravitie which time and age hath given them, but to occupie and busie themselves with that which is honora- 50 ble and of great consequence; to endevour and strive for to serve their country, and above all in matters of importance; to use good discretion as well in the refusal as the acceptation of dignities and of ffices carying themselves with such dexterity among yoong men that they may indust & set them into the way of vertue. And for a conclusion, he teacheth all persons who deale in State affaires what resolution they foould put on and carry thither sthat they have an affured testimonie in themselves; that they be affectionat fervitours of the common-weale.

WHETHER

WHETHER AN AGED MAN ought to manage publike affaires.

E are not ignorant ô Euphanes that you are woont highly to praise the poet Pindarus, and how you have oftentimes in your mouth these words of his, as being in your conceit well placed and pithily fpoken to the point,

When cames of price and combats once are set, Who (krinketh back and doth pretend some let, In darkneffe hides and deepe obscurine His fame of vertue and activitie.

But forafmuch as men ordinarily alledge many causes and preten-

fes, for to colour and cover their floth & want of courage to undertake the businesse and affaires of State, & among others, as the very laft, and as one would fay, that which is of the facred line & race, they tender unto us old age, & suppose they have found now one sufficient argument to dull or turne backe the edge, and to coole the heat of feeking honor thereby, in bearing us in hand & faying. That there is a certein convenient & meet end limited, not only to the revoluti-20 on of yeeres, proper for combats and games of proofe, but also for publike affaires and dealings in State. I thought it would not be impertinent nor besides the purpose, if I should fend and communicate unto you a discourse which sometimes I made privately for mine owne use, as touching the government of common-weale managed by men of yeeres; to the end that neither of us twaine should abandon that long pilgrimage in this world which we have continued in travelling together, even to this present day, nor reject that civill life of ours, which hither to we have led in fwaying of the common weale, no more than a man would cast off an old companion of his owneage, or change an ancient familiar friend, for another with whom he hath had no acquaintance, & who hath not time sufficient to converse & be made familiar with him. But let us in Gods name remaine firme & constant in that course of life which we have chosen 30 from the beginning, & make the end of life & of well living all one and the fame, if we will not (for that finall while which we have to live) diferedit, & diffame that longer time which we have alreadie led, as if it had bin spent foolishly and in vaine, without any good & laudable intention. For tyrannicall dominio, is not a faire monument to be enterred in, as one faid fomtime to Dems the tyrant: for unto him this monarchicall & absolute sovereigntie gotten & held by so unjust & wicked meanes, the longer that it had continued before it failed, the greater & more perfect calamitie it would have broughts according as Diogenes afterwards feeing the faid Diony fius his son become a poore privat man, & deposed fro the princely & tyrannicall dignity which he had. O Diony fine (quoth he) how unworthy art thou of this estate, & how unfitting is it for thee! for thou oughtest not to live here in liberty, & without any feare or doubt of any thing with us, 40 but remaine there stil as thy father did, immured up & confined (as it were) within a fortresse all thy life time, untill extreme old age came. But in truth, a popular government which is just and lawfull, wherein a man hath beene conversant and shewed himselfe alwaies no lesse profitable to the common-wealth, in obeying than in commaunding, is a faire fepulcher for him, to be buried honorably therein, and to bestow in his death the glorie of his life : for this is the last thing (as Simonides faid) that descendeth and goeth under the earth; unlesse we speake of them whose honour, bountie and vertue dieth first, and in whom the zeale of performing their duetie doth faile and cease before that the covetous defire of things necessarie to this life giveth over: as if the divine parts of our foule, & those which direct our actions were more fraile, & died sooner than the fenfual & corporal; which neither were honestie to fay, nor good to beleeve, no more 50 than to give credit unto those who affirme that in getting and gaining onely, we are never weary:but rather we are to bring that faying of Thueydides to a better purpose, & not to believe him who was of minde that not ambition alone and defire of glorie, aged in a man but alfo (and that much rather) sociality or willingnes to live & converse with company, & civility or affection to policy & managing of publik affaires; a thing that doth perfevere & cotinue alwaies to the very end, even in ants and bees: for never was it knowen that a bee with age became a drone; as some there be who would have those who all their life time were employed in the State, after the vigor & strength of their age is past to six still & keepe the house, doing nothing els but eat & feed as if they were mued up, suffering their active vertue, through ease and idlenesse to be quenched & marred, even like as iron is eaten and consumed with rust & canker, for want of occupying. For Cato said verie wisely: That since old age had of it self miseries ynough of the one, they ought not to adde moreover thereunto the shame that proceedeth from vice, for to mend the matter. Now among many vices that be, there is not one that more shameth and defameth an old man than reflivenesse, sold this, delicacie and voluptuous selfe: namely when he is seene to come downess from the hall and courts of suffice, or out of the counsell chamber and such publike places, for to goe and keepe himselie close in a corner of his house like a woman, or to retire into some farme in the countrey to oversee onely his mowers, reapers, and harvest folke, of whom it may be well said, as we reade in Sephodes:

What is become of wife Ocdipus, In riddles a-reeding who was fo famous?

For to begin to meddle in affaires of State in olde age, and not before (as it is reported that one Epimenials: laied him downe to fleepe when he was very yoong, and wakened an olde man fiftie yeeres after) and ere he have shaken off and laied aside so long repose and rest that hath sucke so close unto him by use and custome, to goe and put himselie all at once upon a studen into such travels and laborious negotiations, being nothing trained nor inured therein, not framed nor exercised thereto in any measure, without conversing at all beforehand with men experienced in matters of Estate, nor having practised worldly affaires, might peradventure give good occasion to one that were disposed to reproove and finde sault, for to say that which the 20 prophetesse systems answered once to one who consulted with the oracle of Apollo about the like case:

For government and rule of citie flate, Who ever thou be, thou commest too late: An houre this is undecent and past date, Thus for to knocke at Court or Pallace. gate,

like an unmanerly gueft, who commeth to a fealt; or a rude traveller, who feeketh for lodging when it is darke night; for even fo thou wouldest remoove not to a place, nor to a region, but to a life whereof thou hast no proofe and triall. As for this sentence and verse of Simonides,

The city caninfruct aman.

True it is, if it be meant of them who have fufficient time to be taught and to learne any science which is not gotten but hardly and with much ado after great studie, long travell, continual exercise and practise provided also, that it meet with a nature painfull and laborious, patient and able to undergo all adversities of fortune. These reasons a man may seeme very well and to the purpose to alledge against those who begin when they be well stricken in yeeres to deale in publike affaires of the State. And yet we see the contrary, how men of great wisedome and judgement diverte hildren and yoong men from the government of common weale, who also have the testimonie of the lawes on their side, by ordinance whereof, at Athens the publicke Ciri or Bedle calleth and summoneth to the pulpit or place of audience, not such as yoong Alcibiadst or Pytheus, for to stand up first and speake before the assemblie of the people, but those that be 40 above fiftie yeeres of age; and such they exhort both to make orations, and also to deliver their minds, and counsell what is most expedient to be done.*

"There is a defect or fault at leastwrite in the Greeke origuall.

And Carobeing accused when he was fourescore yeeres olde and upward, in pleading of his own cause, thus answered for himselse: It is an harder matter my masters (quoth he) for a man to render an account of his life, and to justifie the same before other men, than those with whom he hath lived. And no man there is, but he will confesse that the acts which Casar August a achieved a little before his death in defaiting Antonius, were much more rotall and profitable to the weale-publicke, than any others that ever hee performed all his life-time before: and himselse in restraining and reforming secretly by good customes and ordinances, the dissolute riots of yoong men, and namely, when they mutined, said no more but thus unto them: Listen 50 yoong men, and heare an olde man speake, whom olde men gave eare unto when he was but yoong. The government also of Pericles was at the height and of greatest power and authoritie in his olde age, at what time as he perswaded the Athenians to enter upon the Peloponesiacke watte: but when they would needs in all haste and out of season, set forward with their power to encounter with threescore thousand men all armed and well appointed, who forraied and wasted their territorie, he withstood them and hindered their dessigned enterprise, and that in maner by holding sure the armour of the people out of their hands, and (as one would say) by kee-

ping the gates of the citie fall locked and fealed up. But as touching that which X enophon hath winten of Agefilam, it is worthy to be delivered word for word, as he fetteth it downe in these teatmes: What youth (quoth he) was ever lo gallant, but his age surpassed it? what man was there ever in the flower and very best of all his time, more dread and terrible to his enemies, than Age silaus was in the very latter end of his daies ? whose death at any time was more joyfull to enemies than that of Agefilaw, although he was very olde when he died? what was he that emboldened allies and confederates, making them affured and confident, if Agefilaus did not, notwithstanding he was now at the very pits brincke, and had in maner one foot already in his grave? what yoong man was ever more miffed among his friends, and lamented more bitterly no when he was dead, than Agesilans, how olde so ever he was when he departed this life? The long time that these noble personages lived, was no impediment unto them in atchieving such noble and honourable fervices; but we in these daies play the delicate wantons in government of cities, where there is neither tyrannie to suppresse, nor warre to conduct, nor siege to be raised; and being fecured from troubles of warre, we fit still with one hand in another, being roubled onely with civill debates among citizens, and fome emulations, which for the most part are voided and brought to an end by vertue of the lawes and justice onely with words. Weeforbeare (I fay) and draw backe from dealing in these publicke affaires for seare, confessing our felves herein to be more cowardly and falle-hearted (I will not fay) than the ancient captaines and governours of the people in olde time, but even worfe than Poets, Sophisters and Plaiers in Tragedies and Comedies of those daies. If it be true, as it is, that Simonides in his olde age wan the prize for enditing ditties and fetting fongs in quires and dances, according to the epigram made of him, which tellifieth no leffe in the last verses thereof, running in this maner:

Fourescore yeeres olde was Simonides The Poet, and sonne of Treoprepes, Whom for his carrols and musicall vaine, The prize he won and honour did gaine.

It is reported also of Sophoeles, that when he was accused judicially for dotage by his owne children, who laied to his charge that he was become a children, and had need therefore of a guardian; being convented before the judges, hereheasted in open court the entrance of the chorus, belonging to the Tragedie of his, entituled Occupa in Colono, which beginneth in this wise:

Wel-come stranger at thy entrie,
To villages best of this countrie,
Renowmed for good steeds in sight,
The tribe of faire Colonus sight;
Where nighting alc doth of trefort,
Her dolefull moanes for to report:
Amid greene bowers which she doth hauns,
Her sandrie notes and laies to chaunt,
With voice so strain of sound,

And for that this canticle or fonet wonderfully pleafed the judges and the reft of the company, they all arole from the bench, went out of the Court, and accompanied him home to his house with great acclamations for joy, and clapping of hands in his honour, as they would have done in their departure from the Theater where the Tragedie had bene lively acted indeed. Also it is confessed for certaine, that an epigram also was made of Sophoeles, to this effect:

When Sophocles this somes wrote To grase and honour Herodote, His daies of life by just account, To fiftie five yeeres did amount.

Philemon and Alexis, both comicall Poets, chanced to be atrefted and surprised with death even as they plaied their Comedie upon the stage for the prize, and were about to be crowned with garlands for the victorie. As for Paulus [or Polus] the actour of Tragedies, Eratos sheets and Philochorus do report, That when he was threescore yeeres olde and ten, he acted eight Tragedies within the space of soure daies, a little before his death. Is it not then a right great shame, that olde men who have made prosession either to speake unto the people from the tribunal sear, or to sit upon the bench for to minister justice, should shew less generositie and Kk magnanimitie

magnanimitic than those who play their parts upon a scaffold or stage? and namely, in giving over those facred games and combats indeed, to cast off the person of a politician and man of honour, and to put on another (I wot not what) in flead thereof: for I affure you, to lay downe the roiall dignitic of a king, for to take up the personage of an husbandman, were very base and mechanicall: and confidering that Demosthenes faid how the facred galley Paralus was unworthily and thamefully mifuled, when it was put and emploied to bring home for Meidias, wood and timber, flates and tiles, fed muttons or fuch like fatlings: if a man of honour and estate should at any time give up and refigne his dignitie of superintendencie over the publicke feafts of Baotarchie, or government over Baotia, of prefidentship in that great counsell or affemblie of citates called Amplyttiones, and then afterwards be feene occupied in measuring and felling to meale, or the refuse & cakes either of grapes and olives after they be pressed, or to weigh sleeces of wooll, or to make merchandife of their felles; were not this as much altogether, as (according to the olde proverbe) to put on the age of an olde horse without constraint of any persons Moreover, to go to any base and vile occupation or handicrast, or to trafficke in merchandise, after one hath borne office of government in the common-weale, were all one as to turne a gentlewoman well descended, or a sober matron, out of all her faire and decent apparell, forto give her an apron onely and a fingle peticoatto cover her shame, and so to fet her for to keepe in some taverne or victualling house; for even so, all the dignitie, majestie and continuance of vertue politike is quite lost, when it is debased to any such vile ministeries and trades, smelling onely of lucre and gaine. But in case (which is the onely point remaining behinde) they call 20 this a fweet and healthfull life, and the true enjoying and ufe of goods, to be given over to delicacies and pleasures, and doe invite and exhort a politician or man of State, in aging therein, and spending his olde yeeres so, to waste and consume by little and little to nothing: I wot not well unto which of these two pictures, dishonest and shamefull both twaine, this life of his were better to be likened; whether to that of the mariners, who would folemnize the feast of Penus all their life time, being not yet arrived with their ship into the haven or harbour, but leaving it Itill under faile in the open fea; or to the painted table of *Hercules*, whom fome painters merily and in fport, but not feemely and with reverence, depaint how he was in the roiall Palace and Court of the Lydian queene Omphale, in a yelow coat like a wench, making winde with a fanne, and fetting his minde with other Lydian damofels and waiting-maids, to broid his haire and 10 tricke up himfelfe: even so we despoiling a man of estate of his lions skin, that is to fav, of his magnanimous courage and a minde to be alwaies profiting the common-wealth, and fetting him to take his case at the table, will make him good cheere continually, and delight his eares with pleafant fongs, with found of flutes and other muficall instruments; being nothing at all athamed to heare that speech which sometime Pompeius Magnus gave unto Lucullus, who (afrer his warres and conducts of armies, giving over all regiment of State, wholly was addicted to banes and flouphes, to feafling, to wantonnesse and company with women in the day time, to all diffolute life and superfluous delights, even so much, as to build sumptuous edifices, befeeming rather men of yoonger yeeres) reproved Pompeius for his ambition and defire of government above that which became his age; for Pompetus answered unto him, and said: It is more 40 unfeafonable for an aged man to live loofely and in fuperfluitie, than to governe and bearerule. Againe, the fame Pompey being one day fallen ficke, when his Physician had prescribed hima blacke-bird for to eat, which was at that time out of feafon, and could not be had in the market for any money, and one made answere that Lucullus had good store of them, for he kept and fed them in mue all the yeere long; hee would neither fend to him for one, nor receive any from him, faying withall: What? unleffe Lucullus be a belly-god and glutton, can not Pompey tell how to recover and live? For fay that nature feeketh by all meanes possible to take her pleasure and delight, yet furely the difableth the bodie of old folke, and denieth it the fruition of all pleafures, unlefte it be in some sew necessities of this life;

For why ? not Venus onely is Offended withold folke ywis.

as Eurypides the Poet faith, but also their appetite to eate and drinke is for the most part dull and overthrowen with mosse, and as one would say toothlesse, in such fort as they do but mumble, touch their victuals a little aloft, and hardly and with much adoo enter and pierce inwardly into the same. In which regard they ought to be furnished and provided of pleasures of the mind, not such as are base, illiberall, and vile as Simonides saide unto those who reproched him for his avarice: for being bereft of all other slessly and corporall pleasures by reason of his

yeeres, he entertained one still which fed and maintained his old age, and that was the delight which he tooke in getting money & gathering good : but the life politike of those who manage affaires, hath many pleafures, and thole right great and honeft, in which onely or principally it should seeme that the gods themselves take joy and contentment; and these be they that proceed from beneficence, or doing good unto many, and the glorie of fome worthic and noble act. For if the painter Nicias pleased his owne mind so well in his workemanship, and was so affectionate to the operation of his art, that oftentimes he forgat himselfe, and would aske his fervants whether he had washed, and whether he had dined or no: If Archimedes also was so bent & intentive unto the table before him, in which he drew his figures geometricall, that his to fervitours were faine to plucke him from it by force, for to walh and annoint him, and yet in the meane time that they were annointing of him, he would be drawing and describing of new figures upon his owne bodie: If Canus likewise the plaier of the fluit (a man whom you know well enough) was woont to fay: That men wish not how much more mirth he made unto himselfe in his playing, than he did unto those that heard him found; and that they that came to heare his mulicke, ought rather to receive a reward of him, than bestow any money upon him. Do wee not conceive and imagine in our felves, what great pleasures vertues do yeeld unto those who effect any commendable action tending to the good of their countrey, & turning to the profit of the common-weale? they tickle not, they itch not, neither do they after a stroking manner give contentment, as do these sweete motions, and gentle prickes of the flesh; for such bring 20 with them a certaine impatient itch, an unconstant tickling mingled with a furious heat and inflammation; but those pleasures which come from notable and praise woorthie deeds, such as they be, whereof the ordinarie workman and author is he, who governeth a common-weale aright, and asit appertaineth unto him for to doe, lift up and raife the foule to a greatnesse and haughtinesse of courage accompanied with joy, not with gilded plumes (as Furipites faith) but with celeftiall wings (as Plato was woont to fay) And that the truth hereof may the better appeere; call to remembrance your felfe, that which oftentimes you have heard concerning Epaminondas, who being asked upon a time what was the greatest pleasure that ever he selt in all his life answered thus: Marie even this (quoth he) that it was my fortune to win the field at the battell of Leuctres, my father and mother both being yet living. And Salla, the first time that he 30 came to Rome after he had cleered Italy from civill and dometticall warres, could not fleepe one winke, nor lay his cies together a whole night, for exceeding great joy and contentment wherewith his spirit was ravished, as if it had beene with a mightic and violent wind: and thus much he wrote of himfelfe in his owne Commentaries. I can therefore hold well with Xenophon in that hee faith: That there is no found or speech more delectable to a mans eare, than the hearing of his owne praifes; and even fo it must bee confessed: That there is no spectacle no fight, no report and memoriall, no cogitation, nor thought in the world, that bringeth fo great pleasure & delectation to the mind, as doth the contemplation and beholding of those good and laudable deeds, which a man hath performed whiles he was employed in the administration of State and in bearing offices, as being conspicuous, eminent, and publike places to be 40 seene afarre off, True it is moreover, that the amiable grace and favour thereby gotten, accompanying alwaies vertuous acts and bearing witneffe therto; the commendation also of the people who strive a vie and contend who can give out greatest praise and speake most good (the verie guide which leadeth the way of just and due benevolence) doth adde a glosse and lustre (as it were) unto the joy proceeding from vertue, for to polish and beautifie the same. Neither ought a man by negligence to suffer for to fade and wither in old age, the glorie of his good deeds, like unto a coronet or garland of greene leaves which was woon at some games of prize; but evermore to bring foorth some fresh and new demerites, to stir up and awaken (as a man would fay) the grace of the old deeds precedent, and thereby to make the fame both greater, and also more permanent and durable. For like as the carpenters and shipwrights who had the 50 charge to maintaine the ship called the Gallion of Delos evermore made supply of new pieces of timber, as anie of the olde began to decaie, keeping it in continuall reparation by putting in one ribbe and planke for another, and so preserved it alwaies entire and whole, as it was the verie first daie when it was built; even so a man is to doe by his reputation and credit. And no harder matter is it for to maintaine glorie once up and on foote, than to keepe a fire continually flaming which is once kindled, by putting effloones fresh fewell under (bee it never fo little) for to feede the same: but if they bee once out and throughly quenched indeede, then it is no small matter to set either the one or the other a burning

againe. And like as Lampas the rich merchant, and shipmaster, being demaunded how he got his goods: Marie (quoth he) my greatest wealth I gained soone and with ease, but my smaller cflate with exceeding much paine and flowly; even foit is no easie matter at the beginning to acquire reputation, or to win credit and authoritie in the managing of civill affaires, but to augment it after the foundation is laid, or to preferve and uphold the fame, when it is once come to greatnes, is not fo hard, for every little thing, & the smallest meanes wil do it. And so we see that a friend when he is once had, requireth not many great pleafures & offices of kindnesse & friend. thip for to be kept and continued a friend fill, but petie tokens & final fignes of curtefie, paffine continually from time to time betweene, are sufficient to preserve mutuall love and amity, Semblablic, the good will and affection of the people, their truft & confidence which they have conceived towards a man, although he be not able evermore to give largeffes among them, al. though he doe not alwaies defend and mainteine their causes, nor fit continually in place of magistracie and office, yet neverthelesse it holdeth still, if he doe but shew himselse onely to carie a good heart unto them, & not to cease for to take paines & care for the common good, nor refuse any service in that behalfe: for even the very expeditions and voiages in warre, have not alwaies battailes araunged, nor fields fought and bloudie skirmishes, ne yet besieging and beleaguing of cities; but they affoord betweene whiles, festivall facrifices, parlies & enterviewes, fome leafure also and time of rest, to follow games, disports, and pastimes. How then commeth it, that an old man should be afraid to meddle in State affaires, as if it were a charge unsupportable, full of infinite and innumerable travels, without any comfort and confolation at all ? confi-20 dering that there be allowed at times, varietie of plaies and games, goodly fights and shewes, folgime precessions, and stately pompes, publike doles and largesses, daunces, musicke and feafts, and ever and anon the honorable fervice and worship of one god or other, which are able to unknit the fromnes and unbend the browes, to dispatch and dissipate the cloudy cares and aufleritie of the judges in court hall, and of fenatours also in counfell chamber, yeelding unto them much more pleafure & contenument in proportion to their travels and paines belonging to their place. As for the greatest mischief which is most to be feared in such administrations of the common weale, to wit, envy, it fetleth & taketh least hold upon old age of any other; for like as Heraclitus was wont to fay: That dogs do baie & barke at those whom they know not; even to envie affaileth him who beginneth to governe, just at the dore as it were, and the entrie of 10 the tribunall and throne of estate, seeking to impeach his accesse and passage thither; but after it is accustomed and acquainted once with the glorie of a man, and when it hath beene nourithed and fed therewith, it is not to troublefome and churlish, but becommet more kinde and gentle; and this is the reason that some have likened envie unto a smoke, which at the first when the fire beginneth to kindle, ariseth grofse and thicke, but after that it burneth light and cleere, vanisheth away and is gone. In all other preeminences and superiorities, men are wont ordinarily to debate and quarrell, namely, about vertue, nobilitie of blond and honour, as being of opinion, that the more they yeeld unto others, the more they doe abridge from themselves; but the prerogative or precedence of time, which properly is called Presbeion, as if a man would fay; the Honor of age, or Time-right, is voide of all jealousse and emulation, and there is no man 40 but will willingly yeeld it to his companion; neither is there any kinde of honour whereunto fo well forteth this qualitie, namely to grace him more who giveth the honour, than the party who is honoured, as to the prerogative which is given to old men. Moreover, all men doe not hope nor expect to have credit one time or other by their riches, by their eloquence or wisedome; whereas you shall not see so much as one of those that rule in common-wealth, to despaire of comming one day to that authoritie and reverence which old age bringeth men unto. He therefore who after he hath wrestled long against envie, retireth in the end from the administration of the common-weale, at what time as it is well appealed and at the point to be extinguished or laid along, should doe like unto that pilot who in a tempest having winde and waves contrarie, spreadeth saile and roweth in great danger, but afterwards when the weather is faire, and a 50 gentle gale of forewinde ferveth, doth goe about to strike faile and ride at anchor in the pleafant funne thine; he should I say in so doing, abandon together with his publike affaires, the societic, fclowship, alliance and intelligences which he had with his good friends; for the more time that he had, the more friends by good reason he ought to havegotten, for to stand with him and take his part, whom he neither cannot all at once leade foorth with him, like as a mafter of carols his whole quire of finging men; nor meete it is and reason that he should leave and sorfake them all: but as it is not an eafie peece of worke to stocke up by the root olde trees, no more

is it athing soone done to extirpe a long government in the common-weale, as having manie great rootes, and those enterlaced & enwrapped one within another, by reason of fundric and weightie affaires, the which no doubt must needs worke more trouble and vexation to those that retire and depart from it, than to those that tarrie still by it; and say there remained yet behind for old men some reliques of envic, emulation, and contention, which grew in the time of their government; it were farrebetter to extinguish and quench the fame by power and authoritie, than to turne both fide and backe unto them, all naked and difarmed: for envious persons and cyill willers never doe affaile them fo much with despight, who make head againe and stand their ground, as they doe by contempt those who yeeld backe and retire: and to this accordeth 10 well that which in times past that great Epaminondas faid unto the Thebans. For when the Arcadians had made offer unto them, yea and requested them to enter in their cities, during the winter feafon, and there to lodge and abide under covert; he would not permit them fo to doe, norto accept of their courtese: For now (quoth he) all while that they behold you exercising and wreftling in your armour, they have you in great admiration, as valiant and hardy men; but if they should see you once by the fire side punning and stamping beanes, they would take you to be no better than theinfelves; even fo I would make my application, and inferre heereupon; that it is a venerable and goodly fight to behold a grave and ancient personage speaking to the people, dispatching affaires of State, and generally to be honored of every man; but he who all the day long stirres not out of his warme bed, or if he be up, fitteth still in some corner 20 of a gallerie, prating and talking vainely, or elfe reaching, hawking, spitting, or wiping his nose that drops for cold; fuch an one I fay, is exposed to contempt. Homer verily himselfe hath taught us this leffon, if we will marke and give good care to that which he hath written. For old Nestor being at the warre before Troie, was had in honour and reputation; whereas contrariwise Peleus and Laertes who taried behinde at home were fet little by and despised. For the habitude of wisedome doth not continue the same, nor is any thing like it selfe, in those who give themselves to case, and doe not practife the same; but through idlenesse and negligence it diminisheth, and is dissolved by little and little, as having need alwaies of some exercise of the cognation and thought which may waken the spirit, cleere the discourse of reason, and lighten the operative part of the minde to the dealing in affaires,

Like as both tron and brasse is bright and cleere, All while mans hand the same doth use and weare: Where as the house wherein none dwels at all,

Intract of time must needs decay and fall. Neither is the infirmitie and feeblenesse of the bodie so great an hinderance unto the government of State, in those who above the strength of their age seeme either to mount into the tribunall, or to the bench, or to the generals pavilion and place of audience within the campe, as otherwise their yeeres bring good with them, to wit, considerate circumspection & staied wisedom: as also not to be troubled or driven to a non plus in the managing of any busines, or to commit an abfurditie & error, partly for want of experience, in part upon vaine-glorie, & so to draw 40 the multitude therewith and doe mischiese to the common-wealth all at once; like unto a sea toffed with windes; but to treat and negotiat gently, mildly, and with a fetled judgement, with those who come unto them for advice, or have any affaires or to doe with them. And heereupon it is, that cities after they have fulteined fomegreat shake or adverse calamitie, or when they have beene affrighted, desire streight waies to be ruled by auncient men, and those well experienced; in which cases they have many times drawen perforce an old man out of his house in the countrey, for to governe them, who thought or defired nothing leffe; they have compelled him to lay his hand upon the helme, for to fet all streight and upright againe in securitie, rejecting in the meane while greene headed generals of armies, eloquent oratours also, who knew well enough how to speake aloud, and to pronounce long clauses and periods with one breath, and 50 never fetching their winde; yea and beleeve me brave warriors and woorthie captaines indeede, who had beene able and fufficient to have affronted their enimies, and fought valiantly in the field. Like as upon a time at Athens, the oratours there shewing before Timothem and Iphierates, who were farre stept in veeres, one named Chares the sonne of Theochares, who was a luftie young man, in the flowre of his age, and mightic of bodie, ftripped out of his apparell, defired that, hee who was to be captaine generall of the Athenians, were fuch an one as he for yeeres and for person: God forbid (quoth Timothem) but rather I could with the generals varlet to be fuch an one, who is to carie after him his bed and the furniture thereto belonging. As Kk 3

for the commander and leader of an armie, he ought to be a man that knoweth how to fee into the State, both before and behinde, and who will not fuffer his counfels and refolutions for the weale publike, to be troubled and difordered by any paffion whatfoever: for Sophacles when he was now become aged: I am well appaid (quoth he) that I am now escaped from wanton love and the delights of Venus; as being delivered from the subjection of a furiouslord and raging mafter. But in the administration of the common-wealth, a man is not to avoid and fite one fort of masters, to wit, the love of boies and wenches, but many others which be more outragious than it, and namely emulation and a contentious spirit, desire of vaine-glory, and a longing to be alwaies and in every thing the first and the greatest; a vice that engendreth most of any other, envie, jealousses, conspiracies, and factions; of which old age doth let slack some, to and dull their edge, others it cooleth and extinguisheth cleane, neither diminisheth and intended affection to well doing so much, as it represents and entered in the inclination and affection to well doing so much, as it represents and cutteth off the passing which are too violent and over-hot, to the end that it may applie unto the care and shude about affaires, the discourse of reason, sober, staied, and well settled: howbeit in very truth, and in the judgement of the readers, let this speech of the poet

Lie still poore weretch and keepe thy bed Stirre not from thence, and have no dred.

be alledged and spoken for to distinate and distract him, who would with his grisled beard and graic head begin now to be yoong and plaie the youth, as also to taxe and reproove an old grand-fire, who after long repose in his house, out of which he hathnot stirred, no more than 20 in the time of a languishing disease, will needs start up now on a sudden, and all at once bestire his old bones to be a captaine for sooth in all haste, to leade an armie, or els to take upon him the charge of governing a citic. But he that would call away and reclaime one, who hath been trained and employed all the daies of his life in polit ike affaires, and throughly beaten to the world, and the administration of the common-weale, not suffering him to runne forward in that course of life untill he have atteined the goale, nor untill he have gained the prize of his victory, but will seeme to turne him out of his long journey for to take another way; he (Isay) is altogether selected and unreasonable, and nothing resembleth the man we speake of. Like as he who to divert an old man being set out like a youth, with a chaplet of fresh slowers on his head, perfumed with sweet odors, and already to be married, would alledge those verses which in a Tra-30 gadie were sometime said unto Philostetes,

What maiden yoong what fresh and uslie bride
Wall marry shee, to lic close by thy side \$
Mas pooreman for pite, at this age
Thus for so wenture upon marriage?

were nothing abfurd nor out of the way, and befide the purpole; for even old folke themselves when they are disposed to be merrie, have manie such jests as these passe currant among them:

Imarrie old, how faire I am bested? Well wot I, for my neighbour I do wed.

But he that would perfwade a man alreadie married, to leave his wife with whom he hath lived fo 40 long in wedlocke, and dwelt together in one house without quarrels and complaints, supposing that because he is now growen in yeeres with her, he should for sake her, and live either a single life apartby himselfe, or else keepe alemon or concubine in stead of his lawfull wedded wife, in my conceit were a verie abfurd for in the highest degree; even so, it standeth to good reason, for to deale with an old man who having one foot already in his grave, or with one Cliden who had beene an husbandman all his life time; or with on Lampon the merchant venturer, who hath done nothing all his daies, but used shipping & trafficke beyond sea; or with some of these Philosophers out of Epicurus his orchard, who love a life to fit still and doe nothing, to admonish and diffiwade them from approching unto the publike affaires of the people, and to counfell them to hold them still to their former accustomed course of life, farre from troubles and busie 50 dealings in common-weale: marie, he that tooke fuch an one as Photion, Cato or Pericles by the hand, and faid: My friend of Athens or Rome, whoever you are, now that you be arrived to withered olde age, make a divorce with the common weale, quit from this day forward all publike administration, all cares and affaires, aswell of counsell as of warre; abandon both the tribunal feat in the citie and also the prætorie or pavilion of State in the campe, retire your selfe into an house in the countrey, and live the rest of your life there with one maid-servant to attend upon you; followyour husbandrie, or els imploy your selse in your private housholde, to take accounts and reckonings of your receivers and factours; furely he should persuade him to unjust things, and exact of a States-man and politician that which neither pleaseth nor yet beforement him. How then? will some man say unto me, never heard we the olde souldiour, how he speaketh thus in the Comedie?

My hoarie haires from warfare set me free, That from henceforth enroll a I shall not be.

Yesforfooth good fir, it is very true; for requisit it is, and fit, that the squites and servitours of Mars should be in the flower and full strength of their age, as those who make profession of warre and the painfull fervices belonging thereto, whose gray haires, although the head piece 10 and morion do hide and cover, yet inwardly their limmes are heavie and decaied by yeeres, and their strength is not to their good will, nor their hand answerable to their heart. But of the minifters of Jupiter furnamed Counseller, Oratour, and Patron of cities, we require not the works of feet not of hands, but of counfel, forecast & eloquence; and yet not such eloquence I meane, as should make aftirre, or raise a noise, out-crie and shout among the people, but that which is full of ripe understanding, of confiderate wisedome, and of good directions and plots well and furely laied. In which persons, the white head and gray beard (which some laugh and make good game at) the crow-foot about the cies, the furrowes in the forehead, the rivels and wrinekles in the face befides appearing, beare witneffe of long experience, and adde unto them areputation and authoritie, which helpe much to perfwade and to draw the minds of the hearers 20 unto their will and purpose. For to speake truely, youth is made (as it were) to follow and obey, but age to guide and command: and that citie or State is preferred, wherein the fage counfels of the elders and the martiall proweffe of the yonger, beare fway together. And for this cause highly and woonderfully are these verses following praised in Homer, and namely in the first

> Then to begin, a goodly fort of ancient captaines bold Affembled hein Nestors ship, acounsell there to hold.

upon the same reason also, that counsel of the wifest and principall men assistant unto the kings 30 of Laced emon, for the better government of the State, the oracle of Apollo Pythius first called Πρειγευγένους i. Elders : and Lyeurgus afterwards directly and plainly tearmed Γέρρνημε, i. Old men; and even at this very day, the counfell of Estate in Rome is named a Serate, that is to fay, an affembly of ancient persons. And like as the law and custome, time out of minde, hath allowed unto Kings and Princes the diademe, that is to fay, a roiall band or frontlet, the crowne alfo to fland upon their heads, as honourable mots & enfignes of their regall dignitic and fovereigne authoritie; even so hath nature given unto olde men the white head and hoarie beard as honourable tokens of their right to command, and of their preeminence above others. And for mine owne part, I verily thinke that this nowne in Greeke, 1/2004, which fignifieth a prize or reward of honour, as also the verbe register, which is as much to say, as to honour, continue still 40 in use, as respective to the honour due unto olde men (who in Greeke are called pewis) not for that they bathe in hot waters, or sleepe in softer beds; but because in cities well and wisely governed, they be ranged with kings for their prudence, the proper and perfect goodnesse whereof, as of some tree which yeeldeth winter fruit which is not ripe before the latter end of the yeere, nature bringeth forth late and hardly in olde age: and therefore there was not one of those martiall and brave couragious captaines of the Greeks, who found fault with that great king of kings Agamemnon for making fuch a praier as this unto the gods are

That of the Greeian host which stood of many woorthie men, Such counsellers as Nestor was, they would vouchsafe him ten.

but they all agreed with him, and by their filence confessed, That not onely in policie and civill government, but also in warre, olde age carrieth a mightie great stroke: for according as the ancient proverbe beareth witnesse:

One head that knowes full wifely for toreed, Outgoesten hands, and maketh better speed.

One advice likewife, and fentence grounded upon reason, and delivered with perswasive grace, effecteth the greatest and bravest exploits in a whole State. Well, say that olde age hath many difficulties

difficulties and discommodities attending upon it, yet is not the same therefore to be rejected: for the absolute rule of a king, being the greatest and most perfect estate of all governments in the world, hath exceeding many cares, travels and troubles; infomuch, as it is written of king Seleucus that he would often-times fay, if the people wish how laborious and painfull it were to reade and write onely so many letters as he did, they would not deine to take up his diademe, if they found it throwen in their very way as they goe. And Philip being at the point to pitch his campe in a faire ground, when he was advertised that the place would not affoord for age for his labouring beafts: O Hercules (quoth he) what a life is this of ours, that we must live (forfooth) and care to ferve the necessitie of our affes? Why, then belike it were high time to perswade a king when he is aged, for to lay downe his diademe, to cast off his robes of purple, to clad him. 10 felfe in fimple array, to take a crooked staffe in hand, and so to go and live in the countrey, for feare left if he with his gray haires raigned stil, he should feeme to do many superfluous and importment things, and to direct matters out of feafon? Now if it were unfeemely and a meete indignitic, to deale with Agesslaw, with N uma and Darius, allkings and monarchs, afterthis fort; unmeet likewife it is, that we should remove and displace Solon out of the counsell of Areopagus, or depote Cato from his place in the Romane Senate, because of their olde age. Why should we then goe about to perswade such an one as Perieles, to give over and refigne his go. vernment in a popular State? for over & besides, there were no sense at all, that if one have leapt and mounted into the tribunall feat or chaire of estate in his yoong yeeres, and afterwards difcharged upon the people & common-wealth those his violent passions of ambition and other 20 furious fits, when ripe age is now come, which is woont to bring with it difcretion and much wisdome gathered by experience, to abandon and put away (as it were) his lawfull wife, the government which hee hath fo long time abused. The foxe in Aesops sables would not suffer the urchin to take off the tiques that were fetled upon her bodie : For if (quoth she) thou take away these that be already full, there will come other hungry ones in their place; and even so, if a State rejected evermore from administration of the common-wealth those governours that begin once to be olde, it must needs be quickly full of a fort of yoong rulers, that be hungric and thirstie both after glory, but altogether void of politike wit and reason to governe : for how can it otherwise be? and where should they get knowledge, if they have not bene disciples to learne, nor spectatours to follow and imitate some ancient magistrate that manageth state af- 30 faires? The Cards at fea which shew the feat of failing and ruling thips, can not make good fea-men or skilfull pilots, if they have not beene themselves many times at the stearne in the poope, to fee the maner of it, and the conflicts against the waves, the winds, the blacke stormes and darke tempests,

What time in great perplexitie, The mariner doth wish to see Castor and Pollux, twins full bright,

Presaging safetie with their light. How then possibly can a yoong man governe and direct a citie well, perswade the people aright, & deliver wife counfel in the Senate, having but read one little booke treating of pollicy, 40 or haply written an exercise or declamation in the Schoole Lyceum touching that argument? unlesse besides, he have stood close unto the reines, or hard by the helme many a time, & by marking both citie rulers and martiall captaines, how they have but beene put to their trial, and according to the fundry experiences and accidents of fortunes, enclining now to the one fide and then to the other, after many dangers and great affaires, have gotten sufficient knowledge and inftruction before hand? I can not fee how it can be : but if there were no other thing at all besides; yet surely an ancient man is to manage still the affaires of State, and it were but to traine and teach the yoonger, that be to come up after him; for like as they who teach children musick, or to reade, do themselves Sol, fa,& sing the note, they singer& strike the key or strings they reade & spell the letters before them, & all to shew how they should do; even so the anci- 50 ent politician doth frame and direct a yoong man, not onely by reading unto him, by discourfing and advertifing him without foorth; but also in the very managing and administration of affaires, fathioning, forming and calting him (as it were) lively in a mold, as well by operation and example, as by words and precepts. For he that is schooled and exercised herein, not in the schooles of the Sophisters that can speake in number & measure, as in the wrestling hall where the body is annointed with a copolition of oyle & waxe together, against exercises performed without any dauger at all : but (as it were) at the verie publike games indeed, in the view of the

whole world, fuch as the Olympicks and Pythicks were: he(I fay)followeth the tracts and footfleps of his mafter and teacher, as faith Simonides:

As suckling soale, that keepes just pace, And runnes with damineverie place.

Thus did Ariftides under Califthenes, Cimon under Ariftides, Photion under Chabrias Cato under Fabius Maximus, Pompeius under Sylla, and Polybius under Philopamen. For all these personages when they were yoong, drew neere and joined themselves with others that were ancient, and having taken root close by them, grew up together with them in their actions and administrations, whereby they got experience and were inured to the managing of the State with to honour and reputation. Aelehmes the Academique Philosopher, when certaine envious sophifters of his time charged him and faid: That he made a femblance and flew, that he had beene the disciple and hearer of Carneades, whereas he never was. I say unto you (quoth he) that I heard the man, when as his speech abandoning the bruit applause and tumultuous noise of the people, by reason of his old age was shut up close and housed (as it were) for to do good more familiarly in private conference. And even fo it is with the government of an aged person, when as not onely his words, but also his deeds be farre remote from affected pompe in outward fliewes, and all vaine glorie. Much like as is reported of the blacke Storke, called this, who by that time that the is become old, hath exhaled and breathed foorth all that firong and finking favour which she had, and beginneth to yeeld a sweet and arromaticall smel; even so, there 20 is no counfell nor opinion in old men, vaine, turbulent, or inconstant, but all grave, quiet, and fetled. And therefore in any wife (as I faid before) if it were but for yoong mens fake onely and no more; elder persons are to weld the affaires of State: to the end that as Plato speaking of wine mingled with water, faid that it was to make the furious god wife, by challifung him with another that was fober and temperate: the staid wifedome of old age tempered with youth, swelling and boiling before the people, and transported with the greedy defire of honour, and with ambition, might cut off that which is furious, raging and over violent.

But over and befides all that hath beene faid before, they who thinke, that to be employed in the managing of publike affaires, is all one as to faile for trafficke, or to go foorth to warre in fome expedition, are much deceived: for both navigation & alfo war, men undertake for a cer30 taine end, and no fooner have they attained thereto but they ceafe: but the managing of State affaires is not a commission or office pretending or intending any profit and commoditie for the scope that it shootesth at; but it is the lite and profession of a living creature, which is gentle, tame, civill, and fociable, borne to live so long as it pleaseth nature, civilly, honestly, and for the publike good of humane focietie. This is the reason, that of a man it should be faid, that he still is occupied in such affaires of common-weale, and not that he hath beene so employed: like as to be true, and not to have beene true; to be just and not to have beene just; to love his countrey and citizens, and not to have loved them, is his dutie and profession. For even nature her selfed directeth us hereto, and singeth this lesson in our eares (Ispeake to those who are not altoge-

ther corrupted and marred with floth and idlenesse)

Let us not cease nor any end finde

Thy father thee, aman hath once begat: To profit men alwaies, in thu or that. Againe:

As touching them who pretend and alledge for excuse, feeblenesse or imporencie, they do accuse sicknesses were aware persons and alledge for excuse, feeblenesse or imporencie, they do accuse sicknesses were aware persons simply from the adminstration of the bodie rather than age. For you shall see many young men sicke & feeble, and as many old solke lusty & strong; so we are not to remoove aged persons simply from the adminstration of the common-weale, but the imporent onely and unsufficient; not to call unto that vocation yong men, but such as be able to undergo the charge:

50 for Aridam was yong enough, and Antigonm in yeeres; and yet this man as olde as he was, went within a little of conquering all Asi; but the other had never but the bare name onely of a King, like as in a dumbe-shew upon a stage, making a countenance onely with a guard of partizans and halberds about him, without speaking one word; and so he was a ridiculous spagean and laughing stocke among his nobles and peeres, who were alwaies his rolers, and led him as they list. And even as he who would perswade Prodiem the Sophister, or Phileras the poet (yong men both, howbeit leane, feeble, fickly, and for the most part of their time bed-ridden) for to meddle with government of State, were a very soole and senselesses in the order the order shall essent on whit

better, who should debarre such old men as Phoeian, as Masarisa the African, or Cato the Romane, from exercising publike magistracie in citie, or taking the charge of a Lord Generall in the steld: for Phoeian one day when the Athenians all in the haste, would needs have gone forth to warre at an unseasonable time, commaunded by proclamation that as many as were not above threescore yeeres of age, should arme and follow him now when they were offended and wroth hereat: Why? my masters (quoth he) what cause have you to complaine? I will go with you my selfe and be your captaine, who carie already above fourscore yeeres on my backe. And of Massarissa, Polybius written in his storie, that he died when he was fourscore and ten yeeres old, and left behind him at his death a sonne of his owne bodie begotten, but sower yecresold: also that a little before his dying day, he overthrew the Carthaginians in a raunged battell, so and the morrow after was seene eating savourly at his verie tent doore a piece of browne bread: and when some marvelled at him why he so did, he answered thus out of the Poet sophoeles:

For iron and brasse, be bright and cleare All while mans handshe same doth weare, But the bouse wherein none dwels at all

In time must needs decay and fall. and even as much may be faid, of the the luttre, gloffe and resplendent light of the minde, by which we discourse, we remember, conceive and understand. And therefore it is generally held and faid, that kings become much better in wars and militarie expeditions, than they be all the 20 whiles they fit still quietly at home. In such fort, that it is reported of King Atralus, the brother of Eumenes, how being enervate by long peace and rest, Philopemen one of his favourites led him up and downe as he lift by the nofe, and indeed being fed as fat as a beaft, he might do with him what he would; fo as the Romans were wont to aske by way of mockerie ever and anon, as any failed out of Afir, whether the king were in grace and favour with Philopamen, and might do any thing with him? There could not eafily be found many Romane captaines more sufficient warriours in allkinde of service than was Lucullus, so long as he was in action, and mainteined his wit and understanding entier; but after that he gave himselse over once to an idle life, and fat mued up (as it were) like an house-bird at home, and medled no more in the affaires of the common-weale, he became very dull, blockish and benummed, much like to sea spungesas-30 ter a long calme, when the falt water doth not dash and drench them; so that afterwards hee committed his olde age to be dieted, cured and ordered unto one of his affranchifed bondflaves, named Callifthenes, by whom it was thought he was medicined with amatorious drinks, and bewitched with other charmes and forceries, untill fuch time as his brother Marcus difplaced this fervitour from about him, and would needs have the government and disposition of his person the rest of his life, which was not very long. But Darius the father of Xerxes was wont to fay: That in perillous times and dangerous troubles, he became the better and much wiser than himselfe. * Aeleas a King of Seythia said, that he thought himselfe no better than his horse-keeper, when he was ilde. Dionysius the elder being demaunded upon a time, whether he were at leifure and had nought to do? God defend (quoth he) that ever it should be so with me: 40 for a bow (as they fay) if it be over-bent will breake, but the mind if it be over-flacke. For the verie musicians themselves, if they discontinue overlong the hearing of their accords; the Geometricians likewise, to proove & resolve their conclusions, the Arithmeticians also to exercise continually their accounts and reckonings, together with the verie actions do impaire by long time and age the habitudes that they had gotten before in their feverall arts, albeit they be not fo much practike as speculative sciences: but the politike habitude, which is Prudence, Discretion, Sage, advise, and Justice, and besides all these, Experience which can skill in alloccurrences how to make choise of opportunities and the verie point of occasions, as also a sufficiencie to be able with good words to perswade that which is meet; this habitude (I say) and knowledge can not be preserved & maintained, but by speaking often in publike place, by doing 50 affaires, by discoursing and by judgement: and a hard case (it were) if by discontinuing and leaving off these goodly exercises, it should neglect and suffer to voide out of the mind so many faire and laudable vertues: for verie like it is, that in fo doing all humanitie, fociable courtefie, and gratitude in time, for want of use and practise would decay and fade away, which in deed should never cease nor have an end. Now if you had Tithonus for your father, who indeed was innortall, howbeit by reason of extreme age standing in need continually of great helpe and carefull attendance, would you avoide all good meanes? would you denie or be weary of doing

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him dutifull fervice, namely, to wait upon him, to fpeake unto him, to find talke with him, and to fuccour him everie way, under a colour and pretenfe that you had ministred unto him long enough? I trow you would not. Our countrey then, resembling our father, or our mother rather according to the tearme Mires, which the Candiots give it, which is more aged, and hath many more rights over us, and straighter obligations of us, than hath either father or mother, how durable and long lived so ever it be, yet notwithstanding subject it is to age, and is not sufficient of it selfe, but hath alwaies need of some carefull eie and good regard over it, and requiresh much succour and vigilance; she (I say) plucketh unto her aman of honour and policie, the takes sure hold and will not let him go,

She catcheth him by skirt of roabe behind, And holds him fast, leaft that he from her wind.

you know well that there be many Pythiades, that is to fay, five yeeres terames gone over my head, fince I began first to minister as Priest unto Apollo Pythias: but yet (I suppose) you would not say thus unto me: Plutareh, you have facrificed enough now; you have gone in procession often enough, already, or you have lead a sufficient number of dances in the honour and worship of your god; now you are growen in yeeres and become aged; it were time now, that you laid off the coronet which you weare on your head in token of your priestshood, and give over the oracle by reason of your old age. Neither would I have you thinke that it is lawfull for you, notwithstanding you be farre stept in yeeres, to relinquish and resigne up your 20 holy service of supster the tutor and patron of cities, the president of civill assemblies and counfels; you (stay) who are the sovereigne high priest, and the great prophet of the sacred ceremonies of religion politike wherein you thus long time have bene entred and prosessed.

But laying afide if you thinke good, these arguments that may distract and pull an old man from the administration of the State; let us discourse philosophically, and consider a little upon this point: namely, that we doe not impose upon old age any enterprise and travel, which is cither too greevous or unbeferning, confidering that in the univerfall government of the common-weale, there be many parts befitting well enough and agreeable to that age whereunto both you and I at this prefent be arrived. For like as if of dutie we were commanded to continue finging all our life long, we are not bound after that we be growen to great age for to reach un-30 to the highest, lowdest, and most shrill notes, considering that there be in musicke many divers tunes and different intentions of the voice, which the muficians call harmonies; but reason would that we make choife of that which is eafiest for our yeeres, and most surable to our nature and disposition; even so fince that to speake and manage affaires is to men more naturall during their whole life, than finging to fwannes even unto their houre of death, we multnot abandon that affection of faying and doing, as if we should fling away an harpe too high set, but we ought to let the same downe by little and little, taking in hand those charges and offices which be leffe painfull, more moderate, and better according with the strength and manners of old folke: for even our verie bodies, we that are aged doe not fuffer to rest still without all exercise, and allow them no motion at all, because we can no more handle the spade to dig the ground, 40 nor weld the plummets of leade in the exercise of dauncing, nor pitch the barre, fling the hammer, call the coit, or throw a stone farre from us, or fight and skirmish in our armour, or handle sword and buckler as we could have done in those daies; yet we can abide to swing and hang at a rope for to stretch our limmes, we can away with shaking of our bodies moderately in a pendant ship, coach, or easie horse litter; we like well enough of walking gently, and devising one with another upon the way, and mainteining pleasant discourses, wakening and reviving our vitall spirits, and blowing as it were the coles to kindle our naturall heat: and therefore let us not suffer our selves to grow over colde, nor stiffe and starke as if we were frozen and congealed through our floth and idlenesse; neither on the other side overcharge our selves with all offices, nor be readicto lay our hand to all ministeries and functions, nor enforce our old age 50 convinced of impotencie to come at length to these or such like words,

Angood right hand, how gladly wouldft thou take The launce to couch, and pike in skirmift shake: But now alas, this forward will to fight, Thy seeblenesse doth checke, and worke thee spight.

For neither is the man himfelfe, who is able enough and in the floure of his yeres, commended, if he should undergo and lay upon his shoulders all the affaires of the common-wealer, and not suffer any man else with him to take some part (like as the Stoicks affirme that Jupiter is content

to do)but engaging himselse in all things, and medling in every matter, either upon an unsatiable defire of glorie, or for envie that he beareth to those, who in some measure would have their part of honour and authoritie in the common-weale. But unto an auncient person I affure you, (although you should case him of infamic in this behalfe) yet it were a painfull ambition, and a most laborious desire of rule to be present personally at all elections of magistrates; yea and a miserable curiositie to wait and attend every houre of judgement in court, and all meetings and affemblies in counfell; also an intollerable humour of vaine-glorie to stand at receit and catch every occasion of embassage, or knowevery verduict of our grand-jurie, or undertake the patronage of all publike causes whatsoever; and say that all this might be performed with the favour and love of every man, yet greevous it is, and above the ordinarie strength of that age. 10 But what will you fay if they meet with the cleane contrarie? for to young men they be odious, because they let nothing passe their owne hands, but intercept from them all occasion and meanes of action, not giving them leave to arife and put themselves foorth; as for their equals, this covetous defire of theirs to hold the highest place in all things, and to have the fole authoritie every where, is no leffe hated of them, & accounted infamous, than either avarice or loofe life, and voluptuousnesse in other old folke. And therefore like as(by report) king Mexander the great, not willing to overcharge his horfe Bucephalus when he grew in age, used to mount other courfers before the fight began, for to ride up and downe to review his armie and all the quarters and regiments thereof, but after he had ranged it in array, & fet his fquadrons and companies in ordinance of battell, and given the fignall, he would alight and get upon his backe 20 againe as he was woont, and presently march directly affront his enemies, give the charge, and hazard the fortune of the field: even so a politike man of State, if he be wife and of found judgement, will favour his strength a little, when he feeleth himselfe aged, as he holdeth the reines in his owne hand, he will forbeare to deale in those charges which are not altogether so necessarie, and fuffer younger men to manage matters of lesse importance; but in weightic affaires of great consequence, he will lay to both his owne hands in good earnest, contrary unto the practife of the champions in publike games and combats of prife, who carefully looke unto their bodies without touching at all any necessary works, and all to employ and use them in needleffe, unprofitable, and superfluous feats: butwe contrariwise letting passe by the petie and fleight charges, are to referve our felves whole and entire unto those that be serious and of mo-30 ment indeed: for a yoong man as Homer faith, all things befeeme indifferently & alike, all the world finileth on him, every body loveth him; if he enterprise small matters, and many in number, they fay he is a good common-wealths man, he is popular, he is laborious, if he undertake great works and honorable actions, he hath the name of generous, noble & magnanimous; yea, and divers occurrences there be, wherein rashnesse it selfe and a contentious humour of emulation have a kinde of grace, and become gaily well fuch as be fresh and gallant youthes; but for a man of yeeres, who during the administration of the common-weale, undertaketh these and fuch like ministeries and commissions; namely, the letting to ferme the customes & revenues of the citie, the charge of mainteining an haven, or keeping of the market place and common hall in order and reparation; over and befides, the embaffies and voiages in forren parts to princes 40 and potentates, or the riding in poste thither, to treat about no matter of necessitie nor weighty affaires of any importance, but onely to falute them or make court unto them, or performe fome offices of course and courtefie: In my conceit, and be it spoken unto you my good friend, he is to be pitied for it, and his case is rather lamentable than commendable. To others haply it may seeme an odious trouble & a burdensome matter for him so to be emploid; for surely this is not an age wherein a man should be encumbred with any offices, but such as wherein there is dignitic, grandence & reputation, such as that is, which your selfe at this time do execute in Athens, to wit, the prefidence of the counsell or senate called Arionagus, and verily of that kinde also is that dignitic of being one of that honorable counsell and affemblie of the States, called AmphyEtiones, which your countrey hath conferred upon you by patent to hold all your life 50 time, the labour belonging whereto is pleasant, the paines easie, and the travell tolerable. Howbeit I would not have an auncient person to range and hunt after these offices, nor to accept them, as demaunding the fame, but to receive them by way of refufall, fo as he may feeme to take them volens nolens, not as meanes for to be himselfe in honor, but as one that meant by his acception to grace and honour them. For it is no shame as Tiberius Cafar was woont to fay, for men above three-score yeres of age to reach forth their hand to a physician for to have their pulse felt; but rather to stretch out their hands to the people, in praying them to give their

voices or fuffrages with them at the election of magistrates; for this is a very vile and base thing: as contratiwise there is in this a certeine venerable majestie, and a dignitie right honotable; that when the countrey hath elected one to bee a magistrate, when they call upon him and give attendance at his doore, heeshould then come downe unto them out of his house, with a kinde of reciprocall honour of his part, a cheerefull countenaunce and courteous behaviour to the people againe, to falute, embrace, wel-come, and accept this their present, woorthy indeed and beseeming honourable old age. Semblablic also in some fortan auncient man ought to use his speech in the congregation and assemblie of the people, not running ever and anon and leaping up into the pulpitor place of audience to make an orato tion unto the people, nor readic alwaies like as a cocke croweth againe when hee heareth others, to counterchaunt (as it were) to all those that make any speech, nor in fashing upon them, and striving to take hold and vantage of their words, to unbridle the reverence that yoong men beare toward him, nor to breed in them by that meanes matter to exercise and accustome themselves in disobedience and unwilling nesse to heare him: but hee must otherwhiles feeme topaffe by, and make femblance as though hee faw and heard nothing, and give them leave a little to brave it, to fling out, and cast up the head like a wanton yoong horse, neither to bee present, among or to learch curiouslie into everie thing that is done or saide, especially when the daunger is not great, nor a matter touching the fafetie of common weale, nor any honour and reputation; for there in such cases he ought not to stay untill he be cal-20 led, but to put foorth himselse and to runne even above the ordinarie strength of his age, or elle if hebe not able, to yeeld his bodie to be led by hand and fufteined up by folkes armes, yea and to be caried in a chaire; as the historied oth report of Appine Claudius, who having heard that the Senate of Rome after a great foughten field which king Pyrrhus had woon of the Romaines, inclined to accept of articles and capitulations tending to a composition and to peace, could not endure that indignitie, nor conteine himselfe, (blinde though he were of both hiseics) but would needs be carried through the common place even to the fenat house; and being entred in upon his feet, he stood in the mids of them all and faid: My masters, hitherto I have beene grieved for the loffe of mine eie-fight, in that I could not fee; but now I wish that I had loft the use also of mine earcs, and that I might not heare the shamefull counsels & cour-30 festhat you take, befides the lewd exploits that you performe; then partly by reprooving them flarply, and in part by his effectuall reasons and remonstrations exciting them, he wrought so, that perswaded they were presently to resume armes for to fight with Pyrrhus, for the leignorie and empire of Italy. And Solon at what time as the flatterers of Pilistrates wherewith he abused the people of Athens, were openly detected and discovered, and that it appeared once that he aimed at nothing else but to usurpe tyrannic over them, and when no man durst make head against him and empeach or crosse his dessignes, himselse alone bringing foorth armour out of his house, and laying the same in the street before his very doores; cried with a loud voice unto the citizens for to aide him; which when Pifitratus heard, hee fent unto him for to demaund & know upon what affurance that he had, he durft be fo bold as thus to do? Mary (quoth 40 he) I prefume upon mine old age. Such occurrences as these so necessarie, doc rekindle and set on fire againe old men, who were in maner extinct and cleane dead before, provided, that there remained in them any sparke or breath at all: but in other smaller occasions, an auncient personage shall do well and wifely to excuse himselfe otherwhiles, and refuse base or vile ministeries, wherein greater toile and paines groweth unto them that be emploied therein, than profit and commoditie doth accrue unto the parties for whose sake they be undertaken. It salleth out also formtimes, that if he ftay untill he be called and fought unto, until he be defired, & that they fend to seeke for him at his house, he shall win more credit and authoritie among his citizens by comming among them in the end at their request: and fay that he be prefent in place, he shall be filent himselfe for the most part & suffer younger men to speake, as being the judge of civill 50 contention and emulation among them, provided alwaies that the fame exceed not a certaine meane; for then he shal reproove them mildly, after a kind & loving fort cut off all opinionative debates, all head-strong opinions, all opprobrious tearmes and heat of choler. Now the advices and opinions delivered of any matter in question, his part is to comfort and encourage him that commeth short of the point, not reprooving and blaming him at all, but rather teaching him how to do better against another time, yea and to praise him boldly, who hath done well, and fuffer his owne felfe willingly to take the woorfe and be overcome, giving the place to some many times, and not disdame to becovermatched and perswaded by reason: to the

end that they may take the better heart and be more bold, and ready to helpe out and supplie others in their defects, and that with good words and faire language, like as that old 2x effor did in Homer:

Of all the Greeks there is no man, Who blame thefe words or gainfay can: But yet for footh you fay not all, N or come are to the finiall. For why? you feeme but young by your vifage, And wellmy sonne you may be for your age.

Moreover, this were more civilly done, not to reprove and checke them openly nor in pub. 10 licke place, although it be without any great biting and nipping, which is enough to abate and cast downe the courage of yoong men; but rather apart and privatly, especially such as be well framed and disposed by nature to government of State another day; instructing and leading them gently into the right way, fetting before their cies some excellent sayings, examples and inventions tending to policie, and inciting them alwaies to good and honest enterprises, heartening and imboldning them by that meanes, that they may thew a lively and lightfome spirit, and even at the beginning, making the people cast a liking and love unto them, and be more gentle and tractable afterwards; like as it is the maner of those, who when they teach yong men to fit and ride an horse, bring them first one that is gentle and easie to be mounted upon; now if peradventure one of them at his first entrance do faile and catch a fall, he must not let him lie 20 along, and so breake the heart of a youth for ever, but lifthim up and set him on his feet againe. yea, and give him comfortable and gracious words. Thus did Ariftides in times past by Cimon, and Mnesiphilus by Themistocles, whom the people at the first could not abide and brooke, as having but a bad name in the citie for their audaciousnesse and loose life; and yet these good men flood their friends, brought them into credit, and mightily encouraged them. It is reported also even of Demosthenes himselfe, that the first time he came to the barre, he suffered adisgrace, and was rejected by the people, which he tooke to heart & was wondroufly difmaied, untill fuch time as an ancient and fatherly citizen, one who had fometime heard Pericles making orations to the people, tooke him by the hand & faid unto him: That he refembled Pericles for all the world in speech and gesture, and that he did himselfe great wrong upon such an occasion to to be faint-hearted and cast downe. Semblably, Euripides after the same maner imboldned Timotheus the Musician, who athis first comming upon the stage was hissed out by the people, as one that by his novelties which he brought up, feemed to violate and breake the lawes of Muficke; but he willed him to be of good cheere for all that, saying: It would not be long after, but he should be able to draw and leade the whole Theater after him as he would, and have the people at his devotion. To be briefe, like as the terme of time limited and appointed for the veltall virgins or nunnes votaries at Rome, was divided into three parts: The first, to learne that which perteined to their religion; the second, to practise; and the third, to teach the yonger. And likewise, as in the citie of Ephesus every one of those maidens vowed to the service of Diana, was at the beginning called Melliere, which is as much to fay, as a Novice to be a priestresse hereal-40 ter; then Hiere, that is to fay, a full priestresse in deed; and last of all, Pariere, which signifieth one that had power to imitate and professe others in the same orders; even so, he that is a perfect polititian and States-man, at the first is but a learner and a questionist (as it were) to doehis acts, and so to commence in that profession; but in the end, he teacheth others, he is a regent over novices, and the weth them the fecrets of policie. For to be a prefident and overfeer of others that trie mafteries or combats, is not to be a fencer or champion himselfe; but he that instituteth and traineth a yoong man to publike affaires and matters of State, framing and fitting him for his countrey another day, in fhewing him how

To frame his words with comely grace, And deeds performe meet for his place.

is a good and profitable member of the common wealth, not in a small and base kinde offervice, but in a ministerie of great consequence; and to which especially and principally, Lycurwhaving given himselfe and aimed at, accustomed yong men even from their infancie to o bey and doe reverence to every elder, no leffe than to a ruler and law-giver. For in what regard cls, and to what other purpose said Lylander? That there was no place in the world, where it was fo honourable for to be old, as in Lacedamon. Was it because it was permitted and lawfull there for elder persons more than for any other, to till the ground, to put out money to usurie, to play

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But it was because all such, being after a fort in place of rulers, of fatherly governours and tutours over youth, have not a vigilant eie ouer the publicke affaires onely, but a particular regard alfo alwaies to every action of yong men, enquiring and learning not fleightly, and as it were paffing by their whole demeanour, namely, how they exercise their bodies in publicke place; how they play and disport themselves; what their diet is, and how they converse and live together, thewing themselves dread and terrible to those that do ill, but venerable and desireable to the good; for in trueth yoong folke alwaies observe & looke after them, and to fuch they make 10 court; for that ancient perfons do labour for to make them better, & augment the generofity of their mind, without all envie. For this paffion, as it befeetneth no time of mans age, howfoever in yong men it be entituled with a number of faire and honest names, to wit, emulation, zeale, and defire of honour; fo in olde men it is altogether unfeafonable, abfurd, tude, favage, unman-Iy and base. And therefore a man of yeeres, who is a polititian, must be very farre off from this humour of envie, and not like unto old runt trees or dodils, which repining as it were at others, doe manifelly hinder and take away the spring and growth of yoong poles and plants which conceup under them, or grow neere about them: but contrariwife, he ought to admit and receive them kindly, yea, and to offer himfelfe lovingly unto those that make toward him and be glad to fort and converte with him; fuch he ought to enforme, to direct, to dade and leade by 20 the hand, yea, and to cherith and nourish them, not onely with good instructions, fage counfels and wife admonitions, but also in yeelding unto them the place and meanes to exercise fome functions of government, whereby there may grow unto them fome honour and glorie, in preferring them to those charges and commissions which be not hurtfull to the State, but pleafing and acceptable to the common people. As for others, which at the first entrie be untoward and shew some resistance, be difficult, dangerous and hard to be atchieved (like unto fome medicines and potions which prefently doe gnaw and wring the bellie, or make the ftomackeficke) and whereof the honour and profit enfueth long after; it is not good to put fuch into yong mens hands, nor to helpe them to such hard bargaines, ne yet to expose them raw as they be and unacquainted, to the mutinous exclamations and obloquies of the rude multitude, 30 which is hard to be pleased 3 but rather he himselse is to undergoe the displeasure and ill-will of the people for the weale publicke; for this will cause the yoonger fort to be more affectionate unto him, and better willing a great deale to enterprife all other fervices. But over and besides all that hath beene delivered already, this would be well remembred, that to administer and governe the common-wealth, lieth not onely in bearing an office, or going in ambaffage, or in crying with a loud voice to an affembly, or in the pulpit or tribunall for publicke orations, to fare as if he were mad and out of his wits, in vehement preaching to the multitude, or in penning a number of decrees, acts and edicts, wherein the common fort suppose that all policie and government doth confift, like as they imagine also; that to be a Philosopher, is nothing els, but to discourse and dispute in the schooles at certeine times of philosophicall points alost 40 in a chaire, and reade lecture at their houres out of their books, and in the meane while be ignorant of that civill administration and philosophie which is continually seene in works and daily actions. For this were all one, according to Dicearchus, as if one should say, that they only walked, who fetched many turnes up and downe in galleries, and not they, who went into the countrey on foot, or visited their friends. But wee must thinke, that to governe a commonwealth, is very like unto the profession of Philosophy: for Socrates was not to be thought a Philosopher onely, when he caused stooles and formes for to be made readie to fit upon, against a conference, or when he fat him downe himselse in a chaire, or when he observed precisely the houres of lecture, of disputation, or of walking in the schooles, which were appointed for his disciples and familiar followers; but also otherwhiles, when he was at his game and play, as it fell 50 out, when he dranke and eat, when he was in warfare or in the campe with some, bargaining, buying and felling with others; and finally, when he was in prison, and even then, when as he drunke that cup of hemlocke for his poison; having raught and prooved plainly before, that mans life at all times, in all parts, in every occasion and accident, and generally in all affaires admitteth the use of Philosophie. And even so, we are to make account of civill government; namely, to thinke that fooles or lend persons doe not administer the common weale, either

when they be Generals of armies, or L L. Chancellors, or when they feeme to leade the people

after them with their eloquent tongue; but rather raife tumult and fedition among them, or

flatter and infinuate into their favour, or declare for oftentation, or els execute fome charge and office, and do that which they do compelled by force. Whereas contrariwife, a good and true politician in deed, who affecteth his citizens, loveth his countrey, hath a care and heedfull regard of the weale publicke, although he never be clad in his rich coat of armes, nor have the roiall mantle of estate upon him, yet he is daily and hourely emploied in the administration of publicke affaires, inciting and exhorting to action those that are sufficient, instructing such as be unskilfull and wanting, affifting as many as come to him for counfell, reclaiming them who are ill given and about to practife mischiefe, confirming and encouraging those who be well minded, and shewing evidently in effect, and not for forme and fashion, that he is amused and wholly bent upon the good of the State: not because there is to grow thereby any interest to him or his, or in regard that he is called by name to go first into the Theater, or to be the principall and first man in the assemblie of counsell, or otherwise by way of recreation, as if he came thither to fee plaies & games, or to heare fome pleafant musicke when he is there; but contrariwife, when he cannot be prefent personally, yet to be there in spirit and advice; and after he hath intelligence of the proceedings there, to approve fome things well done, and to shew himfelfe difficated in other things. For neither Ariffides the Athenian, nor Cato the Romane, were in place many times of chiefe government, yet they ceafed not for all that, during their whole life, to be in action for the good and fervice of their countries. And Epaminondas atchieved (I mult needs fay) many noble acts and valiant exploits, whiles he was captaine generall for Bago. tin; howbeit, one act there is reported of his, when he was neither generall nor in any office at 20 all, which he exploited in Theffalie, not inferiour to any one of his other worthy deeds: for at what time as the captaines of Thebes had engaged a batailon or regiment fo farre into a difficult place and a ground of much difadvantage, whereby the enemies charged fore upon them fo violently, that they were in great affright, and ready to be defaited, he being in the forefrontamong the footmen heavily armed, was called backe, and at his first comming appealed all the trouble & affright of the army, and put them in affired hope with his very prefence: afterwards he fet in order and arranged in battel-ray, that fquadron which had broken their ranks and were in confusion, delivered them easily out of this streight and difficult passage, and made head againe upon the enemies, who hereupon were fo daunted, that they changed their minds andretired. Also when Agis the king of the Lacedæmonians led his armie in ordinance of battell 10 ready to fight with his enemies in Areadia, there was one ancient Spartane cried aloud unto him, and faid: My lord, you thinke to remedie one mischiese by another: (giving him thereby to understand, that his meaning was by this present and unseasonable forwardnesse of his, in giving battell unto the enemie, for to falve and cure (as it were) his former speedy retreat and departure from the flege before the citie Argos, according as Thueydides reporteth in his storie) which when Azis heard, he gave credit unto the man, retired presently, but afterwards he had the victorie. This Agis caused his chaire of estate to be set every day before his palace gate, and many times the Ephori would rife from their Confiftorie, and repaire unto him thither, forto aske his advice, and confult with him about the affaires of greatest importance; for he feemed to be a man of great reach, and is tenowined in the histories for a most wife and sage prince. 40 And therefore upon a time, after that the strength of his bodie was utterly decayed, in such sort as for the most part of the day he kept his bed and stirred not forth; when the Ephori sent unto him and requested that he would give them meeting in the common hall of the citie, he arose out of his bed, and strained himselfe to walke thither; but when he was gone a pretie way with much paine and difficultie, he chanced to meet with certeine little boies in the street, and demanded of them, whether they knew any thing more powerfull than the necessitie to obey their master; and when they answered No, he made this account, that his impotencie ought to be the end and limit of his obeifance, and fo returned backe immediatly to his owne house. For furely, ones good will ought not to shrinke before his power; but when might faileth, the good will would not be forced further. Certes, it is reported that Seipio both in war abroad & also in 50 civill affaires at home, used the counfell of Cains Lalizs, infomuch as some there were, who gave out and faid, that of all those noble exploits Scipto was the actour, but Letius the authour. And Cicero himselfe consessent, that in the bravest & most honourable counsels which he exploited during his confulthip, by the meanes whereof he faved his countrey, he confulted with Publim Nigidius the Philosopher. So that we may conclude, that in many kindes of government and publicke functions, there is nothing that impeacheth and hindereth oldemen, but that they may well enough them their fervice to the common-wealth, if not in the best simply, yet in

good words, fage counfell, libertie and authoritie of franke speech and carefull regard, according as the Poets fay : for they be not our feet, nor out hands, nor yet our whole bodie and the ftrength thereof, which are the members and goods onely of the common-weale; but first and principally, the foule and the beauties thereof to wit, justice, temperance and prudence; which if they come flowly and late to their perfection, it were abfurd and to no purpose, that men should enjoy house, land and all other goods and heritages, and should not themselves procure fome profit and commoditie to their common countrey, by reason of their long time which bereaveth them not formuch of strength able for to execute outward ministeries, as it addeth fufficiencie of those faculties which are requisit for rule and command. Loe, what the reason 10 was that they portraied those Hermes, that is to say, the statues of Mercurie, in yeares, without either hands or feet; howbeit, having their naturall parts plumpe and fiffe; giving us thereby covertly to understand, that we have least need of olde mens labour and corporall travell, so that their words be active, and their speeches full of seed and fruitfull, as it is meet and conve-



APOPHTHEGMES OR NOTABLE SAYINGS OF

KINGS, PRINCES AND

GREAT CAPTAINS.

The Summarie.

F speech be the signe and lively picture of the minde, as it is indeed, a man may judge by these Apophthegmes or notable Sayings, and collected heere together, how excellent In feats of armes, in politike government, or otherwise particularly these personages were, who are heere represented unto us; like as some speciall acts enterlaced among their layings doe also kew. Two forts of people there be who abuse the fruit that good menmight draw out of the consideration & reading of these discourses. The one be certeine glorious persons, who upon a vaine desire of outward shew, and to be seene, and for no other intent, following Aclops crow, trim themselves with the plumes and feathers of others: these have gotten together a heape and store-house as it were of wife sayings from auncients in old time, whereby they might be 40 conspicuous, and seeme to be of some valour and reputation among those who have not wit enough to feeinto them, and know what they are. The other are hypocrites, who having a loth some slinks and bitter gall in the heart, pretend sweetnesse and home at the end of their toong, and all to seduce their neighbours, or rather to deceive their owne selves, for that they have never any regard of their omne dutie.

But beere in this discourse there is to be seene nothing affected, nothing borrowed from others, nor farre fet, but there is represented unso us a certeine open, simple & admirable nature in this diversitie of grave pleasant of learned speeches wherein sweetnesse is mingled with profit, for to fit all persons, and to be aptly applied unto their maners and behaviour, of what calling and degree soever they be in the world. Item, heerein are represented acts proceeding from great wit, despereach, and high con-30 ceit, of valour, of equitie, modestie, good disposition, and singular carriage in the whole course and management of mans life: the which are proposed and manifested unto us to this end, that the wisedome and bountie of the almightie might somuch the better appeare, in that he hath vouch safed such ornaments to publike States, for temamraine and uphold mans life amid those confusions which were brought into the world by occasion of sm. Moreover, this fir st collection may well be devided into five principall parts, whereof. The first conteineth the norable fayings & deeds of the kings of Perfia, and other strange nations. The second of the governors and potentates of Sicilic. The third of the Macodonian kings, and namely of Alexander the great and his successors. The fourth of the great mes fils ambit auer plet nient coulf, et lun troue cult et lauter ment, la le pl'ne recouer ze. quar dong il ne co fpir, come eft supp per le briefe, mes puit eftoier que ils confpir en le cas anant, come que le matter en ley foit aiuce ouc le defend, et si le principal deuie auaunt verdit bone fur lacquital, ou ad chartre de perdon, et plede ceo ac. bonques lacceft nauera brief de Conspiraci, pur ceo que il est discharge per la mort le principal, ou per le chartre fait al princ.

TSi hoc foit faurmet endite de felony, et puis pacte be parliament general pardon est graunt de felonies rc, oze le partye nauera briefe de Cofpiracy, coment que il voil plede al inditement et est acquite, et ne voil pled lact re. pur ceo que sa vie ne fuit en reoperdye, et le felonie fuit

discharge per lact.

TLes inflices de Baole deliuere arr un prisoner de mur dour deins lan, lou vn appell eft pend vers meime le prisoner sur mesme le murdre, q est monstre a eux, z yns core ils proced, et luy acquit : il auera Cospiracy, comet al ne acquite ne discharge del appel : vide le fatute inde anno. 3. 19. 7. cap. 1. 20es deuaunt ceft ftatute fuit tenus anno.21. H. 6. per palton et Newton, que il auera Con fpiracy : quar ils dif, que il ferra pend, fil auer elf troue coup fur le arreinmet fur lenditement, qu nota. Et vide le ftatute fait de conspiratoribus in tempore regis Edit. que le ftatute ne determine en queux cafes Conspiracy gyrra, mes per le ftatute fait anno . 4. 2. 3. capis. q bone q inflices duffe et de Aisi prins ont power benquerer, et boier et terminer conspiracies, confederacies, et chame parties rc. que ils ne poient determine pour breftie de temps, ils adioin en banke, et la ferra determine.

(Et fi home foit endite en appel de treason, ou felong, ou de trespas fait en foren com re. fil foit acquite de ceo, el auera briefe de Conspiracy vers cesti que luy procuf Destr endite ou appel, et recouer treble bam per biief sur

le statute fait anno. 8. D. 6. cap. 10.

TEt sibome soit endite de felonye ou treason, lounest nscun tiel lieu beins le countie, il auera briefe de Conspi racy, et ret fee dam vers les abbettours, procuratours, ou conspiratours per le statute anno. 18. p. 6. cap. 12. ct Le forme de briefe pur accessor en briefe de Conspiracy est tiel. Quare conspiratione rc. prefat A. de co quod ipse Abbettaffe et procuraffe debuiffet D. que fuit vroz E. f. et B.de morte ipfius E.quondam viri fui appellari cors Bzeninm.

4, et focijs fuis nuper iuftitiar noftris ad appellu illud andiend et terminand indictari, et ipfum ea occasione capi et imprifonari, et in prifona noltra Linc quousos coram prefatie inftie nostris inde fecundu legem et cons

fuetud regni noftri acquietatus fuiffet. rc.

TEt font autres brefes de Conspirac found sur disceite et trefpas fait al partie, que font proprement action de trespassur le cas: Si come fi homes conspir bendit vn bome, pour ceo que il ne areste vn felon que pass par le ville de 20. et pur ceo ils luy cauf deftre endite et amercy en le lete de R. et f. et pris et enprison par cest amercies

ment tang que il soit acquit en le vit lete.

TEt fi homes brount et afferme avn A. que il ad broit & tiel terre, et procur et caufi luy de suer action de ceo vers vn B. que eft tenant de ceft terre. zc. par que le dit B. eft de necessitie compel de vendf autre de ses terres ou tenes mentes pur defent de sa terre. rc. ozeil auera action vers ceur que procur ou conspire de caus A. de sucr cest action. et cetera.

CEtifint fi homes procur ou cauk vn deftre endite pour chaft en parke dun autre, par que il eft pris et emprison, et mis al expentitance il ad lug acquite de ceft trefpas: bonques il auera briefe de Conspiracy vers ceux rc.

Et confpiracy ferra marnten vers ceur, que confpir be forger faux faits, queux fuer bones en cuidence, per que il

parde fa terre vc.

Conspiracy serra maynten vers cent que conspire de port aff en noime le pleint vers lun vef. ct de faire vn ats toiney pur le pleintife : en quel affi le pleintife fuit troue villen zc. que oze port cest briefe de confpir.

Et Conspiracy ferra mayntene vers ceux que conspir beluy endit de trespas rc. de quel il fuit acquit rc.

Confpiracy ferramagnten pur ceo que le bef. fait vn present en noim le pr a vn Aduouf, et per ceo pref en al euelo que est admit et inftitute rc.

Esthome confpif de cauf vn faur offic bestre troue be ma terre, par que il est troue par son procurement. rc.ieo auera briefe de Conspiracy. Et Conspiracy vers. ii. lun instifie pur ceo que il fuit dong instit par commission, quant le pleintife fuit endite beuant luy, zc. et pur afcun conspiracy fait auant, il pled ment coulp.

Et briefe de conspiracy pour enditer luy de felony ne gift, finon vers. it. perfons al meyns, mes brife de Cons spiracy pur enditement de trespas ou autre fauxim fait

Q.iii.

come en les auandit cak gift vers yn berfon folomene. Et home nauera briefe be Confpiracy pour endif Ing de felony vers le baron et femme folement, pour ceo que ils font forfig come vn perfon, mes vers le baron et feme et le tierce person il gist bien. Mes si le briefe de Conspi racy foit port vers . ii. bonques il ferra bit proprement briefe de Conspiracy. Mes fil foit port vers vn person folement, dongs nelt forfo acc fur fon cas fur le faurm et disceit fait, pur ceo que vn person ne puit conspir que

Et le briefe de conspiracy puit supp le conspiracy eff fait en .if. feueralt lieuz, et ferra bon, et le briefe beue? efte port en le com, ou le conspiracy est fait, et nemye ou lenditement fuit fait : ou lou le fait fuit fait ze.

ALEt auri eft auter briefe de conspiracy, que eft done fur le statute, que est appell' articult super cartas en temps Edward le prim, anno regni fui. 28. cap. 10. quel briefe ferra directe vers iuftices daffile denquerer bes confuit zc. et le briefe ferra tiel.

TRer dilectis et fidelibus fuis w.be S. r focije fuis rc. Bifign falutem. Cum inter ceteros articulos, quos bos minus Edwardus quondam rer Angt auus nofter ad emendač status populi sui concessit, ordinatum sit, quod de conspiratoribus, falsis informatoribus, 7 malis pros curatoribus duodenarii inquisitionum assisarum et iuras tozum, inftic de virom banco, et inftic ad affi cap affign cum in patriam venerint ad officium fuum facient, fas ciant inquisitionem, ad cuiuscuna querela fine bieuict fine delatione, et faciant institiam conquerenti, proutin articulis predictis plenius continetur : nos bictos artis culos in omnibus inmolabiliter observari volent, volis mandamus, quod inspecta ordinatione predict, viterius ad profecutionem omnium et singulorum coram vobis conquer volent faciatie, quod fecundum formam ordis nationis predict fuerit faciend T. vc.

A Et fur cco il auera Alias et plurics et Attach vers le meyre ou ricount re. sils ne fount accord al briefe a eur maund, ou retoine la caufe pur quis ne puit ceo fair ic. Et il semble resonable que le partye en prison auera acc fur ceft statute vers le reconife, sil ne troue luy paya et ewe en prison rc. secord al estatute.

Bzenium. Breue de compoto.

Reue de Accompt gift en biuers maners, quar fi vnfait vn auter fon bayly de fon maner ze, il auera briefe de accompt vers lug come baylye. pomefait home fon refceiner de refceiner fes rents on detty reil quef brefe daccompt vers luy coe receyner. Et fi home fait home fon baylye zc. et auxi fon refeeis uer: bonques il auera briefe baccompt vers luy come baylie et auri come cefceiner ac.

Et home auera briefe baccompt vers vn come bavlie on resceiner, lou il ne vnas luy fait bailie ne resceiner zc. Quar fi home refceine money a mon ocps, tauera bricfe Daccompt vers lug come resceiner. On si home beliner argent a vn a biliuer a moy, fauera briefe baccompt vers

luy come mon rescemer.

Et iffint fi home entre en ma terre a mon vie, a refceine les profits de c, iauera bre daccompt he luy coe bailtre. MEt iffint files parentes occupie la terre bafcun enfant. que lenfant ad purchas, lenf, quer bricfe baccompt vera eux come bailie de fa torre zc. Et ceft briefe baccopt puit eftf sue cibien en le com come en le comen banke.

CEt fi bome ad caufe bauer ace baccompt vers afcu coe fon bailie ou refceiner, fil deme, fes execut auer ceft acc. mes ace vaccompt ne gift vers eree dun bailie ne dun ref ceiner pur le resceit & locupation de lour testatour. Et le briefe daccompt que ferra fue en le countie, eft vn iuftic

direct al vicount, le quel est tiel. TRer vie L. falute. prec tibi, qo inflicies A. qo infle et fine vilatice reddat B. rationabile copotu fuu de tepoze quo fuit ballius fuus in A. et receptor benarion ipfis B, ficut rationabilit monftrare poterit, or ei reddere bebet, ne amplius inde clam audiamus p befectu iufticie. T. rc. CEt pur exce le breeft, Quod rebb B.a C.exee tellamet D. rationabile copotu fuu de tepoze quo fuit ball ipfis Din D.vel ipfis defuncti, ficut ration monftraf poterit. CEt fillmarchantz occupie tour biens et marchand en come a lour coen pfit, lu auce be baccopt be fon copaigh en le com, ou en le come banke, z le bre en le com ferr tiel. ERex vic zc. preetibi, qo infie A. mercatore, qo infte redo B.mercatori rationabile copotu de tepore quo fuit recept denarion ipfis B. er quacuncy caufa et contractu ad comune villitate ipfom A. et B. prouen, ficut plegen mercator rationabilit mostrar poterit, qu'ei redd bebet. Et cest clauß, Ex quacum causa et cotractu, debet pont in quolibet talt dreut, soit il sue en comen banke ou en le com: et lerecut lun marchant aucs tiel driese vers laut marchant, mes nemie de lerecut le marchant, a la soime del driese en le comen banke est.

The ryie re. Precipe A. quod reddat B. rationabile co potum de tempore quo fuit receptor denarior ipsus A. vel balliuus ipsus A. in D. et nist fecerit, et predict A. se cerit te securum de clamore suo prosequendo, tunc sum predict B. quod sit coram instro nostris apud westm in quindena pasche re, ostensurus quare non secerit, et has beas ibi sum et hoc breue re.

Etpzioz ou abbas ou master de hospital avera briefe daccompt vers cesti que suit recepuer ou baille en téps lour predecess, et le forme de briefe serra tiel.

E Precipe A. 98 rede 3. prioriffe de S. rationabile cos potum de tempore re. ballinus Alicie quondam prioriffe de S. predecessor predict 3. et receptor denariorum ips sus Alicie prioriffe re.

Etauter drieffic, pree A. qu'reddat comunitativille de w. rationabilem compotum suum de tempore rc. quo suit receptor denarioru ipsius comunitatis in w. et ms rc. Et predict comunitas rc.

Et nota que le briefe daccompt sue en le countie, puit eftremoue al fuit le pten le comen banke per vn pone, sans ascun cause monstre en le briefe, mes il ne ferra res mouchors vel com al fuit le def. sans cause monstre enle briefe de pone rc. Si come le def. pled foren reles, dont ferra dit en le pone, Quia pred le def. in placitand in cue ria nostra de D. in qua toquela pendet per retoznum bies uis noftri, protulit quoddam feriptum acquietantiufub nomme ipfins A. continens in fe prefat A. omnes acc, quas verfus prefat B. bef. ratione compoti pred habuit, eidem B. remififfe in com Lincoln factum, vt dicitur, qo quidam feriptum prefatus Alommino bedirit : propiqu loquelaillain curia predict viterius beduci non bebet: fiat executio istius breuis, fi causa fit vera, raliter non. Et est auter maner de briefe daccompt found fur le fts tute de Marlebrige cap. 23. et cest briefe gift louhome beuef faire accompt come bailie ou resceiner, et nad terf ne tenementes, per queux il puit eftf biftf, mes eft vagas rant et alant in secrete lieu, ou il ne voil efte troue : vong le plauera briefe daccompt que est appel Monstrauit sur ceo statute, et le briefe est de tiel forme.

TRexvie re. Monftrautt nobis prior be 12.98 cum 21. ertiterit ballique fuus in R. omnium rerum et bonozum fuorum cur habens et adminutrationem, idem 21. coms poto fuo no foluto subtfugia querens, latitat in ballius tua, necposit inventri et distringi ad reddend prefato priori compoti sui pred. Et quia de communi constito regni nfi proussum sit, qui si balliui, qui diis suis compo tu fuum reddere tenentur, fe fubtraxerint, et terras vel tenementa non habeant, per que diftringi valeant, peozu corpora attachiant. Ité qo vic in quoru ballimis inuenis ent, eos venire fac ad copotum fuum reddent, tibi pies cipimus, qo fi predictus prior fecerit te fecur de clamore fuo profequendo, tunc pred A. attach, ita que u habeas cora inflic rc. tali die ad reddend prefato priori copotii fuum pred,ficut rationabilit monftrare poterit, quod ei reddere bebet rc. et habeas rc. mes cest briefe nest ore in pfe, pur ceo que per le statute de Westin. 2. fait apres le statute de Marlebrige, proc de velagar est don en briefe baccompt vers bailies et resceinours, cap. 21. mes vnco? il puit suc Monstrauit, sit voil a cest iour, et le forme de buefe del monstraut direct as vic de London est tiel.

They vie London falutem. Monstraut notes A. 98 ca B. extiterit receptor denarior i psius A. et ballium sum m. i. dem 2. copoto suno non soluto intersugia queres latitat in balliua vestra ze. Et quia ze. votis precipimus quod si pred A. fecerit vos secus de clamore suo prosequendo, tune predictu B. attachiatis, ita quod cum has beatis cora maios ciutatis nse Lond, et vodis in proti mo husturgo vestro London, ad red presat A. compotu su predictus predictus ce thabeatis ze.

(Lt posint receptores et balliui poni simul in vno breui in le monstrauit sic. Receptor denariorum ipsius A. et balliui fuus in N. Mes si le bre soit sue en l'comen bank, tunc debet balliuus spont en le brief, sicut balliui sui receptor denariorum ipsius A. in N.

Et bitefe daccompt gift vers garden en focage, mes le forme del briefe varie del forme del briefe vers baill'ec.

et le forme est tiel.

(Rer viê ve. Si A. fecerit ve. tune sum ve. B. qo sit coză miti ve. ostensurus quare cum ve comuni consilio regne nostri prouisum sit, qo custodes terraru et tenementoru, que tenentur in socazio peredibus terraru et tenemeto rum illorum că ad plenam etate peruenerint, reddat rationabilem compotă sun de exitibus de terris venemet.

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ellis prouenientibe de tempore quo custodia illam habne runt ratione minozis etatis bered pred : ide B. prefato A. rationabilem compotă fuum de critibns prouenient De terris et tenemetis fuis in D. que tenent in focagio,ct quorum cuftodiam ide B. habuit bil predictus A. infra ctatem fuit, vt or, et ideo tc. Et ceft briefe eft found fur le ftatute de Marlebrigge cap. 17

MEt fi home dur le nonage del heir, entre en les terres leire, que il ad per discent, et prift les profites de cell'al pepe leire, leire al pleine age auera briefe daccompt vers Luy come garden pur les profites resceus tanis que leire veign al age.be.ritt. ans, et pur les profites refceus aps que letre ven al age de. ritif. ans, letre auera briefe bacs compt pers luy pour ceur, come bailt rc. et nemie come gardenicar il ne puit efte garden al heire pluis longemet pur terris en focage, fi non al age be, piii. ans belbeire, mes leif namera act baccompt vers vn coe garden, tang Leire foit al pleyne age be.xxi. ans, et ceo est per les pols bel ftatute, que voit, Qui cum ad etatem peruenerit rc. mes il auera acc daccompt vers un bailie burant son nonage, a quel temps que il voil, vers cesti que puil les profites de fa terre queil ad per bifcent, fillne foit gars ben en focage en broit rc.

Et appiert per le Register vn brief fi home foit trone en arrerag fur fon accompt, et le partye pleintife luy ars reft en London pour ceur arrer, bonques il puit suer vn briefe en chaunt virect al vie, reberk cest matt, comaund le vic de detein gard en prison cesti q est isfint arrest tanc il ad fatisfie et payeles arerag. Et fembleper on tiel reason, fi bome sue briefe be bet fur arrerag be accompt augunt auditoure, et ad le partie attache re. que il aucr briefe bors de chaund al vid, de luy gard en prifon tang il ad pay ceux arrerad, men il femble a moy, que celt brief ne puit eftoier oue ley, que il ferra gard en prison fauns quer respons al suit pris vers luy.

Chome puit auer briefe daccompt vers vn femme come receptrix benariorum, ou vers vn chaplen : mes home nauera briefe daccompt vers enfant.

Et home puit auer briefe daccompt vers vn come bail

bun court ou bun hundreb.

Et home auera briefe baccompt vere prior fur refceit fait per luy per mayne fon comoign, mee la le brief supp que il melm resceuer rc. z ne pler per maynes le comoif. Et iffint refceit fait per le baron per mayna fa feme elt

Bzenfum. fonrefe bemene, et le briefe et le counte luph, que il que resceiner. rc. fans parler par mayngla feme. mes autres

ment eft, Si priour ou baron refe money de eftrang, bons ques le count ferra, que il refe par mayne bestraung. zc. mes le briefe ferra general, de tempore quo fuit receptor benartorum, fans bire par mayne bafcun, mes il monftra

cco en le count.

TEt fi home deliner biens ou argent a vn ouftre le mere. abelquer a luy arrere en Engl' a certeyn lieu. zc. il auera brefe vaccompt vers luy pur ceux bieng ou deniers.

CEtfi home delquer certeyn beniers a vn fur condicion quefil fait tiel chof, que il auera les beniers. rc.ct fi non. que donce cefty que eur delyuer reauer ceo : oze fil ne per formela condicion, le partie que delyuer les deniers, as nera biefe daccompt vers luy pur ceur.

CSi.it. ont biene en toyntour, ou en commen, et lun be eur belyner mefing ceur bieng a vn pour accompt rendr & luy, il fonle auera laction pur ceur.

CEt fint. ont gard. rc. et lun prift tout; les profites , lau

tre auera brefe daccompt vers luy. p.45. £.3.

CEtfibaron ad resecue les profitz del terre la feme, et beuie, la feme nauera briefe daccompt des profits ne des rentegrescequezour le couerture, mes les exce le baron. CEt li refceiner ou baillfait bepute, vnquozelace be accompt coment estre port vers le baill melme, et vers le rescequer mefme, et nemy vers lour deputes : quar les des puties resceiner ceo al vie lour mafter.

Cefty que eft vn furueyour del terre ou controller. Te.

ne ferr charge en accompt. ze.

CEt apprentice ne ferra charge daccompt par brefe baca compt,mes vere feruant q eft man's be resceyuer moncy, lemafter auera briefe baccompt. rc. fil cco refcequef.

■ De pariche prifte ne ferra charge pur les offringes of fres par brief bact, fine foit autr agremet ent eur. zc.car le clerke tient le vessel, en queux ils sont mises. ec.

CSi le roy graunt a vn vyl certen toll be chok que ferf vend en mefine le vill'pur fair le clofur del dit vyl, et autichose necessarie entour le vyll, et ils fount certen colleca tours pur rescepuer ceo: oze files collectours ne voille faire accomptate ceo, ils poient auer vi comiffion bors be chane venquerer, q ad refe ceft toll'ou beniere, t boier etterminer ceo, et doier lour accomptz.zc. et autre brefe al vic de attiendant, e de faire retoine un enquest deuat les communicans, re-

Brefe

Refe de Det gift proprement ou vn home boit a vn autre certen fumme bargent par oblig ou par bara gen pur chok a luy vend, ou par contracte, ou fur apprompt fait par le creditour al dettour, ele dets tour ne voil ceo det paier al tour accord que il deuer ceo paier: bonques le creditour auera brefe de bette pur ceft bette vers luy, et cest bette poet estre sue en le com benat le vie par brefe que est appell' Justicies, come en le coms men banke:et le forme de cest brefe ferra afcun foit; en le debet et detinet, et ascun foitzen le detinet tantu, et nes niv en le debet. Et fil foit en le debet , il abatr. 31 ferra touts foits en le debet et detinet, quant cestuy que fait le bargen ou contract, ou apprompt largent, ou celty a que lobligac eft fait, port laction vers celly que est oblige ou partie al contract ou bargen ou al apprompt, et quaunt laction elt port pour argent.s. money, et demaunde ceo par le brefe. Mes si home vend. pr. quarters de frument pur vn chinall. rc. oze fil pozt briefe de dette pour le chis ual. le briefe ferra en le détinet folement, et la forme del briefe que serra suc en le com deuant le viscont pur dette de argent est tiel.

CRex vic Surf falutem. Precipimus tibi, quod inflicies A. quod iufte et fine dilatione reddat B.rr.s.quos ei des bet vt die,sieut rationabilit monstrare poterit, quod ci reddere bebet, ne amplius inde clamozem audiamus pro befectuiusticie. rc. Teste.re.

Et fi le brefe de dette foit pur autres biens ou chateur que argent, donques le brefe de bette ferratiel.

TRervic. rc. precipimus tibi, quod inflicies A. quod rc. redo B. quendam librum, vel quendam cyphum, vel quenda equum, vel duos agnos precii. re.quem vel quos

pel que et iniuste detinet sicut. rc.

TEt si le vricfe de detre soit port en le com denant le vie par vn insticies, le pleintife poet remouer celt plce en le comen banke par vn pone fans afcun caufe monftre en le brefe, mes le def. ne remoner cest plec hors del com ou comen banke sauns monitre cause en le brief bel pone, et vicore en le fyne del briefe ferra dit, fiat executio istius breuis si causa sit vera, altter non. Et les causes pur quel il q est def. poet remouer le parol, sont divers, coe appert par le registre. Un si le def. pled forein plee, que ne poet eftre trie en le com. zc. ou fi le def. monitre, que cefti deuat auc le Bzenium.

que le ple pend maynt le pr ou luy fauour. Te. Ettiple de vette foit sue beins ascun libertie on court bascun bozough ou citte. rc. le pt poet remouer le plee par recordare fans afcun caufe mys en le briefe, en le cox men banke : mes si le def. sue a remouer le plec par recors dare hors del vill ou citie ou coen banke, il couient mons fre cause en le briefe, come auaunt est dit. Et sile vie res moue le ple hors vascun court par pone al suite le vef. ou pleintif, et puis les bailtes ou officers del court procede fur le plec, et von tugement, et font execution. zc . dongs le def. ou cefty vers que judgement ou execution elt fair, quera briefe battachement vers les bailyes ou ceux que iffint procedf al ingement. rc. be respondf al roy cybien bel contempt come al partie des dain. rc . Et le forme del biefe en le commen banke del det eft.

CRer vic.rc. precipe A. quod inte recredo E. C. s. quos eidebet et iniufte detinet vt die. Et nifi fecerit, et pred B.

fecerit. rc. tunc fom per bonos fom pred A. rc. TEt le rule en le Regiftre elt, quod in breut de debito de cattallis nunco dicetur , que ci debet. Et fi briefe de dette foit port par exce fur duitie due a lour testatour, le brefe ferra, quos cis betinet, et nemy bebet et betinet, pour ceo queils ne fuer partie al contract. Et iffint file bicfe be bette foit port vere erec par le credit fur buitie par lour tellatour, le brefe ferf quas ei detinet. zc. et nemy bebent et detinent, coment que par le brefe il d'e argent.s.rr.li. ou autre some de money. Et si home fait vn B. son evec, et vn chano fon exec auxint, et eft en bet al autre perfon : orele briefe de det ferra port vers le dit B. et vers labbe etle chanon. Et le forme del bricfe ferf tiel.

Cprec B. erecut teltamenti S . ct abbati de C. et fratri Ade de C. cccanonico eiulde abbatis de C. coexecutori pred B. testamenti pred.rr.li. rc. Et iffint fills port acc lebiefe ferr, pret D. rc. quod redo B. erecut teltamets S. et abbati be C. fratri Ade de C. cocanonico eiufde

abbatis de C. coerecut pred B. testamenti pred. CEtfihome foit oblige avn B. et a vn abbe en. r. li. et puis le dit B. deuic : ote fes exec et le dit abbe toyndr en action, et le forme de briefe de dette ferra tiel. Brecipe C. re. quod infte. re. reddat B .et M. executor tellamens ti. R. et Abbatbe C. becem libr . rc. quas . rc . Et mil rc. Et pred execut et abb, fecerint te. rc.

Et fibriefe de dette foit port pers lege fur oblig. fait parfon aunt, le brefe ferra tiel. pret Albe Sifilio et hes

reb B. quod reddat rc.

Et fi font plufours heires, bonques il birra. pre? Hi De S. fratri ct vni bered B. et C. confanguinco, et alteri

hered einfdem B. rc.

TEt fi bome foit en det et deuie inteftate, ou les execut refuse belti erecut re. per q les biens beutendi as mayns bel orb : bonques les creditours auer briefe de bet vers lord per le statute weltm. 2. cap. 19. et le briefe ferf tiel. prec A. episcopo Linc, ad cuius manus bona rcatalla, que fuet 3. qui obiit intestatus vt dic, deucnerunt, quod

infte rc. reddat rc.

Etfiles biens beniendf as mayne bel orb, et puis lord fait ereë et deuie, les creditours auch briefe de bet pers les executours del oid, et le briefe ferra tiel. piet A. de B. et C. de T. erecutor testamenti magistri R. de h. nuper decani ecclesie beati petri Eborat, et cuftos fpiritualitatis archiepiscopatus Eborac fede vacante, ad cuius manus bona et catalla, que fuere E. De B. qui obit intestatus pt bicitur, beuenerunt, quod iufte rc.

reddat rc.

Et appiert per le Register, quod anno. 16. Edward.s. le pt fuit respond a tiel biefe que il port vers lere? loid. Eteft briefe be bet en le Register pour lord vers cefti que fuit en oct, et vers cefti que denie entestate : mealos pinyon des lages a ceo tour elt, que lord nauer accyon de dette vers ceux que fuer en bette a cefti que beuiems teftate, pour ceo que accion est bone as admift, rlois poet comit ladministracio des biens, quant il lur pleyft, mes veugunt le statute Edward le tiere, anno . 31. cap. 11. les administraf; ne poient auer accion de dette vers les dettours ze, per que donques semble reason, que ascun person quer accion pour rec ceux dettes rc. mes lorda ceft tour puit auer bitefe de trefpas pour prifet des biens bors de son possession demesne, mes nenne de prifel fait hors de possession cesti que deuie intestate, comme ads ministr voiet auer.

O Si home foit deteign en Engt be faire feruices ouffle mere, pernaunt pour ceo. r. li. per an, il auera biiefe be

bet en Englet, ou le reteign fuit.

Et fi home prift vn femme que eft en bet as auters pers fons, le baron et femme ferf fues pour cest bet viuant la femme: mes file femme beuie, le baron ne ferra charge pur cest det apres la mort le femme, si non que le creditur pers le varon et femme ret le det durant le couerture que Bzenium.

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fuit due per la femme auaunt le couertuf, bonques coms ment que le femme deuic, vncoze le baron ferra charge pour payer celt bette apres le mort la femme per celt res couere 7c.

Thome ferra charge en bette pour contracte fon bailie ou fon feruaut, lou il doner auctoritie a fon bailt ou fon serugunt de achater et vendf pour luy, et iffint pour contract fa femme fil doner tiel auctorite a fa femme, aus

terment nient.

TEt fi home leff terres a terme bes ans,rend rent, apur befaut de payement que il reente zc. oze fil rentre en la terre pur non payment velrent, vncoze il auer briefe be bet pur non paiment de ceft rent, per que il rentr, z recoa

uef en cest bucfe cest rent, per que il rentf.

Chi home oblige lug et fes heires a vn home en.rr. fi. e bente, letre ferra charge de pater ceo,fil ad terres per oil cent en fee fimple per melme launt, auterment nient. mes fihome foit oblige en obligation a vn home a s fes heir, et le oblige deuie, fon heire nauera acc de det fur ceft ob ligacion, mes les erccut le pere.

CSibome promife vn. xx. lt. a marier fafile, et il lug marie, il auera briefe de bette vers luy fur ceft promife

10. 31.£.3.

CSi person ad annuite en fee en broit besa efgt, et le annuite est arere, et le person deuie : ses executours auc? buefe de dette pour les arrerag del annuite en le vie lour

testatour. CEtfihome grant vn rent en fee, et ouft grant que fi lerent foit arref ac. que il forfeitr vn penaltie be . rl . g. al grantce 7 a fes beirs : oze fi le rent foit arere,le grante auera briefe de dette pour ceft penaltie. Et iffint femble que leire auera ceft penaltie, et auer briefe de bet pour ceft, pour ceo que ceo est come vn inheritaunce, que con tinuer per cas.

CEt fi home foit condempne en bette ou bamage, et eft commife al prison pour ceft, et le Baoler luy left aler alarge, ou il eschape hors vel prisone, le Baoler ferra charge per bricfe de dette a cefti a que fuite il fuit cons

dempne rc. et a fes erec rc.

CEt fi home apprompt vn chiualt tanip a certen tour, a donques a beliuer arere le chiualt, ou .r. li. a meime cel tour : ore apres le tour file chiualt ne foit redeliuer, il estafon liberte de suer briefe de bette pour le chinall enle detinet, ou briefe de vette pour le .x. li. en le debet.

(Si home lesk terre a terme de vie a vn seme, rend rent, et el pailt baron, et puis le rent est arere, et la semme de uie, le baron serra charge per buese de det pour cest rent arere, pur ceo que il paist le paosit del terre per reson de sa semme. Des auter est de oblig, sait per sa semme auät lespous, la le baron ne serra charge per s, si res ne sout ewe vers luy et sa semme en la vie sa semme.

Emes si femme soit endome de rent, et puis el prist da ron, et le rent est arere, et la femme puis deuie: le daron auera driesce det pur cest rent, pur ceo que il fuit duyte acrue a luy dus les espous. Mes si home soit oblige a vn femme, et el prist daron, et le tour de payment vient dus les espous, et puis la femme deuie, le daron nauer act de dort pur cest oblige, pur ceo que ceo suit un duyte due ai semme, et chose en act auaunt les espousels.

Ett si person ad annute en scc, et lannute est arere, et le person resign: uncore le person que resign auer briese de det pur les arerages auaunt. Et si home ad les de ma nera terme de vie, et le rent est arere a luy des tenantes que teigne del maner, et le sesse a luy des del maner morust: ses executours auer briese de pur les areras ces des rentes due per les tenantes del maner re.

Estissint l'ile tenant a terme de vie del maner surrendi fon chate a cestuy en reuercion del maner; vneoze il as uera buiefe de det vers les tenantes del maner pour les arreraces auaunt.

all Si home ad patent le roy dauer certen som annuelmet pur terme des ans ou a terme de vie del custom de Lond, et sur ceo il ad vn briese de liberate al custom, de luy paies: le quel briese il deliuer al custum, a quel temps le custom ad asses en ses mayns de luy payer: ore per ceo deliuerans del liberate, et le asses en mayns le custum, le custum est dettour a luy, a il auera de de det sur cest mat vers le custum.

TEt fi. ii. cur mitten arbiterment, et les arbitours 82 garde, que lun paier a lauter. p. fi. il auera briefe de det pers lur sur cel arbiterment.

(Stabbe ad annute en fec, et lannute est arere: il nas uera batefe de det pur les arrerages, pur ceo que lannuis te continue.

(Exeperion nauera briefe de det pur arrer de annuite d il ad in fe dur le temps que il est person, mes sil resign, il auera, ou sil deuie, ses execut auer brief de det.

The fibome que eft baylic, accompt benaunt auditours,

Baenium.

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et est trone en surplus, que il ad dispend plus que il ad resceuce. To de pur celt surplusage il auera dricse de det vers le seignione, a que il suit daill. Ades si rescevuer accept, et est troue en surplus To, plus dione, que il nauera action de det pur cest, pur ceo que il ne suit tenus de dispend ascun parcel de ceo: mez il semble que sil siste co par commandment le seignour, que adonques il serra reason que il maynt accion de dette vers le seignour pour celt surplus.

Minabbe ferf charg, en briefe de det fur apprompt fait a son predecess de argent que vient al vse del meason. Actattourney auera briefe de dette vers son client pur

lemoney que il ad pay a afeun parfon pur fon chent tous chant les costages vel fuite, ou a fon counsel. re.

Chipome fait vn contract a pater certen money pour choft par luy achate: oze fil fait vn oblig pur cest money, le contract est viceparg, et il nauera briefe de dette fur le contract.

(Sihome fait lees pur terme dezans, rend rent de terre dimfable par testament, et puis il demse le renercion det terre a puestrang. 7c. en sec, le demse aucra action de det pur cest rent reserve, sans ascun attournement del tenant aterme des ans: mes si lessour aucr grant le reuer come par syn ou fait, le grauntie nauera dites de dette sauns aturnement del lesse pur le rent reserve.

C Si home foit en dette et entre en religion, ses erecut ferf sie pur celt dette, et nemy labbe que luy accept en res

lygion.

This home foit condempne en trespas on en dette sur obligatou il deny son fait al suite de partie, et puis cestiny que est condempne est pris per cap pro sine demo lan al sutele roy, et committe al gaole, si le gaeler suy sustre deschap, le ptie auera action de det vers le gayler pur cest condempnation : et vicore il ne suit comis a suy a son suite, mes al sutele roy : mes demis lan aprez le condempnation et sugement done, cest suite pour le roy serue cy bien pur le partie come pur le roy, pur ceo que le roy suite entitle a ceo par le partie, ac, mes apres san nemy, que la serra intende que le partie est accord que cestiny que suite suite pour le roy conserve suite suite de serve suite est une sapres san dauer et sue section pur cet suite suit

Et shome lest terre a terme des ans, rend rent, re. et puis le rent est arere, et le lesse surrends son terme: vus quote le sessour les arrerages deuxiles les surrerages deuxiles experiences de la companyage d

deugunt, come semble p. 38. E.3. tamen quere, quar los

pinion ad eftr contrary anno.2. D.6.

Et fi vn fernant ne voil feruer re.p le ftatute anno. 35. E.3.cap. g.il ferra arreft et comife al Bayler, 7 fil luy leff alarge, il perdra . r. ti. al roy, et C .s. al partie rc. orefi le Bayler leff tiel perfon aler a large, le partye que voil auer luy reteign, auera briefe de det vers le Bayler.

Si home recouer bamages en briefe be walt, il poet

fuer briefe de bette fur ceft recouere, ill voil.

TEt iffint home puit fuer bricfe de dette fur statute mar chant, ou fur ftatute de Staple, ou fur reconusauns fait, ou put fuer execution accord al statute a son pleisure. Cin prior recouer annuyte en fee vers vn person, et puisilsue Scire facias sur cest recouere vers le succ le perfon, et recouer en celt Scire facias les arrerages bel annuite, et puis il port briefe de dette vers le person sur ceo recouere en le Scire facias pur ceux arrerages, i fuit maynt p. 17. E. 4.

E Abbe ferra charge per briefe be bette pur vyttaylt et auters chok necessary achates per le felerer, ou auter offic que est beput be faire puruegauns pour labbey en

temps de vacation de ceo.

T Si home leue reasonable ayde de fes tenantes pour fa fyle marier, et puis deuie, la fyle nient marie, la file auch briefe de dette vers les executours le pere pur celt refox nable ande iffint lene : et fi les executours nount riens,el auera bitefe de dette vers leir pur ceft resonable ayde,fil ad riens per bifcent.

Estiti, coperceners font partitio, et lun grant ou pros mife a lauter certen fomme bargent pur egaltic bel pars tition : oze el auera briefe de dette fur cest promise, et

reconer le money re.

Emes fi home fait vn tailt, et fait vn obligatio fur ceo, et ceo enfeale, et deliuer cco come fon fait : vncoze cco ne lier luy, mes puit pled riens lug boit encontf ceo, ou gage fa ler : quar obligation coulent eft fait en parches ment ou en paper, et nemt eferie fur vn pece de bois, coe

taile eff. Efthome auera briefebe bette vers celti que beuient plegge pur auter per fon promife de paier certen fomme cc. fans afcun fait de ceo : quod vide en title be plegs

Becue

nequietandis.p. 43. E.3.

Bzenium.

Breue de rationabili parte bonorum.

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Riefe de rationabili parte bonorum gift ou femme apres la morte fon baron ne puit aver le tierce part noes biens fon baron apres les bettes pays, et fus nerall'erpenfi faites, bonques el anera celt briefe pers les executours son baron : et semble per le statute be magna carta, cap. 18. que ceo fut le comen ler del terre. Et iffint appiert per Blainduite, que ceo eft le come ler, que apres les detres pays, les biens ferf diuides en trois pres, vn al feme, a auter parte beft enter les fits z files, et le tiere as execut remes vncore les briefes en le Register reberg le custome des com, et sont de tiel forme. TRer vic rc. Si A. que fuit vrot B. rc. fecerit rc. tunc Tom C. et D. executores teltamenti pred B. quod fint rc. oftenfur quare cu fecundu cofuetudine in com pred hacs tenus optentam, vrozes postmortem virorum suora ba bere vebeat rationabile parte suam de bonis et catallis viroru fuor pred, iidem eret prefat A. rationabile ptem fuam ad valentia becem marcap de bonis et catallis, que fuci pred B. quondam viri fui betinent, minus iufte, et ea eireddere cotradicunt, in ipfins 21. bamnu non modica et grauame, et cotra consuctubinem predicta, et habeas ibi fum et hoc breue zc.

Est femblable vecle fitzet file puit fuer de les erecut, et le forme eft. Rex re. quia A.be A, r. S. foror cio fecernt nos fecur re. fum re. 3. de W.et E. eret testamenti R. De A. go fint zc. oftenfur quare chi fecund confuct in com pred hactenus optenta rapprobata, pueri polt mortem patra fuon, qui corfi hered non funt, nec in vita patrum fuon promoti fuerunt, habere bebeant rationabiles ptes fuas beboms et catallis, que fuere patrum fuon pred : tidem erecuf prefatis A.de 12,2 S.poft mortem pred R.patris fui, cuius hered ipli non funt, nec qui in vita ciuldem pa tris fut promoti fuerunt, rationabiles partes fuas ad va

lene decem librarum re.vt supra.

¶Secta ad molendinum.

Ecta ad molendinti gift ou boe per vn viage be teps bont re. ad vie de moler seo granes al molen de B. rpuis il ale al auter molen, a fustrete son suit del dit molen de B. dones cefti q ad le molen poit auer ceft bre. Et auxi il femble q le feigneur put auer ceft bre verg fesfrankti, f teign be luy be fair fuit a fon molen, a vnc Apute difte fes is pur ceft futt, a de fair auowie pur ceft. R. Ho

CEt per prescription home puit auer suit a son molen des villens dun eltrang, et aucf fecta ad molendinu vers ceur, et ceo semble p cause de lour resseauncy en certe ter res que ils demur eins, et ceft briefe eftasenn forts via contiel, et ferra suc en le countye per vn briefe de Inftis cies al pleasure le pl, ou en comen banke, per vn prec re.

Et le forme del briefe en le com est tiel.

TRervic rc. precipinus tibi, quod inflicies A. quod tufte et fine vilatione fac fectam ad molendinum E. de A. in C. qua ad illud bebet vt folet, vt bic, ficut rationas biliter monstrare poterit, quod ca ad illud facere vebet. ne ampline inde clamore audiamo p defectu inftie T.rc. Et fi le briefe ferra fue en comen banke, le bre ferf tiel. T'precipe A. quod infte et fine bilatione fac fectam ad molendinum Libe A. in C. quam ad illud facere bebet yt folet, vt dic, et mili fecerit zc. et pred ze.tunc fum zc.

(Et per le rule en le Register home auera briefe de fecta rc. quod faciat fectam ad furnu et ad Thorale, rad oia alia hunsmodi, et tenant a terme de vie on en dower maynt celt briefe en le debet et folet : quar ceo est en sa nature briefe de poss, mes en le debet fantu semble que ceft en le mere broit, et le bef. auera le viewe en fecta ad molendinum en le debet a folet del terre ac.et del molen, n que re. Et le proces en secta ad molendinu ferra som, attach, et bifte rc. Et fil appere, r puis fac befaut : bons ques iffera biltr ad audiendum iudic, et vnc il puri fauer son defaut, et vo veies le forme del count en cest bre en title de liner de entre des plees, lou il count fur tenout del terre re, et auter count lou il count sur prescription is, que le tenant et toutes ceur que teign cest terre, ont yse de faire suit al mollyñ, quod vide folio, 169.

Quod permittat.

Tod permittat gift lou home ad come be pafture a fes beyftes, et il eft difturbe per afcun eftrang, que il ne puit vfer son comen : bonques il auera cest bre : a cest bre puit est fue beuant le vic per insticies en le countie, ou en le comen banke per brief de Quod permittat : et le forme del briefe en le com eft. TRer vicecomiti ze, precipimus tibi, quod infticies 21. quod infte rc. permittat B. habere communiam pasture in 12. ad centum oues rc. velad centum boues rc. quant babere

Bzeninm.

babere bebet, vt bič, ficut rationabiliter ce. ne amplius inde clamorem audiamus. Uel fic : colam pafture in ter> raipfins Al. quam in en habere bebet ac. Gel fic, Quod permittat 3. habere communiam pasture in centum acris iofius A.

ffet le rule en le Register est, quando clamat communia pafture in terra alicuius cert perfone, tune non bicat ad certum numerum aueriozum in biem ic. Sed communia pafture in A. ad centum oues re. Mes la forme de briefe be Quod permittat fue en comen banke eft tiel.

TRer vic rc. Precipe A. quod infte rc.permittat B.bas bere communiam pafture in A.ct. rl. acr bofci, quam bas bere bebet vt bicit. Et nili fecerit, Et predict B. fecerit

terc. tunc fum rc.

Et auter forme de briefe pur comen append, fic. Ren vic rc. precipe A. quod infte rc. permittat B. habere co muniam pafture in A. que pertinet ad liberum tenemens tum fuum in cadem villa, vel m alia villa, de qua idem A. vel pater pred A. cuis heres ipfe eft, mufte et fine indicio biff. R. patrem predicti B. cums heres ipfe eft, poft pris main transfretationem domini Ment regis filij regis 300 hannis in Uafconia, vt dicit, Et nifi rc.

TEt le rule en le Register est, quod breue be quod pers mittatiacet de communia pasture, turbarie, piscaric et de rationabilibus estouerijs, versus disseistorem per ipfum vel eine antecefforce de diffeifina facta petenti vel eins antecessori, et non in alijs gradibus : quia iot opor

tet pti brem de recto en le debet et folet.

Omes abbe puit auer briefe de Quod permittat bediff fait a fon predeceft, et feri mencion del diffi en fon briefe rc. Et la forme de briefe de libera piscaria est ticl.

CRex rc. precipe A. rc. quod rc . permittat B. habere libera pifcaria in aqua ipfius A. in D. Uel fic, in aqua in L. quam in ea habere debet et solet vt dicit, et nisi rc. CEt eft auter forme de briefe de Quod permittat en nas

ture de mortane, et est ticl.

CRer rc. precipe A. quod rc. permittat B. habere com muniam paftur in A. De qua C. pater vel mater, velfos ror ipfins B. cuius heres ipfe elt, fuit feifitus vt de feo. do, tano pertinens ad liberum tenementum fuum m cas dem villa, die quo obift, vt dicit, et nili rc.

Etfill foit comen en gros, vonques il voit omitt cest clauf en le briefe, Cano pertinens ad liberum tenemen.

kum luum 2c.

Et iffine R.III

himselfe wounded in fight, he seized upon his enemies body, & brought him perforce armed as he was alive, out of his galley into his owne. Being encamped in the land of his friends and confederates, yet nevertheleffe he fortified his campe with a deepe trench and high rampar round about verie carefully; and when one faid unto him, what needs all this? and whom are wee to feare? The woorlt speech (quoth he) that can come out of a captaines mouth is this; Had I wish or I never looked for fuch a thing. As he was putting his armie in array, for to give battell unto the Barbarians; he faid that he feared nothing at all, but that they should not take knowledge of Iphierates, whole veriename and presence was enough to affright all their enemies. Being accufed of a capitall crime, he faid unto the Sycophant who had enformed and drawen a bill of enditement against him: Canst thou tell what thou doest good fellow? when the citie is envi-10 roned with warre on everie fide, thou perfwadeft the people to confult about me, and not to take counfell with me. Harmodius (who was descended from the race of that ancient and noble Harmedius) reproched him one day for his meane parentage, as being come from an house of base degree: The nobleneffe (quoth he) of my line beginneth in me, but thine endeth in thee. An oratour making a folemne speech in the affembly of the people, grew to these tearmes with him before them all: And what are you fir, if we may be fo bold as to know, that you beare your felfe to bigge, and thinke fo well of your felfe, are you a man at armes, are you an archer, a pike man. or a footman or what are you? I am not indeed (quoth he) any of these; but he I am, who knowes how to command and direct all thefe?

TIMOTHEUS had the name to be a fortunate captaine, rather than otherwise a speciall warriour; and some who envied his good estate, shewed him a picture, wherein certaine cities were entrapped, and of then selves fallen into the compasse of net and toile, whiles hee lay afleepe; whereupon he faid unto them: Confider now, if I can catch and take fuch cities lying afleepe, what fhall I be able to doe when I am awake? When one of these venturous and too forward captaines, thewed upon a glorious braverie unto the Athenians, what a wound • It is no com he had received upon his bodie: But I (quoth he) my felfe was a greatly abashed and ashamed mendable part one day, being your captaine generall before the citie of Samos, that a thot discharged from the us a captaine walles, light but neere unto me. When the oratours highly praifed and recommended captaine telie withilly Chares, flaying: Lo what a brave man is here to make the generall of the Athenians, shewing his goodly perforage. Timothem answered agains with a loud voice: Never fay Generall, butra- 30

> CHABRIAS was woont to fay, that they were the best captaines who had most intelligences of their enemies defleignes & proceedings. Being accused together with Iphierates of treafon, he gave not over for all that, to frequent the publicke place of exercises, and to take his dinner at his accustomed howers: and when Iphicrates rebuked him for being so rechlesse, standing in such danger as he did; hee answered him in this manner: In case the Athenians proceede against us otherwise than well, they shall put you to death, all soule and fasting, but me full and faire cleane washed, anointed, and having well dined. This was his ordinarie speech: That an armie of flags and hindes having a lion for their leader, was better than an armie of lions led by

ther a good from groome to carrie the troffe of a captaines bedding after him.

HEGESIPPUS furnamed Crobylus, folicited and incited the Athenians to take armes against King Philip: and when one spake unto him alowd from out of the affembly: What Sir, "Love of he will you that we draw upon us war: Yea verily (quoth he) and bring in bamong us blackemoutrendombre e.; ming roabes, folemne and publicke obsequies, yea and funerall orations too, if we defire to live examinet for free still, and not to be servile and subject to the Athenians.

PYTHEAS being but yet verie yoong, presented himselfe one day in open place to crosse and contradict the publike decrees which had paffed by the peoples voices, in the honour of King Alexander; what faith one unto him: Date you prefume, to young as you are to fpeake of thele to weightie matters? And why not (quoth he) feeing that Alexander whom you will needs make a god by your fuffrages, is yoonger than my felfe?

Pho Cion the Athenian was a man of to stated and constant behaviour, that he was never seene of any person, either to laugh or weepe. Upon a time in a great assembly of the citie, one faid unto him: You are verie fad and penfive Phocion, it feemeth you are in a deepe studie. Gueffe againe (quoth he) and gueffe not fo; for I am indeed fludying and deviling with my felfe how I may cut-off somewhat of that which I have to speake unto the Athenians. The Athenians underflood by an oracle that they had one man among them in the citie, who was thwart & contrary to the opinion & advice of all others : Now when they caused diligent search & en-

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quirie to be made for this fellow, and cried out upon him in great furie who foever he was ; Photion flood up, and with a loud voice: I am the very man (quoth he) feeke no further; for I am he calone, who am nothing at al pleafed with whatfoever the people either doth or faith. One day, - Wife men when he had delivered his advice in a frequent affembly of the people, he pleafed the whole au and fooles when ne natural and feeing that they all with one accord approoved his fpeech, he was abathed together. thereat, and turning toward his friends: What? (quoth hee) have I let fall and escaped some words that are not good, and otherwise than I meant? The Athenians were minded upon a time to folemnize a great and festivall facrifice; and for the better furnishing of this folemnitic, they demanded of every man a contribution of money toward it: all others gave liberally, only Photo tion after he had bene called upon by name fundry times to do the like, in the end faid thus unto them: 4 I would be abashed to give any thing (I trow) unto you, and not be able to pay him 4 Povenie is there, pointing with his finger to an usurer, unto whom he was indebted. When Demades faid to thank to a unto him: The Athenians will one of these daies kill thee, if they fall once into their furious vertuous man, fits: True indeed (quoth he) they will kill me in their mad mood, but thee they will put to death when they be come againe into their right wits. Ariflogiton the fycophant or falle promotor, being condemned to death for troubling men with wrongfull imputations, and at the point to be executed within the prison, sent unto Phoeion, requesting him to come and speake with him; but Photons friends would not let him goe to talke with fuch a leaud and wicked wretch: Why (quoth heunto them) in what place may honest men more willingly and better speake with A-20 ristoguon? When the Athenians were highly offended and angrie with the Bizantines, for that they would not receive into their citie captaine Chares, whom they had fent with a power for to aid them against king Philip, Phoeion came among them, and faid: That they were not to be displeased with their confederates for being mistrustfull, but rather with such captaines as they mistrusted: upon which remonstrance of his, hee was immediatly himselfe chosen captaine; who being admitted and well trusted by the Bizantines, defended them so valiantly against king Philip, that he forced him to raise his stege, and retire from thence without effect. King Alexander the great fent unto him a prefent of one hundred talents; but he demanded of the messengers that brought it, why the king their master sent unto him alone, colidering there were fo many Athenians besides himselfe; they answered: It was because he esteemed him to be 30 the onely honest and vertuous man among them all: Why then (quoth he) could not hee let me both to feeme and also to be a good man still? Alexander upon a time demanded of the Athenians certeine gallies; whereupon the people called unto Phoeion by name, for to give his advice, and to counfell them what was best to be done in this case: then he stood up and said: My counfell unto you is this; That you make meanes either to be your felves the e stronger in In warre we armes, or els at the leaft-wife friended by them who are mightier than you. When a britte was mult lay to be blazed abroad, without any certeine authour, that king Alexander the Greatwas deceased, the freeded by oratours at Athens mounted the pulpits by and by, and strave avie who could perswade the sheshongest people most, even in all hasteto put themselves in armes and rebell; but Phoeion was of a conhistenment. trarie minde to them all; and his opinion was; That they should stay and rest quiet, until more ters of great 40 affured newes came of his death: For (faith he) if he be dead to day, he will be fo to morow, yea confequence, and afterwards also. When Leofthenes had fet the citicall upon warre, feeding the peoples there is no hearts with great hopes of recovering their freedome and the fovereigntie of all Greece, Photi- loffe by delay, on compared these projects of theirs s unto the Cypres trees: For they (quoth hee) be faire, is dangerous, ftreight and tall, but not a whit of fruit do they beare: howbeit, when the Athenians at the first rations be like fped well in fundrie battels and wan the field, whereupon the citie made facrifices unto the gods to fraidelle for the good newes thereof, fome would come unto him, and fay: How now Phocion, are you trees, not pleafed heerewith? and would you with all undone againe? I am h contented very well h A wife man (quoth he) that it hath fo fallen out, but yet I repent never a whit of my former counsell. The wil not repeat Macedonians, immediatly after this, maderodes into the countrey of Artica, and beganne to of his good counfell, al-50 overun, harrie and spoile all the sea coasts for remedie whereof, he caused all the lustie men of though the st the citie, who were of age to beare armes, to enter into the field; and when many of them came the and event be not answered. running unto him, fome calling upon him to feize fuch an hill, others as instant with him to rable thereto. put his men in battell-ray in such a place : O Hercules (quoth he) what a number of captaines doe I see, and how few good souldiers? howbeit, he gave the enemies battell, wan the victorie, and flew 2 icion the captaine generall of the Macedonians in the place. Not long after, the A thenians being vanquished in warre, were constrained to receive a garrison from Antipater, and Menillus captaine of the faid garrison sent unto him in free gift certeine money; wherewith he

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wah good

being offended, faid : That neither Menillus was better than Alexander, nor the cause so good. for which he should take any gift at his hand at this present, considering that he refused the like from Alexander, Morcover, Antipater was wont to fay: That he had two friends at Athens, the one of whom, to wit, Phoeion, he could never perswade to take any thing; and the other, who Truchiend was Demades, he could not fatific whatfoever he gave him. When Antipater was in hand with they & thavery him to do a thing which was not just : You cannot (quoth he) ô Antipater, have me to be your well regether, friend and a flatterer to. After the death of Antipater, when the Athenians had recovered their well regether, friend and a flatterer to. libertie and free state or popular government, concluded it was and pronounced in a generall affembly and councell of the people, that Phoeion together with his friends and affociats, must Photion marched gravely, and gave not a word: now as he was going upon the way, one of his enemies met him and spet upon his face; whereupon he turned backe to the magistrates, and faid: Is there no man here to represse the insolencie and villanie of this wretched varlet? one of them who were to fuffer with him, tooke on and tormented himselfe exceedingly: What Lisanho- (quoth he to him) o Europus, k doth it not thee good that thou goest to take thy death with Phocion? And when the deadly cup was presented to him to drinke his last draught of hemlocke, he was asked the queition, whether he had any more to fay or no: then addressing his speech unto his fonne: I charge thee (quoth he) and befeech thee, not to cary any ranckor and malice in the

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PISISTRATUS, a tyrant of the Athaniens, being advertised that some of his friends has to ving revolted and conspired against him, had seised upon the fort called Phyle, went towards them, carying himfelfe about at his backe a fardell of his bedding, and the furniture thereto belonging : whereupon they demaunded of him what he would ? I come (quoth he) with an intent either to perswade you to returne with me, or esse with a resolution to tarrie heere with you my felfe; and therefore have I brought my baggage with me. He was advertised that his mother loved a yoong man, who fecretly kept her and used to lie withher; howbeit in great feare, and refuling her company many times; whereupon he invited the man to supper, and after supper, he asked him how he did, and how he liked his enterteinment ? Gaily well (quoth he: Thou shalt (quoth Pisistratus) finde no woorse every day so thou content and please

my mother. Thrasfibulus cast a good liking and fancie to his daughter; and as he met her on a 20 time upon the way, bestowed a kiffe upon her; whereat her mother was offended, fo as she exasperated her husband against him for it: but he mildely answered her in this wife: Why woman, if we fet our felves against them that love us and grow to malice them, what shall we doe to those who hate us? and so he gave the maiden in mariage to Thrasibulus. Certeine luste yoonkers after they had taken their cups well, went in a maske and plaid the fooles through the citie, and chauncing to meete with his wife, abused her both in worde and deed very unseemely and dishonestly; but the morrow after they came weeping before Pisistratus, acknowledging their fault, and craving pardon; who made them this answer: As for you, endevour to be more A wife man wife and fober from hence foorth: " but I affure you, my wife yesterday went no whither abroad, nor flirred out of her dores. When hee was about to matrie a fecond wife; the chil-40 dren whom he had by the former, demanded of him, whether he were in any respect disconten-

least of my thought; but cleane contrary i is, because I like and love you so well, I would wil-

lingly have more children to refemble you. DEMETRIUS, furnamed Phalereus, counfelled king Ptolomeus to buy and reade those books which treated of pollicie and government of kingdomes and feigneories; for that which cour-

ted with them, that he should in despight of them espouse another: No, (quoth he) that is the

tiours and minions durst not fay unto their princes, was written within those books. LYCHRGUS, who did fet downe and establishe the lawes of the Lacedæmonians, accustomed his citizens to weare their hairelong: For that (faith he) fide haire, maketh those who are faire, seeme more faire and amiable; but those who were foule more hideous and terrible. In 50 the reformation of the Lacedæmonian State, some one there was who perswaded him to etect the popular government called Democraty, wherein everie one in his course hath as much authoritic as another: unto whom hee answered: Begin thou first to set up this government in thine owne house. He ordeined that in building of houses there should be used nothing but the fawe & the axe: For that (quoth lie) it were a shame to bring into houses so simplie builded, any plate of filver and gold, rich hangings, carpets and furniture of beds, or costly and fumptuous tables. He forbad his citizens to fight at buffets, or to enter combat in that generall exercise

fuffer death: as for the reft, they went weeping and lamenting as they were led to execution, but 10

heart to the Athenians for my death.

well fave the wife what he

Of Laceaemo-

of hand, foot, teethand all together, called Paneratium, to the end that they should not accultome themselves so much as in sport and game to faint, give over, or yeeld themselves overcome. Likewise he debarred them from encountring often with their very enemies; for feare they should make them more warlike and better foldiers: Whereupon afterwards when king into defilates was brought out of the battell very greevoully wounded; one antalcidas faid unto him: You have met with a faire reward at the Thebans hand, and no leffe than you well deferve,

for schooling and teaching them to fight whether they will or no.

CHARILLUS the king, being asked the question why Lycurgus made so few lawes? anfwered thus: That they who used few words, had no need of many lawes. One of those flaves to whom they call Elotes, had behaved himfelfe formewhat too infolently and knavithly against him: Now I sweare by the two twins (quoth he) Castor and Pollux, were I not angrie, I would doe thee to death out of hand, unto one who demaunded the reason why the Lacedemonians warelong haire: It is (quoth he) because of all trimming and ornaments of the bodie, it costeth leaft.

TELECHUS king of Lacedamon answered unto a brother of his, who complained unto him of the citizens of Sparta, faying: They use me more uncivilly and uncurreoutly, than they doe you: It is for nothing elfe (quoth he) but because you know not how to endure and put up

THEOPOMPUS, being in a certaine citie, was shewed by one of the inhabitants the wals, 20 and demanded whether he thought them not to be faire and high: Faire, (quoth he?) no in

verie truth, kept though they be by none but women.

ARCHIDAMUS during the time of the Peloponnelian warre, when as the allies and confederates of Lacedamon requested him to set them downe a certeine taxe and rate which they were to contribute toward the charges thereof answered them in this manner: Warre knoweth not how to be gaged and feed within the teddar.

Brasidas chaunced to finde a mouse among certeine dried figs, which bit him so, as he was glad to let her goe; and thereupon faid to those about him: See, how there is nothing so little, but it is able to make shift and fave the owne life, if it have but the heart to defend it selfe against those who affaile it. In a certaine skirmish his hap was to be hurt with the head of a par-

30 tilane, or javelin, which went through his shield; and when he had drawne it out of his wound, with the very staffe and steile of it, he slew his enemie: now when one asked him how it came to paffe that he was thus wounded? For footh because my shield deceived and betraied me. His fortune was afterwards to die in the countrey of Thrace, whither be had beene fent to deliver and fet free the Greeks who inhabited those marches: and the embassadours who were sent from the faid parts to Lacedamon, went to visit his mother: who at the first asked them whether Brasidas her sonne did valiantly and like a man? the embassadors highly praised him, infomuch as they faid; That there would never be his like againe: Oh, you are mightily deceived (quoth fhe:) true it is that Brasidae was a brave and valiant man, but Lacedamon hath many farie better men than he by farre.

40 King Agrs was wont to fay, that the Lacedamonians used not to aske how many their enemies were, but in what place they were. At Mantua he was forbidden to strike a battell, because the enemies were many in number to one: It must needs be (quoth he) that who soever would rule and commaund many, should likewife fight with many. Unto them who greatly commended the Eliens for observing such good order and formality at the Olympick games: What great maruell is it (quoth he) if the Eliens in foure yeeres space use justice one day? but when they continued still in their praise and commendations: What woonder is it (quoth he) if the Eliens use a good thing well, to wit justice. A naughtie fellow there was and a troublesome, who importuned him exceeding much, by asking him oftentimes, who was the best man of all the Spartans? Mary even he (quoth he) that is most unlike to thee. To another who questioned 50 with him and would needs know how many the Lacedæmonians were in number: Enough (quoth he) to drive out all leud and wicked persons: And when another asked him the same

question, he answered: Thou wouldest fay they were a great number if thou sawest them fight. LYSANDER would not accept of the rich and fumptuous roabes, which Dionyfus the Tyrant sent unto his daughters, saying: I am affraid that these garments will make them looke the fouler. Some there were who reprooved and blamed him, for that he exploited the most part of his acts by craft and subtilitie, as if it were an unwoorthie thing for one who vaunted

Nn 2

himselfe to be of the race of Hercules: unto whom he answered: That where the lions skin would not ferve, it were good to fow thereto a little piece of a foxes case. There was some difference and debate betweene the Argives and Lacedæmonians about their confines; and it seemed that the Argives alleaged better reasons, and brought foorth more pregnant evidences for the land in question; but he drawing out his sword: They (quoth he) who are the better men at handling this, are those who plead the better for the bonds of their territorie. The Lacedamonians found much difficultie in affaulting the walles of Corinth; and when he fawe them draw backe and go unwillingly about that fervice, he chanced to espie at the very same time an hateto start from within the trench and towne ditch; whereupon he tooke occasion thus to fay: why make you doubt to give the affault unto the walles of those men, who are so idle as to suffer hares to to fleepe within the verie precinct of their walles? There was a certaine Megarian, who in the ge-"Brave words nerall affembly of all the Sates of Greece, spake unto him his minde freely and boldly; unto without meanes to ef- whom he answered thus: Thy a words have need of a citie, that is to fay, that Megara, whereof he was a citizen, was not able to make good and maintaine his words.

feet matters, are wooth naughr.

A GESILAUS used to say: That the inhabitants of Asia, (to speake of free men) were but bad, & namely folong as they enjoyed libertie; marie they be passing good slaves (quoth he.) These Asians had a cultom to call the King of Persia the Great King: And why (quoth Agesilaus) is he a greater king than I, if he be not more just and temperat? Being demaunded his opinion as touching Fortitude & Justice, whether of them was the better vertue: We have no need or use (quoth he) of Fortitude if we were all just Being enforced to breake up his campe, and dislodge 20 one night in great hafte out of his enemies countrey, and feeing a boy whom hee loved well, weeping and all blubbered with teares, for that he was left behind, & could not follow by realin of weaknes: It is (quoth he) an hard matter to be pitifull and wife both at once. Menerales the phylician who would entitle himselfe with the name of Jupiter, wrote a letter unto him with this superscription; Mencerates Iupiter unto King Agesiland long life, &c. Unto whomhee returned this answere: King Age filaus unto Menecrates better health: meaning in deed that he was braine-ficke. The Lacedæmonians having defaited those of Athens with their allies and confederates neere unto the citie of Corinth: when he heard what a number of enemieslay dead in the field: O unhappie and unfortunate Greece (quoth he) that hath destroied so many men of her owne, as had beene able to have subdued all the Barbarians in the world. Having 30 received an answer from the oracle of Jupiter at Olympia, according to his minde; the great Lords controllers, called Ephori, willed him also to consult with the oracle of Apollo astouching the fame: when he was therefore at Delphos, he demaunded of the faid god, whether he were not of the fame minde as his father was? When he fued for the deliverance of a friend of · or Scarient. his who was taken prifoner, and in the hands of * Idrieus a prince of Carra, he wrote unto him about it in this manner: If Nicias have not trespassed, deliver him for justice sake; if he have transgressed, deliver him for my sake; but howsoever it be, in any wise deliver him. He wastequested one day to heare a man sing, who could maruellous lively and naturally counterfeit the voice of anightingale: I have heard (quoth he) the nightingale her felfe many a time. After the overthrow at the battell of Leuctres, the lawe ordained that as many as faved themselves 40 by their good footmanship, should be noted with infamy: but the Ephori fore-seeing, that in so doing the citie would be dispeopled and emptie, were willing to abrogat & disanul this ignominie, and for this purpose declared Agesilau for law-giver : who going into the market place, and mounting up into the pulpit, ordained that from the next morrow forward, the lawes should remaine in their ancient force and vertue. Sent he was upon a time to aide the King of AEgyt, where he together with the King was befreged by the enemies who were many more in number than they, & had begun to cast a great trech about their camp, & so beleaguered them that they could not escape: Now when the king commaunded him to make a fally upon them, and to keepe them battell: I will not (quoth he) empeach our enemies, but that they may (as I fee them go about it) willingly fight with us fo many to fo many : and finding that their trench 50 wanted but a little of both ends meeting and joining together; in that verie distance and space betweene, he fet his fouldiers in battell array, and fo comming to encounter on even hand he · Vertue im- defaited his enemies. When he died, he charged his friends to make no image nor statue of mortalizetha him: For if I have (quothhe) odone any thing in my life worthy of remembrance, that will be a fufficient monument and memoriall for me after my death: if not, all the statues and images

ftone,wood in the world shall never be able to perpetuate my memorie. or braffe,

ARCHIDAMVS

battering peece which had beene newly brought out of Sieilie, cried out aloud: PO Hercules P The inventhe prowesse and valour of man I see well is now gone for ever. When Demades mocking at the Lacedamonian courtilasses, said merrily; That they were barrely valor. fo little and short, as that the juglers and plaiers at leger-demain, were able to swallow them downe whole as they be. A gas the yoonger answered verie fitly and faid : Yet as short as they be, the Lacedamonians can reach their enemies veriewell with them. The Euhori charged him upon a time to deliver up his fouldiers into the hands of a traitour: I will beware I trow

(quoth he) to commit another mans fouldiers to him who betraied his owne. CLEOMENES when one promifed to give him certaine cocks of the game, so courageous, that they would with fighting die in the place and nevergive over: Give me not (quoth he) those that will die themselves, but such rather as in fight will make others to die.

PAEDARETVS miffing the place to be chosen one of the great councell confisting of three hundred, returned from the affembly very jocond merrie and finiling: I am well appaied (quoth he) that in the citie of Sparta there be found three hundred better men and more fufficient than my felfe.

DAMONIDAS being by the master of the Revels set in the last place of the dance: Well fare thy heart (quoth he) thou hast devised a good meanes to make this place honourable.

Nicos TRATUS captaine of the Argives, being follicited by Archidamus to take a good 20 round fumme of money for to deliver up unto him by treason, a place whereof he had the keeping, with a promise also, that he should espouse and wed what damosell he would himselse choose in all Sparta, excepting those of the blood-roiall, made him this answer: You are not (quoth he) of the race of Hercules; for that Hercules went thorow the world, punishing and putting to death in all places, malefactors and wicked persons: but you go about to make those naught and leaud who are good and honest.

*EYDAMONIDAS feeing in the great schoole Academie, Xenocrates an auncient man *Or Fudamiamong other yoong scholers, students in Philosophie, and understanding that he sought for dos rather, vertue: And when will he use vertue (quoth he) if he have not yet found it? Another time hearing a philosopher to mainteine this paradox: That a learned Sage was onely a good captaine: 30 Brave words (quoth he) and a marvelous position; but the best is, he that holdeth it, never in his life heard q the found of a trumpet in the campe.

ANTIO CHUS, one of those controllers in Sparta, named Ephori, being advertized that king meth not a Philiphad given unto the Messenians their territorie: But hath hee withall (quoth he) given of armes. them the meanes to vanquish in battell when they shall be put to it, for to defend the same?

Antalcidas aniwered unto an Athenian who termed the Lacedemonians ignorant persons: Indeed (quoth he) it may well be so, for wee are the onely men who have learned of you no evill. Another Athenian contested with him and faid; we have driven you manie a time from the river Cephifus, which is in Attica : but he replied againe and faid : And we never yet chased you from the river Eurotas which is necre Lacedemon. There was a certeine Rheto-40 rician would needs rehearfean oration which he had made concerning the praife of Hercules :

Why (quoth he) was there ever any man that blamed or despised him? · So long as EPAMINONDAS was captaine general of the Thebans, there was never feene in his campe any of these sudden soolish frights, without any certeine cause, which they call Panique Terrores. He was wont to fay, that no death was so honourable as to die in the warres: Also that a man of armes or warriour ought to keepe his bodie not exercised after the maner of champions, for to be faire and full; but rather hardned with travel, and made lanke as becommeth good foldiours. He loved therefore to fight with those enemies who were corpulent; and fuch foldiours as he found in his owne bands groffe & fat, he would be fure to caffier & displace them, if it were for nothing elfe: For he was wont to fay of them, that three or foure bucklers 50 would hardly cover their grand-panch, which bare out so bigge that they could not see for it their privy parts. Moreover, fo strict and precise he was in his living, and hated so much all exceffe & fuperfluity, that one time above the reft being bidde to fupper by one of his neighbors, when he fawin the house great provision of viands, cates, junquets, comfutures and sweet perfumes, he faid unto him: I had thought you made a facilitie, and not an expense of superfluitie, and so went his way & would not stay supper. When the head cooke or clerke of the kitchin gave up his account unto him and other his companions in government, of their ordinary charges for certeine dates; he milliked nothing in his bill but the great quantitie of oyle that

was spent: and when his collegues wondered that he should fare so at that; he said unto them: That it was not the cost and expence that hee stood upon, but onely this, that so much oyle should goe down mens throats. The city of Thekes upon a time made a great publike feast, and belides, privately they were all in their bankets, inviting one another, and meeting in companies to make merrie together: he contrariwife all this while, without being either announced with oile and sweete perfumes, or clad in his best clothes, all pensive and fad, walked alone tho. row the citie; and when one of his familiar friends who met him, woondered thereat, and woulds needs know why he went to alone and out of order and formalitie: Mary (quoth he)that you all might in fecuritie follow your drinking and good cheere, and not bee troubled with thinking of any other cares. He had caused a meane man and of base condition to be put in 10 prison for some light trespasse that he had committed, and Pelopidas requested him for to set him at large, but he denied him flatly; howbeit afterwards a woman whom he loved, intreated him, and at her fute he granted his libertie, faying: That in fuch pettie favours and curtefies as these it became him to gratise concubines and harlots; but not generals and great warriours, When the Lacedemonians came with a puilfant power to make cruell war upon the Thebans, there were brought oracles unto the Thebans from fundric parts, fome promifing the victory, others menaling an overthrow: he went up therefore into the tribunal feat and commanded, that the oracles of victoric should be fet upon the right hand, and those of discomsiture on the left: when they were thus disposed and bestowed, he stood up, and in this wife spake unto the Thebans: If you will be directed by your captaines, fliew obedience unto them, and withall, put 20 on a refolution and good heart to encounter your enemies; these heere, (thewing the good oracles on the right hand) be yours; but if for want of courage you cast doubts and start backs for seare of perils, those there, (pointing to the bad oracles on the left hand) are for you. Asterwards as he led the armic into the field, for to meet with the Lacedemonians, it began to thunder; whereat they that were necreft unto him asked, what he thought this might prefage and fignifie: Surely (quoth he) it betokeneth thus much; That God hath aftonished our enemies, and put their braines out of temper, who having fuch commodious places neere unto them for to encampe in, have pitched here where they are. Of all the honorable and happie fortunes that ever befell unto him, he faid; This was most to his hearts joy and contentment; that he had defeited the Lacedemonians in the battell at Leuctres, whiles his owne father that begat him, and to mother who bare him were both alive. Being a man who otherwise all his lifetime used to be feene abroad, fine, neat, & wel anointed, with a cheeefull and metric countenance alfosthe morrow after the faid battell, he came foorth into the publicke place, all foule, fullied, heavy and penfive; whereupon, his friends by and by were in hand with him to know, whether any finither accident was come unto him: None (quoth he,) but I perceived yesterday that for the joy of my poy in prospe- victorie, my heart was lifted up more than it ought, and therefore to day I doe abate and cothe oughtto rece that which was the day before too excessive and out of order: knowing full well that the Spartans used to cover and hide as much as they could such misfortunes, and being desirous to make them fee and acknowledge the great loffe and overthrow which they had fuffeined, hee woulde not in any wife permit them to gather their dead all together, and pile them up in 40 one entire heape; but to every citie he gave leave one after another to enterre them; by which it appeared, that there were more of the Lacedemonians flaine by a thousand. Jason a prince and monatch of Theffalia, being allied and confederate with the Thebans, came one day into the citie of Tales, and fent unto Epaminondas a present of two thousand pieces of gold, knowing that indeed he was exceeding poore: this gold would not he receive at his hands; but the first time after that he saw Jason, he came unto him and said: You begun twife to offer me injurie; and in the meane while he borrowed of a certeine burgesse of the citie sistiedrams of filver, for to defray the charges of a journey or expedition which he entended; and therewith entred in armes and invaded Pelopone fus. After this, when the greatking of Persia sent him thirtie thousand pieces of gold called Dariques, hewas displeased highly with Diomedes, and 50 tharpely checked him, asking him if he had undertaken fo great a voiage, thinking to bribe and corrupt Epaminondas; and with that communaunded him to deliver this meffage backe unto the king his mafter; That fo farre foorth as he entended and procured good unto the Thebans, hee should make reckoning of him to be his friend without any pennie cost; but if he wrought or practifed any losse or displeasure unto them, he would be his enemie. When the Argives were entred into league and amitte with the Thebans, those of Athems sent their ambassadours into Areadie, to assay if they could draw the Areadians to side with them.

So thele ambaffadours began to charge and accuse unto them, aswell the Argives as the Thebans, infomuch, as Calliffratus the oratour, who was their speaker, upbraided both cities, and hit them in the teeth with Orestes and Oedipus : then Epaminondas who fat in this affembly of councell, rofe up and faid: We confesse indeed (my masters) that in times past there was in our cine one parricide who killed his owne father, like as another in Argos who murdered his owne mother; but when we had chaled and banished them for committing these facts, the Athenians received them both. And when the Spartans had charged the Thebans with many great and grievous imputations: Why my mafters of Sparta (quoth Epaminondas) these Thebans, if they have done nothing els, yet thus much they have effected, that you have forgotten your no maner of thort speech and using few words. The Athenians had contracted alliance and amitie with Alexander the tyrant of Pheres in Theffalie, a mortall enemic of the Thebans, and who promiled to the Athenians for to ferve them flesh in the market at halfe an obolus a pound weight: And wee (quoth Epaminondas) will furnish the Athenians with wood enough for nothing, to roalt and feethe the faid fleth; for if they begin bufily to intermeddle more than we like of, we will fell and cut downe all the trees growing in that countrey. Knowing well enough that the Bosotians were loft for idlenefic, he determined and advised to keepe them continually in exercife of armes: now when the time approched for the election of governors, and that they were minded to chuse him their Baotarches, that is to fay, the ruler of Baotia: Be well advised my mallers (quoth he) what ye do, whiles it lieth in your hands; for if you elect me your captaine 20 generall, make this reckoning, that to warre you shall. He was wont to call the countrey of Baoria, because it lieth plaine and open, the stage and scaffold of warre, faying that it was impossible for the inhabitants to keepe and hold it, to long as they had not one hand within their thield and the other on their fword. Chabrias the captaine of the Athenians having put to foile and defaited some few Thebans about Corinth (who for heat of fight had run disbanded and out of aray) made a bravado: for which exploit, as if he had won fome great field, he caused a tropheæ to be erected in memoriall of this victoric: whereas Epaminondas fcoffed and faid: That hee should not have fet up a tropheum there, but rather an hecatefium, that is to fay, the statue of Proferpina, for that in times path, it was an ordinary thing to fet up the image of Preferpina in maner of acroffe, at the first carrefour or meeting of croffe waies which was found nere unto the gate 30 of acity. When one brought him word that the Athenians had fent an armie into Pelopone fur bravely fet out and appointed with new armour: Now furely (quoth he) Antigenidas wil weepe and figh when he knoweth once that Tellis hath gotten him new flutes and pipes to play upon: now this Tellis was a bad minstrell, and Antigenidas an excellent musician. He perceived upon a time that his esquire or shield-bearer had received a good piece of money for the ransome of aprisoner, which was in his hands; whereupon he said unto him: Give me my shield, but goe thouthy waies and buy thee a taverne or victualling house, wherein thou maiest leade the rest of thy life, for I fee well, that thou wilt no more expose thy selfe to the dangers of warre as before time, fince thou art now become one of these rich and happie men of the world. He was once demanded the question, whom he reputed to be the best captaine, himselfe, Chabrias, or 40 Interaces, his answere was: It is hard to judge, so long as we all be alive. At his returne out of the end of the country of Laconia, hee was judicially accused for a capitall crime, together with other country captaines joined in commission with him, for holding their charge longer by foure moneths than the lawes allowed: as for his companions and collegues above faid, hee willed them to derive all the fault from themselves, and lay it upon him, as if he had forced them so to doe; but in his owne defence he pleaded thus : * Albeit I can not deliver better words than I have per- A good coformed deeds, yet if I be compelled (as I fee I am) to fay fomewhat for my felfe before the jud. feeding all the formed to fairness the formed to feed ges, I request thus much at their handes, that if they be determined to put me to death, they would com and to been graven upon the fquare columne or pillar of my fepulchre, my condenation and the cause therof, to the end that all the Greekes might know how Epaminondass was 50 condemned to die; for that hee had forced the Thebans against their willes to waste and burne the countrey of Leconia, which in five hundred yeeres before had never bene forraied nor spoiled; also that hee had repeopled the citie of Meffene two hundred and thirtie yeeres after it had bene destroied and left desert by the Lacedemonians : Item, that he had reunited, concorporated and brought into one league all the States and cities of Arcadic; and last of all, that he had recovered and restored unto the Greeks their libertie: for all these acts have bene atchieved by us in this voiage: the judges when they heard this speech of his, rose from the bench, and went out of the court laughing heartily; neither would they so much as receive the voices or ver-

dists to be given up against him. After the last battell that ever he fought, wherin he was wounded to death; being brought into his tent, he called first for Diophantis, and after him for Joli. das, but when he heard that they were both flaine, hee advised the Thebans to compound and grow to an agreement with their enemies, as if they had not one captaine more that knew how * They that ar, nor able to leade them to the warres; and in trueth, the event did verifie his words, and bare witneffe with to mainteine warre mult him that he knew his citizens best of any man.

PELOPIDAS joint captaine with Epaminondas in the charge of Baotia, when his friends found fault with his neglect in one thing right necessary, to wit, the gathering of a masse of money together: Money indeed (quoth he) is necessary, but for such an one as this 2 icomedes here, thewing a poore cripple, maimed, lame and impotent in hand and foot. When he departed from Thebes upon a time to a battell, his wife praied him to have a regard unto his owne 10 fafetie: This is (quoth he) an advertisement fit for others; as for a captaine who hath the place of command, he is to be put in minde for to fave those under his charge, and not himselfe. To one of his fouldiers, who faid unto him: We are fallen among our enemies: And why (quoth he) are we fallen among them more than they among us. Moreover, being trecheroufly held prifoner, and kept in yrons during a truce, against the law of armes, by Alexander tyrant of the Phe. reans, he grew to heat and gave him fome hard words, calling him perjured traitour: whereupon the tyrant asked him if he made fo great hafte to die: Yea (quoth hee) to the end that the Thebans may be more provoked against thee, and that so much the sooner thou maiest be punished for thy diflocaltie. Thebe the tyrants wife came to vifit him in prifon, and feeing him, faid to that thee marvelled how hee could be fo jocund, being as hee was, a prifoner and bound with chaines: Yea, but I rather woonder at you, that being as you are, at libertie and not bound, you can endure such a wicked wretch as Alexander. When Epaminondas had delivered himour of prison, he said that he tooke himselfe much beholden to Alexander: For now (quoth hee) by his meanes I have made a triall of my felfe and my resolution, more than ever before, and namely, how my heart is fetled not against the feare of warre onely but also of death.

MANIUS CURIUS, when one of his fouldiers complained, that of the lands conquered from the enemies, he had given to every fouldier very little, but had incorporated in the common weale the greatest part of the faid demeanes: I would it were Gods will (quoth he) that there were not a Romane who thought that land but little, which is fufficient to nourish and 30 mainteine one man. The Samnites, after that hee had vanquished them in a battell, sentunto him as a prefent, a good fumme of gold:him they found fitting by the fire fide, tending the pot, wherein he boiled certaine rape-roots; and when the Samnite embaffadors tendered unto him the faid prefent, he made them this answer: That hee who could content himselfe with such a supper, had no need at all of gold: also that he thought it more honorable to commaund them

who had the gold, than to have gold himfelfe.

Lemani.

C. FABRICIUS hearing of the overthrow that King Pyrrhus had given the Romaines, * Some reade *faud: That Pyrrhus had overcome Lavinus & not the Epirotes vanquished the Romaines, Bethus: faid un- ing sent unto Pyrrhus to treat for the deliverance of certaine Romaines taken prisoners; the king offered him a great fumme of gold, but he would not receive it: the next morrow Pyr-40 and not the rhus commanded that the greatest Elephant which he had, should be brought and set just behind Fabricius without his knowledge, and that fuddenly he should be forced to bray, which was done accordingly: whereat Fabricius turning him about, and looking behind him, began to smile and say: Neither thy gold yesterday, nor this beast thy Elephant to day, hath once aftonied me. Pyrrhus thought to have perswaded him to take his part and to stay with him, with promife that he thould have all the authoritie in managing of the affaires next unto himfelfe; but he answered him in this fort: This would not be good and expedient for you: and why? when the Epirotes shall know us both well, they will rather have me than you to be their king. When Fabricius was created Confull of Rome, King Pyrrhus his phylician wrote unto him a letter, wherein he made promife unto him for to kill the king his mafter with poylonit 50 he would. Fabricius fent the verie fame letter incontinently unto King Pyrrhus, willing him to feeby that, how his judgement served not him well to discerne and to make choise of his enemies and his friends. When this ambush was discovered and directed thus unto Pyrrhus, which was laid for his life, he caused the faid physician to be apprehended, and sent backe those Romaines whom he had prisoners, unto Fabricius without any ransom paid: howbeit Fabricins would not receive them from him as in free gift; for he returned likewife as many of his men who remained prisoners with him: which he did, for that he would not be thought to

take any thing at his hands by way of a reward or recompense for disclosing the foresaid treafon: for hee did it not fo much to gratifie King Pyrrhu and do him a pleasure, as for searce it should be thought that the Romaines practifed his death by treacherie, whom they could not vanquish by vertue.

FABIUS MAXIMUS not willing to fight a fet battell with Annibal, but by tract of time to spend his armie; which by that meanes grew to a great default of victuals and money: went alwaies as though he dogged and followed him, keeping the rough places and hilly grounds, coasting him otherwhiles, but evermore having him in his cie: for which manner of fervice many mocked him and called him the Pædagogue of Annibal: but he nothing at all 10 regarding fuch words, perfifted fill continually in his defeignes & counfels particular to himfelfe, faying thus to his friends: That he who could not abide a fcotfe, but feared frumps and reviling words, was a greater coward than he who fled before his enemie. When his collegue or brother in office Minutin, had discomfitted certaine of his enemies, in such fort, as there was no talke of him any more, but every man gave out of Minutius, that he indeed was a man woorthy of Rome: he faid: That he feared more the prosperitie than the advertitie of Minutius: and within a while after, when Minutius was fallen into the danger of an ambush that Annibal had fet for him, so as he and all his men had like to have left their bodies dead behinde them, Fabius came speedily to his rescue, and not onely delivered him out of this perill, but also slew a number of his enemies, whereupon Anniball faid then unto his familiars about him: Did not I fore-20 tell you many times, feeing as I did this cloud louring upon the tops of the mountaines, how it would one time or other powre downe a good showre upon our heads ? After the overthrow at Canna, when he was chosen confull of Rome together with Claudius Marcellus a valiant and couragious man, who defired nothing more than ever to be fighting with Anniball; he was of a contrary minde, and hoped, that if he were not fought with, his army within a while by delaies onely and holding off, would of it felfe come to nothing; so as Anniball would oftentimes say: That he feared more Fabius that fought not, than he did Marcellus who was ever fighting. It was tolde him that he had in his campe a Lucane, who was wont to steale out by night, forth of the campe, for the love of a woman whom he used to with, but otherwise he heard say, that the man was a right good fouldier and woonderfull have in armes; whereupon he gave comman-30 dement that the woman upon whom this fouldier was fo enamoured, should be secretly and without the mans knowledge attached and brought unto him: now when the was come, he fent for the fouldier aforefaid: I am advertised (quoth he) that thou against the lawes of military difeipline, ufeft many times to lie out of the campe; and I understand likewise ful well, that setting that fault afide, thou art a fouldier good enough: well, in regard of thy good fervices, I am content to pardon all that is past, but from hencefoorth thou shalt abide and tarie with me, for I have a good pawne and furetic within that thou shalt not start; and with that he caused the woman to come forth and appeare, and fo he gave her into his hands to be his wedded wife. Anniball held all the citic of Tarentum with a strong garrison, faving onely the castle, but Marcellus by a wile and subtile stratageme, trained him as farre as he could from thence, and then return-40 ing with all expedition, was mafter of the whole towne, and facked it: in the execution of which fervice his feribe or chancellour asked him what should be done with the facted images of the gods among the rest of the pillage: Mary let us leave (quoth he) unto the Tarentines their gods, being thus angred as they are with them. When M. Livius, who had the keeping of the castle, vanted and boasted that by his meanes the citic was woonne, all the rest who heard him, laughed and mocked him; but Fabius answered: Thou faiest trueth indeed, for if thou hadst not lost it once, I had never recovered it againe. After he was stepped farre in yeeres, his sonne was chosen confull, and as he was giving audience in open place and dispatching certaine publike affaires in the presence of many, Fabino his father being mounted on horsebacke, came toward him; but the some sent one of his lictors or hushers before, to command him to alight 50 from his horse: whereat all the rest there present were abashed, and thought it a great shame and unfeemly fight; but the olde man difmounting quickely from his horse, came toward his fonne as fast as his yeeres would give him leave, imbraced him and said: Thou hast well done my sonne, to know whom thou doest governe, and to shew that thou art not ignorant what the greatnesse is of that charge which thou hast undertaken.

Scipio the elder, when soever he was at any leasure and repose either from military affaires or politike government, emploied all that time in his private study at his booke; whereupon he was woont to fay: That when he was alone, he had most companie; and when hee was at leaIomereade, Lainantown m Spaine,

fure, he had greatest businesse. After hee had woonne by assault the city of New Carthage in Spaine, fome of his fouldiers brought a most beautifull damosell taken prisoner, and her they offered unto him: I would receive her willingly (quoth he) if I were a private person, but being as I am, a captaine generall, I will none of her. Lying at fiege before a certeine citie * fittiated in a low place, and over which might be seene the temple of Venu, he gave order unto them that by vertue of writs were to make appearance in court, that they should come and pleadbe. fore him within the find temple, where they should have audience the third day after; which hee made good, for before that day hee had forced the citie. When one demaunded of him being in Sicilie, ready to embarke and passe over to Africke, upon what considence hee prefuned to much to croffe the feas with his armada against Carthage : See you not to heere (quoth he) 300, men how they disport and exercise them selves armed all in militarie feats of armes, along an high tower fittuate upon the fea fide ? I tell you, there is not one of all this number, but if I bidde him, will runne up to the top of this tower, and cast himselfe downe from thence with the head forward. Being passed oversea, and soone after malter of the field; when hee had burnt the campes of his enimies, the Carthaginians fent immediately unto him an embassage to treat of peace; in which treatie it was concluded, that they should quit all their vessels at sea, abandon their elephants, and besides pay a good grosse summe of money: But so soone as Annibal was retired out of Italy into Africke, they repented themfelves of these capitulations and conditions, for the trust which they had in the forces and perfon of Anniball: whereof Scipio being advertised, faid unto them: That although they would 20 performe the articles of the forefaid agreement, yet the accord should not stand for good, unleffe over and above they paid 5000, talents, because they had sent for Anniball to come over, Now after that the Carthaginians had beene vanquished by him in open battell, they sent new embaffadors for to treat of peace againe; but hee commaunded them prefently to depart, for that he would never give them audience, unleffe they brought backe unto him lord Terentius, a knight of Rome, and a man of woorth and honor, who by the fortune of warre was taken prifoner, and fallen into the hands of the Carthaginians: now when they had brought Terentian, he caused him to sit close by his side in the counsell, and then gave he audience to the foresaide embaffadors, and graunted them peace. Afterwards when he entred Rome in triumph forthis victorie; the faid Terentius followed hard after his triumphant chariot, wearing a cap of liber-30 tie on his head, like an affranchifed flave, and avowing that he held his freedome by him: and when Scipio was dead, unto all those who accompanied his corps when it was caried from to sepulture, Terentine allowed to drinke a certeine kinde of mede, made of wine and honie; and for all other complements belonging to an honorable funerall, he tooke order with great diligence; but this was performed afterwards. Moreover, when king Antiochus faw that the Romanes were passed over into Asia, with a puissant armie to make warre upon him, he sent his embassadors to Scipio, for to enter into a treatie of peace: unto whom he answered: This you should have done before, and not at this present, now that your king and master hath already received the bit of the bridle in his mouth, and the faddle with the rider upon his backe. The Senat had graunted out a commission unto him that he should take foorth certains money out 40 of the publick cheft and chamber of the citie; but when the treasurers would not suffer him that day to open the treasury, for to be furnished from thence; he said: He would be so bold as open it himselse; Which (quoth he) I may well doe, considering that by my meanes it was kept fast that and locked first, for the great quantitie of gold and filver which I have caused to be brought into it. Petilius and Quintus, two Tribunes of the commons, accused him before the people, and laid many grievous matters to his charge; but he in stead of pleading his owne caule, and justifying himselfe, said thus: My masters of Rome, upon such a day as this, I defaired in battell the Carthaginians and Annibal, and therefore will I goe my felle directly from hence with a chaplet of flowers upon my head, up into the Capitoll to facrifice and give those unto Jupiter for my victorie; meane while, who foever will give his voice either for or against 50 me, let him doe as he thinketh good : and having thus faid, he went out of the court, and all the people followed after him, leaving his accusers to plead there their fill to the bare wals.

Apophthegmes of Kings, Princes and Captaines.

T. Quintius, immediately upon his comming to the management of State affaires, grew to fuch reputation and renowme, that before he had beene Aedile, Prætour, or Tribune of the common-weale, he was chosen Consull of Rome, who being fent as captaine and lieutenant generall for the people of Rome, to warreagainst Philip king of Macedonia, was counselled and perswaded to a parle and personall conference first with him: Philip for the better securitie of

his owne person, demaunded of him hostages: Because (quoth he) the Romanes have heere many captaines belides you, but the Macedonians have none but my felfe: No marve' mdeed (quoth Quintius) that you are heere by your felfe alone, for you have done to death all your kinsfolk and friends. After that he had vanquiffed in battellking Philip, he caused proclamation to be made in the folemnitie of the Ifthmian games; That he restored all the Greeks to their auncient liberties and full freedome, to live from that day forward according to their owne lawes: and thereupon, the Greeks caufed all the Romanes to be fought out throughout all Greece, who had beene fold thither for flaves during the warres with Annibal, and having redeemed&bought them againe out of their mafters hands for 500, drams a poll, they prefented them unto him as a free gift: these followed him in his triumph, with caps upon their heads, as the cultome was of fuch flaves as were newly affranchifed & endued with liberty. The Acheans were minded and fully purposed to enterprise the conquest of the isle Zacint hus: But he admomished them not to goe forth of Peloponne fus, unleffe they would put themselves into evident danger, like unto the Tortoifes, when they firetch foorth their heads out of their fhels. When the brute was blowen over all Greece that king Antiochus came with a mightie power, infomuch as all men wondered & were affraid to heare what numbers there were of foldiors and fighting men, and what diverfitie of armors they brought with them; he made fuch a speech as this in the generall counfell of the Acheans: It was my chance (quoth he)upon a time to be lodged in the house of an old host and friends of mine within the citic of Chalcies, and as I sat with him at 20 supper, I marvelled how possiblie he could come by so many forts of venison which I saw ferved up to the boord before me; at last mine host answered that all was but swines slesh, and the fame altered by fundry kinds of fances and varietic of dreffing: Semblably (quoth he) be younot difinaid and troubled at this great armie of king Antiochus whom you heare named, his men at armes and horsemen armed at all pieces, his light horse, his petronels and archers on horsebacke, and his footemen, for all these be no more but poore Syrians, men borne to servitude and flaveric, and no better, differing one from another onely in diverfitie of harneis and weapons, Philopamon was at that time captaine generall of the Acheans, who had a number fufficient both of horse and foot, but he wanted money for their pay: whereat Quinting merily scoffing; Philopemon (quoth he) hath hands and feet enough, but he wants a bellie; which 30 jest was indeed the more pleasant, for that Philopamons body was in truth naturally so shapen and made fo flat, as if he had no belly at all.

C. Domitius, he whom Scipio the great left in his place, next after his brother L. Scipio in the warre against king Antiochia; when he had viewed the armie of his enemies standing in battel-array, the Romane captaines who were about him, counfelled him with all expedition to give them battell, but hee answered them thus: That they had not day enough to maffacre and hew in peeces fo many millions of men; to spoile also and make pillage of their tents and baggage, and then to returne when all was done into the campe for to refresh and looke to themselves; fo the morrow after he charged upon them and flue fiftie thousand enc-

P. Licinius, a Confull of Rome, in one battell of horsemen was vanquished by king Perfew, and lost about two thousand and eight hundred men, partly slaine, and partly taken prisoners in the field: after which victorie, Perseus sent unto the faid Confull, embassadours to treat of peace and attonement; in which treatie the condition which the vanquished propofed to the Conquerour was: That he should submit himselfe wholy and his whole estate, unto the Romans for to doe with them according to their will and discretion.

PAVLUS ÆMILIUS making fute for his fecond Confulship, was rejected and tooke repulse: but afterwards when it was seene that the warre against King Perseus was drawen out in length, and like to hold long, through the ignorance, floth and idlenesse of those captaines which were fent with the armie: the Romaines chose him confull for the second time; but he 50 faid unto the I con you no thank at al now, for that you have not elected me for to gratifie my felfe (because I sought for no office at this time) but in regard that your selves stand in need of a captaine. Being returned from the common place into his owne house, hee found a little daughter that he had, named Tertia, weeping and all blubbered with teares: What is the matter (quoth he) that my pretie girle crieth and weepeth thus: with that the childe: O father (quoth she) our Perseus is dead: (now a little puppie she had of that name:) In good houre be it spoken my sweet daughter (quoth he) I take it for a good offe and presage of happie fortune. When he was arrived and come into the campe, hee found much bibble-babble there, and

vaunting braverie on everie hand of those fouldiors, who would bufily intermeddle in the affaires properly pertaining to the captaine, and in more matters than concerned them: hee willed x them to be quiet and still, not to be dealing in such things, but onely to looke well to their fwords, whether they were tharpe edged and well pointed: As for the reft (quoth he) I will obey and exe-provide therefore. Those that kept the night sentinels, he commanded neither to be are launce nor weare fword, to the end that knowing they had no meanes to fight, in case they should be furprifed by the enemic, they should be the more vigilant and carefull to with stand sleepe. After that he had paffed over the mountaines in Macedonie, and was newly entred into the campe, hee found his enemies readic ranged in battell-array before him: whereupon Scipio Nalica advised him to charge out of hand: If I were (quoth he) as young as you, I should be of the 10 fame mind that you are; but now long experience forbiddeth me to advance forward, all wears as I am upon any journey against mine enemies, being set strongly in ordinance of battell. After he had fully defaited Perseus in making feasts to his allies & confederates, for joy of victo. rie, he faid: That it belonged to one and the fame skill and experience, to know how to raunge a terrible battellagainst enemies, and to set out an acceptable feast for friends. Perseus being his prisoner, made earnest sute & humble supplication unto him, that he might not be lead in his triumph: That lies(quoth he)in your owne power ô Perfeus: by which words he gave him good leave to make himselfe away. Among the treasures of this king, there was found an infinit maffe of gold and filver, whereof he touched not one jot for his owne proper use ; onely to Tubero his fonne-in-law, who had married his daughter, in honor of his vertue he gave one 20 filver boul, weighing fine * lytres: where (by the way) this is to be noted, that (by report) this was the first piece of filver plate that ever came into the house of the AEmilii. Of four echildrenmales that he had, two of the eldest he had given away before from himselfe to be adopted into other noble families of Rome, and of the two youngest which remained behinde in his owne house and name; the one (being foureteene yeeres of age) died five daies before his triumph; the other (twelve yeeres old) changed his life five daies after: whereat the people forrowed, and tooke it verie heavily, bewailing & pittying his defolate estate: but he himselfe went into the common place to comfort them, faying: That now from hence foorth, he thought to be out of all feare and danger in the behalfe of the common-wealth, hoping that no infortunite would befall unto it: for that himselfe for them all, bare the heavie load of the envie attending to upon fo great prosperities which he had atchieved for the weale publike, y in that fortune had derived and call all despite upon his familie alone. C AT o the elder, in a folemne speech before the people of Rome, reprooving sharply their

9 Great prosperitie is to he julproud: grade, there-intemperance, riot and superfluous delicacies: I know full well (quoth he) that it is an hard matter to speake unto the belly which hath no eares. He faid also, that he woondered how such doth delay it

a citie could long fland, wherein a fifh was fold deerer than an oxe. Alfo inveighing against the over-much libertie and power which generally was given to women: All other men (quoth hee) doe rule their wives, wee rule all men, and our wives rule us. It was a speech likewise of his: That hee had rather receive no favour and grace when hee had done any good fervice, than not be punished when he had committed a fault: I pardon moreover (quoth 40 he) all those, who upon error or ignorance have trespassed, z but I except my selfe. Furtherchathieth wife more, in folliciting and mooving the magistrates to chastice those who offended the lawes, he as themselves, plainely faid: That who foever had rule and authoritie sufficient to represse malefactors, if they did not execute the fame, were themselves the authors and commaunders of evill. He delivered these words moreover: That yoong men who blushed when they were rerprooved, pleased him better than those that looked pale : and that he could not abide that souldier, who inhis way as he walked, waggeth his hands; in fight flirreth his feet; and when he fleepeth fnorteth lowder than he holloweth as he encountreth his enemie. Item, that he was a bad ruler, who knew not how to rule himselfe. He was of opinion, that everie one ought to have more reverence of himselfe, than of any other person whatsoever; for no man was ever from himselfe, 50 Perceiving that many there were who made fute that their flatues might be erected: I had tather (quoth he) that men thould aske another daie, why there was no image fet up for Calo, than why he had any. He counfelled them who had power to do what they would, to spare and make much thereof, to the end that their libertie might last with them for ever. They who deprive vertue a of honour, take away vertue (quoth he) from youth. He was of advice that no

unto them in bad and unright, as matters to paffe-by or winke at them. His faying was: That

tends upon man ought to entreat a magistrate or judge in good and just causes to maintaine them, nor sue vertue, and is the reward

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injuffice and wrong doing, if it brought no perill to him that committed it, yet it was dangerous to all others. He admonished old folke not to adde unto their age the foulenesse of vice: for that they had deformities enough belides. His opinion was, that anger and fury differed in nothing, but that the one endured longer than the other. He was woont to fay that they were not lighly envied, who knew how to use their fortune wisely and with moderation: For that (quoth he) it is not our person that is envied, but that which is about us. Also they who are earneil in ridiculous matters, make themselves laughing stocks in serious affaires. Over and befides, this was one of his fage fawes: That faire and commendable actions ought to meet with faire and laudable words to fet them foorth, to the end that they never be without the glory to to them belonging. He reprehended the citizens of Rome, for giving alwaies their voices to one & the fame person, at the elections of their magistrates: For it should seeme (quoth he) in so doing, that either you do not much efteem the honour of magistracies, or els that in your judgement you have not men sufficient enough & worthy to beare them. He made semblant upon a time, that he had in great admiration the strength of one who fold and made away his lands that lay along by the fea-coast, as being a man more mightie and puissant than the verie fea: For (quoth he) that which the fea undermineth, eateth & wasteth by little & little this good felow hath swallowed & devoured all at once. When he sood to be chosen Censor, & faw that other of his competitors & concurrents trudged up & downe, glavering, glofing and flattering to the people for to infinuate themselves into their good favour & grace: he contrariwise went crying 20 out. That the State & people had need of a rigorous & hard hearted physician, both to diffinember &cut off some part, and also to give them a strong purgation; and therefore they were not to choose one who was most gracious, but him that was most severe; thus whiles he made these remonstrances, he was himselfe chosen before all the rest. In teaching your men for to fight valiantle and with resolution, hee faid: That a word often-times frighted the enemic more than the fword, the tongue also more than the hand, and caused him to take his beeles and runne away. Whiles hee warred in Sp.ine against those who inhabit along the river Bartis, hee was in great danger, by reason of a great multitude of enemies who were in armes against him; neither could be be provided of aids upon a sudden, but from the Celtiberians, who for to fuccour him demanded two hundred talents: now the other Romane captaines would 30 not yeeld that hee should make promise unto those barbarous nations of this money for their hire and fallarie; but Cato faid: They were much deceived and out of the way; for if we winne (quoth he) we shall be able to pay them, not of our owne, but of our enemies goods; if we lose the day, there will be none left either to be paied or to call for pay. Having woon more townes in Spaine, than he had beene daies there (according as he faid himfelfe) he referved of all that spoile and pillage for his owne use, no more than he did cat and drinke; but hee divided and dealt to every one of his fouldiers a pound weight of filver, faying: That it were better that many should returne home out of warre with filver in their purses, than a few with golde; for that rulers and captaines ought not to grow rich themselves by their provinces and places of government in any thing but in honour and glorie. In that expedition or voiage of his, hee 40 had with him in his traine five of his owne fervitours; of whom, one there was who bought three prisoners taken in warre; but when he knew that his master had intelligence thereof, before that ever he came in his fight he hung and strangled himselfe. Scipio surnamed Africana, praied him to favour the causes of the banished and fugitive Acheeans, and to be good unto them, namely, that they might be recalled and restored agains to their owne countrey; but he made semblance as though hee tooke no great heed and regard to such affaires; and when hee faw that the matter was followed hotly in the Senate, and that there grew much speech and debate about it, he flood up and faid: Here is a great stirre indeed; and as though we had nothing els to do, we fit here & spend all the long day disputing about these old gray beard Greeks, and all forfooth, to know whether they shalbe caried forth to their buriall by our porters and corfe-50 bearers heere, or by those there. Posthumius Albius wrote certaine histories in Greeke, in the Preface and Proeme whereof, he praied the readers and hearers to pardon him, if he had committed any folcecifme or incongruitie in that language; but Cato by way of a mocke, scoffed at him, and faid: That he deserved indeed to be pardoned for writing falle Greeke, in case that by the bordinance and commandement of the high commission of the Amphyctiones, who were bestie doe, the chiefe Estates of all Greece, he had bene compelled against his will, to enterprise and goe in selfe have. hand with the faid histories.

Scipio the younger, in foure and fiftie yeeres (for folong he lived) neither bought nor

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folde, nor yet built: and it is for certaine reported, that in fo great an house and substance as his might feeme to be, there was never found but three and thirtie pound weight of filver plate, and two of golde, notwithstanding the city of Great Carthage was in his hand, and he had enriched his fouldiers more than ever any captaine did before him. Observing well the precept which Polybin gave, he hardly & without much ado would not returne out of the market place, before he had affaied to make in some fort one new friend and familiar or other, of those whom he met withall. Being but yet yoong, he was of fuch reputation for his valour and wifedome, that Cato the elder being demanded his opinion as touching others that were in the campe before Carthage, among whom he was one, delivered this commendation of him:

Right wife and fage indeed alone is he,

I hereft to him but flitting shadowes be. whereupon after his returne to Rome from the campe, they that remained behinde, called for him againe, not fo much by way of gratification and to do him a pleafure, but because they ho. ped by his meanes more speedily and with greater facilitie to win Carthage: now when he was entred to the very walles, and yet the Carthaginians fought from the callle, Polybim gave coufel to featter in the fea betweene (which was not very deepe betweene his campe and the faideafile) certaine colthrops of yron, or els planks befet with naile points, to overcast and spreadthe shallow shelves with sticking upon them, for feare lest that the enemies passing that armeor firth of the fea, might come to affaile their rampars; but he faid: It was a meere mockery, confidering that they had already gained the walles, and were within the citie of their enemies, to 20 make meanes not to fight with them. Finding the citie full of statues and painted tables which were brought out of Sicilie, he made proclamation, that the Sicilians from al their cities should come for to owne and cary away whatfoever had bene theirs; but of all the pillage he would not allow any one, either flave or newly affranchifed of his owne traine, to feize upon, nor fo much as buy ought, notwithstanding that there was driving and carying away otherwise on all hands The greatest and most familiar friend that he had, Lalius, lued to be confull of Rome; him helavoured and fet forward his fute in all that hee could : by which occasion hee demanded of one Pompeius, who was thought to make labour for the fame dignitic, whether it were true thathee was a competitor or no? now it was supposed that this Pompeius was a minstrels sonne that eld to play on the flute; who made answere againe, that he stood not for the consulthip; and that so which was more, hee promited to affift Lelius, and to get all the voices that hee could for him: thus while they believed his words, and expected his helping hand, they were deceived in the end; for they were given to understand for certaine, that this Pompieus was in the common hall labouring hard for himfelfe, going about unto every citizen one after another, requesting their voices in his owne behalfe; whereat, when all others tooke stomacke and were offended, seipio laughed apace, and faid: We are even well enough ferved for our great follie, thus to flay and wait all this whiles upon a fluter and piper, as if we had bene to pray and invocate not men, but the gods. Appins Claudius was in election and concurrence against him for the office of cenfourthip, faying in a braverie: That he used to falute all the Romans by name and by surname upon his owne knowledge of them, without the helpe of a prompter, whereas Scipio fearfeknew 40 one of them all: Thousaiest trueth (quoth Scipio) for I have alwaies beene carefull not to know many, but rather not to be unknown of any. He gave counfell unto the Romane citizens, at what time as they warred against the Celtiberians, for to fend both him and his competitout together into the campe, in qualitie either of lieutenants or of colonels over a thousand foot, to the end that they might have the testimonie of other captaines and expert warriours indeed, whether of them twaine performed his service and devoir better. Being created censour, hedeprived a yoong gallant of his horfe, for that being given excessively to feast and make good cheere, whiles the citie of Carthage was belieged, he had caused a certeine marchpaine to be made by pastry-worke in forme of a citie, and called it Carthage, and when he had so done, set it upon the boord to be spoiled and sacked (for sooth) by his companions; and when this youth 50 would needs know of him why he was thus difgraced and degraded, as to lofe his horse of service, which was allowed him from the State: Because (quoth he) you will needs rifle and pill Carthage before me. During the time that he was cenfour, he feeing one day C. Licinius as he passed by : Now surely I knew this man (quoth he) for a perjured person, but for that there is none to accuse him, I will not be both his judge and a witnesse also to give evidence against him. Being fent by the Senate a third commissioner with other Triumvirs, according as Ch tomachus faid: Mens

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Mensmanners to observe and oversee, Where they doe well and where they faultie bee.

to visit also and looke into the States of cities, nations, and kings: When he was arrived at Alexandria, and disbarked, as he came first to land, he went hooded as it were with his robe call over his head; but the Alexandrians running from all parts of the citie to fee him, requefled him to discover his head, that his face might be the better seene; and he had no sooner uncoveredhisvifage, but they alleried out with great acclamations, applauding and clapping their hands in figne of joy. And when the king himfelfe of Alexandria freined and frived with great paine, so groffe (so idle, and delicate he was otherwise) to keepe pace with him and the other to commissioners, as they walked, Scipio rounded Panatius foftly in the care and faid: The Alexandrians have reaped already the frure, and enjoied the benefit of my voyage, for that by our meanes they have seene their king to walke and go afoot. There accompanied him in this voiage a friend of his and a Philosopher named Panatius, and five servitors besides to wait upon him, and when one of these five happed to die in this journey, he would not buy another in a forcine countrey for to supply his place, but sent for one to Rome, to serve in his turne. It seemed to the people of Rome that the Numantines were invincible and inexpugnable, for that they had vanquithed and defeated fo many captaines and leaders of the Romans: whereupou they chose this Scipio Confull the second time for to manage this warre; now when many a luftic yoong gallant made meanes and prepared to follow him in this fervice, the Senat cut-20 peached them, alleaging colourably, that Italy thereby thould be left deflitute of men for the defence of the countrey, what need foever should be: fo they would not fuffer him to take that money out of the treasurie which was prest and ready for him, but assigned and ordened certaine monies from the Publicanes and fermers of the cities cultomes and revenues to furnith him, whose daies of paiment were not yet come: As for money (quoth Scipio) I stand not in such need thereof, that I should stay therefore, for out of mine owne and my friends purses I shall have sufficient to defray my charges, but I complaine rather that I may not be allowed to levie & leade forth my foldiors fuch as I would, and be willing to ferve, confidering that it is a dangerous warre which we are to wage; for if it be in regard of our enemies valour, that our people have so often beene beaten and foiled by them, then we shall finde it a hot peece of service and a hard, to encounter fuch; but if it be long of our owne mens cowardize, no leffe difficult will it be, because we are to fight with the slender helpe of such. When he was newly arrived at the campe, he found there great diforder, much loofeneffe, superstition, and wastfull superstuity in all things; fo he banished presently all diviners, prophets, and tellers of fortune; he rid out of the way all facrificing priefts, all bands likewife that kept brothel-houses he chased foorth: and he gave fireight charge that every man should fend away all maner of vessels and utenfils, fave onely a pot or kettle to feeth his meat in, a spir to roast, and a drinking jugge of earth; & as for filver plate, he allowed no man more in all than weighed two pounds: he put downe all baines and flouphes, but if any were disposed to be annointed, he gave order that every man should take paine to rubbe himselse; for he said that beasts who had no hands of their owne, 40 needed another for to rub and currie them: he ordeined that his foldiers should take their dinner standing, and cate their meat not hot and without fire; but at supper, they might sit downe who that lift, and feed upon bread or fingle grewell and plaine pottage, together with one finpledith of flesh either boiled or rost: as for himselfe he wore a cassocke or soldiors coat all blacke, buttoned close or buckled before, faying; That he mourned for the thame of his armie. He met with certaine garrons and labouring beafts belonging to one Memmius, a collonel of a thousand men, carying drinking cups and other place enriched with precious stones, and wrought curioufly by the hands of Thericles; whereupon he faid unto him: Thou halt made thy feife unfit to ferve me and thy countrey for these thirtie daies, being such an one as thou art, and furely being given to these superfluities, thou art disabled for doing thy selfe good all the daies 50 of thy life, Another there was, who shewed him what a trim shield or target he had, finely made and richly adorned; Here is a faire & goodly shield indeed (quoth he)my yoong man, but I cell thee, a Romane foldior ought to trust his right hand better than his left. There was one who carying upon his shoulder a bunch of pales, or burden of stakes for to pitch in the rampar, complained that he was over-laden. Thou art but well enough ferved (quoth he,) in that thou exist good to reposest more considence in these stakes than in thy sword. Seeing his enemies the Numan-lie off and tines how they e grew rash, desperate, and soolishly bent, he would not in that fit charge up-temperate, on them and give battell, but held off still, saying: That with tract of time he would buy the are disperse.

furety and securitie of his affaires: For a good captaine (quoth he) ought to doe like a wise phyfician, who will never proceed to the cutting or diffmembring of a part, but upon extremitie, namely, when all other means of phylicke doe faile: howbeit when he espied a good occasion and fit opportunitie, he affaulted the Numantines and overthrew them : which when the old beaten foldiers or elders of the Numantines faw, they rebuked and railed upon their owne men thus defaited, asking them, why they ran away and fuffered themselves to be beaten by those who had foiled them so often before ? but one of the Numantines answered; Because the sheep be the verie fame that they were in times past; mary they have changed their shepheard. After he had forced the citic of Numance by affault, and entred now the fecond time with triumph into Rome, he fell into some variance and debate with G. Gracehus, in the behalfe of the Senate 10 and certaine allies or confederates: whereupon the common-people taking a spleene and difpleasure against him, made such clamours at him upon the Rostra, when he was purposed to speake and give remonstrances unto them, that thereupon he railed this speech: There was never yet any outcries and alarmes of whole campes, nor shouts of armed men ready to give battell, that could aftonifh and daunt me; no more shall the rude crie of a confused multitude troubleme, who know affuredly that Italy is not their mother, but their stepdame. And when Gracehus with his conforts and adherents cried out aloud : Kill the tyrant there, kill him : Great reason (quoth he) have they to take away my life, who warreagainst their owne countrie; for they know that to long as Scipio is on foot, Rome cannot fall, nor Scipio stand when Rome is laid

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CAECILIUS METELLUS, devising and casting about howto make sure his approches 20 and avenues for to affault a strong fort, when a Centurion came unto him and saide: With the loffe but of ten men you may be mafter of the piece: Wilt thou then (quoth he) be one of those tenne? And when another who was a colonell and a yoong man, demaunded of him what service he intended to do? If I wish (quoth he) that my wastcoat or shirt were privie to my minde, I would put it off prefently and call it into the fire. He was a great enemie to Scipio, fo long as Scipio lived; but when he was once dead he d tooke it very heavily, and commanded his ough not to be aumortall, owne formes to goe under the beare, and carrie him upon their owne shoulders to buriall, saying withall: That he gave the gods heartie thankes that Scipto was borne at Rome and in no

place else.

C. MARIUS being rifen from a base degree by birth unto the government of State, and all by the meanes of armes, fued for the greater Aedileship, called Curule; but perceiving that he could not compaffe it, made fute the verie fame day for the leffe : and notwithstanding that he went besides both the one and the other, yet he said: That he doubted not one day to be the greatest man of all the Romanes. Being troubled with the swelling of the veines, called Variees, in both his legges: he fuffered the chiturgian to cut those of the one legge, without being bound or tied for the matter, enduring the operation of his hand, and never gave one grone, or fo much as bent his browes all the whiles; but when the chirurgian would have gone to the other legge; Nay staic there (quoth he) for the cure of such a maladie as this, is not woorth the greevous paines that belongeth thereto. He had a nephew or lifters sonne named Lusius, who 40 in the time that his uncle was fecond time Confull, would have forced and abused a youth in the prime of his yeeres, named Trebonius, who began but then, under his charge to be areasmes: this yoong springall made no more adoe but flewhim outright; and when many there were who charged and accused him for this murder, hedenied not the fact, but confessed plainly that he had killed his captaine, and withall declared the cause publikely : Marim himselse being advertised heereof, caused to be brought unto him a coronet, such as usually was given un-An example to those who had performed in warre some woorthie exploit, and with his ownehand set it offingular ju- upon the head of this youth Trebonius. Being encamped very neere to the campe of the Tentones, in a plot of ground where there was but little water; when his foldiers complained that they were loft for water, and ready to die for very thirst, he shewed them a river not far off, run- 50 ning along the enemies campe: Yonder (quoth he) there is water enough for to be bought with the price of your blood: Then leade us to it quickly, answered his fouldiers whiles our blood is liquid and will runne, and never let us flay fo long till it be cluttered and dried up quite with drought. During the time of the Cimbrians warre he endued at once with the right of *or Camerines, free Burgeousie of Rome, a thousand men all * Camerines, in consideration of their good service in that warre; a thing that was contrarie to lawe: now when some blamed him for transgreffing the lawes, he answered and faid: That he could not hearewhat the lawes said, forthe

great ruftling and clattering that harneis and armor made. In this time of the civill warre, feeing himfelfe en closed round about with trenches and rampars, and streight beleaguered he endured all and waited his best opportunitie, and when Popedius * Silo captaine gene - The forms rall of the enemies faide unto him: Marius if thou be fo great a warrior as the name goeth of or Sala. thee, come foorth of the campe, and combat with me hand to hand: Nay faith he, and if thou art fo brave a captaine as thou wouldest be taken, force me to combatif thou canst.

CATULUS LUCTATIUS in the forefaid Cimbrian warre, lay encamped along the river Athefis, and when the Romans faw that the Barbarians were about to paffe over the water, and to fet upon them, retired and diflodged prefently, what reasons and perswasions so-10 eyer their captaine could use to the contrary : but when he saw he could doe no good, nor cause them to flay, himselferanne away with the formost, to the end that it should not seeme that they tled cowardly before their enemies, but dutifully followed their captaine.

SYLLA, furnamed Falix, i. Happie, among other prosperities, counted these two for the greatest: the one, that he lived in love and amitie with Metellus Pius; the other, that he had

not destroicd the citie of Athens, but faved it from being raced.

C. POPILIUS, was fent unto king Antiochus with a letter from the Senate of Rome, the tenor whereof was this: That they commanded him to withdraw his forces out of Arg ppt, and not to usurpe the kingdome which apperteined to the children of Ptolomaus, being orphans. The king feeing Popilius comming toward him through his campe, faluted him a farre off very 20 curreoutly: but Popilius without any refalutations or greeting againe, delivered him the letter; which Antiochus read, and after he had read it, answered him that he would thinke upon the matter that the Senate willed him to doe, and then give him his dispatch: whereupon Popilius drew a circle round about the king, with a vine rod that he had in his hand, faying : Refolve I advife you fir, before you passe foorth of this compasse, and give me my answer : all that were prefent woondered and were aftonished at the boldnesse and resolution of this man: but Antiochus prefently answered him: That he would doe whatsoever pleafed the Romans: then Popilius falured him most lovingly and embraced him.

Lucullus in Armenia went with ten thousand footmen and one thousand horse, to meet with king Tigranes, who was an hundred and fiftie thousand strong, for to give him battell: 30 the fixt day it was of October, and the very day of the moneth upon which before time the Romane armie under the conduct of one of the Scipioes had beene defeated by the Cimbrians: and when one faid unto him: That the Romans feare that day exceedingly, as being difinal and infortunate: Why (quoth he) even therefore ought we this very day to fight couragiously and valiantly, to the end that we may make this day to be joyfull and happie, which the Romans hold as curfed and unhappic: Nowwhen the Romans did most dread the men at armes of he bad them be of good cheere and not to feare: (For faith he) you shall finde more adoc to difpoile and difarme them, than you shall have in killing them: himselfe mounting first up to the top of a certaine little hill, after he had well viewed and confidered the Barbarians how they mo-40 ved and waved too and fro; he cried out with a loud voice unto his foldiers: My good friends and companions, the day is ours: and in very truth, they were put to flight all at once of their owne felves, without any onfet or charge given them; and in fuch fort Luculus followed the chase, that he killed in the verie rout, aboue one hundred thousand, and lost not of his owne but five men onely.

CNEUS POMPEIUS, surnamed Magnus i.the Great, was as well beloved of the Romans as his father before him was hated; who being yet very yoong, he fided to the faction of Sylla: and notwithstanding that he had no office of State, nor was so much as one of the Senate; yet he levied a mightic power of armed men from all parts of Italy: now when Sylla called him unto him, he faid: That he would not make shew of his soldiers unto his soveraigne and generall, 50 before they had made fome spoile and drawne bloud of their enemies; and in very deed he came not unto him with his power, before that hee had defaited in manie battels fundrie captaines of his enemies. Afterwards, being fent by sylla with commission of a commander into Sicilie, understanding that his fouldiours as they marched brake out of order and ranke, and would goe foorth to rob and spoile, and commit many riots by the way, he put to death all fuch as without licence departed from their colours, and went running up & downe the countrey: and as for fuch as he fent abroad with warrant about any commission or businesse of his , he fealed up their fwords within the feabberds with his owne fignet. He was at the verie

point to have put all the Mamertines to the fword, for that they banded against Sylla; but Sthenis one of the inhabitants, an oratour, and a man that could doe much with the people, and leade them with his perswasive orations, said unto him: That it were not well, that for one mans fault he should cause so many innocents to die; for I (quoth he) am the onely man culpable, and the cause of all this mischiefe, having by my persuasions induced my friends, & with threats for. ced mine enemies to take part with Marius and follow his standerd: Pompeius woondering at this resolute remonstrance of his, said: That he was content to pardon the Mamertines, who suffered themselves to be ledde and perswaded by such a personage, as held the safetie of his owne countrey more deare than his owne life; and so he forgave the whole city and Stheniz himselse. After this, being passed over sea into Africa against Domitius, and having woonne the field, in a great battell, when his fouldiers faluted him by the name of Emperour or Sovereigne captaine generall, he faid unto them: That he would not accept of that honourable title, fo long as the rampar about his enemies campe flood; he had no fooner faid the word, but they ranne all at once to this service, notwithstanding it was a great showre of raine, plucked downe the pallaifada, mounted over the rampar, entred the campe and facked it. At his returne home, Spilla made exceeding much of him otherwife, and did him great honour, but among many other, he was the first man that stiled him with the furname of Magnus: howbeit, when he minded to enter triumphant into Rome, Sylla would have hindered him, alledging for his reason: That he was not as yet admitted and fworne a Senatour: whereat Pompeius turning to those that were prefent: It feemeth (quoth he) that Sylla is ignorant how there be more menthat worthip the fun 20 rifing than fetting: which words when Sylla heard, he cried out with a loud voice: Let him ti. nmph a Gods name, for I fee well he wil have it : and yet for all that, Servilius a man of the lenators degree, with food his triumph, & tooke great indignation against him; yea, & many of his own fouldiers fet themselves against him and dasht it quite, if they might not have certeinegists and rewards, which they pretended were due unto them: but Pompey faid with a clere & audible voice: That he would fooner leave triumph and all, than to be so base minded as to flatter and make court unto his fouldiers: at which words Servelius faid unto him: By this now I fee well (6 Pompeius) that thou art truely named Magnus, 1. Great, & worthy indeed to triumph. There was a custome at Rome, that the knights or gentlemen, after they had served in the warres the complete time fet downe and limited by the lawes, should present their horses in the market place 30 before the two reformers of maners, called Cenfours, and there openly recount and relateur to them in what warres or battels they had fought, and the captaines under whom they had borne armes, to the end that according to their demerits they might receive condigne praise or blame. It fo fell out that Pompeius being confull, himfelfe led his owne horse of service by the bridle, and prefented him before Gellius and Lentulus, cenfors for the time being; and when they according to the order and maner in that behalfe, demanded of him whether he had ferved in the warres fo many yeeres as the law required: Even all (quoth he) fully, and that undermy felfe, the fovereigne commander at all times. Being in Spaine, he light upon certeine papers and writings of Sertorius, wherein were many letters missive sent from the principall Senatours of Rome, and namely fuch as follicited and called Sertorius to Rome, for to raife fome innovati- 40 ons, and make a change in the State: these letters he flung all into the fire, giving them occasion and opportunitie by this meanes, who intended mischiese and were ill bent, to change their minds, repent and amend. Phraates king of the Parthians fent unto him certeine ambaffadors to request him that he would not passe over the river Euphrates, but to make it the middle from tier & bound betweene them both: Nay rather (quoth Pompeius) let justice be the indifferent le mit betweene the Parthians and the Romans. L. Lucullus, after he was returned from his warres and conquefts, gave himfelfe over exceffively to all pleafures, and to live most sumptuoutly, reprooving Pompeius for this: That hee defired alwaics from time to time more and more, great charges and emploiments even above his age, and unfitting those yeeres of his: unto whom Pompeius made this answere: That it was a thing more unbesceming olde yeeres, for a man to 50 abandon himselfe to delights and pleasures, than to attend the weightie affaires of the common weale. Upon a time when he was ficke, the Phylicians prescribed that he should eat of a blackebird; great laying there was in many places for that bird, but none could be found, for that it was not their featon nor the time of the yeere; but one there was, who faid that if he would fend to Lucullus, he might have of them, for he kept them in mue all the yeere long: And what needs that (quoth he) can not Pompey recover and live, if Lucullus were not a waster and a delicate given to belly-cheere ? and so leaving the Physicians prescript diet, hee composed and framed

himselfe to ear that which was ordinary and might be found in every place. In regard of a great famine and scarsitic of corne and victuals at Rome, he was ordeined in outward thew of words, the grand purveiour or generall superintendent and over-seer for victuals, but in effect and authoritic, lord indeed both of sea and land: by which occasion he made voiages into Africke, Surdima and Sicilie, where, after he had provided a mightie deale of corne, he intended pretently to have returned with all speed to Rome; but there arose a terrible tempest, insomuch as the pilots and mariners themselves made no haste to goe to sea and set faile; but he in his owne perfon embarked first, and when he was on ship-boord, he commanded to weigh anker, saying with a loud voice: Saile we needs must, there is no remedie, but to live there is not such necessitie. When the quarrell betweene him and Cafar was broken out and fully discovered, there was one Marcellinus, (a man that before-time had bene advanced by him, & yet afterwards turned to the adverse part and faction of Cafar) who in a frequent affembly of the Senate, charged and challenged him to his face for many things, and spake spightfull words against him: Pompeius could not holde, but answered him thus: Bathest not thou Marcellinus, in this open place to miscall and raile upon me, who have made thee eloquent, whereas before thou couldft not speake at all? who have fed thee full, even untill thou be readie to cast up thy stomacke, where before thou wert hungry and ready to pine for famine? Unto Cate, who childe and reprooved him sharply for that he would never believe his words, when he fore-tolde him many times, that the puilfance and increase of Casars State, unto whom he lent his hand, would one day greatly prejudice 20 and hurt the weale-publicke, he answered: Your counfell indeed was wifer, but mine more loving and friendly. In speaking of himselfe freely, he said: That all offices of State he both entred fooner upon than he looked himfelfe; and also forwent them before it was expected that he would. After the battel of Pharfalia when he fled into Aegypt, and was to passe out of his gally into a little barke or fifther boat, which the king had fent unto him for to bring him to land, he turning unto his wife and fonne, faid no more but this verse out of Euripides:

> Who once in court of Tyrant ferve, become His fives anon, though free they thither come.

Being paffed over in this barke, after he had received one blow with a fword, he gave onely a figh and groane, and without faying one word, he covered his owne face with his garment, and 20 yeelded himfelfe to be killed.

Cicero the great oratour was mocked of some for that surname of his which alludeth unto a Cich-peafe; in so much as his friends gave him counsell to change his name; but hee contrariwife faid, that he would make the name of the Ciceroes more noble and renowmed, than the Catoes, the Catuli, or the Scauri. He offered unto the gods a goodly faire veffell of filver, in which he caused to be engraven his two fore-names, Marcus and Tullius in letters; but for the third, to wit, Cicero his furname, hee commaunded to bee emboffed or chaced the forme of a Cich-peafe. He faid that those oratours who used to straine their voices, and crie aloud in the pulpit, were privie to their owne weakenesse and insusficience otherwise, and had reconfe to this one helpe, like as creples and lame-folke to their horses for to mount upon. 40 Verres had a some diffamed for the abuse of his bodie in the source of his youth; and yet the faid Verres stucke notto slaunder Cicero and raile upon him, even to these broad and soule tearmes, as to call him a filthic wanton and a buggeror; whereto Cieero answered thus: Thou doest not know, that it were more seemely to rebuke thy children for this within doores in fome secret part of thy house close shut. Murcellus one day in debating and contesting with him faid: Thou hast brought more to their death by thy testimonies and depositions, than thou hast faved with all thy good pleading: I confesse as much (quoth Cieero againe) for I have more truth and fidelitie in meby farre, than eloquence. The fame Mesellus demaunded of him who was his father, reproching him (as it were) thereby that he was a new upstart, and a gentleman of the first head: Unto whom readily thy mother hath made this question more 50 hardon thy part to be answered: now was Metellus his mother thought to be an unchast woman and naught of her bodie; and Metellus himfelfe was dounted a vaine braine-ficke and flipperiefellow, given over to his wanton lusts and desires. This Merellus had caused to be set upon the sepulchre of one Diedorus, who had beenehis master sometime to teach him Rhetoricke, the portraiture of a crow in stone: whereupon Cieero tooke occasion to come upon him in this wife: A just recompence in deed and fit for him, because he hath taught this man to flie and not to speake. *V atinius was a lewd man, and his adversarie: now a rumour ran abroad that *oxioius. he was dead; but afterwards when he found it to be a false brute: A mischiefe take him for me

(quoth

he was a

(quoth Cicero) that made this lie first. There was one supposed to be an Africane borne, who faid unto him: That he heard him not when he spake : I marvell at that (quoth Cicero) conside-Noting that ring thine cares be bored as they are and have holes in them. C. Popilius would have bene taken and reputed for a great lawyer, although he had no law in the world in him, and was befides a man of very groffe capacity: this man was ferved with a writ to appeare in the court for to beare witnesse of atrueth, touching a certeine fact in question; but he answered : That he knew nothing at all: True (quoth Cicero:) for peradventure you meane of the law, and thinke that you are asked the question of it. Hortensius the orator, who pleaded the cause of Verres, had received of him for a fee or a gentle reward, a jewel with the portraiture of Sphinx in *filver: it fell out fo, that Cicero chanced to give out a certeine darke and ambiguous speech : As for mee (quoth 10 Horten (iua) I can not tell what to make of your words, for I am not one that uleth to following dles and anigmaticall speeches: Why man (quoth Cicero) and yet you have sphinx in your house. He met upon a time with Voconius and his three daughters, the foulest that ever looked out of a paire of cies: at which object he spake softly to his friends about him:

This man (Iweene) his children hath begot In (bight of Phoebus, and when he would it not.

Fault us the forme of sylla was in the end fo farre endebted, that he exposed his goods to be sold in open fale, and cauled billes to be fet up on posts in every quartefour to notifie the fame: r Itisaplea- Yeamary (quoth Cierro) I like these billes and 8 proscriptions better than those that his father factories the published before him. When Cafar and Pompeius were entred into open warre one against an-20 tune & over- other: I know full well (quoth Cieero) whom to flie, but I wot not unto whom to flie. He found throw of fuch. cating less & great fault with Pompeius in that he left the citie of Rome, and that he chose rather in this case to imitate the policy of Themistocles than of Pericles, saying: That the present state of the world relembled rather the time of Pericles , than of Themistocles. Hee drew at first to Pompeius side, and being with him, repented thereof. When Pompey asked him where he had left Pifo his fonin-law; he answered readily: Even with your good father-in-law; meaning Cafar. There was one who departed out of Casurs campe unto Pompey, and faid: That he had made such halle, that hee left his horse behinde him: Thou canst skill (I perceive) better to save thy horses life than thine owne. Unto another, who brought word that the friends of Cafar looked four and umpleafant: Thou faieft (quoth he) as much as if they thought not well of his proceedings, 20 After the battell of Phar falia was loft, and that Pempeius was already fled, there was one Montas who came unto him, and willed him not to despaire, but be of good cheere, for that they had yet feven eagles left, [which were the standerds of the legions:] Seven eagles (quoth he;) that were fomewhat indeed, if we had to warre against jaies & jackdawes. After that Cefar, upon his victorie, being lord of all, had caused the statues of Pompey which were cast done, to be set up againe with honor; Cicero faid of Cafar: In fetting up these statues of Pompey, he hath pitched his owne more furely. He so highly effeemed the gift of eloquence and grace of well speaking, yea, and he tooke to great paines with ardent affection, for to performe the thing, that having to pleada cause onely before the Centumvirs or hundred judges, and the day set downe being necreat hand for the hearing and triall thereof; when one of his fervants Eros, brought him word that 40 the cause was put off to the next day, i he was so well contented and pleased therewith, that incontinently he gave him his freedome for that newes.

* A min of honour can not be too carefull for to quit him well in his callingand vocation,

CALUS CAESAR, at what time as he being yet a yoong man, fled and avoided the furicof Sylla, fell into the hands of certeine pirats or rovers, who at the first demanded of him no great fimme of money for his ranfome, whereat hee mocked and laughed at them, as not knowing what maner of person they had gotten; and so of himselfe promised to pay them twise as much as they asked; and being by them guarded and attended upon very diligently, all the while that he fent for to gather the faid fumme of money which he was to deliver them, he willed them to keepe filence and make no noise, that he might fleepe and take his repose : during which time that he was in their custodie, he exercised himselse in writing aswell verse as prose, and read the so fame to them when they were composed; and if hee faw that they would not praise and commend those poemes and orations sufficiently to his contentment, he would call them senseless fots and barbarous, yea, and after a laughing maner, threaten to hang them: and to fay a truth, within a while after, he did as much for them: for when his ransome was come, and he delive red once out of their hands, he levied together a power of men and thips from out of the coalts of Asia, set upon the said rovers, spoiled them and crucified them. Being returned to Rome, and having enterprifed a fute for the foveraign Sacerdotall dignitie against Catalas, who was

then a principall man at Rome; whenas his mother accompanied him as farre as to the utmost gates of his house, when he went into Mars field where the election was held, he took his leave ofher and faid: Mother you shall have this day your sonne to be chiefe Pontifice and high prieff, or elfe banished from the citic of Rome. He put away his wife Pompeia, upon an ill name that went of her, as if the had beene naught with Clodius: whereupon when Clodius afterwards was called into question judicially for the fact, and Cafar likewife convented into the court, peremptorily for to beare witnesse of the truth; being examined upon his oath, he sware that he never knew any ill at all by his wife: and when he was urged and replied upon againe, wherefore he had put her away? he answered: That the wife of C. Jar ought not onely to be innocent and no cleere of crime, but also of all suspicion of crime. In reading the noble acts of Alexander the great, the teares trickled downe his cheeks; and when his triends defired to know the reason why he wept: At my age (quoth he) . Alexander had vanquithed & fubdued Darius, and I have vetdone nothing. As he paffed along through a little poore towne fituate within the Alpes; his familiar friends about him, merrily asked one another whether there were any factions and contentions in that burrough, about superioritie, and namely, who should be the chiefe? whereupon he staid suddenly; and after he had studied and mused a while within himselfe: I had rather (quoth he) be the first here, than the second in Rome. As for hautie & adventerous enterprifes, he was wont to fay: They should be executed & not consulted upon: and verily when he passed over the river Rubicon, which divide th the province of Gaul from Italy, for to leade his 20 power against Pompeius: Let the Die (quoth he) be throwen for all: as if he would fay: * This . Or these. caftforit, there is but one chance to lose all. When Pompey was fled from Rome to the sea I have put at fide, and Metellus the superintendent of the publike treasurie, would have hindred him for ta-upon the dice, king foorth any money from thence, keeping the treafure house fast thut, he threatned to kill will of it. him; whereat Metellus feeming to be amazed at his adacious words: Tufh, tufh, (quoth he) good yoong man, I would thou thouldest know that it is harder for me to speake the word, than to doe the deed. And for that his foldiors staid long ere they were transported over unto him from Brundusum, to Dyrrhachium, he embarked himselfe alone into a small vessell, without the knowledge of any man who he was, purpofing to paffe the feas alone without his companie; but it hapned fo, that he was like to have beene cast away in a gust, and drowned with the waves of 30 the fea: whereupon he made himselfe knowne unto the pilot, and spake unto him aloud: Affure thy selfe and rest consident in fortune, for wot well thou hast C. afar a ship boord: howbeit for that time he was empeached that he could not crosse the seas, as well in regard of the tempeft which grew more violent, as also of his fouldiers who ran unto him from all sides, and complained unto him for griefe of heart, faying: That he offred them great wrong to attend upon other forces, as if he distrusted them. Not long after this he fought a great battell, wherein Pomperus hand the upper had for a time, but for that he followed not the train of his good fortune, he retired into his campe; which when Cafar faw, he faid: The victorie was once this day our enemies, but their head and captaine knew not fo much. upon the plaines of Pha falia, the very day of the battell, Pompey having arranged his army in array, commanded his foldi-40 ers to stand their ground, and not to advaunce forward, but to expect their enimies, and receive the charge; wherin Calar afterwards faid: He did amisse and grossely failed, for that therby he let flack as it were the vigor & vehemencie of his foldiors which is ministred unto the by the violence of the first onset, & abated that heat also of courage which the said charge would have brought with it. When he had defaited at his very first encounter, Pharnacesking of Pontro; he wrote thus unto his friends: I came, I faw, I vanquished. After that Scipio and those under his conduct were discomfitted and put to flight in Africke; when he heard that Cato had killed himfelfe, he faid: I enviethy death ô Cato, for that thou hast envied me the honour of faving thy life. Some there were who had Antonie and Dolabella in jealousie and suspicion, and when they came unto him and faid: That he was to looke unto himselfe, and stand upon his good guard; 50 he made them this answer: That he had no distrust nor feare of them, who ledde an idle life, be well coloured and in fo good liking as they: But I feare (quoth he) these pale and leane fellowes pointing unto Brutus and Cassus. One day as he fat at the table when speech was mooved and the question asked, what kind of death was best? Even that (quoth he) which is sudden and least

Apophthegmes of Kings, Princes and Captaines.

C AE S A R, him I meane who first was surnamed Augustus, being as yet in his youth, requi- * i. 10, Mills red and claimed of Antonie as much money as amounted to two thouland and five hundred ausof Softer *Myriades, which he had transported out of Julius Cafars house after he was murdred, and got-rii.

*Octead

atherie, 1ccording to

ten into his owne hands; for that he entended to pay the Romans that which the faid Cafar had bequeathed unto them by his last will and testament: for he had left by legacie unto every citizen of Rome 75. * drams of filver; but Antonie deteined the faid fumme of money to himselfe. and answered yoong Cafar, that if he were wife he should defift from demanding any such monies of him: which when the other heard, he proclaimed open port sale of all the goods that came to him by his patrimonie, & in deed fold the fame; and with the money raifed thereof, he fatisfied the forefaid legacies unto the Romanes: in which doing he wan all the hearts of the citizens of Rome to himselfe, & brought their evill wil and hatred upon Antonie. Afterwards Rymetalees king of Thracia left the part of Amonius, and turned to his fide; but he overshot himfelfe formuch at the table, being in his cups, and namely, in that he could talke of nothing elfe, 10 but of this great good fervice, and casting in his teeth this worthy alliance and confederacie of his, so as he became odious therefore; infomuch as one time at supper Cafar taking the cup, dranke to one of the other kings who fat at the boord, faying with a loud voice: Treaton Ilove well, but traitors I hate. The Alexandrians after their citie was woonne, looked for no better than to fuffer all the extremities and calamities that might follow upon the forcing of a cityby affault: but this Cefar mounting up into the publike place to make a speech unto the citizens, having neere by unto him a familiar friend of his; to wit Arius, an Alexandrian borne; pronounced openly a generall pardon, faying that he forgave the citie: first, in regard of the great nesse and beautic thereof; secondly in respect of king Alexander the great their first founder. and thirdly for Aring his fake, who was his loving friend. Understanding that one of his Pro- 20 curatours named Eros, who did negotiate for him in Aegypt, had bought a quaile of the game, which in fight would beat all other quailes, and was never conquered himfelfe, but continued fill invincible; which quaile notwithflanding, the faid flave had caused to be rofted and to caten it: he fent for him and examined him thereupon whether it was true or no ? and when he confessed Yea, he commanded him presently to be crucified and nailed to the mast of his ship, He placed Arius in Sieilie for his agent and procuratour, in stead of one Theodorus: and when one presented unto hun a little booke or bill wherein were written these words, Theodornof Tharfis * the bauld is a theefe, how thinke you is he not? when he had read this bill, he didnothing else but subscribe underneath : I thinke no lesse. He received yeerely upon his birthday thus, it is cifrom Mecenas; (one of his familiar friends who converted daily with him) a cup for a prefent, 30 ther bald or Athenodorus the Philosopher being of great yeeres, craved licence with his good favour toretire unto his owne house from the court, by reason of his old age; and leave he gave him, but at his farewell, Athenodorus faid unto him: Sir, when you perceive your felfe to be mooved with ' choler, neither fay do nor ought before you have repeated to your felfe all the 24 letters in the Alphabet: Cefir heating this advertisement, tooke him by the hand: I have need still (quoth he) of your company and presence, and so reteined him for one yeere longer, saying withall this verfe,

The hire of filence, now I fee Is out of perill and jeopardie.

Having heard that King Alexander the Great at the age of two and thirtie yeeres, having per 40 formed most part of his conquests, was in doubt with himselfe and perplexed what to do and how to be employed afterwards: I woonder (quoth he) that Alexander thought it not a more difficult matter to governe and preserve a great empire after it is once gotten, than to winne and conquer it at first. When he had enacted the law Julia as touching adulterie, wherein is fet downe determinately the manner of processe against those that be attaint of that crime, and how fuch are to be punished who be convict thereof: it hapned that through impatience and heat of choler, he fell upon a yoong gentleman, who was accused to have committed adulterie with his daughter Julia, in so much as he buffetted him well and thorowly with his owne fifts: the yoong man thereupon cried unto him: Your felfe have made a law, Cafar, which or daineth the order and forme of proceeding against adulteries: whereat he was so dismaied & 50 abashed, yea and so repented himselfe of this miscariage, that he would not that day cat anic fupper. When he fent his nephew or daughters fonne Caim into Armenia, he praied unto the gods to accompanie him with that good will of all men which Pompey had, with the valiantiteffe of Alexander the Great, and with his owne good fortune. He faid, that he left unto the Romans for to fucceed him in the empire, one who never in his life had confulted twife of one thing, meaning Tyberius. Minding to appeale certaine yoong Romane gentlemen of ho nour and authoritie, who made a great noife and stirre in his presence; when he saw that for all

Apophthegmes of Kings, Princes and Captaines.

his first admonitions he could do no good, he faid unto them: Yoong gendemen give case unto me an old man, whom when I was yoong as you are, a uncient men would give eare nato. The people of Athers had offended and done him fome difpleafure, unto whom her wrote in this wife: You are not ignorant (I suppose) that I am displeased with you, so otherwise I would not have wintered in this little ifle Aegina: and more than thus, he neither did nor faid afterwards unto them. When one of Euryeles his accusers had at large with all libertie and La centionfnesse of speech uttered against him (without any respect) what he would, he let him run on still, untill he came to these words: And if these matters (Ca/ar) seeme not unto you notorious and heinous, command him to rehearfe unto me the feventh booke of Thueydides: C.efar 10 offended now at his audacious impudencie, commanded him to be had away and led to ptilon; butbeing advertised that he was the onely man left of the race and line of captaine Brasidas hee fent for him, and after he had given him fome few good admonitions, he let him goe. P./s had builthim a most stately and magnificent house, even from the foundation to the roose thereof, which when Cafar faw he faid: It rejoiceth my heart exceedingly to fee thee build thus, as if Rome should continue world without end.



LACONICKE APOPH

THEGMES, OR THE NOTA-

BLE SAYINGS OF LACE-DÆMONIANS.

The Summarie.

Lutarch had in the collection precedent among the Apophthegmes of renowned Greeks, mingled certaine notable fayings of King Agefilaus and other Laced emontans: but now he exhibiteth untous a treatife by it felfe of the fail Lacedemonians, who deferve no doubt to be registred apart by themselves, as being a people who fold other nations destitute of the true knowledge of God) least abused their tongue. In which regard also he maketha more ample description of their Apophihegmes, frewing sufficiently by so many pleasant speeches and lively reencounters, that it was no man well, if so finall a Saccase Stratta was) flourished so long being governed and peopled by men of such dexterity, and so well qualified in 40 the parts both of bodie and minde, and yet who knew better to do than to fay. Moreover, this Catalogue here is distinguished into source principall portions: whereof the first represented the woorthic speeches of Kings, Generall captaines, Lords and men of name in Lacedamon: the second containesh the Apophthegmes of such Lacedamonians, whose names are unknowen: the third describes heriefly the customes & ordinances which serve for the maintenance of their estate: and the fourth compitable certaine sayings of some of their women, wherein may be seene so much the more the valour & m. gnanumitie of that nation. As touching the profit that a man may draw out of thele Apophilic gives it is verie great in everiere spect: neither is there any person of what age or condition soever, but he may learne herein verie much, and namely, how to fleake little, to fay well, and to care himselfe vertuously, as the reading thereof will make proofe. We have noted also and observed somewhat in the margin, not particularising upon everie paint; but onely togive a taste and appetite unto the Reader for to meditate better thereof, and to apply unto his owne use, both it and all therest which he may there comprehend and un-

derstand.

LACONICKE

LACONICKE APOPH-

thegmes, or the notable fayings of

Lacedæmonians.



GESICLES a king of the Lacedæmonians, by nature given to heare and defirous to learne; when one of his familiar friends faid unto him: I woonder fir fince you take fo great pleafure otherwise to heare men speake wel and eloquently, that you do not entertaine to the famous fophister or rhetorician Philophanes for to teach you? made him this answer: It is because I defire to be their scholler, whose some also I am, that is, among whom I am borne. And to another who demaunded of him, how a prince could raigne in fafetic, not having about him his guards for the furetic of hisper-

Jon; Marie (quothhe) if he role his subjects as a good father governeth his children. A GESTLAUS the Great, being at a certaine feaft, was by lot chosen the mafter of the faid feaft; and to him it appertained to fet downe a certaine law, both in what manner and how much evericone ought to drinke; now when the butler or skinker asked him how much he should power out for everie one, he answered: If thou be well provided and have good store of wine, fill 20 out as much as everie man lift to call for, but b if thou have no great plentie of it, let everie gueft have able. There was a malefactor, who being in prifon endured constantly before him all maper of torments; which when he faw: What a curfed wretch is this and wicked in the higheltdegree, who doth employ this patience and refolute fortitude in the maintenance of fo fhamefull and mischievous parts, as he hath committed! One highly praised in his presence a certainemarecases were fler of Rheroricke, for that he could by his cloquent toong amplific finall matters, making them feeme great, wherupon he faid: I take him not to be a good fhomaker, who putteth on a big floe upon a litle foot. When one in reasoning & debating a matter upon a time challenged him, and faid: Sir, you gave your confent once unto it; and effloones iterating the fame words, charged him with his grant and promife: True indeed (quoth he) if the cause were just, I approved it in to good carneft & gave my promife; but if not, I did but barely fay the word & no more: but as the other replied againe and faid: Yea, but kings ought to accomplish & performe what soever they feeme once to grant, & it be but with the nod of the head: Nay (faid he againe) they are no more bound thereto, than those that come unto them are tied for to speake and demand all things just and reasonable, yea, and to observe the opportunity and that which fitteth and sorteth well with kings. When he heard any men either to praise or dispraise others, he said: That it behoved to know the nature, disposition and behaviour no lesse of those who so spake, than of the parties of whom they did speake. Being whiles he was very yoong, at a certeine publicke and festivall solemnitie, wherein yoong boies daunced (as the maner was) all naked, the warden or overfeer of the faid thew and daunce, appointed him a place for to beholde that fight, which was not verie 40 honourable; wherewith notwithstanding he stood well contented, albeit he was knowen to be heire apparant to the crowne, and already declared king; and withall faid: It is very well; for I will thew, that it is not the place which crediteth the person, but the person that giveth credit and honour to the place. A certeine Physician had ordeined for him in one sicknesse that he had, a course of physicke to cure his maladie, which was nothing easic and simple, but very exquisit, cutious and withall painfull. By Caffor and Pollux (quoth he) if my deftinie be not to live, I shall not recover though I take all the drogues and medicines in the world. Standing one day at the altar of Miner va furnamed Chalcences, where he facrificed an oxe, there chanced a loufe to bite him; and he was nothing difmaied and abashed to take the said louse, but before them all who were present, killed her, and swore by the gods, saying: That it would do him good at the heart, 50 to lerve them all fo, who should treacherously lay wait to assaile him, yea, though it were at the very altar. Another time, when he saw a little boy drawing a mouse which he had caught, out of a window, and that the faid mouse turned upon the boy and bit him by the hand, infomuch as thee made him leave his holde, and fo escaped, hee shewed the fight unto those that were present about him, and said: Loc, " if so little a beast and sillie creature as this, hath the heat to be revenged upon those that doe it injurie, what thinke you is meet and reason that men should doe? Being defirous to make warre upon the king of Persia, for the deliverance and freedome

rend a felfe.

of those Greeks who did inhabit Asishe went to consult with the oracle of Jupiter within the soreft Dodona, as touching this deffeigne of his: and when the oracle had made answere according to his minde, namely: That if it pleafed him, he thould enterprise that expedition; he communicated the fame to the controllers of State called Ephori; who willed him alfo to goe forward, and aske the counfell likewife of Apollo in the citie of Delphos; and being there, he entred into the chapell from whence the oracles were delivered, and faid thus: O Apollo, art thou also of the fame minde that thy father is ? and when he answered, Yea; whereupon hee was chosen for the generall to conduct this warre, and fet forth in his voiage accordingly. Tiffaphernes, lieutenant under the king of Perfix in Afa, being aftonied at his arrivall, made a composition and accord 10 with him at the very first; in which treatie, he capitulated and promised to leave unto his behoose, all the townes and cities of the Greeks which are in Asia, free and at libertie to be governed according to their owne lawes: meane while hee dispatched messenges in post to the king his matter, who fent unto him a strong and puissant armie; upon the considence of which forceshe gave defiance, and denounced warre, unlesse he departed with all speed out of Asia: Ageflam being well enough pleafed with this treacherous breach of the agreement, made femblant as though he would go first into Caria; and when Tiffaphernes gathered his forces in those parts to make head against him, all on a fudden he invaded Phrygia, where he won many cities, and raifedrichbooties from thence, faying unto his friends: That to breake faith and promife unjustly made unto a friend, was impietie; but to abufe and deceive an enemie, was not onely just, but 20 also pleasant and profitable. Finding himselfe weake in cavallery, he returned to the citie of Ephefia, where he intimated thus much unto the rich men, who were willing to be exempt from going in person unto the warres, that they should every one set sorth one horse and a man : by which meanes within few daies, he levied a great number both of horse and also of men able for fervice, in flead of those that were rich and cowards; wherein he faid: That he did imitate Agamemnon, who dispensed with a rich man who was but a dastard and durst not go to the warre, for one faire and goodly mare. When he folde those prisoners for flaves, whom he had taken in the warres, the officers for this fale, by his appointment, made money of their clothes and other furniture apart, but of their bodies, all naked by themfelves; now many chapmen there were, who willingly bought their apparell, but few or none had any minde to the perfons themselves, for 30 that their bodies were fort and white, as having bene delicately nourifhed and choifly kept within house and under covert, and so seemed for no use at all, and good for nothing: Agesilans flanding by : Beholde my mafters (quoth hee) this is that for which you fight, the wing their spoiles; but these be they against whom you fight, pointing to the men. Having given Tiffit phernes an overthrow in battel within the country of Lydia, and flaine a great number of his men, he overran and harried all the kings provinces: and when he fent unto him prefents of gold and filver, praying him to come unto some agreement of peace, Agesilans made this answere: As touching the treatie of peace, it was in the citie of Lacedamons power to doe what they would; but otherwise, for his owne part he tooke greater pleasure to enrich his soldiers than to be made rich himselfe : as for the Greeks, they reputed it an honour not to receive gifts from their ene-40 mies, but to be masters of their spoiles. Megabates the yoong some of spithridates, who was of vifage most faire and beautifull, came toward him as it were to embrace and kisse him, for that he thought (as he was right amiable) to be exceedingly beloved of him; but Agefilaus turned his face away, infomuch as the youth defifted and would no more offer himfelfe unto him; whereupon Agefilaus demanded the reason thereof, and seemed to call for him; unto whom his friends made answere: That himselfe was the onely cause, being afraid to kiffe so faire a boy; but if he would not feeme to feare, the youth would returne and repaire unto him in place right willingly : upon this he flood musting to himselfe a good while, and said never a word; but then at length hee brake foorth into this speech : Lethim even alone, neither is there any need now that you should say any thing or perswade him; for mine owne part I count it a greater matter 50 to be the conquerour, and have the better hand of fuch, than to win by force the strongest holde or the most puissant and populous citic of mine enemies; for Itake it better for a man to preferve and fave his owne libertic to himfelfe, than to take it from others. Moreover, he was in all other things a most precise observer in every point, of whatsoever the lawes commanded, but in the affaires and businesse of his friends, he said: That straightly to keepe the rigour of justice, was a very cloake and colourable pretence, under which they covered themselves who were not willing to doe for their friends: to which purpose there is a little letter of his found written unto Idrieus a prince of Caria, for the enlarging and deliverance of a friend of his, in these words: If

Wielm have not transgressed, deliver him; if he have, deliver him for the love of me; but howfoever, yet deliver him : and verily thus affected stood Agefilaus in the greatest part of his friends occasions; howbeit, there fell out some cases, when he respected more the publike utility, & used his opportunity therefore, according as he shewed good proofe. upon a time, at the dislodging of his campe in great hafte & hurry infomuch as he was forced to leave a boy who he loved full well behind him, for that he lay ficke: for when the partie called inftantly upon him by name, & befought him not to forfake him now at his departure, Agefilaus turning backe, faid: Oh how hard is it to be pitifull & wife both at once. Furthermore, as touching his diet & the cherishing of his bodie, he would not be ferved with more nor better than those of his traine and company. He never did cat untill he was fatisfied, nor tooke his drinke untill he was drunke, and as for his 10 fleepe, it never had the command and mastrie over him, but he tooke it onely as his occasions and affaires would permit: for cold and heat he was fo fitted and disposed, that in all seasons of the yeere he used to weare but one and the same fort of garments: his pavilion was alwaies pitched in the mids of his foldiers, neither had he a bed to lye in, better than any other of the meaneft: for he was woont to fay: That he who had the charge and conduct of others, ought to furmount those private persons, who were under his leading not in daintinesse and delicacie, but in fulferance of paine and travell, and in fortitude of heart and courage. When one askedthe question in his presence: What it was wherin the lawes of Lyeurgus had made the citie of Sparia better ? he answered: That this benefit it found by them; to make no recknoning at all of pleafures. And to another who marvelled to fee fo great simplicitie and plainnesse, as well in feeding 20 as apparell both of him, and also of other Lacedæmonians, he said : The fruit (my good friend) which we reape by this straight maner of life, is libertie and freedome. There was one who exhorted him to case and remit a little this straight and austere manner of living: For that (quoth he) it would not be used, but in regard of the incertitude of fortune; and because there may fall out fuch an occasion, and time as might force a man so to do : Yea but I (said Agesilaus) do willingly accustome my selfe hereto, that in no mutation and change of fortune, I should not seeke for change of my life. And in verie truth, when he grew to be aged, he did not for all his yeeres give over and leave his hardnes of life; and therfore when one asked him: Why(confidering the extreame cold winter and his old age besides) he went without an upper coat or gabardine he made this answer: Because yoong men might learne to do as much, having for an example be 30 fore their eies, the eldeft in their countrey, and fuch also as were their governors. We reade of him, that when he paffed with his armie over the Thafians countrey, they fent unto him for his refection meale of all forts, geese and other fowles, comfitures, and pastrie works, fine cakes, marchpanes, and fugar-meats, with all manner of exquifite viands, and drinks most delicate and costly: but of all this provision, he received none but the meale aforesaid; commanding those that brought the fame, to carrie them all away with them, as things whereof he flood in no need, and which he knew not what to do with: In the end after they had beene verie urgent, and importuned him so much as possibly they could to take that curtesse at their hands, he willed them to deale all of it among the Ilots, which were in deed the flaves that followed the campe: whereinon when they demaunded the cause thereof, he said unto them: That it was not meet for those 40 who professed valour and prowesse to receive such dainties; Neither can that (quoth he) which ferveth in flead of a bait to allure & draw men to a fervile nature, agree wel with those who are of a bold and free courage. Over and befides, these Thasians having received many favours and benefits at his hands, in regard whereof they tooke themselves much bound and beholden unto him, dedicated temples to his honour, and decreed divine worship unto him, no leffe than unto a verie god, and hereupon fent an embaffage to declare unto him this their refolution: when he had read their letters and understood what honour they minded to do unto him, he asked this one question of the embassadors; whether their State and countrey was able to deific men? and when they answered, Yea: Then (quoth he) begin to make your selves gods first, and when you have done fo, I will believe that you also can make me a god. When the Greeke Colonies in 50 Min, had at their parliaments ordained in all their chiefe and principall cities to erect his statues; he wrote backe unto them in this manner: I will not that you make for me any statue or image whatfoever, neither painted nor cast in mould, nor wrought in clay, ne yet cut and engraven any way. Seeing whiles he was in Asta, the house of a friend or hoste of his, covered over with an embowed roofe of plankes, beames and sparres foure-square; he asked him whether the trees in those parts grew so square? and when he answered, No, but they grew round: How then (quoth he) if they had growen naturally foure cornered, would you have made them round? He

was asked the question upon a time, how farre forth the marches and confines of Lacedamon did extend: then he shaking a javelin which he held in his hand: Even as farre (quoth he) as this is able to goe. One demaunded of him, why the citie of Sparta was not walled about? See you not (quoth he) the walles of the Lacedæmonians; and therewith shewed him the citizens armed. Another asked him the like question, and he made him this answer: That cities ought not to be fortified with stones, with wood and timber, but with the prowesse and valuance of the inhabitants. He used ordinarily to admonish his friends, not to seeke for to be rich in money, but in valour and vertue. And whenfoever he would have a worke to be finished, or service to be performed speedily by his foldiers; his maner was, to begin himselfe first to lay hand unto it in the face 10 of all. He flood upon this and would glorie in it; that he travelled as much as any man in his company: but he vaunted of this; that he could rule and command himfelfe more than in being aking. Unto one who woondering to see a Lacedæmonian maimed and lame, go to war, said unto the partie: Thou shouldest yet at least wife have called for an horse to serve upon: Knowest northou (quoth he) that in warre we have no need of those that will flie away, but of such as will make good and keepe their ground ? It was demaunded of him, how he wonne fo great honour and reputation; In despising death (quoth hee.) And being likewise asked why the Spattanes used the found of flutes when they fought? To the end (said he) that when in battell they march according to the measures, it may be known who be valiant and who be cowards. One there was who reputed the King of Persa happie, for that he attained verie young to so high and pu-20 islant a State: Why so (quoth he) for Priamus at his age was not unhappie nor infortunate. Having conquered the greater part of Afa, he purposed with himselfe to make warre upon the king himfelfe, as well for to breake his long repose, as also to hinder him otherwise and stop his courfe, who minded with money to bribe and corrupt the governors of the Greeke-cities and the oratours that lead the people; but amid this defeigne and deliberation of his he was called home by the Ephori, by reason of a dangerous warre raised by the Greeke-States, against the citicof Sparta, and that by meanes of great fummes of money which theking of Persia had sent thither; by occasion whereof, forced he was to depart out of Asia, saying: That a good prince ought to fuffer himfelfe to be commaunded by the lawes; and he left behinde him much forrow and a longing defire after him among the Greek-inhabitants in Asia after his departure : and for 30 that on the Persian pieces of coine, there was stamped or imprinted the image of an archer; he faid when he brake up his campe, that the king of Persia had chasted him out of Asia with thirtie thousand archers: for so many golden Dariques had been carried by one Timocrates unto Thebes and Athens, which were divided among the oratours and governors of those two cities, by meanes whereof they were follicited and ftirred to begin warre upon the Spartanes: fo hee wrote a letter missive unto the Ephori, the tenor whereof was this: Agestlans unto the Ephori, greeting. We have subdued the greatest part of Asia, and driven the Barbarians from thence; 32 allo in Ionia we have made many armours; but fince you commaund me to repaire home by a 33 day appointed: Know yee that I will follow hard after this letter, or peradventure prevent it; for >> the authority of command which I have, I hold not for my felfe, but for my native countrey and 39 40 cofederates; and then in truth doth a magistrate rule according to right & justice, when he obeieth the lawes of his countrey & the Ephori, or fuch like as be in place of government within the city. Having croffed the straights of Helle spont, he entred into the countrey of Thrace, where he requested of no prince nor State of the Barbarians, passage; but sent unto every one of them, demading whether he should passe as through the land of friends or enemies? And verily all others received him friendly, and accompanied him honorably as he journeyed through their countries: onely those whom they call Troadians, (unto them as the report goeth, Xerxes himselfe gave presents, to have leave for to passe,) demaunded of him for licence of quiet passage, a hundred talents of filver and as many women: but Agefilans after a fcoffing manner asked those who brought this meffage: And why doe not they themselves come with you for to 50 receive the money and women: so he led his armie forward; but in the way he encountred them well appointed, gave them battell, overthrew them, and put many of them to the fword, which done, he marched farther. And of the Macedonian king he demanded the fame question as before; who made him this answer: That he would consult thereupon: Let him consult (quoth he) whathe will, meane while we will march on: the king wondring at his hardinesse, stood in great feare of him, and fent him word to paffe in peaceable and friendly maner. The Theffalians at the same time were confederate with his enemies: whereupon he forraied and spoiled their countries as he went, and fent to the citie of Lariffa two friends of his, Xenocles and Soytha,

to found them & fee if they could practile effectually for to draw them, to the league and amite of the Lacedemonians, but those of Lariffa arrested those agents, and kept them in prison: whereupon all the rest taking great indignation, were of this minde, that Agesilaus could doe no leffe, but presently encampe himselse and beleaguer the citie Lariffa round about : but hee saide that for to conquer all Theffalie, he would not leefe one of those twaine: fo upon composition and agreement, he recovered and got them againe. Being given to understand that there was a battell fought neere to Cerimb, in which very few Lacedæmonians were flaine, but of Athenians, Argives, Corinthians and their allies, a great number: he was not once feene to havetaken any c joy or contentment at the newes of the victorie; but fighed deepely from the bottome of his heart, faying: Alas for unhappie Greece, who hath herieste destroied so many men Io ofher owne, as had beene sufficient in one battell to have defeated all the Barbarians at once. But when the Pharfalians came to fet upon the taile of his armie in his march, and to doe them mischiese and damage; with a force of five hundred horse, he charged and overthrew them; for which luckie hand, he caused a Trophe to be erected under the mountaines called Narthatii; and this victorie of all others pleased him most, for that with so small a troupe and cornet of his owne horfemen which himselfe put out and addressed against them, hee had given those the overthrow, who at all times vaunted themselves to be the best men at armes in the world. This ther came Diphridus, one of the Ephori unto him, being fent expresly from Sparta, with a commandement unto him, that incontinently he should with force and armes invade the countrey of Bastia; and he although he meant and purposed of himselfe some time after to enterwith a more puissant power; yet would he not disobey those great lords of the State, but sent for two regiments of tenthousands a peece, drawen out of those who served about Corinib, and with them made a rode into Beeria, and gave battell before Coronea, unto the Thebans, Athenians, Argives, and Corinthians, where he wan the field: which, as witneffeth Xenophon, was the greatest and most bloudie battell that had beene fought in his time: but true it is, that hee himselfe was in many places of his body fore wounded, and then being returned home, nor withstanding so many victories and happie fortunes, hee never altered any jot in his owne person, either for dietor otherwise for the maner of his life. Seeing some of his citizensto vaunt and boalt of themselves, as if they were more than other men, in regard that they nowished and kept horses of the game to runne in the race for the prize; he perswaded his sisterna- 20 med Cynifea, to mount into her chariot, and to goe unto that folemnitie of the Olympick games, there to runne a course with her horses for the best prize; by which, his purpose wasto let the Greekesknow, that all this running of theirs was no matter of valour, but a thing of coll and expence, to flew their wealth onely. He had about him Xenophon the philosopher, whom he loved and highly effeemed; him he requested to fend for his sonnes to be brought up in Lacedemon, and there to learne the most excellent and fingular discipline in the world, namely, the knowledge how to obey and to rule well. Being otherwise demaunded, wherefore he esteemed the Lacedæmonians more happy then other nations. It is (quoth he) because they profess and exercife above all men in the world, the skill of obeying and governing. After the death of Lysander, finding within the city of Sparta great factions and much siding, which the saide 40 Ly funder incontinently after he was returned out of Afta had raifed and ftirred up against him, he purposed and went about to detect his lewdnesse, and make it appeare unto the inhabitants of Sparta, what a dangerous medler he had beene whiles he lived: and to this purpose having read an oration found after his decease among his papers, which Creon verily the Halicatnaffian had composed; but Lysander meant to pronounce before the people in a general assembly of the citie, tending to the alteration of the State, and bringing in of many novelties, he was fully minded to have divulged it abroad: but when one of the auncient Senatours hadread the faid oration, and doubted the sequell thereof, considering it was so well penned, and grounded upon fuch effectuall and perswasive reasons , hee gave Agefilam counsell not to digge up Lyfander againe, and take him as it were out of his grave, but to let the oration lie buried with 50 him: whole advice he followed, and so rested quiet and made no more adoo: and as for those who underhand croffed him and were his adverfaries, he did not courfe them openly, but practifed and made meanes to fend fome of them foorth as captaines into certaine forrain expeditions, and unto others to commit certaine publike offices: in which charges they caried them felves fo, as they were discovered for covetous & wicked persons, and afterwards when they were called into question judicially, hee shewed himselfe contrary to mens expectation to helpe them out of trouble, and fuccour them fo, as that he gat their love and good wils, infomuch as

in the end there was not one of them his adverfarie. One there was who requested him to write in his favour to his hofts and friends which he had in Afia, letters of recommendation, that they would defend and maintaine him in his rightfull cause: My friends (quoth he) use to doe that which is equitie and just, although I should write never a word unto them. Another showed him the wals of a city how woonderfull strong they were and magnificently built, asking of him whether he thought them not stately and faire: Faire (quoth he) yes no doubt, for women to lodge and dwellin, but not for men. A Megarian there was who magnified and highly extolled before him the city Megara: Yoong man (quoth he) and my good friend, your brave words require some great puissance. Such things as other men had in great admiration, hee to would not feeme formuch as to take knowledge of. Upon a time one Callipides an excellent plaier in Tragedies, who was in great name and reputation among the Greeks, infomuch as all forts of men made no small account of him, when he chanced to meet him upon the way, faluted him first, and afterwards prefumptuoufly thrust himselfe forward to walke among others, with him, in hope that the king would begin to flew fome lightfome countenance, and grace him; but in the end, feeing that it would not be, he was fo bolde as to advance himfelfe, and fay unto him: Sirking, know you not me? and have you not heard who I am? Agefilaus looking wiffly upon his face : Art not thou (quoth he) Callipides Deicelittas? (for so the Lacedemonians use to call a jester or plaier.) He was invited one day to come and heare a man who could counterfeit most lively and naturally the voice of the nightingale; but he refused to go, saying: 20 Thave heard the nightingales themselves to sing many a time. Meneorates the Physician had a luckie hand in divers desperate cures; whereupon some there were who surnamed him Jupiter, and he himselfe would over arrogantly take that name upon him, infomuch as he prefunded in one letter of his, which he fent unto him, to fet this superscription: Meneurates Jupiter, unto king Agefilans witheth long life : but Agefilans wrote back unto him in this wife : Agefilans to Menegrates wisheth f good health. When Pharnabasis and Conon the high-admirals of the armada (Signifying under the Perfianking, were so farre-foorth lords of the sea, that they pilled and spoiled all the that becomes coafts of Laconia; and befides, the walles of Athens were rebuilded with the money that Pharna-banances, etc. basin furnished the Athenians withall; the lords of the counsell of Lacedamon were of advice, ottemper. that the best policie was, to conclude peace with the king of Persia; and to this effect sent Antal-30 cides one of their citizens to Tiribafus, with commission treacherously to betray and deliver into the barbarous kings hands, the Greeks inhabiting Asia; for whose libertie Agesilaus before had made warres: by which occasion Agestlaus was thought to have had his hand in this shamefull and infamous practife: for Antaleidas, who was his mortall enemie, wrought by all meanes possible to effect peace, because he saw that warre continually augmented the credit of Agestlaw, and made him most mightie and honourable; yet neverthelesse he answered unto one that reproched him with the Lacedæmonians, faying : That they were Medified, orturned Medians: Nay rather (quoth he) the Medians are Laconified and become Laconians, The question was propounded unto him upon a time, whether of these two vertues in his judgement was the better, Fortitude or Justice? and lie answered: That where Justice reigned, Fortitude bare no 40 fway, and was nothing worth; for if we were all righteous and honest men, there would be no need at all of Fortitude. The people of Greece dwelling in Asia, had a custome to call the king of Persia, The greatking: And wherefore (quoth he) is he greater than I, unlesse he more temperatand righteous? femblably he faid: That the inhabitants of Asia were good flaves, but naughtie freemen. Being asked how a man might win himselse the greatest name and reputation among men, he answered thus: If he say well, and yet do better. This was a speech of his: That a good captaine ought to thew unto his enemies, valour and hardineffe; but unto those that be under his charge, love and benevolence. Another demanded of him, what, children should learne in their youth? That (quoth he) which they are to doe and practife when they be men growen. He was Judge in a cause, where the plaintife had pleaded well, but the defendant 50 very badly; who eftfoones and at every fentence did nothing but repeat these words: O Agest-

one had sundermined thy house, or robbed thee of thy raiment, wouldest thou thinke and looke Ellethat had that a carpenter or mason were bound to repaire thy house, and the weaver or tailour for to sup-done the injuplie thy want of clothes? The king of Persia had writ unto him a letter missive after a generall rie is to make peace concluded; which letter was brought by a gentleman of Persia, who came with Callias the Lacedamonian, and the contents thereof was to this effect: That the king of Perfu defired to

law, a king ought to protect and helpe the lawes: unto whom Agefilaw answered in this wife: If

of, faying unto the meffenger: Thou shalt deliver this answere from me unto the king thymafter; that hee needed not to write any fuch particular letters unto mee, concerning private friendthip; for if hee friend the Lacedamonians in generall, and thew himselfe to love the Greeks, and defire their good, I also reciprocally will be his friend to the utmost of my power. but if I may finde that he practifeth treacherie, and attempteth ought prejudiciall to the state of Greece, well may be write epiftle upon epiftle, and I receive from him one letter after another. but let him truft to this: I will never be his friend. Hee loved very tenderly his owne children when they were little ones, infomuch as he would play with them up and downe the house, yea, and put a long cane betweene his legs, and ride upon it like an hobby horse with them for company; and if it chanced that any of his friends spied him so doing, he would pray them to say no- 10 thing unto any man thereof, untill they had babes and children of their owne. But during the continuall warres that he had with the Thebans, he fortuned in one battell to be grievouslie wounded; which when Antaleidas faw, he faid unto him: Certes you have received of the Thebans the due falarie and reward that you deserved, for teaching them as you have done, even against their willes how to fight, which they neither could nor ever would have learned to doe: for in truethit is reported, that the Thebans then became more martiall and warlike than ever before-time, as being inured and exercised in armes by the continuall roads and invasions that the Lacedamonians made; which was the reason, that ancient Lyeurgus in those lawes of his which be called Rhetræ, expresly forbad his people to make warre often upon one and the same nation, for feare lest in so doing their enemies should learne to be good souldiers. Whenhe 20 heard, that the allies and confederates of Lacedamon were offended and tooke this continual warfare ill, complaining that they were never in maner out of armes, but caried their hamesse continually upon their backs; and befides, being many more in number, they followed yet the Lacedæmonians, who were but an handfull to all them: he being minded to convince themin this, and to shew how many they were, commanded all his said confederates to assemble together, and to fit them downe pell-mell one with another; the Lacedamonians likewife to take their place over against them apart by themselves; which done, he caused an herald to cry aloud in the hearing of all: That all the potters should rise first; and when those were risen, that the braffe-founders and finithes should stand up; then the carpenters; after them the masons; and fo all other artifans & handi-crafts men, one after another; by which meanes all the confederats 20 wel-nere were rifen up, and none in maner left fitting; but all this while not a Lacedæmonian ftirred off his feat, for that forbidden they were all, to learne or exercise any mechanicall crast: then Agefilaus tooke up a laughter, and faid: Lo, my mafters and friends, how many more fouldiersare we able to fend into the warres, than you can make? In that bloodie battell fought at Leuctres, many Lacedamonians there were that ran out of the field & fled, who by the lawes and ordinances of the countrey were all their life time noted with infamy; howbeit, the Ephori leeing that the citie by this meanes would be dispeopled of citizens and lie desert, in that verie time when as it had more need than ever before of fouldiers, were defirous to devife a policie how to deliver them of this ignominic, and yet not with standing preferre the lawes in their entire and full force: therefore to bring this about, they elected Agefilaus for their law-giver, to enacta 40 new lawes; who being come before the open audience of the city, spake unto them in this manner: Yee men of Lacedemon I am not willing in any wife to be the author and inventor of new lawes: and as for those which you have alreadie, I minde not to put any thing thereto, to take fro, or otherwise to alter and chaunge them, and therefore mee thinkes it is meete and reasonable, that from to morrow forward, those which you have, should stand in their ful vigor, strength and vertue accustomed. Moreover, as few as there remained in the citie; (when Epaminondas was about to affaile it with a great fleete and a violent tempest (as it were) of Thebans and their confederates, puffed up with pride for the late victorie atchieved in the plaine of Leuctres) with those few (I say) hee put him and his forces backe, and cansed them to returne without effect: but in the battell of Mantinea, he admonished and advised the La-50 cedamonians to take no regard at all of other Thebans, but to bend their whole forces against Epaminondus onely, taying: That wife and prudent men alone, and none but they, were valiant and the fole cause of victorie; and therfore if they could vanquish him, they might eafily subdue all the rest, as being blockish sooles and men in deed of no valour; and so in truth it proved : for when as the victory now enclined wholy unto Epaminondas, and the Lacedamonians were at the verie point to be disbanded, discomfitted and put to flight: as the said Epaninondas turned for to call his owne men together to folow the rout, a Lacedaemonian chanced to

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give him a mortall wound, wherewith hee fell to the ground, and the Lacedamonians who were with Age silaus called themselves, made head againe, and put the victorie into doubtfull ballance : for now the Thebanes abated much their courage, and the Lacedamonians tooke the better hearts. Moreover, when the citie of Sparta was neere driven and at a low ebbe for money to wage warre, as being constrained to entertaine mercenarie fouldiers for pay, who were meere strangers; Agefilaus went into Aegypt, being sent for by the King of Aegypt to serve as his pensioner; but for that hee was meanely and simply apparelled, the inhabitants of the countrey despised him, for they looked to have seene the King of Sparta richly arraied and set out gallantly, and all gorgeously to be seene in his person like unto the Persian King; so soolish 10 a conceit they had of kings: but Agefilaus shewed them within a while, that the magnificence and majestie of Kings was to be acquired by wit, wisedome, and valour: for perceiving that those who were to fight with him and to make head against the enemie, were frighted with the imminent perill, by reason of the great number of enemies, who were two hundred thousand fighting men, and the small companie of their owne side; he devised with himselfe before the battell began, by some stratageme to encourage his owne men, and to embolden their hearts; which policie of hishe would not communicate unto any person; and this it was: He caused upon the infide of his left hand to be written this word, Victorie, backward; which done he tooke at the priefts or footh-faiers hand who was at facrifice, the liver of the beaft which was killed, and put it into the faid left hand thus written within, and fo held it a good while, making femblance as 20 if he mused deeply of some doubt, and seeming to stand in suspense & to be in great perplexity, untill the characters of the foresaid letters had a sufficient time to give a print, and leave their marke in the superficies of the liver; then thewed he it unto those who were to fight on his side, and gave them to understand that by those characters the gods promised victory; who suppofing verily that there was in it a certaine figne & prefage of good fortune, ventured boldly upon the hazard of a battell. And when the enemies had invested and beleaguered his campe round about; fuch a mightic number there were of them, and befides had begun to cast a trench on everiefide thereof, King * Nettanebas (for whofe aid he was thither come) follicited and intrea- * or Nettabios. ted him to make a fally and charge upon them before the faid trench was fully finished, and both ends brought together, he answered: That he would never impeach the deseigne and pur-30 pose of the enemies, who went (no doubt) to give him meanes to be equal unto them and to fight fo many to fo many: fo he staicd until there wanted but a verie little of both ends meeting; and then in that space betweene, he raunged his battell; by which device they encountred and fought with even fronts, and on equall hand for number: fo he put the enemies to flight, and with those few fouldiers which he had, he made a great carnage of them; but of the spoile and booty which he wan, he raifed a good round maffe of money, and fent it all to Sparta, Being now ready to embarke for to depart out of Aegypt, & upon the point of returne home, he died: and at his death expressly charged those who were about him, that they should make no image or statue whatfoever reprefenting the fimilitude of his personage: For that (quoth he) if I have done any vertuous act in my life time, that will be a monument sufficient to eternize my memorie; if 40 not, all the images, statues, and pictures in the world will not serve the turne, fince they be the

workes onely of mechanicall artificers which are of no woorth and estimation. AGESIPOLIS the fonne of *Cleombrotus*, when one related in his presence that *Philip* K.of Macedon had in few daies demolished and raced the citie Olimbus: Par die(quoth he) Philip will not be able in many more daies to build the like to it. Another faid unto him by way of reproch, that himselfe(king as he was, and other citizens men growen of middle age) were delivered as hostages, and neither their children nor wives: Good reason (quoth he) and so it ought to be according to justice, that we our felves and no others, should beare the blame and paine of our faults. And when he was minded to fend for certaine dog-whelps from home; one faid unto him; that there might not be fuffered any of them to goe out of the countrey: No more 50 was it permitted hecretofore (quoth hee) for men to be lead foorth, but now it is allowed well enough.

A GESIPOLIS the fonne of Pausanias (when as the Athenians said to him: That they were content to report themselves to the judgement of the Megarians as touching certaine variances and differences between them, and complaints which they made one against another) spake thus unto them: Why my mafters of Athens, this were a great shame indeed, that they who are the chiefe and the verie leaders of all other Greeks, should lesse skill what is just than the Megarians.

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A G 15 the fonne of Archidanrus, at what time as the Ephori spake thus unto him: Take with you the yoong & able men of this citie, & go into the countrey of fuch an one, for he wil conduct you his owne felfe, as farre as to the verie castle of his city: And what reason is it (quoth he) my masters, you that be Ephori, to commit the lives of so many lustie gallants into his hands, who is a traitour to his native countrey? One demaunded of him what science was principally exercifed in the citie of Sparta: Marie (quoth he) the knowledge how to obey and how to rule. He was woont to fay, that the Lacedamonians never asked, how many their enemies were ? but where they were. Being forbidden to fight with his enemies at the battell of Mantinea, because they were far more in number: He must of necessity (quoth he) fight with many that would have the comand & rule of many. Unto another who asked what number there might be in all of the 10 Lccadæmonians? As many (quoth he) as are enough to chase and drive away wicked persons. In palling a long the wals of Corinth, when he faw them fo high, so wel built, and so large in extent: Whath maner of women (quoth he) be they that inhabit within? To a great matter of Rhetorick who praising his owne skill & profession, chaunced to conclude with these words; Whenall is done, there is nothing so puissant as the speech of man: Why then be like (quoth he) so long as you hold your peace you are of no worth. The Argives having bin once already beaten & defaited, returned nevertheleffe into the field & thewed themselves in a bravado more gallantly than before, and prest for a new battell: and when therupon he saw his auxiliaries and confederates to be somewhat troubled and frighted: Be of good cheere (quoth he) my masters and friends, for if we, who have given them the foile be affraid, what thinke you are they themselves. Acct. 20 taine embassador from the citie Abdera, came to Sparta, who made a long speech as touching his meffage, and after he had done and held his toong a little, he demaunded at last a dispatch. and faid unto him: Sir, what answer would you that I should carry backe to our citizens: You thall fay unto them (quoth Agis) that I have fuffred you to speake all that you would, and as long as you lift and that I lent you mine care all the while without giving you one word again. Some there were who commended the Eliens for most just men and precise in observing the folemnitie of the Olympick games: And is that fo great a matter and fuch a wonder (quoth he) if in five yeeres space they exercise justice one day? Some buzzed into his eares that those of the other roial house envied him: Then (quoth he) doe they suffer a double paine; for first and formost their owne evils will vexe and crouble themselves; then in the second place, the good 30 things in me and my friends will torment them. Some one there was of advice, that he should give way and paffage to his enemies when they were put to flight: Yea, but marke this (quoth he) if we fet not upon them who runne away for cowardife, how shall we fight against them that state and make good their ground by valour? One there was who propounded a meanes for the maintenance of the Greekes libertie; which (no doubt) was a generous and magnanimous courfe, howbeit very hard to execute; unto who he answered thus: My good friend, your words require great store of money, and much strength. When another faid that king Philip would watch them well enough that they should not set foote within other parts of Greece: My friend (quoth he) it shall content us to remaine and continue in our owne countrey. There was anotherembaffador from the city Perint bus, came to Lacedamon, who having likewise made along 40 oration, in the end demaunded of Agis what answer he should deliver backe to the Perinthians: Mary what other but this (quoth he) that thou couldest hardly finde the way to make an end of fpeaking, and I held my peace all the while. He went upon a time fole embaffador to king Philip, who faid unto him: You are an embaffador alone indeed: True (quoth he) and good enough to one alone as you are. An auncient citizen of Sparta faid unto him one day, being himfelfe aged also, and far stept in yeeres: Since that the old lawes and customes went every day to mine and were neglected, feeing also that others farre woorse were brought in and stood in their place, all in the end would be naught and runne to confusion; unto whom he answered merilie thus: Then is it at it should be, and the world goes well enough if it be so as you say; for I remember when I was a little boy, I heard my father fay, that every thing then was turned upfide 50 downe, and that in his remembraunce all wentkim kam; and he also would report of his father that he had feene as much in his daies 5110 marvell therefore if things grow woorse and woorse; more woonder it were if they should one while be better, and another while continue still in the fame plight. Being asked on a time how a man might continue free all his life time; he answered: By despising death.

AGIS the younger, when Demades the oratour faid unto him: That the Lacedæmonians fwords were fo short that these juglers and those that plaied legerdemain, could swallow them

downe all once, made him this answete: As short as they be the Lacedomonians can reach their enemies with them wel enough. A certaine leud fellow and a troublefome, never linned asking him, who was the best man in all Sparta: Mary (quoth Agis) even he who is unlikest thy selfe.

AGIS, the laftking of the Lacedemonians, being forelaid and furpriled by treachery, fo that he was condemned by the Ephori to die; as he was ledde without forme of law and juffice to the place of execution for to be strangled with a rope, perceiving one of his servants and miniflers to fled teares; faid thus unto him; Weepe not for my death; for in dying thus unjuftly and against the order of law, I am in better case than those that put me to death; and having said

these words, he willingly put his necke within the halter.

ACROTATUS, when as his owne father and mother requested his helping hand for to effect a thing contrarie to reason and justice, staied their sure for a time: but seeing that they importuned him still and were very instant with him; in the end said unto them: So long as I was under yourhands, Ihad no knowledge norfence at all of justice; but after that you had betaken me to the common-weale, to my countrey, and to the lawes thereof, and by that meanes informed and instructed me in what you could in righteousnesse and honestie, I will endevour and ftrainemy felfe to follow the faid inftruction and not you; and for that I know full well that you would have me doe that which is good, and confidering that those things be best (both for a private person, and much more for him who is in authoritie and a chiefe magistrate) which are just; fure I will doe what you would have me, and refuse that which you say unto me.

ALCAMENES the sonne of Telectus, when one would needs know of him, by what meanes a man might preferve a kingdome best, made this answer: Even by making no account at all of lucre and gaine. Another demanded of him wherefore he would never accept nor receive the gifts of the Messenians? For footh (quoth he) because if I had taken the, I should never have had peace with the lawes. And when a third person said: That he marvelled much how he could live fo straight and neere to himselfe, considering he had wherewith and enough: It is (quoth he) a commendable thing, when a man having fufficient and plentie can nevertheleffe live within

the compasse of reason, and not according to the large reach of his appetite.

ALEXANDRIDAS the fonne of Leon, seeing one to torment himselfe, and taking on desperately because he was banished out of his native countrey: My friend (quoth he) never fare so 30 for the matter nor vexe thy heart fo much, for being constreined to remoove so farre from thy countrey, but rather for being i fo remote from justice. Unto another who in delivering good i A man matter unto the Ephori, and to very great purpose, but in more words a great deale thanneed output to was: My friend (quoth he) thou speakest indeed that which becommeth, but otherwise than is for community becomming. One asked him why the Lacedæmonians committed the charge of all their lands ting finner, unto the Ilotes their flaves, & did not husband and tend them their owne felves: Because (quoth ing exiled. he) we conquered and purchased them, for that we would looke to our selves, and not tend them. Unto another who held that it was nothing but defire of credit and reputation that undid men, and who foever could be delivered from the care thereof were happie; he replied thus againe: If it be true that you fay, we must confesse and graunt that wicked men, who do wrong 40 unto others are happy; for how can a church-robber or theefe who spoileth other men of their goods be defirous of honour and glorie? When another demanded of him, how it came to passe that the Lacedamonians were so hardy and resolute in all occurrences and dangers of warre, he rendred this reason: Because (quoth he) we studie and endevour to have a reverend regard of our lives, and not to enterteine the feare of our lives, as others doe. It was demaunded of him, wherefore the Seniours or Elders far many daies in deciding and judging criminall causes ? and why albeit the accused party were by them acquit, yet he continued nevertheleffe in the state of a guiltieand accused person? As for the Senatours (quoth he) they be long indeciding capitall matters, where men are brought in question for their life; because those judges who have committed an errour in condemning a manto die, can never rectific 50 and amend that fentence: and as to the partie absolved and enlarged, he must remaine alwaies liable and subject to the law, because they might ever after enquire and judge better of his fact according to the law.

ANAXANDER the sonne of Emperates, being asked the question why he and such other did not gather money and lay it up in the publicke treasury, made this answere: For feare lest wee being keepers thereof, should be corrupted and perverted thereby.

ANAXILAS, unto one who marvelled why the Ephorirose not up and made obeisance to the kings, confidering that by the kings they were ordeined and put into that place? gave this

reason: Even because they are created Ephori, that is to say, overseers and controllers of them.

ANDROCLIDAS the Laconian, being maimed and lame of a legge, would nevertheleffe be enrolled in the number of those who were to serve in the warres; and when some withstood him because he was impotent of that legge: Why my masters (quoth hee) they be not the men of good footmanship, who can run away, but such as stand their ground that must fight with ene-

Laconicke Apophthegmes.

ANTALCIDAS making meanes to be admitted into the confraternitie of the Samothracian religion, when the prieft his confessour, in houseling and shriving him, demanded which was the greatest finne that ever hee had committed in all his life ? If (quoth he) I have committed any finne all my life time, the gods know the fame well enough themselves. When a certaine to Athenian miscalled the Lacedæmonians, terming them ignorant and unlearned sots: Indeed (quoth he) we onely of all the Grecians, are the men who have not learned of you to do ill. And when another Athenian bragged, and faid: We have chaled you many a time from the river Cephifus: But we (quoth he) never yet drave you from the river Eurotas. Unto another, who was defirous to know how one might please men best, he shaped this answere: In case he speake alwaies that which pleafeth, and doe that which profiteth them. A certeine great mafter and professour of Rhetoricke, would needs one day rehearse and pronounce before him an oration composed in the praise of Hereules: And who ever (quoth he) dispraised him ? And unto Age. filans, being fore wounded in a battell by the Thebans: Nay (quoth he) you are well enough ferved and receive a due Minervall for your schoolage at the Thebans hands, whom you have 20 taught even against their willes that which they knew not, nor were willing to learne, to wit, for to fight: for in tructh, by meanes of the continual incursions and expeditions that Agestian made against them, they became valiant warriours. Himselfe was woont to say: That the walles of Sparra, were their yong men; and their confines, the heads of their pikes. Unto another, who demanded why the Lacedamonians fought with fuch short curtelaxes: To the end (quothhe) that we might cope and close more neerely to our enemies.

ANTIOCHUS being one of the Ephori, heardfay that king Philip had bestowed upon the Messenians certeine lands for their territorie: But hath Philip (quoth he) given them withall,

forces to be able for to defend the same?

 A_{RIGEUS} , when fome there were that highly commended certeine dames, not their owne 30 wives, but wedded to other men: By the gods (quoth he) of good, honest, and faire women, there ought no vaine speeches to bee made, for that indeed they are not known of any other but their husbands who live ordinarily with them. As he passed once thorow the citie Selinus in Sicilie, he chanced to reade this epitaph engraven upon a sepulchre or tombe:

Thefe men before Sclinus gates were staine in bloudie fight, Aswhilom they fought for to quench the lawle (letyrantsmight.

And well deferved you (quoth he) to die, for feeking to extinguish tyranny when it burnethout of a light fire; for cleane contrariwife, you should have kept it from burning altogether.

ARISTON hearing one praise and discourse of a sentence that king Cleomenes was wont to use, at what time as the question was asked: What was the office of a good king? Mary evento do good unto his friends & hurt unto his enemies: But how much better (answered Ariston) my good friend, were it to benefit friends indeed, and of enemies to make good friends? but of this notable fentence, no doubt, Socrates was the authour, and upon him it is rightly fathered. Also when one demanded of him how many in number the Lacedæmonians were: As many (quoth he) as be fufficient to chase away their enemies. A certeine Athenian pronounced a funerall oration which he had penned in the praise of their owne citizens, who had bene defaited and were flaine by the Lacedamonians in a battel: If your countreymen (quoth he) were fo valiant as you fay, what thinke you then of ours, who vanquished them? When one praised Cha-50 rilaus upon a time, for that hee shewed himselfe courteous indifferently to all men: Andhow can he deserve (quoth Ariston) to be commended, who is kind and friendly to wicked persons? Another reproved Hecataus a professiour in Rhetoricke, who being invited to eat with them at their feasts which they call Sy Suia, spake never a word all dinner time; unto whom he made this answere: It seemeth that you are ignorant, that he who knoweth how to speake wel, can skill like wife of the time when it is good to speake and when to keepe filence.

ARCHIDAMUS the fonne of Zeuxidamus, when one asked him who they were that

governed the citie Sparka? answered: The lawes first, and then the magistrates who ruled according to those lawes. When he heard one praising exceedingly a plaier on the harpe, and for his skill in musticke having him in fingular admiration: My friend (quoth he) what honourable reward shall they have at your hands, who be men of prowesse and valour, when you commend fohighly an harper? Another recommended unto him a musician and faid: Oh, what an excellentchaunter is there ? This is (quoth he) even as much as a good cooke or maker of pottage among us: meaning that there was no difference at all betweene giving pleasure by found of voice or instruments, and the dreffing of viands or seasoning sewes. One promised to give him wine that was very sweet and pleasant: And to what purpose? (quoth he) considering that it fer-10 veth but for to draw on more wine, and to make folkedrinke the rather; and besides, to cause men to be leffe valiant and unfit for any good things. Lying at fiege before the city of Corinth, he marked how there were hares flarted even close under the walles thereof; upon which fight he faid thus to those that served with him : Our enemies are case to be surprised and caught, when they are fo lazie and idle, as to fuffer hares to lie and harbour hard under their citie walles. even within the trench and towne-ditch. He had bene chosen an umpire betweene two parties who were at variance, for to make them friends; and he led them both into the temple of Diana furnamed Chalceacos, where he willed them both to promife and fweare, laying their hands upon the altar of that goddesse, that they would both twaine observe from point to point whatsoever he should award; which they undertooke to doe, and bound it with an oath accordingly: I 20 judge then (quoth he) that neither of you both shall depart out of this temple, before you have made an attonement, and pacified all quarrels betweene you. Dionysus the tyrant of Sicily, had fentunto his daughters certeine rich robes to weare; but he refused them, and faid: I greatly feare, that when they have this raiment upon them, they will feeme more foule and ilfavoured than now they do. Seeing his owne fonne in a battell, fighting desperately against the Athenians: Either (quoth he) augment thy strength, or abate thy courage.

ARCHIDAMUS the sonne of Agestlaus, whenking Philip after the battell which he had won against the Greeks, neere vnto Cheronea, wrote unto him a rough and sharpe letter; returned unto him backe againe this answere in writing: If you take measure now of your owne shadow, you shall finde it no bigger than it was before the victoric. Being demanded the question upon 30 a time, how farre the territory of the Lacedaemonians did extend? he answered: Even as farre as they can reach with their javelins. Periander the physician was a sufficient manin his art, and esteemed with the best and most excellent, howbeit he wrote in verse, but with a bad grace; unto whom he faid one day thus: I marvell much Periander whether you had rather be named an ill poet or a good physician? In the warre which the Lacedamonians made against King Philip, fome gave him counsell to be wel advised where he fought, and to battell as far as he could from his owne countrey; unto whom he replied againe: This is not the thing (quoth hee) that wee ought to regard, but rather to confider and thinke upon this, how we may quit our felves fo well in fight, that we be winners in the end. And to those who praised him for that he had woonne a field of the Arcadians, he made this answer: It had beene better that we had overcome them ra-40 ther in wifedome and prudence than in might and force. About the time that hee entred by

force and armes into the countrey of Areadia, being advertised that the Eleans sent aide and fuccor unto the Arcadians, he wrate unto them in this fort; Archidamus to the Eleans, greeting: A bleffed thing it is to be quiet & at repose. When the confederate & allied nations in the Peloponnesiacke warre, demaunded how much money would serve for the defraying of the charges to the faid warre belonging? and requested him to taxe each one how much they should contribute: War(quoth he)knoweth no fum, & is not waged at any certaine rate. Seeing a shot which was levelled from an engine of batterie newly brought out of Sicily: O Hercules (quoth he) now is mans proweffe gone for ever. And for that the Greeks would not give credit and be perfwaded by him, to performe those conditions of peace which had been made with Antigo-50 nm and Craterm, two Macedonians, for to live in their ancient libertie; alledging that the La-

cedæmonians would be lords more rigorous and insupportable than the Macedonians: The sheepe (quoth he) hath alwaies one and the same voice; but man changeth it oftentimes in divers forts, untill he have brought about and finithed his deffeignes.

ASTICRATIDAS, when one faid, after that King Agis had lost the field to Antigonus, about the citie Megale: O poore Lacedæmonians, what will you doe now? will you become flaves to the Macedonians canswered thus: And why for Can * Antigonus forbid and let us, but *or Antipates. we will die in fight for Sparta?

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B 1 As being surprised by an ambush, which was laid for him by *Iphierates* captaine of the Athenians, when his fouldiers faid: Now captaine what is to be done? What else (quoth hee) but to advise you to save your selves, and to resolve my selfe for to die in fight.

Brast Das found among dried figs a mouse that bit him by the hand, so as he was glad to let her goe, whereupon he said unto those that were present: Lo, how there is not the least creature that may be, but it is able to make shift and save it life, in case it have but the heart to desend it selfe against those who assaid it is a large trainer skirmish he was wounded with a javellin thomeon whis buckler, and when he had drawen the head out of his bodie, with the verie same weapon he slew his enemie who had hurt him 3 and to those who asked him, how he came so wounded he answered thus: Because my buckler deceived me. When he put himselse into his journey to the warres, he wrote thus unto the Ephori: All that is requisite for this warre as touching the warre, do I will to my power or die for it. After he had lost his life in the quartell of delivering the Greeks out of servitude who inhabit in Thracia, the embassions which were sent from those parts to give thankes unto the Lacedæmonians, went to visit his mother Argistenis; of whom the demanded first, whether her some Brasidas died manfully or no? And when the Thracian embassingly praised him, insomuch as they said, that he had not left his selfow behinde him: Oh (quoth shee) you are much deceived my friends; Brasidas was in deed a valiant and hardie man, but there be in Sparta many more farre better than he.

DAMONIDAS hapned to be placed last in the dance by him who was the master choi. ster; whereat hee was no otherwise displeased, but said thus unto him: Well done, forthou, that found the meanes to make this place honourable, which heeretofore was but base and in-

DAMIS, when letters had beene written unto him as touching Alexander the Great, namely how Alexander by their fuffrages was declared a god; wrote backe in this wife: We grant that Alexander thould be called a god fince he will needs have it fo.

DAMINDAS, when King Philip was entred with a maine armie unto Peloponne fun, where upon one faid unto him: The Lacedamonians are in daunger to fuffer many calamities, unless they can make meanes to agree and compound with him: Thou womanish man (quoth hee) how can hee bring us to fuffer any miseries, considering that we make no reckoning at all of death?

Dercilions was fent embaffador unto King Pyrrhus, what time as he had his armie emeamped upon the verie confines of Sparta: and Pyrrhus enjoined the Lacedæmonians to receive againe their King Cleonimus whom they had banished, or else he would make them to understand, that they were no more valiant than other men; upon whom Dercyllidus thus replied: If you be a god we fear you not, because we have no way offended you; but if you be a man, know you that you are no whit better than we.

DEMARATUS talked and communed one day with Orontes, who gave him blunt speeches and hard words; and when one who heard their talke, faid afterwards: Oromes is verie bold with you, and uleth you but homely ô Demaratus: Nay (quoth he) he hath nothing faulted to meward; for those who glose and flatter in all their speech, be they who doe most harme, and not 40 fuch as speake upon ill will and malice. One seemed to demaund of him, wherefore at Sparta those were noted with infamic, who in a discomfiture threw away their bucklers, and not they who cast from them their morrions, cuiraces or breast-plates: Because (quoth he) these armors and head-pieces, serve onely for those who weare them; but their sheilds & bucklers, have their use also for the common strength of the whole battailon. When he heard a certaine musician fing: Beleeve me (quoth hee) the fellow plaies the foole verie well. He was upon a time in a great companie & affembly, where he continued a long while and spake never a word; by occafion whereof one faid unto him: Is it for folly and want of matter to talke of, that you are lostlent? How can it be folly (quoth he) for a foole can never hold his peace? One asked of him what was the cause why he was banished out of Sparta, being king thereof? Because (quoth hee 50 the lawes there be miftreffes and command all. A certaine Persian by continual gifts had inveagled and gotten from him in the end a yoong boy whom hee loved, and afterwards in manner of a skorne faid unto him: I have fo well hunted, that at last I have caught your love: Not 10(quoth he) I sweare by the gods, but rather you have bought it. A certaine gentleman of Perfia there was, who had rebelled against the king of Persia; but Demaratus by reasons and remoniltrances to wrought with him, that he perswaded him to yeeld and returne againe to his allegeance; the king incontinently minded to put this Persian to death; but Demaratus diverted him;

and faid: Sir, this were an utter shame for you, if when you could not punish him for rebellion being your enemie you should proceed to his execution now, when he is become againe your fervitor and friend. There was a certaine jester and parasite who used to play his part at the kings table, and gave unto *Demaratus* estsoones, biting quips, and taunts by way of reproch for his exile; but hee answered him and said: Good fellow, I am not disposed to fight with thee now at this time, being put as I am out of my biace and the raunge of my life, and having lost my standing.

*EMEREPES the Ephorus, cut two strings of the nine with an hatchet, in Phrynis his harpe, * or F. frete.

faying withall: Then marre not musicke.

 $E_{PAENETUS}$ was woont to fay: That liers were the cause of all the offences and crimes in

Eubold As hearing fome to praife another mans wife, reprooved them for it, & faid: That ftrangers who were not of the house, ought not in any respect to speake of the behaviour and manners of any dame.

EUDAMIDAS the sonne of Archidamus and brother to Agis, having espied Xenocrates, a man well striken in yeeres, studying philosophie hard, with other yoong schollers in the Academie.demaunded what old man that might be : one standing by answered, that he was a wife man and a great clearke, one of those who sought after vertue: If he be still seeking of it (quoth hee) when will he use and practise it? Having heard a Philosopher dispute and discourse upon this 20 paradox: That there was no good captaine in warre, but the great clarke and learned Sage onely: This is (quoth he) a strange proposition and a woonderfull, but the best is, he that mainteinethit, is in no wife to be credited, for his eares were never yet acquainted fo much as with the found of a trumpet. He came one day into the open schoole or auditorie to heare Xenocraresdifcourse at large upon some question; but it fell out so, that he had new done when hee entred into the place; then one of his companie began to fay: Surely, fo foone as we were present, he became silent: He did well (quoth Eudamidas) if he had made an end of that which he had to fay : but when the other replied: It were not amiffe yet that we heard him, and that he would fet to it againe: If we (quoth Eudamidas) should goe to visit a man in his house who had supped already before we came, were it well done of us to pray him to goe to a new supper for 30 the love of us? It was once demanded of him why he alone would feeme to approove reft, quietnesse and peace, considering that all his fellow-citizens with one consent were of opinion to take armes and make warre upon the Macedonians? It is (quoth he) because I neither need nor am defirous to convince them of their errour and lying. Another for to animate him to this warre, alleaged the proweffes and worthy exploits atchieved by them at other times against the Persians: Methinkes (quoth he) you know not what you say, namely, that because we have overcome a thousand sheepe, we should therefore set upon fiftie woolves. He was upon a time in place to heare a mufician fing, who did his part very well; and one asked him, how he liked the man, and what he thought of him? Mary (quoth he) I take him to be a great amuser of men in a small matter. When another highly extolled the citie of Athens in his pre-40 fence: And who can justly and dulie (quoth he) praise that citie which no man ever loved, for being made better in it? When Alexander the great had caused open proclamation to be made in the great affemblie at the Olympick games: That all banished persons might returne unto their owne countries, except the Thebanes: Behold (quoth Eudamidas) heere is a wofull proclamation for you that be Thebans; howbeit honorable withall, for it is a figne that Alexander feareth none but you onely in all Greece. A certaine citizen of Argos faid one day in his hearing: That the Lacedæmonians after they be gone once out of their owne countrey and from the obeifance of their lawes, proove woorle for their travelling abroad in the world: But it is contrary with you that be Argives and other Greekes (quoth he) for being come once into our citie Sparta you are not the woorse, but proove the better by that meanes. It was demaunded of 50 him what the reason might be, wherefore they used to facrifice unto the Muses before they did hazard a battell: To the end (quoth he) that our valiant acts might be well and woorthilie

Eurycrayidas the sonne of *Anaxandrides*, when one asked him why the *Ephori* sat every day to decide and judge of contracts between emen: For that (quoth he) we should learne to keepe our faith and truth even among our enemies.

Zeuxidamus likewise answered unto one who demanded of him why the statutes and ordinances of prowesse and martiall fortitude, were not reduced into a booke, and given in wri-

ting unto young men for to reade? Because (quoth he) we would have them to be acquainted with deeds and not with writings. A certaine Aetolian faid : That warre was better than peace. unto those who were desirous to shew themselves valorous men: And not warre onely (quothhe) for by the gods, in that respect better is death than life.

Laconicke of Apophthegmes.

HERONDAS chaunced to be at Athens, what time as one of the citizens was apprehended. arraigned, and condemned for his idleneffe, judicially and by forme of law; which when he understood, and heard a brute and noise about him, he requested one to shew him the pattiethat

was condemned for a gentlemans life.

THEARIDAS whetted his sword upon a time, and when one asked him if it were sharpe, he

answered: Yea, sharper than a flanderous calumniation.

THEM IS TEAS being a prophet or foothfaier, foretold unto king Leonidas the difcomfiture that should happen within the passe or streights of Thermopyla, with the losse both of himselfe and also of his whole armie : whereupon being fent away by Leonidas unto Lacedamon, under a colour and pretense to enforme them of these future accidents; but in truth, to the end that he should not miscarie and die there with the rest; he would not so doe, neither could be sorbeate but fay unto Leonidas: I was fent hither for a warrior to fight, and not as an ordinary courrier and

meslenger to carrie newes betweene.

THEOPOMPUS when one demaunded of him how a king might preserve his kingdome and roiall estate in safetie? said thus: By giving his friends libertie to speake the truth, and with all his power by keeping his subjects from oppression. Unto a stranger who told him that in 20 his owne countrey & among his citizens he was commonly furnamed Philolacon, that is to fay, a lover of the Laconians : It were better (quoth he) that you were called * Philopolites than Philo-Lucon. Another embassiadour there came from Elia, who faid: That he was fent from his fellowcitizens, because he onely of all that citie loved and followed the Laconike maner of life; of him Theopompus demaunded: And whether is thine or the other citizens life the better? he answered Mine: Why then (quoth he) how is it possible that a citie should continue safe, in which there being fo great a number of inhabitants, there is but one good man? There was one faid before him, that the citie of Sparta maintained the state thereof entier, for that the kings there knew how to governe well: Nay (quoth he) not fo much therefore, as because the citizens there can skill how to obey well. The inhabitants of the citie Pyle, decreed for him in their generall com- 30 fell exceeding great honors; unto whom he wrote backe againe: That moderate honors time is woont to augment, but immoderate to diminish and weare away.

THERYCION returning from the citic Delphos, found king Philip encamped within the fireight of Peloponnesus, where he had gained the narrow passage called Isthmos, upon which the city of Corinth is seated; whereupon he said: Peloponnesus hathbut bad porters and warders of

you, Corinthians.

THECT AMENES, being by the Ephori condemned to death, went from the judgement place finiling away; and when one that was prefent asked him, if he despised the lawes and judiciall proceedings of Sparta? No iwis (quoth he) but I rejoice heereat, that they have condemned me in that fine which I am able to pay and difcharge fully, without borrowing of any friend, 40

or taking up money at intereft.

HIPPODAMUS, as Agu was with Archidamus in the campe, being fent with Aguby the king unto Sparra, for to provide for the affaires of weale publicke and looke unto the State; refused to goe, faying: I cannot die a more honorable death, than in fighting valiantly for the defence of Sparta: now was he fourescore yeeres old and upward and tooke armes, where hee raunged himselfe on the right hand of the king, and there fighting by his side right mansully, was flaine.

HIPPOCRATIDAS, when a certaine prince or great lord of Caria had written unto him, that he had in his hands a Lacedamonian, who having beene privie unto a conspiracie and treason intended against his person, revealed not the same; demaunding withall, his counsell 50 what he should doe with him; wrote back againe in this wife: If you have hecretofore done him any great pleasure and good turne, put him to death hardly and make him away; if not, expell him out of your countrey, confidering he is a base fellow uncapable altogether of vertue. He chaunced to encounter upon the way a yoong boy, after whom followed one who loved him; and the boy blushed for shame; whereupon he said unto him: Thou oughtest to goe in their company my boy with whom thou being scene, needest not to change colour for the mat-

CALLICRATIDAS

CALLICRATIDAS being admirall of a fleet, when the friends of Lylander requested him to pleasure them in killing some of their enemies; and in consideration thereof he should receive of them fifty talents; notwithstanding he stood then in very great need of mony for to buy victuals for the mariners, yet would not be grant their request; and when Cleander, one of his counfell, faid unto him: I would (I trow, if I were in your place) take the offer: So would I also (quoth he) if I were in yours. Being come to Sardis unto Cyrus the yoonger, who at that time was an allie and confederate of the Lacedæmonians, to fee if hee could speed himselfe of him with money for to enterteine mariners and mainteine the armada; the first day he gave him to understand that he was thither come to speake with him; but answere was made: That the king to was at the table drinking: Well (quoth he) I will give attendance untill he have made an end of his beaver: after he had waited a long time, and law that it was impossible for to have audience thatday, he departed out of the court for that time, being thought very rude and uncivill in fo doing: the morow after, when likewise he was given to understand that he was drinking againe, and that he would not come abroad that day; he made no more adoe, but returned to Fphefus, from whence he came, faying withall: That he ought not fo farre foorth to take paines for to be provided of money, as to doe any thing unfeeming Sparta: and befides, he fell a curfing those who were the first that endured such indignitie, as to subject themselves unto the insolencie of Barbarians, and who taught them to abuse their riches, and thereby to shew themselves so proud and diffdainfull, as to infult over others; yea, and he fware a great oath in the prefence of those 20 who were in his company, that fo foone as he was returned to Sparta, he would labor with all his might and maine, to reconcile the Greeke nations one unto another; to the end that they might bemore dread and terrible to the Barbarians, when as they stood in no need of their forren forces to wage warre one upon another. It was demanded of him, what kinde of men the Ionians were? Good flaves they are (quoth he) but bad free-men. When Cyrus in the end had fent money for to pay his fouldiers wages, and befides fome gifts and prefents particularly to himfelfe; he received onely the forefaid pay, but as for the gifts, he fent them backe againe, faying: That he had no need of any private or particular amitie with Cyrus, so long as the common friendship which he had with all the Lacedæmonians perteined also unto him. A little before he gave the battell at fea, neere unto Arginusie, his pilot faid unto him: That it was best for him to faile away, 30 for that the gallies of the Athenians were farre more in number than theirs: And what of all that (quoth he) is it not a shamefull infamic, & hurtfull besides to Sparta, for to flie? simply, best it is to tary by it, and either to win, or die for it. Being at the point to encounter and joine medley, and having facrificed unto the gods, the foothfaier shewed unto him that the entrails of the beaft fignified and promifed affured victory unto the armie, but death unto the captaine; whereat he was nothing daunted nor affrighted, but faid: The state of Sparta lieth not in one man, for when I am dead, my countrey will be never the leffe; but if I should recule now, and yeeld unto the enemies, she will be much impaired, and lose her reputation. Thus having substituted Cleander in his place, if ought should happen otherwise than well, he gave the charge, and strooke a navall battell, wherein fighting valiantly he ended his life.

40 CLEOMBROTUS the sonne of Paulanias, when a certeine friend a stranger, debated and reafoned with his father about vertue, he faid unto him: In this point at least-wife is my father be-

fore you, for that he hath already begotten a fonne, and you none.

CLEOMENES the sonne of Anaxandrides, was wont to fay: That Homer was the Poet of the Lacedæmonians, because he taught how to make warre; but Hesiodus the Poet of the Ilots, for that he wrote of agriculture and husbandry. He had made truce for feven daies with the Argives; and the third night after it beganne, perceiving that the Argives upon the affurance and confidence of the faid truce were foundly afleepe, he charged upon them, flew some, and tooke others prisoners; and when he was reproched therefore, and namely, that he had broken his oth; he answered: That he never sware to observe truce in the night season, but in day-time onely; 50 and befides, what annotance foever a man did unto his enemies (in what fort it made no matter) he was to thinke that both before God and man it was a point above justice, and in no wife subject and liable unto it; how beit, for this perjurie of his and breaking of covenant, he was difappointed and frustrate of his hope and desseigne, which was to surprise the citie of Argos, for that indeed the very women tooke those armes which in memoriall of ancient victories were hung and fet up fast in their temples, with which they repelled them from the walles: after this, he fell into a furious rage, and his wits were beffraught; infomuch as he tooke a knife, and flit his bodie from the very ancles up to the principall and noble vitall parts, and so laughing and scoffing, he

* A lover of your fellow

left his life. His very foothfaier would have diffwaded and diverted him from leading his forces against Arges, faying: That his returne from thence would be dishonourable and infamous: and when he presented his power before the citie, he found the gates fast shut against them, and the women in armes upon the walles: How thinke you (quoth he) now, doe you suppose this a dithonourable returne, when as the women, after all the men be dead, are faine to keepe the gates falt locked ? When the Argives abused him with reprochfull tearmes, calling him a perjured and godleffe person: Well (quoth he) it is in youto miscall me and raise upon me as you do, in word; but it is in me to plague and mischiefe you indeed. Unto the ambassadours of sames, who came to moove and follicit him for to warre upon the tyrant Polycrates, and to that effeet, used long speeches and persuasions, he answered thus: As touching that point which you to fpake of in the beginning of your oration, it is out of my head now, and I remember it not; in which regard also I doe not well conceive the middle part of your speech; but as for that which you delivered in the latter end , I mislike it altogether. There was in his time a notable rover or pirate, who made roads into the land, and spoiled the coasts of Laconia, but at the last he was intercepted and taken; now being examined and demanded why he robbed in this fort? I had not wherewith (quoth he) to mainteine and keepe my fouldiers about me, and therefore I came to those who had it, and knowing that they would give me nothing freely and by faire meanes, I affaied to get somewhat of them by force and strong hand : Naughtine ffe I see well (quoth he) goeth the neerest way to worke. There was a leaud villaine, who did nothing but revile and milcall him: Thouseemest (quoth he) to go up and downe railing upon every man, to the end that 10 being anused how to answere those thy flanders and imputations, we might have no time not leafure to charge thee with thy wickednesse and lay open thy vices. When one of his subjects faid unto him: That a good king ought alwaies and in every thing to be milde and gracious: Not fo (quoth he) lest he grow thereby despised and contemptible. Being fore handled with a long and tedious maladie, and not knowing what to do, he put himselfe at last into the hands of forcerers, enchanters, wifards and facrificers, unto whom he was woont never to give any credit before; whereat when one of his familiar friends marvelled much, he faid unto him: Wherfore wonder you at the matter? for I am not the man that heretofore I was, but much changed by fickneffe; and as I am not the fame, fo I do not like & allow of those things which I did in timespass. There was a great professor of Rhetoricke, who tooks vpon him in his presence to discourse at $_{70}$ large of proweffe and valour, whereat he began to laugh a good; and when the partie faid unto him: Why laugh you to heare a man speake of valiance, especially being as you are a king? My good friend (quoth he) because if a swallow should talke as you have done, I would doe as you do; marie if it had beene an eagle, I should have beene silent haply and held my peace. The * drague 10% Argives made their boaft & vaunted that in a *fecond battel, they had recovered the loffe which they fullained in a former: I wonder much at that (quoth he) if by the addition of two fyllables onely, you are prooved better men now than earft you were. When one reproched him in foule tearmes, faying: You are a great spender Cleomenes and a voluptuous person: Better it is yet (quoth he) to to be, than unjust as you are, who being wealthie enough, are yet covetous, and getyour goods by undue and indirect meanes. There was one who recommended a mulician 40 unto him, and in truth praifed the man in many respects; but among the rest for his excellent voice, faying : He was the bestfinger in all Greece : but Cleomenes pointing with his finger to one hardby: Lo (quoth hee) here is a paffing good cooke of mine, and namely at making of broth he hath no fellow. Meander the Tyrant of Samos, upon the comming and invalion of the Persians, fled into the citie of Sparta, where hee shewed unto Cleomenes all the gold and silver which he had brought with him, praying him to take what he would of it; none would heere ceive at his hands, but fearing left he would fasten some of that treasure upon other citizens, to the Ephoni he went & faid thus unto them: It were better for Sparta, if this Samian guell of mine were sent out of Peloponnessus, for searche induce and milleade some one of the Spartanestobe naught: the Ephorino fooner heard this advertisement of his, but the verie same day by open 50 proclamation banished him out of the countrey. One demanded of him upon a time, and said: Why having so often vanquished the Argives warring upon you, have yee not rooted them out cleane? Neither will wee ever so do (quoth hee) for we would have our young men alwaies to be kept occupied and in exercise: and when another asked him why the Spartanes never confectated unto the gods the armors which they had despoiled their enemies of? Because (quoth he) they be the spoiles of cowardes; for those armes which have beene taken from such as held. them cowardly, it is not meete either to thew unto yoong men, or to dedicate unto the gods.

CLEOMENES the fonne of Cleombrotus, when one gave him certaine cockes of game which were verie eager and hot in fight, faying: That they would in combat for the victorie, die in the verie place: Nay (quoth hee) give methode rather that kill them; for furely fuch must needs be better than thefe.

LABOTUS unto one who made along discourse before him, hee said: To what purpose makeft thou fuch great preambles and prologues for fo finall a matter; words I tell thee must

be coulens to the things.

LEOTYCHIDAS the first of that name, when one hit him in the teeth that he was inconflant and mutable: If I change (quoth he) it is in regard of the times which doe alter and be di-10 vers; and not as you do, who alter ever and anon upon your owne naughtinesse. Unto another who asked him how a man might best keepe the goods that presently he enjoyed; he answered: By not committing them all at once unto fortune. It was demaunded of him once, what it was that yoong gentlemen of noble houses ought to learne : Even that (quoth hee) which will doc them good another day, when they be men growen, Laftly, when one would needs know of him the reason why the Spartanes dranke so little: Because (quoth he) others should not consult of us, but we of others.

LEOTY CHIDAS the fonne of Ariston, when one brought him word that the fonnes of Demaratus gave out verie hard speeches of him: By the gods (quoth he) I nothing marvell thereat; for there is not one of them all that can affoord any man a good word. There chanced to be a 20 ferpent feene, which clasped round about the key or bolt of the gate next unto him; which fight the footh-fayers pronounced to be prodigious and a great woonder: Why (quoth he) this feemethnot to me any monftrous or ftrange thing, that a ferpent should winde about a key or bolt; but furely it were a maryellous matter indeed, if the key or bolt should be wound about the ferpent. There was a facfificer or priest named Philippus, who inducted and professed men in the ceremoniall religion of Orphew; and so extreame poore he was that he begged for his living; howbeit he went about and faid: That those who by his hand were admitted into those ceremonies, should be happy after their death: Foole that thou art (quoth he) why dost not thou thy felfe die quickly, to the end that thou maiest cease to lament and bewaile thine owne miserie and povertie.

LEON the fonne of Eueratidas, being asked in what citie a man might dwell most fafely? answered thus; Even in that, whereof the inhabitants are not richer or poorer one than another; and wherin justice doth prevaile, & injustice is of no force. When he saw cerraine runners prepare to run a course for the prize in the race at the solemne Olympicke games, and marked how they espied all meanes possible to catch and winne some advantage of their concurrents: See (quoth he) how much more studious these runners are of swiftnesse than of rightcousnesse. And when one hapned to diffeourfe out of time and place, of things verie good and profitable: My good friend (quoth he) unto him, your matter is honest and seemely, but your manner of

handling it, is bad and unfeemely.

LEONIDAS the founc of Anaxandridas, and brother to Cleomenes; when one faid unto 40 him: There was no difference betweene you and us before you were a king: Yes Iwis good Sir (quoth he) for if I had not been better than you, I had never beene king. When his wife, named Gorgo, at what time as he tooke his leave of her and went foorth to fight with the Persians in the palle of Thermopyla, asked of him whether hee had ought elfe to commaund her? Nothing (quoth he) but this, that thou be wedded againe unto honest men and bring them good children. When the Ephori faid unto him, that he lead a small number foorth with him to the forefaid straights of Thermopyla: True (quothhe) but yet enough for that service which we go for. And when they enquired of him againe, and faid: Why fir, entend you any other defleigne and enterprise? In outward shew (quoth he) and apparance, I give out in words that I goe to empeach the paffage of the Barbarians; but in verie truth to lay downe my life for the Greekes. 50 When he was come to the verie entrance of the faid paffe, hee faid unto his fouldiers: It is reportedunto us by our fcouts, that our Barbarous enemies be at hand; therefore wee are to lofe no more time, for now we are brought to this iffue, that we must either defait them, or else die for it. When one faid unto him, for the exceeding number of their arrrowes we are not able to fee the fun: So much the better (quoth he) for us, that we may fight under the fhade. To another who faid: Lo they be even hard & close to us; And so are we (quoth he) hard by them. Another used these words unto him: You are come Leonidas with a verie small troupe, for to hazard your felfe against fo great a multitude; unto whom he answered: If you regard number, all Greece affembled

affembled together is notable to furnish us, for it would but answere one portion or canton of their multitude: but if you stand upon valor & prowesse of men, certes this number is sufficient. Another there was who faid as much to him: But yet I bring (quoth he) money enough, confi. dering we are heere to leave our lives. Xerxes wrote unto him to this effect: You need not un. leffe you lift be fo perverse and obstinate as to fight against the gods, but by siding and combining with me, make your felfe a monarch over all Greece; unto whom he wrote back in this wife: If you knew wherein confifted the foveraigne good of mans life, you would not cover that which is another mans; for mine owne part, I had rather loofe my life for the fafetic of Greece. than be the commaunder of all those of mine owne nation. Another time Xerxes wrote thus: Send me thy armour; unto whom he wrote backe: Come your felfe and fetch it. At the verie 10 point when he was to charge upon his enemies, the marshals of the armie came unto him, and protested that they must needs hold off and stay until the other allies & confederates were come together: Why (quoth he) thinke you not that as many as be minded to fight are come alreadie? or know you not that they onely who dread and reverence their kings, be they that fight against enimies? this said, he commaunded his souldiers to take their dinners, for sup we shall (faid he) in the other world. Being demanded why the best and bravest men preferre anhonorable death before a shamefull life? Because (quoth he) they esteeme the one proper to na. ture onely; but to die well they thinke it peculiar to themselves. A great desire he had to have those young men of his troupe and regiment, who were not yet maried, and knowing well that if he delt with them directly and openly, they would not abide it; he gave unto them oneafter 20 another two brevets or letters to carrie unto the Ephori, and so sent them away: he meantalso to fave three of those who were married; but they having an inkeling thereof, would receive no brevets or miffives at al: for one faid, I have followed you hither to fight, and not to be a carrer of newes; the second also: By staying heere I shall quit my selfe the better man; and the third: I will not be behind the rest, but the formost in fight.

LOCHAGUS the father of *Polyanides* and *Syron*, when newes was brought unto him that one of his children was dead: I knew long fince (quoth he) that he must needs die.

 $L_{\rm YC}\,u\,\kappa\,s\,u\,s\,$ the law-giver, minding to reduce his citizens from their old maner of life, in to a more fober and temperat course, and to make them more vertuous and honest (for before time they had beene diffolute and over delicate in their maners and behaviour) nourished two 20 whelpes which came from the fame dogge and bitch, and the one he kept alwaies within house, & used it to licke in every dish & to be greedy after meat; the other he would leade forth abroad into the fields and acquaint it with hunting: afterwards he brought them both into an open and frequent affembly of the people, and fet before them in the mids, certaine bones, toffe & fcraps, he put out also at the same time an hare before them; now both the one and the other tookencontinently to that whereto they had been acquainted, and ranne apace, the one to the messe of lops, and the other after the hare and caught it: heereupon Lyeurgus tooke occasion to inferre this speech: You see heere my masters and citizens (quoth he) how these two dogs having one fire and one dam to them both, are become farre different the one from the other, by reafon of their divers educations and bringing up; whereby it is evident how much more powerful 40 nouriture and exercise is to the breeding of vertuous maners, than kinde and nature: howbeit fomethere be who fay, that these two dogs or whelps which he brought out, were not of one and the same dogge and bitch; but the one came from those curres that used to keepe the house, and the other from those hounds that were kept to hunting; and afterwards that he acquainted the whelpe that was of the woorfekinde onely to the chafe, and that which came of the better race, to flappe, licke, and doe nothing elle but raven; whereupon either of them made their choise and ranne to that quickly whereto they were accustomed; and thereby he made it appear evidently, how education, trayning, and bringing up is availeable both for good and bad conditions, for thus he spake unto them: By this example you may know my friends that nobilitie of bloud, how highly foever it is effected with the common fort, is to no purpose, no though we so bee descended from the race of Hercules, if we doe not practise those deeds whereby hee became the most renowmed and glorfous knight in the world, learning and exercising all our life time those things which are honest and vertuous. Having made a devision of the whole territorie, and distributed to every citizen an equall portion; it is reported that a good while after, being returned fro a long voiage which he had, into the faid territoric about harvest time, when the corne was newly reaped and cut down, feeing the shocks & sheaves, cocks and stiches raungedeven and orderly, and the same like one to another; he rejoiced in his heart, and smiling

faid to those about him: That the whole territorie of Laconia looked like unto the inheritance and patrimonie of many brethren who had lately parted and divided their portions together equally. When he had brought in the cutting off and abolition of debts, he went in hand with the division of all utenfils also and mooveable goods within house into even thates; to the end that there might be no imparitie nor inequality at all among his citizens; but perceiving that if he went directly and plainly to work, they would hardly beare and brooke that any thing thould be abridged and taken from them: he discredited first and formost all forts of gold and filvercoine, giving commaundement that there should be no money used but made of iron: and taxed a certainerate and limitation to what fumme each mans state should amount; ac-10 cording to the estimation of the said money by way of exchange; which done, all wrongs and unjust dealings were chased cleane out of Lacedemon: for now by this meanes there could no man rob nor steale, there was no bribing nor corruption by gifts, no man might defraudin contracts and bargains, nor embezzell any more, confidering that neither they might conceale and hide that which was unjustly gotten, nor any man joied in possessing ought, nor could possibly use and occupie the same without perill, ne yet carie to and fro in safetic and securitie: and withall by the fame meanes, he banished out of Lacedemon all superfluities, whereby there were no more any marchants, nor pleading fophifters, no wifards & fortune tellers, no cogging mount-banks & juglers, no ingenious devifers of new fabricks & buildings that haunted Sparra any more; for why, he would not permit any money there which was current in other 20 places, but onely this iron coine was in request, and passed from one to another: as for the price thereof it waighed an Aeginetick pound; but in woorth and valour, it went but for foure Chochins. Moreover, having a purpose to root out delicate and superfluous pleasures, and to cut off cleane all covetous defire of riches, he inflittuted and brought up those meetings which they cal Systia: i, eating at publick meales and making merric together: and when some demanded of him what he meant to devife the fame, and also why he orderned that his citizens should be divided by little tables when they fat together in armes? To the end (quoth he) that they might be in more readinesse to receive commaundement from their superiors; as also if peradventure there should be some practise among them of change and alteration, the fault might be in some few; and moreover, that there should be equallity in their eating & drinking, & neither in their 30 dishes of meat nor cups of drink, nor in their beds nor apparel, no nor so much as in the utenfils & implemets of the house, or in any thing whatsoever, the rich shuld have any vantage over the poore: by this policy having brought to passe that riches was not set-by and defired, considering that fuch order was taken, that neither men had much occasion to use it, nor any joy & pleasure to shew it, he would thus say unto his familiars: My good friends, what a gay & goodly matter is it, to make it knowen by effect indeed, that Pluto, that is to fay, the god of riches, is in trueth blinde, according as he is named to be. Furthermore, carefull he was, and had a speciall regard that his people should not first dine at home in their owne houses, and after that, goe to their publicke halles and meetings aforefaid, being full of other viands and drinks; for others would reproch and speake badly of a man who did not cat among them with a good appetite, as being 40 a glutton, or one who for daintineffe and delicacy difdained this common and vulgar maner of diet; but if any fuch happened to be feene and knowen, he was fure to be condemned in a good round fine. Hereupon it was, that a long time after, king Agis (after his returne from an expedition or voiage in warre, wherein he had subdued the Athenians) willing one day to suppe privately by himfelfe with his wife at home, fent into the kitchin for his part or allowance of meat; but the marshals of the armie would fend him none; and the morrowafter, when the matter came to the knowledge of the Ephori, he had a fine fet on his head for it: but by reason of these new ordinances, divers of the richer fort tooke fnuffe, and in great indignation rofe up against him, abused him with hard tearmes, threw stones and would have brained him; but he seeing himselfe thus furiously pursued, made shift by good footmanship, and escaped out of the com-50 monmarket place, & put himselfe within the sanctuarie of Minervaes temple, called Chalce &cos, before the other could overtake him, only Aleander was so necre unto him, that when he cast his cie behinde to fee who followed after, rought him a rap with his bason, and strake one of his cies out of his head: but Aleander afterwards, by the common sentence of the whole citie, was put into his hands for to do exemplarie justice upon him, according as he thought good; howbeit, hee wrought him no mischiese nor displeasure at all; and that which more is, hee never so much as complained of any wrong or abuse that he had offered and done unto him; but having him to be a domesticall guest and to live with him, he did this good of him: That hee blazed in

every place where he came, his commendable parts, and namely, the orderly dier and maner of life, that he had learned by conversing with him; and in one word, shewed himselfe highly to aftect that discipline in which Lycurg w had trained him : afterwards, for a memoriall of this accident which befell unto him, he caused within the temple of Minerva Chileeceos, a chapell to be built unto Minerva, furnamed Optiletia; for that the Doriens inhabiting those parts, do call in their language, Eies, Opteli. It was demanded of him upon a time, why he had not established any written positive lawes: Because (quoth he) they that are well brought up and instituted in that discipline as it apperteineth, know well how to judge that which the time requireth. Some asked him why he had ordeined that the roofes of houses should be made with timber rough hewen with the axe, and the doores of fawen planke or boord onely, without worke of any other 10 tooles or instruments at all ? unto whom he answered : Because our citizens should be moderate in all things that they bring into their houses, and have no furniture therein that might seto. ther mens teeth on water, or which other men do fo much affect. From this custome by report it came, that king Leorychides the first of that name, being at supper in a friends house of his, when he faw the roofe over his head richly feeled with embowed arch-worke, demanded of his host whether the trees in that countrey grew square or no ? When he was asked why he forbad to make warre often against the same enemies: For feare (quoth he) that being forced citioones to fland upon their owne guard and put themselves in defence, they should in the end become well experienced in the warres: in which regard Agefilaus afterwards was greatly blamed for being the cause by his continual expeditions and invasions into Beestia, that the Thebans weree- 20 quall in armes unto the Lacedamonians. Another asked also of him, why he enjoined maidens marriageable to exercise their bodies in running, wreftling, pitching the barre, flinging coits, and lancing of darts ? For this purpose (quoth he) that the first rooting of their children which they are to breed, taking fast and fure holde in able bodies wel fet and strongly knit, might spring and thrive the better within them, and they also themselves being more firme and vigorous, beare children afterward the better, be prepared and exercised (as it were) to endure the paines and travels of child-birth eafily and flourly, over and befides, if need required, be able to fight in defence of themselves, their children and countrey. Some there were who found fault with the cultome that he brought in, that the maidens of the city at certeine festivall daies should dance naked in folemne fliewes and pomps that were fet, demanding the cause thereof? to whom hee 10 rendred this reason: That they performing the same exercises which men do, might be no lesse enabled than they, either in firength and health of body, or in vertue and generolity of minde, and by that meanes checke and despise the opinion that the vulgar fort had of them. And from hence it came, that Gorgo the wife of Leonidas, as we finde written, when a certeine dame and ladie of a forcen countrey faid unto her: There be no other women but you Laconian wives, that have men at command ; answered in this wife : For why? we onely are the women that beare men. Moreover, he debarred and kept those men who remained unmarried, from the fight of those shewes where the yoong virgins aforesaid danced naked; and that which more is, set upon them the note of infamic, in depriving them exprelly of that honour and fervice which you ger folke are bound to yeeld unto their elders: in which doing the had a great forelight and pro-40 vidence to move his citizens to marriage and for to beget children; by occasion whereof, there was never any man yet who misliked and complained of that which was faid unto Dereillidas, by way of reproch, though otherwise he was a right good and valiant captaine; for when he came upon a time into a place, one of the yonger fort there was, who would not deigne to rife up unto him, nor give him any reverence; and this reason he gave: Because (quoth he) as yet you have not begotten a childe to rife up and dochis ducty likewife to me. Another asked of him, whereforche had ordeined that daughters should be married without a dowrie or portion given with them ? Because (quothhe) for default of marriage-money none of them might stay longere they were wedded, nor be hearkened after for their goods; but that every man regarding onely the maners and conditions of a yoong damofell, might make choife of her whom he meaneth 50 to espouse, for her vertue onely, which is the reason also that he banished out of Sparta all ma, ner of painting, trimming, and artificiall embeliftments to procure a superficiall beauty and complexion. Having also prefixed and set downe a certeine time, within the which aswell maidens as yoong men might marrie; one would needs know of him why he limited forth such a definite terme? unto whom he answered : Because their children might be strong and lustic, 25 being begotten and conceived of fuch persons as be already come to their full growth. Some woondered why hee would not allow that the new married bridegrome should lie with his espouse,

espoule; but expresly gave order that the most part of the day hee should converse with his companions, yea, and all the nights long, but whenfoever hee went to keepe company with his new wedded wife, it should be fecretly and with great heed and care that hee be not surprired or found with her? This (quoth he) is done to this end that they may be alwaies more firong and in better plight of body: also thatby notenjoying their delights and pleasures to thefull; their love might be ever fresh, and their infants betweene them more hardie and flout: furthermore, hee remooved out of the citie all precious and sweete perfumes, saying: That they were no better than the verie marring and corruption of the good naturall oile; the art also of dying and tineture, which he said was nothing else but the flatterie of the senses: 10 to bebriefe, he made the citie Sparta inaccessible (as I may say) for all jewelers and fine workmen, who professe to set out and adorne the body: giving out, that such by their lewd artificiall devices, do deprave and marre the good arts and mysteries in deed. In those daies the honestic and pudicitie of dames was fuch, and fo far off were they from that tractable facilitie and eafie acceffe unto their love; which was afterwards, that adulteric among them was held for an unpoffible and uncredible thing. And to this pupofe may well be remembred the narration of one Geradatas, an ancient Spartane, of whom a stranger asked the question: What punithment adulterers were to fuffer in the citie of Sparta? for that, he faw, Lyeurgus had fet downe no expreffe law in that behalfe: Why (quoth he) there is no adulterie among us: but when the other replied againe: Yea, but what and if there were? even the fame answere made Geradatas, and 20 none other: For how (quoth he)can there be an adulterer in Sparta, wherein all riches, all superfluous delights and dainties, all outward trickings and embelifhings of the bodie are defpifed and difhonoured? and where shame of doing ill, honestie, reverence and obeisance to superiorscarrie away all the credit and authoritie? One put himfelfe forward, and was in hand with him to fet up and establish the popular State of government in Sparta; unto whom hee answered: Begin it thy felfe first within thine owne house. And unto another who demaunded of him, why he ordained the facrifices in Laced eman to fimple and of final coft? To the end (quoth he) that we should never cease and give over to worship and honour the gods. Also when hee permitted his citizens to practife those exercises of the bodie onely, wherein they never stretched foorth their hands; he was required by one to yeeld a reason thereof: Because (quoth he) 30 none of us should in taking paines be accultomed to be wearie or to faint, and give over at any time. Likewife being asked the reason why he gave order oftentimes to change the campe, and notin one place to lie long encamped? To the end (quoth he) that we might doe the greater damage to our enemies, and hurt more of them. Another was defirous to know of him, why he forbadto give the affault unto any walles? unto whom he answered: For feare that the best men might not be killed, by a woman, a child, or fome fuch like person. Certaine Thebanes craved his advice and opinion touching the facrifice, divine fervice, and dolefull moane which was folemnely made in the honour of Leucothea; unto whom he answered thus: If you take her for a goddesse, weepe not for her as if she were a woman; if you suppose her to be a woman, facrifice not unto her as to a goddeffe. Unto his citizens who demaunded of him, how they might put 40 backe and repulse the invasions of their enemies? Marie (quoth he) if you continue poore, and none of you do covet to have more than another. Againe, when they would needs know why he would not have their citie to be walled about: Because (faith he) that citie is never without a wal, which is environed and compaffed about with valiant men, and not with bricke or itone. The Spartanes also were verie curious in trimming the haire of their heads, alledging for their warrant a certaine speech of Lycurgus as touching that point, who was woont to say: That sidehaire made them who were faire more beautifull, and those that were foule, more hideous and terrible. Likewise he gave commaundement, that in their warres, when they had discomfitted their enemies and put them to flight; to follow the chafe so hardly, untill they were fully affured of the victorie, and then to retire withall speed, saying: That it was no act of a generous spirit, 50 nor befeeming the brave minde of the Greekish nation, to massacre and execute those who had quit the place and were gone; befides; this also would be fafe and commodious for themselves, forasmich as the enemies who knew once their custome, namely, to put those to the sword who obstinately refist and make head, and to spare those and let them escape who slie before them; find by that meanes that flight is better than to stand to fight. A certaine man asked him, for what cause he would not suffer the souldiers to rifle and spoile the bodies of their enemies as they folly dead: For feith (quoth hee) left while they buffe themselves, and stoupe forward to gather the spoiles, they should neglect their fight in the meane time, but father entend onely with

their povertie and want to keepe their range.

The Tyrant of Sicilie Dionysius had fent unto LYSANDER two futes of womens roabes. that he might choose whether of them he liked better, to carrie unto his daughter; but hee said unto him: That the herfelfeknew best which to choose, and what was fittest for herselse, and so he tooke both away with him. This Lysander was a verie craftie and subtile foxe, who ordered and managed most part of his affaires by cunning casts and deceitfull devices, esteeming justice onely by utilitie, and honestie by profit; confessing in word that truth was better than fallhood; but measuring in deed the worth and price as well of the one as the other by commoditie. To them who reprooved and blamed him for conducting the most part of his enterprises by fraud 10 and guile, and not by plaine direct force, a thing unwoorthy the magnanimity of Herenles, hee would laugh and answere: That where he could not atchieve a thing by the lions skin, hee must needes fow thereto a piece of the foxes case. And when others charged and accused him mightily, for that he had violated and broken his oath, which he had made in the citie Miletum. he used to say: That children were to be deceived with cock all-bones, but men with oaths: Having defaited the Athenians in a battell by meanes of an ambuth, in a certaine place called the Goats-rivers, and afterward preffed them fo fore with famine, that he forced them to yeeld the citic unto his mercie, he wrote unto the Ephori thus: Athens is woon. The Lacedamonians in his time were at some difference with the Argives about their confines; and it seemed that the Argives alledged better reasons, and brought forth more direct evidences for themselves 20 than the other; whereupon he came among them and drew his fword, faying: They that ate the mightier with this, plead best for their confines. Seeing the Boeotians as he passed thorow their countrey, hanging in equal ballance, and as yet not resolved and certaine to which sides for to range themselves, he sent one unto them for to know whether they would chuse, that he marched thorow their lands with speares and pikes upright, or bending downeward and trailing. In a certaine affembly of the estates of Greece, there was a Megarian who spake bravely and audacioufly unto him: Thy words my friend (quoth he) have need of a citie; meaning thereby that he was of too weake and fmall a citic, as to give fuch glorious words. The Corinthians rebelled upon a time, whereupon he advaunced with his forces against their walles, which the Lacedamonians seemed to affaile verie coldly: but at the verie instant there was espied an hare, running 30 crosse over the towne ditch: whereupon he tooke occasion to say: Are yee not ashamed in deed ô yee Spartanes, to feare fuch enemies, who are fo idle and stirre fo little abroad, that harescan fleepequietly, even under their verie walles. When hee was at Samothrace to confult with the oracle there; the priest was in hand with him to confesse what was the most wicked and enormious act that ever hee did in all his life time: whereupon hee asked the priest againe: Whether is it your felfe or the gods that would know thus much, and impofeth this confession upon mee? The gods (quoth the priest) would have it so: Why then (quoth he) retire you aside out of my sight, and if they demand the same of mee, I will answere them. A certaine Perfian asked him what kinde of government hee liked best and praised most: Even that (quoth hee) which ordeineth for cowards and hardy men that reward and hire 40 which is meet for them. Another faid unto him: That in every place where he came hee was ready to commend and defend him: I have (quoth he againe) in my grounds two oxen, and neither of them speaks a word; howbeit, I know for al that, which is good of deed, and which is idle and lazic at his worke. There was one who let flie at him divers odious and reprochfull words: Speake on good fellow (quoth he) out with it hardly and spare not, vomit up all and leave nothing behinde, if haply thou canst rid and purge thy heart of all the wicked venim wherewith thouseemest to swell. Some time after, when he was dead, there arose variance betweene the allies of Sparta as touching certaine matters; and for to know the truth and fettle all causes among them, Agesilaus went to Lysanders house, for to search certaine papers that might give light and evidence to the thing in controversie; and among other writings he channeed to 50 light upon an oration or pamphlet penned by him as touching policie & the State; wherein he feemed to perswade the Spartans to take the roialtie and regall dignitic from the houses of the Eurytionida and Agiada, and to bring it to a free election of the citizens, that they might chuse for their kings out of all the citie those who were approoved and knowen for the woorthieft men, and not to be obliged for to take and admit of necessitie one of Hercules line; so as the crowne and regall state might be conferred as a reward and honous upon him who in venue

resembled Hercules most, considering that it was by the meanes thereof, that unto him were affigued the honors due unto the gods; now was Agefilians fully bent to have published this oration before all the citizens, to the end that they might take knowledge how Lyfander was another kind of man than he had beene taken for, and withall to traduce those that were his friends and bring them into obloquie, suspicion, and trouble: but by report Lacratidas the principall man, and prefident of the Ephori, fearing left if this oration were once divulged & openly read, ir might take effect, and perswade that indeed which it pretended; staied Agesslaus and kept him from doing fo, faying: That he should not now rake Lyfander out of his grave, but rather enterre and burie the oration together with him, fo wittily and artificially composed it was, and to fo effectuall to perfwade. Certaine gentlemen there were of the citie, who during his life were futers to his daughters in mariage; but after his death when his estate was known to be but poore, they defilted and cast them off, whereupon the Ephori condemned them in great fines, for that they made court unto them, folong as they effected him wealthy; but afterwards when they found by his poore estate that he was a righteous and just man, they made no more reckoning of his daughters but disdained them.

NAMERTES being fent as embaffadour into a forren countrey, there chanced to be one of those parts who faid unto him: That he held and reputed him for an happie man, because he had fo many friends; unto whom he replied and asked: Whether he knew the true proofe whereby a man might be affured that he had many friends? the other answered: No, but I pray you

20 tell me: Why then (quoth he)it is * advertitie.

NICANDER, when one brought him, word that the Argives spake ill of him: It makes no ince matter (quoth he) are they not fufficiently chaftifed and punished for railing upon good men? One asked of him wherefore the Lacedæmonians wore their haire long of their heads, & fuffred likewisetheir beards to grow side; unto whom he answered: Because a mans owne proper ornament is of all other the fairest, and costeth least. A certaine Athenian being in communication with him, cast out this word: All you Lacedæmonians (N icander) love your case well, and are idle: You fay true indeed (quoth he) but we buffe not our felves as you doe in every trifling

Panthoidas, being fent in embassage into Asa, was shewed by the people of those parts 30 a certaine strong citie well fortified with high and goodly wals: Now by the gods (quoth he) my friends, this seemes to be a trim cloister to mue up women in. In the schoole of Academie the philosophers discoursed and disputed as touching many good themes, and after they had made an end, they faid unto him: Now good fir o Panthoidas, how like you these discourses? What should I thinke of them else (quoth he) but that they are goodly and honest in shew, but furely profitable they are not, nor edific at all, so long as your selves doe not live accordingly.

PAUSANIAS the sonne of Cleombrotus, when the inhabitants of the ifle Delos were at debate, and pleaded for the proprietie of the faid ifle against the Athenians, alleaging for themfelvesthat by an old law (time out of minde) observed among them, there might none of their women beare children within the faid island, nor any of their dead be buried there: How then 40 (quoth he) can this ifle be yours, if none of you were ever borne or buried there? When certaine exiled persons from Athens sollicited him to leade his armic against the Athenians, and for to provoke him rather thereto, faid: That they were the onely men who hiffed and whiftled at the naming of him, when he was declared victor in the folernnitie of the Olympick games: But what thinke you (quoth he) will they doe when we have wrought them fome firewd turne, fince they sticke not to hiffe at us being their benefactors? Another asked of him, wherefore the Lacedæmonians had enfranchized the poet Tyrtem their denizen? Because (quoth he) we never would be thought to have a stranger or alien our leader and governour. There was a very weak and feeble man of bodie who nevertheleffe feemed very carneft and inflant to make warre upon the enemies, and to give them battell both on sea and land: Will you (quoth he) strip your 50 felfe out of your clothes; that we may fee what a goodly man of perfon you are, to moove and perswade us for to fight? Some there were who seeing the spoiles that were taken from the dead bodies of the Barbarians after they were flaine in the field, marveiled much at their fumptuous and costly clothes: It had been better (quoth he) that themselves had beene of more valour, and their habilements of leffe valew. After the victorie which the Greeks wan of the Perfians before the citie Platea, he commaunded those about him to serve him up to the table that supper which the Persians had provided for themselves, which being woonderfull excessive and su-Perfluous: Now Par-die (quoth he) the Perflans are great gourmaunders and greedy gluttons,

who

who having fo great store of viands come hither among us, for to eate up our browne bread and course bisket.

Laconicke Apophthegmes

PAUSANIAS the sonne of Plistonax, unto one who asked him, why it was not lawfull in their countrey to alter any of their auncient statutes, made this answer: Because lawes ought to be mistresses of men, and not men masters of the lawes. Being exiled from Sparta, and making his abode within the citie Tegea, he highly praised the Lacedæmonians; one of the standers by faid unto him: And why then flaied nor you at Sparta, if there be fo good men there? why I fav fled you from thence? Because (quoth he) physicians doe not use to keepe where folke be found and whole, but where they are ficke and difeased. One came to him and said: How shall we be able to defait & conquer the Thracians? Mary (quoth he)if we chuse the valiantest man forour 10 captaine, A certaine Physician advised & looked upon him very wistly, & after he had well confidered his person, faid: Thou ailest nothing, neither is there any evil in thee: I thinke so (quoth he)because I use none of thy counsell & physick. His friends reprooved him for speaking illofa physician, of whom he had no proofe nor experience, and at whose hands he had received no harme: True indeed (quoth he) I have made no triall of him; for if I had, furely I should not have bene a lives-man at this day. When a Phylician faid unto him: You are now become old fir: Thou failt trueth (quoth he) because I have not enterteined thee for to minister physickeun. to me. He was wont also to say: That he was the best Physician, who would not let his patients rot above ground, but dispatch them at once, and fend them quickly to their graves.

PAEDARETUS, when one faid unto him: There is a great number of our enemies: Then 20 (quoth he) shall we win greater honour, for kill we may the more of them. Seeing one whoby nature was a very dastard and coward, howbeit, commended otherwise by his fellow-citizens for his modestic and mildnesse: I would not have men (quoth he) praised for being like women, nor women for refembling men, unlesse peradventure a woman be driven upon someoccasion of extremitic to play theman. Having the repulse upon a time, when hee should have bene chosen into the counsell of the three hundred, which was the most honourable degree of State in all the citie, he departed from the affembly all jocund, mery and fmiling; and when the Ephori called him backe againe, and demanded of him why he laughed ? Because (quoth he) I joy in the behalfe of the citic, that it hath in it three hundred better and more sufficient citizens

than my felfe. PLISTARCHUS the foune of Leonidas, when one enquired of him the cause why they caried not the denomination of their families from the names of their first kings, but of the later? Be-*Some reade cause (quoth he) those in the olde time *chose rather to be leaders than kings; but their sucthus: Were ceffors not. There was a certeine advocate at the barre, who in pleading for his client, was full of his jefts and frumps, never ceafing to scoffe and move laughter: My friend (quoth he unto him) do you not confider and regard, that in feeming to make others for to laugh, you will cause your felle to be ridiculous and a laughing stocke? even as those who by wrestling of the become good wreftlers? Report there was made unto him one day of a certeine foule-tongued fellow, who wfed to flander and back-bite all men, and yet spake all good of him: I wonder much (quothhe) if no man tolde him that I was dead; for furely he cannot for his life affoord any man living one 40 good word.

PLISTONAX the sonne of Pausanius, when a certeine Athenian oratour called the Lacedzmonians, unlettered and ignorant persons: Thou saiest true (quoth he) for we alone of all other Greeks, are the men who have learned no naughtinesse of you.

POLYDORUS the sonne of Alcamenes, faid unto one who ordinarily did nothing elsbut menace his enemies: Doest not thou perceive how thou spendest the most part of thy revenge in these threats? He led upon a time the army from Lacedamon against the citie of Messen ; and one demanded of him, whether his heart would ferve to fight against brethren? No (quothhe) but I can finde in mine heart to march into that inheritance which is not yet fet out and parted by lots. The Argives, after the discomfiture of their three hundred men who fought against so many of the Lacedæmonians, were defaited a fecond time, all in a ranged battell; by reason whereof, the allies and confederates of the Lacedamonians were earnest with Polydorum notto let slip so good an opportunitie, but to follow the traine of victory, and to go directly to the oppugnation of their city walles, and to win it by force; which he might effect right eafily, confidering that all the men were killed up in the field, and none but women left alive within, to defend the citie; unto whom he answered: I am well appaied, and take this for my great honour and glory, that I have vanquished mine enemies in battell, fighting on even-hand so many to so

many; but being to determine the quarrell by dint of fword for our confines onely, and having exploited that, to proceed forward, and cover to affault and winner their city, I holde it not to be just and equall; for come I am to recover those lands of ours which they occupied, and not to feize upon their home-stalles. Being demanded why the Lacedannonians exposed themselves fo manfully to the hazzard of warre ? It is (quoth he)because they have learned to reverence, and not to feare their rulers and captaines.

POLYCRATIDAS being fent with others, in ambassage to the lieutenants of the king of Per fu, when they demanded of him & the rest, whether they were come of their own proper motion or fent by commission from the State ? If we speed of that (quoth he) which we demand, to then are we come in the behalfe of the common weale; but if we miffe, we come of our owne

PHOEBIDAS immediatly before the battell of Leuctres, when some gave our, and said: This day will trie and shew who is a good man: Such a day (quoth hee) is much worth in deed, if it be able to thew a good man.

Sous, as it is reported (being upon a time straightly besieged by the Clitorians, in a place which was very rough and without water) made offer to render into their hands all those lands which he had conquered from them, in case that he and all his company might drinke at a certeine fountaine which was neere at hand: the Clitorians accorded thereto, and this covenant was concluded and confirmed by oath betweene them: fo hee affembled all his men together, 20 and declared unto them: That if there were any amongst them would abstein from drinke, he would refigne up into his hands all his fovereigne power and rotaltie; but there was not one of all his troupe who could conteine and forbeare, fo exceeding thirfly they were all; but everie mandrunke heartily, himselfe onely excepted, who went last downe to the spring, where he did nothing els but coole and befprinckle his body without, in the presence of his very enemies, not taking one drop inwardly: by which evafion, he would not afterwards yeeld up the forefaid lands, but alledged that they had not all drunke.

TELECRUS when one came unto him & faid: That his owne father gave him alwaies hard words; made him this answer: Surely, if there were not cause to use such speeches, he would never speake so. His brother also was discontented, and complained in this wife; The citizens do 30 not beare mee fuch favour and kindnesse as they shewin your behalfe; notwithstanding we are the sonnes of one father and mother; but they misuse me most injuriously: The reason is (quoth he) because you know not how to put up a wrong as I doc. Being demaunded why the custome was in their country, that young men should rise up from their places where they were fet, and do reverence unto their elders: It is (quoth he) to this end, that in doing this honor unto those, who nothing belonged unto them, they might learne so much the more to honour their parents. Unto another that asked him of what wealth he was, and how much goods he had? he answered: I have no more than will suffice,

CHARILLUS being asked the question why Lycurgus had given them fo few lawes? Because (quoth he) they have no need at all of many lawes who speake but little. Another demanded 40 of him the cause, why at Sparta they suffered to goe foorth into publick place, virgins with their faces open, but wives vailed and covered: For that (quoth he) maidens might finde them out husbands to be wedded unto, and wives keepe those whom they have maried already. One of the flaves(called Hotes) behaved himfelfe vpon a time over boldly and malapertly with him 3 unto whom he faid: Were I not angrie, I would kill thee at my foot. One asked him what kind of government he efteemed best? Even that (quoth he) wherein most men, in managing of publicke affaires without quarrels and fedition, strive a vie who shall be most vertuous. And unto another who would needs know the reason, why at Sparra the images and statues of the gods were made in armor ? he shaped this answer: To the end that the reproches which are sastined uponmen for cowardife, might not take hold of them; also that young men should never with-50 out their armes make their praiers unto the gods.

The Samiens had sent certaine embassadors unto Sparta, who after audience given, were very long and somewhat tedious in their orations; but when they had found the way to make an end, of Spatiants THE LORDS OF SPARTA made them this answer; The beginning of your speech we have and Laconson, torgotten, and we conceived not the rest because the beginning was out of our remembrance, whise names The Thebanes upon a time had contested bravely, and contradicted them stoutly in certaine profid. points in question, unto whom they answered thus: Either lesse hearts, or more puissance. There was one asked a Lacedæmonian upon a time why he let his beard growfo long? Because

(quoth he) whenfover I fee my hoary and grey haires, I might be put in minde to doe nothing unbesceming them. When another highly praised certains men for most valiant : a Lacedae. monian heard him and faid: Oh, fuch were formetime at Great Troy. Another of them heating it spoken, that in certaine cities men were forced to drink after supper: And doe they not (quoth he)compell them also to eate? The poet Pindarus in one of his canticles nameth the cine of Athens the prop of al Greece: The wil Greece quickly come tumbling down(quoth a Laconian) if it beare but upon so sleight a pillar. Another beheld a painted table, wher in was the pour tradure of the Lacedemonians, how they were killed by the Athenians, and when one that flood by faid; Now furely these Athenias be valiant men: Yea mary (quoth he) in a picture. There was one see med to take pleasure in hearing certaine opprobrious and flanderous words untruely given out 10 against a Laconian, & to believe the same; but the partie thus misuled said : Cease to lend your care against me. Another when he was punished, went crying; If I have don amisse it was against my wil: Why then (answered a Laconian) let it be against thy wil also that thou art purithed Another feeing men going forth of the countrey, fet at their eafe within coches: (God forbid (quoth he) that I flould fit there where I can not tife up to doe my dutie unto him that is elder than my felfe. Certaine Chians there were, who being come to fee the citie of Sparta, channeed to be well whittled and starke drunke, who after supper went to see also the consistorie of the Ephoni, where they cast up their gorges, yea and that which more is, both vomited and discharged their guts, even upon the very chaires where the Ephori was wont to fit: the morrow after, the Lace. damonians made great fearch and diligent enquirie at the first, who they were that thus had 20 plaid the flovens and beafts, and namely whether they were any of their owne citie or no ; but when they understood that they were these strangers and travellers from Chios, they made open proclamation with found of trumpet; That they gave the Chians leave thus filthily to abuse themselves. Another Laconian seeing hard almonds sold at the double price: What (quotihe) are stones so geason heere? Another having plucked all the feathers off from a nightingale, and feeing what a little body it had: Surely (quoth he) thou art all voice and nothing elfe. There was likewife a Lacedæmonian, who feeing the cynick philosopher Diogenes in the mids of winter when it was extreme cold, embrasing and clipping a brasen statue very devoutly, asked him if he chilled not for cold? and when the other answered, No; Why then (quoth he) what great matter doe you? A certaine Laconian reproched upon a time one borne in Metapontium, fay-30 ing; They were all cowards and false-hearted like women: If it be so (quoth the Metapontine) how is it that wee hold fo much of other mens lands as wee doe? Why then (replied the Laconian) I fee that you are not cowards onely, but unjust also. A traveller being come to Sparia for to fee the citie, flood upright a long while upon one foote onely, and faid unto a Laconian I doe not thinke thou can't ftand to long of one leg as I do: Not I indeed (quoth the other) but there is not a goofe but can do as much. There was one vaunted greatly what a Rhetorician he was, and namely that he was able to periwade what he would; Now by Caftor and Pollux I fweate (quoth a Laconian) there never was, nor ever will be any arte indeed without verity. A certaine Argive boafted much, that there were in their citie many graves & tombes of the Lacedamonians: And contrariwife (quoth a Laconian) there is not among us one sepulcher of the Argives 40 giving him thus much to understand, that the Lacedamonians had many times entred with a puillant armie into the countrey of Argos, but the Argives never into the territoric of Sparta. A Laconian being taken prisoner in warre (when hee should bee sold in port sale, as the criet began with a loud voice to pronounce: Who will buy a Laconian, who) put his hand to the criers mouth and faid: Cry for Gods fake who wil buy aprisoner? One of those mercenary soldiers whom king Lyfimachus waged, being demanded of him this question; Art thou one of these Lacedæmonian Ilots? Why, thinke you (quoth the other) that a Lacedæmonian will deigne to come and serve for four obols by the day? After that the Thebans had defaited the Lacedamonians at the battell of Leuctres; they invaded the countrey of Laconia, so farre as to the verie river Eurotas; and one of them in boasting & glorious maner, began to say; And wherebe now 50 these brave Laconians? what is become of them? a Laconian who was a captive among them, straight waies made this answer: They are no wherenow indeed, for if they were, you would never have come thus farre as you doe. At what time as the Athenians delivered up their owne claims are the state of the sta tie into the hands of the Lacedamonians, for to be at their discretion, they requested that at leastwise they would leave them the isle Samos: unto whom the Laconians made this answer: When you are not mafters of your owne, doe you demand that which is other mens: hereupon arose the common proverbe throughout all Greece:

Who cannot that which was his owne fave, The Isle of Samos would yet faine have.

The Lacedæmonians forced upon a time a certaine citie, and wan it by affault; which the Ephori being advertised of, said thus: Now is the exercise of our yoong men cleane gone, now shall they have no more concurrents to keepe them occupied. When one of their kings made promife unto them for to rafe another citie and destroy it utterly (if they so would) which oftentimes before had put those of Lacedamon to much trouble; the faid Ephori would not permit him, faying thus unto him: Doe not emolish and take away quite the whetstone that giveth an edge to the harts of our youth. The fame Ephori would never allow that there should be to any professed masters, to teach their yong men for to wrestle and exercise other seats of activitie: To this end (fay they) that there might bee jealoufic and emulation among them, not in artificiall flight, but in force and vertue. And therefore when one demaunded of Lylander, how Charon had in wreftling overcome him and laid him along on the plaine ground: Even by flight and cunning (quoth he) and not by pure strength. Philip king of Macedonia, before he made entrie into their country, wrote unto them to this effect: Whether they had rather that he entred as a friend, or as an enemie: unto whom they returned this answer; Neither one nor the other. When they had fent an embaffador to Demetrius the fonne of Antigonus, having intelligence that the faid embaffadour in parle with him, eftfoones gave him the name of King, they condemned him to pay a fine when he was returned home; notwithstanding that hee 20 brought as a present and gratuitie from the said Demetrius, in time of extreme famine, a certain measure of corne called Medimnus, for every poll throughout the whole citie. It hapned that a leud and wicked man delivered in a certaine confultation very good counfell: this advice of his they approoved right well, howbeit receive it they would not comming out of his mouth, but caufed it to be pronounced by another who wasknowen to be a man of good life. Two brethren there were at variance, and in fute of law together; the Ephori fet a good fine upon their fathers head, for that he neglected his fonnes, and fuffred them to maintaine quarrell and debate one against another. A certaine musician who was a stranger and a traveller, they likewise condemned to pay a fumme of money, for that he strake the strings of his harpe with his fingers. Two boies fought together, and one gave the other a mortall wound with a fickle or reaping hooke; 20 & when the boy that was hurt lay at the point of death, & was ready to yeeld up the ghost, other companions of his promifed to be revenged for his death, and to kill the other, who thus deadly had wounded him: Doe not fo I befeech you (quoth he) as you love the gods, for that were injuffice; and even I my felfe had done as much for him, if I had beene ought, and could have raught him first. There was another yong lad, unto whom certaine mates and fellows of his (in that scalen wherin your lads were permitted freely to filtch whatsoever they could handsomely come by, but reputed it was a shamefull and infamous thing for them to be surprized and taken in the maner) brought a yong cub or little foxe to keepe alive, which they had ftollen: those who had loft the faid cub came to make fearch; now had this lad hidden it close under his clothes, & the unhappie beaft being angred, gnawed & bit him in the flanke as far as to his very bowels, 40 which he endured resolutely, and never quetched at it, for feare he should be discovered : but after all others were gone and the fearch past, when his companions saw what a shrewd turne the curft cub had done him; they chid him for it, faying: That it had been far better to have brought forth the cub and shewed him, rather than to hide him thus with danger of death: Nay Iwis (quoth he) for I had rather die with all the dolorous torments in the world, than for to fave my life shamefully to be detected so, for want of a good heart. Some there were who encountred certaine Laconians upon the way in the countrey, unto whom they faid: Happie are you that can come now this way, for the theeves are but newly gone from hence: Nay for footh (by god Mars we sweare) we are never the happier therefore; but they rather, because they are not fallen into our hands. One demaunded of a Laconian upon a time, what he knew and was skilfull in? 50 Mary in this, to be free. A yoong lad of Sparta being taken prisoner by King Antigonus, and fold among other captives, obeied him who had bought him in all things that he thought meet for to be done by a freeman; but when he commatunded to bring him an urinall or chamberpot to piffe in; he would not endure that indignitie, but faid: Fetch it your selfe for me, I am no servant for you in such ministeries: now when his master urged him thereto and pressed hard upon him, heeran up to the ridge or roofe of the house, and said : You shall see what an one you have bought; and with that cast himselfe downe with his headforward, and brake his

Laconicke Apophthegmes

owne necke. Another there was to be fold; and when the partie who was about him, faid thus: Wilt thou be good and profitable if I doe buy thee? Yea that I will (quoth he) though you neverbuy me. Another there was likewise upon sale in open market, and when the crier proclaimed aloud : Here is a flave, who buies him, who? A shame take thee (quoth he) couldst not thou fay, a captive or prisoner, but a slave. A Laconian had for the badge or ensigne of his bucklera fliepainted, and the fame no bigger than one is naturally; whereupon fome mocked him and faid: That he had mad choise of this ensigne, because he would not be knowen by it: Nay rather (quoth he) I did it, because I would be the better marked : for I meane to approach mine enemies fo neere, that they may fee how great or little my cognifance is. Another there was, who when there was tendered unto him at the end of a banquet, the harpe to play upon according to the 10 custome of Greece, refused it and said: The Laconians have not yet learned to play the sooles. One asked a Spartan once, if the way that led to Sparta, were fafe or no? but he answered thus: *Otherwife Even according as a man doth goe downe thither : for * they who goe thither as lions, bee thus: We go hardly entreated and rue their comming; but hares we hunt from under the shade of their bor-forthee hardly entreated and rue their comming; but hares we hunt from under the shade of their bor-forthee hardly entreated and rue their comming; but hares we hunt from under the shade of their bor-forthee hardly entreated and rue their comming; but hares we hunt from under the shade of their bor-forthee hardly entreated and rue their comming; but hares we hunt from under the shade of their bor-forthee hardly entreated and rue their comming; but hares we hunt from under the shade of their bor-forthee hardly entreated and rue their comming; but hares we hunt from under the shade of their bor-forthee hardly entreated and rue their comming; but hares we hunt from under the shade of their bor-forthee hardly entreated and rue their comming; but hares we hunt from under the shade of their bor-forthee hardly entreated and rue their comming; but hares we have shade of the shade of the shade of their bor-series and the shade of the shade hons, but roughs. In wreflling it chanced that a Laconian was caught hold on by the necke, and notwithhires we hant standing that he strove what he could to make the other leave his hold; yet hee forced him and in their harmade him ftoupe groveling downeward to the ground: the Laconian feeing himfelfe feeblein the reines of the backe, and at the point to be laide along, bit the others arme who held him fo hard, whereupon hee began to crie: What thou Laconian, doeft thou bite like women? No (quoth he) but I bite as lions use to do. A certaine Laconian who was maimed and lame of his 20 legge, went to warfare, whereupon fome mocked him; but hee faid unto them: It is not for those to goe into the warres who are good of foot-manship and can runne away apaces but such as are able to make good their ground and keepe well their ranke. Another Laconian being thor thorow the body with an arrow, when he was at the point to yeeld up his vitall breath, faid thus: It never grieves me to leefe my life, but to die by the hand of an effeminate archer, before I came to hand-strokes, that is it that troublethme. Another being come to an hostelicor inne to be lodged in, gave his hofte that kept the inne, a piece of fleth to dreffe for his supper; but hee called for cheese besides and oyle: And what needes that (quoth the Laconian) if had cheefe, do you thinke that I would desire to have any viands more? Another hearing the marchant named Lampis borne in Aegina, highly praifed and esteemed happie, for that he was 30 exceeding rich, and had many great thips going at fea: I never (quoth hee) make reckoning of that felicitie, which hangeth by ropes and cords. Another likewife answered unto one who faid unto him: Thou lieft Laconian: And why not (quoth he) wee are free, as for others that happen to speake untruths, they are wel punish for it and cricout, alas. There was a Laconian who laboured hard to make a dead body fland upright upon his feet; but when he faw that he could not bring his purpose to effect, do what he could: Now by Jupiter (quoth hee) there wanteth formewhat that should bee within. Tynnichus the Laconian, when his sonne Thrasphalus was flaine in the warre, tooke his death verie well and like a man, whereupon was this Epigram

> Thy body was upon the sheild ô Thrafybulus brought All breathlesse to the armed troup, from place where thou hadft fought: Seven deadly wounds at Argives hands thou didle receive in fight, And on the forepart of thy corps, thou hewa ft them all in fight. Thy fatherold Sir Tynnichus it tooke with blood beraid. And putting it in funerall fire, with good cheere thus he faid: Let cowards weepe and waile thy death; but I thy father kinde, Will shedno teares, nor semblance make of lad and grieved minde: But thee enterre (my sonne) as doth

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beseeme thy fathers child, And as a true Lacontan who loves to die in field.

The mafter of the baines where Alsibiades the Athenian was woont to bathe and wash himfelfe, powred great store of water upon his bodie more than ordinarily upon others; a Laconian being then by faid : It feemeth that he is not cleane and neat, but that he is exceeding fonle and filthie, that he bestoweth so much water upon him. When King Philip of Macedonia entred with a maine army into Laconia, at what time as it was thought all the Lacedæmonians were killed up and dead, he said unto one of the Spartanes : O poore Laconians, what will you do now? 10 what elfe (quoth the Laconian) but die valiantly like men; for we alone of all other Greeks have beene taught to live free and not to ferve in bondage under any others. After that King Agis was vanquished; Amipater the king demaunded of the Lacedamonians for hostages, fiftic children of theirs: Eteocles one of the Ephori for the time being, returned this answere: That hee would not deliver into his hands any of their children, for feare they would learne ill manners and lewd conditions; for that they should not be brought up and nourtered in the discipline of their owne countrey, and wanting it they would not proove fo much as good citizens; but if he would be fo cotent, he should receive for pledges women or old men, twice as many. And when hemenaced hereupon and faid: That he would worke him all the despite that possibly he could; they answered all with one accord: If thou impose upon us those conditions which are more 20 grievous than death, we shall die with so much the better will. One old man desirous to see the combatsat the Olympicke games, could not get a roome to fit in, but paffed along by manic places, and no man would make him roome, but fell to laugh and made good game at him, untill be came at length to that quarter of the whole theater, whereas the Lacedamonians were fer; and there all the children, yea and many of the men rose up unto him, and offered him their place: all the whole affembly of the Greekes observed well this behaviour of theirs, and with great applause and clapping of hands, approoved and praised the same: then the good olde father

> Shaking his head with haires all gray, His beardalfe as hoare as they.

30 andweeping withall: Ah, God helpe (quoth he) what a world is this? that Greeks should all of them know well enough what is good and honest; but the Lacedæmonians onely practise it? Some write, that the same hapned in Athens also, at the festival solemnitie called Panathenea; where those of Attien plaied mock-holiday, and made themselves mery with a poore olde man, who they feemed to call unto them (as it were) to give him a place among them; but after hee was come to them, no roome he could have with them, but was well mocked and frumped for his labour: howbeit, when he had paffed along by all the reft, at length he came to a place where certeine ambaffadours of Lacedamon were fet, and they made him roome, and fet him among them: the people there affembled, taking great pleafure to fee this act, clapped their hands aloud, with great acclaination, in token that they approoved it: then one of the Spartans, who 40 there was: By the two twin-gods, Caftor and Pollux (quoth he) I fweare, these Atheniansknow what is good and honest, but they doe not according to their knowledge. A begger upon a time craved almes of a Laconian, who answered him thus. But if I should give thee any thing, thou wouldest make an occupation of it, and beg still so much the more; for verily, who soever he was that first bestowed almes upon thee, was the cause of this villanous life which thou leadest now, and hathmade thee so vagrant and idleas thou art. Another Laconian seeing a collectour going about, and gathering mens devotions for the gods, faid thus: I will now make no more reckoning of the gods, fo long as they be poorer than my felfe. A certeine Spartan having taken an adulterer in bed with his wife, a foule and ilfavoured woman: Wretched man that

thou art (quoth he) what necessitie hath driven thee to this? Another having heard an oratour 50 making long periods, and drawing out his fentence in length: Now by Castor and Pollux, what * reserving. a valiantman his here? how he rolleth and roundly turneth his tongue about, and all to no purpole. A traveller passing thorow Laced.emon, marked among other things, what great honour contrary. and reverence young folke did to their elders: I perceive (quoth he) there is no place to Sparta, reade and for an olde man to live in. A Spartan was upon a time asked the question, what maner of Poet 2249, or 220-Tyrtew was? A good Poet beleeve me (quoth he) to *whet and marpen the courages of yoong allow duty, men to warre. Another having very badde and diseased cies, would needs goe to warfare; and gently hanwhen others faid unto him: Wilt thou go indeed in that case as thou art in? what deed thinkest the minde,

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thou to do there ? Why (quoth he) if I do no other good els, I wil be fure to dull the brightneffe of mine enemies fword. Buris and Spertis, two Lacedamonians, voluntarily departed out of their countrey, and went to Xerxes king of Persia, offering themselves to suffer that paine and punishment, which the Lacedamonians had deferved by the fentence of the oracle of the gods, for kil. ling those heralds which the king had sent unto them; who being come before him, were destrous that he should put them to death in what maner he would himselfe, for to acquit the Lace. damonians: the king wondering at this resolution of theirs, not onely pardoned the fault, but earneftly requested them to stay with him, promising them liberall enterteinment: And how can we (fay they) live here, abandoning our native foile, our lawes, and those kinde of men, for whose lake to die we have so willingly undertaken this long voiage? and when a great captaine to under the king, named Indarnes, intreated them stil very instantly, affuring them upon his word, that they should be kindly used, and in equal degree of credit and honour, with those who were, in highest favour with the king, and most advanced by him, they faid unto him: It feemethunto us fir, that you full little know what is liberty and freedome; for he that wift what a jewell it were, if he be in his right wits, would not change the fame for the whole realme of Persia. A certeine Laconian as he way-fared, came unto a place where there dwelt an olde friend and holt of his, who the first day, of purpose avoided him and was out of the way, because he was not minded to lodge him; but the morrow after, when he had either hired or borowed faire bedding, coverings and carpets, received him very stately; but this Laconian mounting up to his beds, trampled and flamped the faire and rich coverlets under his feet, faying withall: I be fire w thefe fine beds 20 and trim furniture, for they were the cause that yesternight I had not so much as a mat to lie up. on, when I should sleepe and take my rest. Another of them, being arrived at the city of Athens and feeing there the Athenians going up and downe the city, some crying falt-fish to sell, others flesh and fuch like viands; some like publicanes, fitting at the receit of custome, other profes fing the trade of keeping brothel houses, and exercising many such vile and base occupations, effecting nothing at all foule and difhonest: after he was returned home into his owne comtrey, when his neighbours and fellow citizens asked him, what newes at Ahens, and howall things flood there? Paffing well (quoth he) and it is the best place that ever I came in (which he spake by way of mockerie and derifion) every thing there, is good and honest; giving them to understand, that all meanes of gaine and lucre, were held lawful & honest at Athens, and nothing 30 there, was counted villanous and dishonest. Another Laconian being asked a question, answer red; No: and when the party who mooved the question faid: Thou lieft; the Laconian replied againe, and faid: See what a foole thou art, to aske me that which thou knowest well enoughtly selle! Certeine Laconians were sent upon a time, ambassadours to Lygdamis the tyrant, who put them off from day to day, and hasted with them so, as he gave them no audience; at the last, it was tolde them, that hee was at all times weake and ill at ease, and not in case to be conferred with: the ambaffadours thereupon faid unto him who brought this word unto them: Tellhim from us, that we are not come to wreftle, but to parle onely with him. A certeine prieft, inducted a Laconian into the orders and ceremonies of some holy religion; but before that he would fully receive and admit him, he demanded of him what was the most grievous sinne that ever he 40committed, and which lay heaviest upon his conscience? The gods knowthat best (quoththe Laconian: but when the priest pressed hard upon him, and was very importunate, protesting that there was no remedie, but he must needs utter and confesse it: Unto whom (quoth the Laconian) must I tell it, unto you or to the God whom you ferve? Unto God (quorit the other:) Why then turne you behinde me (quoth hee) or retire afide out of hearing. Another Laconian chanced in the night to goe over a church-yard by a tombe or monument, and imagined that he faw a spirit standing before him; whereupon he advanced forward directly upon it with his javelin; and as he ran full upon it, and as he thought, strake thorow it, he said withall: Whither flieft thou from me, ghoft that thou art, now twife dead? Another having vowed to fling himselfe headlong from the high Promontorie Leneas, downe into the sea, mounted up the top 50 thereof, but when hee faw, what an huge downfall it was, he gently came downe again on his feet: now when one twitted and reproched him therefore: I wish not (quoth he) that this you of mine had need of another greater than it. Another Laconian there was, who in a battell and hot medley, being fully minded to kill his enemie who was under him, and to that purpose had lifted up his fwordbacke, to give him a deadly wound; fo foone as ever hee heard the trumpet found the retreat, presently stated his hand, and would no more follow his stroake: now when one after the retreat of ked him, why he flew not his enemie whom he had in his hands? Because (quoth he) it is better

Customes and ordinances of Lacedamonians.

to obey a captaine, than to kill an enemie. There was a Laconian tooke the foile in wreftling at the Olympicke games; and when one cried aloud: Thy concurrent is better than thou, Laconian: Better (quoth he?) not fo, but in deed he can skil better than I of supplanting and tripping,



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THE LACED EMONIANS.



HE manner and custome was at Lacedamon, that when they entred into their publicke halles where they tooke their meats and meales together; the eldest man of the whole companie should show the doores unto everic one as they came, and fay unto them: At thefe doores there goeth not forth fo much as one word. The most exquifitedish among them was a messe of broth, which they called Blacke-pottage; infomuch as when that was ferved up to the table, the elder folke would not care for any flesh meats, but leave all them fame for the yoonger fort. And (as it is reported) Denys the

Tyrant of Sicily, for this purpose bought a cooke from Lacedamon, and commaunded him to make him fuch portage and spare for no cost; but after he had a little tafted thereof, he found it so bad that he cast up all that he had taken of it; but his cooke faid unto him: Sir, if you would finde the goodnesse of this broth, you must be exercised first after the 30 Lacedamonian manner, all watred, and be well washed in the river Eurotas. Now after the Laconians have eat & drunk foberly at these ordinaries, they returne home to their houses without torch or any light before them: for it is not lawfull for any man at Laced.emon, to go either from thence or to any place elfe with a light carried before him in the night; because they should bee accustomed to keepe their way, and goe confidently without searc, all night long in the darke without any light at all. To write and reade they learned for necessitie onely; as for all other forrein sciences and literature they banished them quite out of their coasts, like as they did all ftrangers and aliens: and in verie truth their whole studie was to learne how to obey their superiours, to endure patiently all travels, to vanquish in fight, or to die for it in the place. All the yeere long they went in one fingle gaberdine without coat at all under it; and ordinarily they were 40 foule and fullied, as those who used not the stouphes & baines, ne yet announced themselves for the most part. Their boies and yoong men commonly slept together in one dorter, by bands and troupes, upon pallets and courfe beds, which they themselves gathered, breaking and tearing with their owne hands without any edged toole, the heads of canes and reeds which grew along the bankes of the river Eurotas: and in winter time they strewed and mingled among, a certaine kind of Thiftle downe, which they call Lycophanes; for they are of opinion, that such stuffe hath in it (I wot not what) which doth heat them. It was lawfull and permitted among them to love yoong boies for their good minds and vertuous natures; but to abute their persons wantonly and flethly, was reputed a most infamous thing, as if such were lovers of the bodie and not of the minde; in fuch fort, as who foever was accused and attaint thereof, became noted with infamic, 50 and shame followed him wheresoever he went all his life time. The custome was that elder folke when and wherefoever they met with yoonger, should demaund whither and whereabout they went? yea and checke and chide them, if they were to feeke of a good answere or if they went about to devise colourable excuses: and who soever he was that did not reproove him that did a fault in his presence, incurred the same reprehension and blame as he did who transgressed; yea and if he chafed and shewed himselfe discontented, when he was reprooved, he sustained reproch, difgrace and difcredit thereby. If peradventure one were furprifed and taken tardic in fome fault; he must be brought to a certaine altar within the citie, and there forced to go round

about it finging a fong, made of purpose for his owne reproofe, and conteining naught elfe, but the blame and accusation of himselfe. Moreover, young folke were not onely to honor their owne fathers, and to be obedient unto them; but also to shew reverence unto all other elder perfons; namely, in yeelding them the better hand, in turning out of their way when they met them, and giving them the wall, in rifing up from their feats before them when they came in place, and in standing still when they passed by: and therefore everie man had a certaine hand of government, and dispose, not onely (as in other cities) over their owne children, their proper fervants and goods; but also they had a regard of their neighbours children, servants and goods, as wel as if they had beene their owne: they made use also of them as of things common. to the end, that to each one everie thing might be (as it were) his owne in proprietic. Where. upon, if it fortuned that a child having beene chastisfed by another man, went to complaine therof to his owne father; it was a shame for the faid father, if he gave him not his payment againe: for by the ordinarie course of discipline in that countrey, they were affored, that their neighbors would impose nothing upon their children, but that which was good and honest. Young lads were used to filtch and steale whatsoever they could come by for their food and victuals; yea and they learned from their verie infancie, to forelay and lie pretily in ambush for to surprise those who were affecte, & flood not well upon their guards: but fay that one were taken in the maner when he stealeth; this was his punishment, namely, to be whipped and to fast from meat; exprefly therefore and of very purpose they were allowed verie little to eate, to the end that they might be driven upon verie extreame necessitie to make shifts and expose themselves ventu- 20 roully into any danger, yea and to devife alwaies fome cunning cast or other to steale more clearly: but generally the reason and effect of this their straight diet was, that they should long before accustome their bodies never to be full, but able to endure hunger; for that in deed they were of opinion, that they should be the meeter for fouldiarie, if they could take paines and travell without food; yea and that it was a good meanes to be more continent, fober, and thriftie, if they were taught & inured to continue along time with smal cost & expense: to be briefe, perfinaded they were: That to abstaine eating of flesh or fish dressed in the kitchin, or to feed savorly of bread or any other viands that came next to hand, made mens bodies more healthy, & caused them to burnish and growup; for that the naturall spirits not pressed nor over-charged with a great quantitie of meat, and to by that meanes not kept and depressed downeward, but dispersed 30 and spread in largenesse and breadth, gave libertie for the bodies to shoot up, waxe tall, and perfonable; yea and made them more faire and beautifull; for that the habitudes and complexions which be flender, lanke and emptie, are more obsequent unto that naturall vertue and facultie which giveth forme and fathion to the limmes; whereas those who be corpulent, groffe, ful, and given to much feeding, by reason of weight and heavines resist the same. They set their minds alfo to compose and make proper ditties and ballads, yea, and no lesse studious are they to sing the fame; having alwaies in these their compositions, a certaine pricke or sting (as it were) to stir up and provoke their courage and stomacke, to enspire also into the hearts of the hearers a condiderate refolution, and an ardent zeale and affection to doe some brave deed: the ditties were plaine, simple, and without all affectation; containing in manner nothing else, but the praises of 40 those who had lived vertuously, and died valiantly in the warres for the defense of Sparta, as being of all others most happie; as also the blame and reproch of such as for cowardise and faintheart were affraid to die, whom they accounted to live a wretched and miserable life. Moreover they stood much upon promises of suture prowesse or vanteries of present valour, according to the diversitie of their ages who chanted the said songs; for alwaies in their solemne and publike feafts, three quiers or dances there were: one of old folke, and the foreburthen of their canticle was this:

The time was when we gallant weare, Youthfull and hardy,void of feare.

Next to it came in place a daunce of men in their best age and full strength, who answered them 50 in this wife:

But we are come to proofe, and now at beft;
Try who that lift, to fight we are now preft.
And a third followed after of children who chaunted thus:
And we one day shall be both tall and strong,
Surpasing far, if that we live so long.
Now their we have seen and are the second of the

Now their very notes and tunes to the measures and numbers whereto they daunced and mar-

chedin battell against their enemies after the found of the flute, were appropriate and fitted to incite their hearts to valour, confident securitie, and contempt of death: for Lyeurgus did study and endevor to joyne the exercise & practise of militarie discipline with the pleasure of mutick, to the end, that war like and vehement motions being mingled and delaied with sweet melodie, might be tempered with a delectable accord and harmonie: and therefore in battels before the charge and first shock of the conslict, their king was woont to factifice unto the Muses, for this entent, that the foldiers in fight might have the grace to performe some glorious and memorable exploits. But if any man paffed one point beyond this ancient muficke, they would not endure him, infomuch as the Ephori fet a fine upon the head of Terpander (though otherwise he lo-10 ved antiquitie well enough, and was the best harper in his time, yea & tooke greatest delight to praife the heroick acts of the renowmed woorthies in times past) and more than that; they hung up his harp upon a stake or post, onely because he had set to it one string more than ordinarie, whereby he might varie his voice the better with more fundry notes; for they allowed no fongs not fonets but fuch as were plaine and fimple; and when Timotheus at the feast Carneia plaied upon the harpe for to winne the prize; one of the Ephori taking a skeine or knife in his hand, aiked him, on whether fide, either above or beneath, he would rather have him to cut a two the ftrings which were more than feven Moreover Lyeurgue tooke from them al vaine & superstitious feare as touching sepulchers, permitting them to burie their dead within the cirie, and to reare their mounments and tombs round about the temples of their gods: he cut off likewife 20 all pollutions of mortuaries, and would not give them leave to enterre any thing with the corps, but onely to enwrap the fame within a winding sheet of red cloth, together with olive leaves frewed among, and the fame indifferently to all bodies, no more to one than another: femblably he put downe all epitaphes and superfcriptions upon graves, unlesse it were for such as lost their lives in battell; forbidding all mourning and dolefull lamentations. Furthermore it was unlawfull for them to make voiages into strange countries, for feare they should learne forrein fashions and uncivill maners, favouring of no good bringing up; and for the same reason, Lycurgus banished aliens out of the citie, lest if they should thither refort, by reason of their confluence, they might teach and shew the citizens their vices. And as for citizens borne, any of them would not fuffer their children to be brought up according to the discipline and institu-30 tion of the citie, they might not enjoy the rights and privileges of free burgeffic. Some fay also that Lyeurgus ordained; If a very alien would yeeld to the observation of his discipline, and be ranged under the policie of the State, he might enjoy one of those portions which from the beginning was fet out and appointed; but he was not allowed to fell the same. The maner and cu-Home was in Lacedemen, to make use of their neighbours servants, even as well as of their owne, whenfoever they had any bufineffe or occasion to employ them; as also to make bold with their horfes and hounds, unleffe the owners themselves and masters had present need of them. In the countrey also and territoric of Laconia, if they stood in need of any thing that was in their neighbours house, they would goe boldly and aske no leave, to their cupboords, presses, coffers, and fuch places where the thing was, make no more adoo but open them, take out and carie away 40 what feeter they thought good; fo they made fast and shut againe the roome out of which they had taken ought. To warfare they went in red liveries, both for that they thought this colour more decent for a man, as also because it resembled bloud, it strucke the greater search into those who were not used thereto; besides, there was good use and profit thereof in this respect, that if any of them happied to be wounded, the enemie could not for perceive it, because that colour looked to like unto bloud. When foever they had vanquished their enemies by some stratagem that their captaines used, their maner was to facrifice an oxe unto Mars; but if they got a victorie by fine force & open manhood, they facrificed a cock; by which meanes, they occasioned their leaders to be not onely valiant, but also politicke warriors. Among other praiers that they made unto the gods this was ever one: That they might have the power and grace to be are 30 wrongs : but the furrine of all their supplications was this: That the gods would vouch a fe them honour for wel doing, & no more. If hey worthipped the goddeffe Venus in her complet armor, and made all the images of their gods, as well female as male, with launces and javelins in their hands, as if they all had militar and martiall vertue in them. Also they used this saying as a commonthproverbes attack con a ground standar of only

Customes and ordinances of the Lacedamonians.

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As if they would lay 5 that we ought when we invocate the gods, to enterptife formewhat our felves,

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felves, and lay our hands to worke, or elfe not to call upon them. They used to let their children feethe llotes when they were drunk, to keepe them by their example from drinking much wine. They neverknocked and rapped at their neighbours doores, but stood without, and called aloud to to those within. The curry-combes that they occupied were not of iron, but of canes and reeds. They never heard any comedies or tragedies acted, because neither in earness not in game they would not heare those that any wise contradicted the lawes. When Architochus the poet was come to Sparta, they drave him out the very same houre that he came, for that they knew he had made these verses, wherein he delivered: That it was better to sling away weapons than to die in the field:

A foole he is, who trusting in his shield, Doth venture life and limme in bloody field: As for mine owne, I have it slung me fro And left behind in bushes thick that gro.

Others translate it thus.

Some Sai an now, in that my doubtie shield
Doth take great soy, which slying out of field,
Though sull against my mind, I slang me fro
And left behind in bushes thicket hat grow.
Although it were right good, yet would not I
Presume to sight with it, and so to dy,
Farewell my frield, though thou be lost and gone,
Another day as good I shall buy one.

All their facred and holy ceremonies were common, as well for their daughters as their fonnes, The Ephoricondemned one Siraphidas, to pay a fumme of money, for that he fuffred himselfe to take wrong and abuse at many mens hands. They caused one to be put to death for playing the hypocrite, and wearing fackcloth like a publike penitent, for that the faide fackcloth was purfled with a border of purple. They rebuked and checked a yoong man as hee came from the ordinary place of exercise, for that hee frequented it still, knowing as he did the way to Pytas, where was held the affembly of the States of Greece. They chafed out of the citic a Rhetorician named Cephifophon, because he made his boast, That he could speak if it were 30 a whole day of any theame proposed unto him; for they said: That speech ought to be proportionable to the subject matter. Their children would endure to be lashed & whipped all the day long, yea, and many times even to death, upon the alter of Diana, furnamed Orthia, taking joy and pleafure therein, striving a vie for the victorie who could hold out longest; and looke who was able to abide most beating, he was best esteemed, and caried away the greatest praise: this ftrife& emulation among them was called the Whippado; and once every yeere they observed fuch an exercise. But one of the best, most commendable and blessed things that Lycurgus provided for his citizens; was the plentie & abundance that they had of rest & leisure; for they were not allowed at all to meddle with any mechanicall arte; and to trafficke and negotiate painfully for to gather and heape up goods, was in no wife permitted; for he had fo wrought that si-40 ches among them was neither honored nor defired. The Ilotes were they that ploughed and tilled their ground for them, yeelding them as much as in old time was fet downe and ordeined; and execrable they esteemed it to exact more of any of them, to the end that those llotes for the fweetnesses gaine which they found thereby, might serve them more willingly, and themselves covet to have no more than the old rate. Forbidden likewise were the Lacedæmonians to be malriners, or to fight at fea; yet afterwards for all that, they fought riavall battels, and became lords of the fea; howbeit they foone gave that over, when they once faw that the maners and behavior of their citizens were thereby corrupted and depraved; but they changed afterwards again, and were mutable, as well in this as in all other things: for the first that gathered and hoarded up money for the Lacedæmonians, were condemned to death, by reason that there was an aunci- 50 ent oracle which delivered this answer unto Alcamenes and Theopompus, two of their kings,

Avarice one day (who ever lives to fee).

Of Sparta citie will the raine bees.

And yet Lyfander after he had wonne the citie of Athens, brought into Sparta a great maffeof gold and filver, which the citizens received willingly, and did great honour unto the man him-telfe for his good fervice. True it is, that fo long as the citie of sparta observed the lawes of Lycurgus, and kept the other which it was sworne by, she was a paragon, yea, and the soveraigned.

all Greece, in good government and glorie for the space of 300, yeeres: but when they came once to transgresse the faid lawes and breake their oathes; avarice and covetousnesse crept in among them by little and little, and they with all their puilfance & authoritie decreafed, yea and their allies and confederates heereupon began to be ill affected unto them: and yet being as they were in this declining estate, after that king Philip of Macedonia had woon the battell at Charonea, when all other cities and states of Greece, by a generall confent, and with one accord had chosen him the generall captaine of all the Greeks, as well for land as sea, yea, and after himhis sonne Alexander the Great, upon the destruction of the citie Thebes, onely the Lacedamonians, notwithstanding their citie lay all open, without any wall about it, and themselves to were brought to a very finall number by occasion of their continuall warres, which had wasted and confumed them, whereby they were become very feeble, and by confequence more cafic to be defeated than ever before, yet for that they had retained fill forme little reliques of the government established by Lyeurgus, they would never yeeld to serve under those two mightie monarches, no nor other kings of Macedonia their fucceffors, neither would they be prefent at the generall diets and common affemblies of other states, nor contribute any money with the reff, untill they having utterly cast aside and rejected the lawes of Lyeurgus, they were held under and yoked with the tyranny of their owne citizens; namely when they reteined no part of the aucient discipline, whereby they grew like unto other nations, and utterly lost their old reputation, glory, and libertie of franke speech, so as in the end they were brought into servitude, and even at this day be fubject unto the Romane empire, aswell as other cities and states of Greece.

Customes and ordinences of the Lacedæmonians.



THE APOPHTHEGMES,

THAT IS TO SAY, THE NO-

BLE SAYINGS AND ANSWERS
OF LACEDÆMONIAN
DAMES.



RGILEONIS the mother of Brasidan; (after that her sonne was slaine, when certaine embassidadors from the citie Amphipolis came to Sparta, and visited her;) demaunded of them, whether her sonne died like a valiant man, and as became a Spartan? now when they praised him exceedially, saying that he was the bravest man in armes in all Lacedamon; the said againe unto them: My sonne was indeed a knight of valour and honour (my good friends;) but Lacedamon hath many others yet more valiant than he was.

Milesian was come to Sparta, for to sollicit Cleomenes to make warre upon the king of Persia, in the desence of the Ionians freedome; and in consideration heereof promised him a good round summe of money; and the more that he contradicted and denied the motion, the more hestill augmented the summe of money which he promised: Father (quoth she) this stranger to heere will corrupt you if you, send him not the sooner out of your house. Also when her father willed hir one day to deliver certaine come winto a man, by way of a reward and recompence, saying withall: For this is he who hath taught me how to make wine good: How now, good father (quoth she) shall there be more wine drunkes shill, considering that they who drinke thereof become more delicate and lesse valorous? When she saw how Aristagoras had one of his men to put on his shoots: Father (quoth she) heere is a stranger that hath no hands. When she saw a foreiner comming toward her who was wont to goe fortly and delicatie, shee thrust him from

her

her and faid: Avaunt idle luske as thou art, and get thee gone, for thou art not fo good of deed as a woman.

that was betweene him and other yoonkers his companions) was brought home with many a wound, infomuch as no man looked for life; feeing his familiar friends and those of his acquaintance, waile and take on piteoufly: What (quoth she) let be this weeping and lamentation, for now hath he shewed of what bloud he is descended; neither ought wee to crie out and bewaile for the hurts of valiant men, but rather to goe about their cure and salve them, if haply we may save their lives. When a messenger comming out of Candia, where he served in the warres, brought newes that the said Acroatum was slaine in fight: Why (quoth she) what to else should he do, being once gone foorth to warre, but either die himselse or else kill his enemies? Yet had I rather heare, and it doth me much more good that he died woorthy my selfe, woorthy his native countrey and his progenitours, than that he should live as long as possible a man could, like acoward and man of no woorth.

DEMETRIA hearing that her fonne prooved a daftard, and indeed not woorthy to be her fonne, fo foone as ever he was returned from the wars, she killed him with her owne hands;

whereupon was made this epigram of her:

By mothers hand was flaine one Demetric,

For that he brake the lawes of chivalrie,

No marvell, she a noble Spattan dame Disclaimed her some, unwoorthy of that name.

Another woman of Lacedamon being given to understand, that her some had abandonedhis ranke, unade him likewise away, as unwoorthy of that countrey wherein he was borne, saying: That he was no some of hers: And thereupon this epigram also was composed of her:

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Amifebiefe take thee wickedimpe, be goneindivils name
Through balefull darkneffe: Hatredis
too good and earthly shame:
For cowards fuch of craven kind
like hinds, are not to drinke,
Norwash in faire Eutotas streame
their bodies, as 1thinke.
Avaum: thou cur-dogge: whelpe to hell,
thou divils limme unmon'd,
unmoorthy Spatta foile thou are
for thee I never gron'd.

Another, hearing that her fonne was faved and had escaped out of the hands of his enemies, wrote thus unto him: There runneth a naughtic rumor of thee; either ftop the course thereof or elfe live not. There was another likewife, whose children had sled out of the battell, and when they came home unto her, the welcomed them in this manner: Whither goe you run-40 ning leawd lozels and cowardly flaves as you are; thinke you to enter hither againe from whence you first came? and therewith plucked up her cloaths, and shewed them her barebelly. Also another clipying her sonne new returned from the wars, and comming toward her: What newes (quoth the) how goeth the world with our countrey and common-wealth? and when he answered. We have lost the field and all our men be slaine; she tooke up an earthen pot let it fly at his head & killed him out-right, faying: And have they fent thee to bring us the newes? There was one brother recounted unto his mother what a noble death his brother died, unto whom his mother answered: And wert not thou ashamed that thou didst not accompanie him in so faire a journey ? Another there was who had fent her fonnes (and five they were in number) to the warres, and the stood waiting at the townes end, about the suburbs and hamlets necreunto 50 them, for to hearken what was the iffue of the battell: and of the first man whom she encountred from the campe, the asked, what newes, and who had the day; hee told her that her fonnes were ilaine all five: Thou leaud variet (quoth fhee) and base slave as thou art, I did not demaund that question of thee; but in what state the affaire of the common-wealth stood: The victoric (quoth he) is ours: Then am I well appaid (faith shee) and contented with the losse of my children. Another there was, unto whom as the buried her fonne flaine in the warres, there came a filly

old woman and moaned her, faying: Ah good woman what fortune is this ? Why good (quoth the?) by Castor and Pollux I (weare; for I bare him into this world for nothing elle, but that he should spend his life for Sparta; and loe this is now hapned. A ladie there was of Ionia, who bare herselfeverie proud of a worke in rapistrie which she herselfe had made, most costly and conioully; but a Laconian dame shewed unto her, foure children, all verie well given and honestly brought up : Such as these (quothshe) ought to be the works of a ladie of honour, and herein should a noble woman in deed, make her boast and vaunt herselfe. Another there was, who heard newes, that a fonne of hers behaved himfelfenot well in a flrange countrey where hee was, unto whom the wrote a letter in this wife: There is blowen a bad brute of thee in these parts, either 10 proove it false or else die, I advise thee. Certaine sugitives or exiled persons from Chios, came to Sparia, who accused Padaretus, and laid many crimes to his charge: his mother Teleuria hearing thereof, fent for them to come unto her; at whose mouthes when she heard the severall points of their imputations, and judging in herselfe that hee was in fault, and had done great wrongs, the fent a letter unto him in this forme: Either do better or tarie there still, and never thinke to fave thy felfe here. In like manner another wrote unto her fonne accused of an hainous crime, in these tearmes: My some quit thy selfe of this imputation, or else quit thy life. Auother accompanying a fon of hers upon the way when he went to battell, faid unto him: Sonue remember every foot that thou steppest to vertue and prowesse, and fight like a man. Another whose sonnereturned out of the field wounded in the foot, and complaying unto her of the 20 great paine which he endured: Sonne (quoth she) if thou wouldst remember vertue and valour, thou shouldest never thinke of thy paine. A certaine Lacedæmonian chanced so grievously to be wounded in a skirmith, that he had much adoe to fland upon his legs, fo that he was faine to go with crutches (asit were) upon foure feet; now when he was abalhed to fee fome laugh at him for it, his mother faid: Greater cause thou hast (my sonne) to rejoice for this testimonie of thy valour and proweffe, than to be difmated at their fond and fenflesse laughter. Another woman when the gave unto her fonne a thield, admonished him to use it well, and do his devoir like a man, and these words she used unto him : My sonne either bring this shield home againe, or let it bring thee dead upon it. Another likewise giving a targuet to her some when he tooke his leave of her to go to warre, faid unto him: Thy father kept this targuet well from time to 30 time; feethou (for thy part) keepe it as well, or elfe die with it. Another when her fonne found fault with his short sword, faid unto him: Then set foot neerer to thine enemie, A woman hearing that her fonne died valiantly in battell: No marvell (quoth shee) for he was my fonne. Contrariwife, another when the heard that her fonne tooke him to his heeles, and escaped by good footmanship: He was never (quoth she) a fonne of mine. But another hearing that her fonne was flaine fighting in the verie place where his captaine had fet him: Remoove him than (quoth she) from thence, and let his brother step into his place. A Lacedæmonian woman being in a folemne and publicke proceffion, with a chaplet of flowers upon his head, underflood that her sonne had wonne a field, but was so grievously wounded, that ready he was to yeeld up his breath; without putting off her chaplet of flowers from her head, but glorying (as it were) in 40 these newes: Oh my friends (quoth she) how much more glorious and honourable is it for a fouldier to die with victorie in battell, than for a champion to survive after he hath wonne the prize in the Olympicke games. A brother reported unto his fifter, how valiant her fonne died in battell, unto whom the answered againe: Lookehow much I joy & take pleasure to heare this of him; fo much I am displeased and discontented at you, brother, for that you would not beare him companie in fo vertuous a voiage, but tarie behind him. When one fent unto a Lacedaemonian woman to follicit and found her, whether she would confent unto him, she made this answere: When I was a maiden, I learned to obey my father, and so I did evermore; and when I was a wife, I did the the like unto my husband; if then that which he demaundeth of me be ho nest and just, let him acquaint my husband with it first. A poore maiden being asked the questi-50 on what dowrie the would bring her husband? The pudicitie (quoth thee) and honeftie of my countrey. Another Lacedæmonian woman being demaunded, whether the had yet beene with her husband? Not I (quoth shee) but hee hath beene with me. Also another yoong woman chanced fecretly to be deflowed and to leefe her maiden head; now when by fome mishap she fell unto untimely labour, and to flip an abortive fruit; she endured the paines of travell thereto belonging to patiently, without one crie or groane, that neither her father, nor any one about her, perceived any thing at all that the was delivered; for thame and honeflie fighting together, overcame all the vehemencie of her paines. A Lacedæmonian woman being fold in the market for a flave, was asked what the could doe? I can skill (quoth thee) to bee true and faithfull. Another likewife being a captive and demaunded the like question, answered, that she could keepe the house well. Another likewife when she was asked by one whether shee would proove good if he bought her, made answer thus: Yea that I will, although you never buy me. Last of all, a Lacedæmonian woman when she was to be fold in port-sale, and the crier demaunded of her what she had skill in? answered: To be free. Now when he that bought her commaunded her to do some things unbeseeming a free person: You will repent (quoth she) that you envied your selfe so noble a possession; and so she killed herselfe.



THE VERTVOVS DEEDS OF WOMEN.

The Summarie.

Ertue alwaies deserveth praisewheresoever it is sound, but especially when it proceedeth from feeble instruments, and those of small shew; for by that meanes the excellencie thereof is so much better seene : our Author therefore in that regard, hathmade here a collection of histories, relating the woorthy demeanours of many women who have shewed manly courage in sundry dangers; the consideration whereof, is able greatly to move and affect the reader. In the Preface of this discourse after he had refuted the opinion of Thucydides, who would confine women (as it were) into a perpetuall ermitage, he proveth by divers reasons, that vertue being alwaies the selfe-same, notwithstanding that it hathobjects and subjects 20 different, it were meere injurie and too much iniquitie, either to forget or to de spise those women who for their valour have deserved, that their name and example stould continue; to the end that the same might be imitated as occasion requireth in many forts, not onely by other women, but also by the most part of men. Which done, he describes the notable exploits of some in generall: and then he commeth to speake of certeine in particular, noting and observing in them divers graces and commendable parts, but especally an extreame hatred of tyrannie and servitude, an ardene love and assection toward their country, a singular affection to their husbands, rare honestie, pudicitie, chastitie joined with a generous nature, which hath caused them, both so enterprise and also to execute her oique acts, and well deserving that praise, which hash beene preserved entire for such women, after so many yeeres until this day, by the meanes of this present historicall fragment; the which conteineth goodly instru-Etions for men and women of name and marke, to induce them to governe themselves in such fort, that in the mids of the greatest confusions, they might take a good courage, and lay their hands to that which their vocation requireth; and to hold this for certeine, that enterprises lawfull and necessarie, will sooner or later have good iffue, to the shame and ruine of the wicked, but to the repose and quietnesse of all persons, who de sire, seeke, and procure that which is good.



THE

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THE VERTUOUS DEEDS

of women.



Am not of Threydides minde (dame Clea) touching the vertue of women; for he is of this opinon: That the is the best & most vertuous, of whom there is least speech abroad; as well to her praise as her dispraise; thinking that the name of a woman of honour, ought to be shut up and kept sast within, like as her bodie; that it never may go forth, Gorgius yet (me thinks) was more reasonable, who would have the renowmer and same, but not the sace & visage of a woman, to be knowen unto men: and it seemeth unto me, that it was an excellent law and custome among the Romans, which imported thus much: That women as well as men, after their death might beho-

noured publickly at their funerals, with fuch praifes as they had deferved; and therefore immediatly after the decease of the most vertuous ladie Leontis, I discoursed with you at large upon this matter; which discourse (in my conceit) was not without some consolation founded upon reason & Philosophy: and now also (according to your request at that time) I send you in wri-20 ting, the rest of our speech and communication, tending to this point: That the vertue of man and woman is all one and the very fame; which appeareth by the proofe and testimony of many and fundry examples, drawen out of ancient histories, collected by me, not upon any intention toplease the eare; but if the nature of an example be such, as alwaies, to the permassive power that it hath to proove, there is joined also a lively vertue to delight. This treatise of mine reje-Stethnor the grace of that pleasure, which doth second and favourise the efficacie of a proofe; neither is it ashamed to join Graces with Muses, which (as Eurypides faith) is the best conjunction in the world, inducing the minde most easily to give eare and credit unto good reasons, by meanes of the delectation which it there findeth. For if to proove, that it is all one art, to paint and draw the life of women and men, I should produce and bring foorth such pictures of wo-30 men as Apelles, Zeuxis or Nicomachia have left behinde them; hath any man reason to finde fault and to charge me, that I aime and intend to delight the cie and content the minde, rather than to verific my affection? I suppose that no man will so doe : semblably, if otherwise to show, that the art of Poetrie, or skill to represent in verse, all things whatsoever, is the same in women and men, and nothing different one from the other, I should conferre the Odes and verses of Sappho with those of Anacreon; or the oracles penned by the Sibrilles with those which are see downe by Baechis; is there any man that could justly blame such a demonstration, for that it draweth the hearer to beleeve with some pleasure and content? no man (I trow) would ever so fay: and yet there were no better way to know either the refemblance, or the difference in the vertue of man and woman, than in comparing lives with lives, and deeds with deeds; as if wee 40 should lay together the works of some noble feience, and consider them one by another; even folikewise, to see whether the magnificence of queene Semiramis, hath all one forme and figure with that of king Sefoftris; and the wifedome of queene Tanaquil, with that of king Servius; or the magnanimitie of ladie Porcia, with that of Brutes; or of dame Timoclea, with that of Pelopidas; namely, in that quality which is most principall, and wherein lieth the chiefest point and force of these vertues: for vertue admitteth certeine other differences, as proper and particular colours, according to divers natures, and is in some fort conformable to the maners and conditions of those subjects wherein they be, and to the temperatures of their bodies, or to the verice nutriments and divers diets and fashions of their life. For Achilles was after one fort valiant, and Ajax after another; the wildome of uly ses was not like unto Nestors; neither were Cate and A-50 gestilaus just alike; Irene loved not her husband in that maner as Alcestu loved hers; nor Cornelia &Olympias were alike magnanimous; and yet for all that, we fay not, that there be many and diverskinds of fortitude, fundry forts of prudence and wildome, nor different juffices, in regard of the diffimilitude and varietic which arifeth particularly in ech one person, so as the said peculiar differences, do not exclude any one vertue from the proper definition thereof. As for fuch examples as are most divulged and published abroad (of which I presume you have already sufficient knowledge, and firmely remember their historie, by that which you have read in ancient books) I wil passe them over at this present; unlesse haply there be some acts worthy of remembrance, which they were ignorant of, who before our time have written the common histories and vulgar Chronicles. But for that the women in times past, as well in common as particular, have performed many memorable deeds, it will not be amiffe in the first place to set downe briefly what some of them have done in societie and companie together.

THE TROJANE DAMES.

F those Trojanes who escaped after the winning and destruction of Troie the Great, the most part went to seeke their fortune, and by force of tempest (the rather for that they had no skill in navigation, and were not acquainted with the feas) were call upon the coast of Italie, 10 where putting into fuch baies, ports & creeks as they could meet with, in that very place (whence the river Tybris dischargeth it selfe into the sea) with much adoe and great difficultie they landed, and the men went wandring up and downe the countrey, for to fee if they could light upon those that might direct them in their voiage, and give them some light and intelligence of those coasts. Meane while the women communed and devised thus among themselves: That fince they had beene the most fortunate and happie nation in the world, it were better for them to fettle in any one certaine place whatfoever, than still to wander uncertainely upon the seas, and to make that, their countrey and feat of habitation, fince they were not able to recover that native foile which they had loft: to which motion after they had all with one accord agreed. they fet fire on their ships, and the first ring-leader in this action was a Ladie (by report) named 20 Roma; which done, they went farther up into the continent to meet with the men aforefaid, who now by this time were coming apace to the sea for to succour their ships on fire, & searing their furious anger, they fell to embrace and kiffe them very kindly, fome their husbands others their kinsfolk, and by this means appealed their wrath, Hereupon arose that cultom, which continueth at this day among the Romanes, that no men should salute their kinsfolke, and those that be joined in blood to them, by kiffing their lips: for the Trojan men feeing (as it should feeme) in what necessitie they stood, were well enough content; and withal, finding the inhabitants of the sca-coasts courteous, and ready to receive and entertaine them friendly, approoved that which the women had done, and so remained and dwelt in the same part of Italy among the Latines.

THE DAMES OF PHOCIS.

THE woorthy act of the dames of Phoeis, whereof we now meane to make mention, no Historiographer of name hath yet recorded and set downe in writing: howbeit there was never a more memorable deed of vertue wrought by women, and the same testified by the great facrifices, which the Phocians do celebrate even at this day, necre unto the citie Hyampolis, and that according to the ancient decrees of the countrey. Now is the totall historie of this whole action from point to point particularly recorded in the life of Daiphantus; as for that which the faid women did thus stood the case. There was an irreconcilable and mortall warre betweene the Theffalians and those of Phocis, for that the Phocians upon a certaine fore-set day, killed all 40 the magistrates and rulers of the Theffalians, who exercised tyrannie in the cities of Phoeis: and they againe of Thessalia had beaten and bruised to death two hundred and fiftie hostages of the Phocæans, whom they had in custodie; and after that, with all their puissance entred and invaded their countrey by the way of the Locrians; having before hand concluded this resolution in their generall counfell, not to pardon nor spare any one that was of age sufficient to beare armes, and as for their wives and children, to leade them away captives as flaves: whereupon Daiphantus the fonne of Bathyllus, one of the three foveraign governours of Phocus, mooved and perswaded the Phoceans (as many as were of yeeres to fight) for to go forth and encounter the Theffalians; but their wives and children, to affemble all together unto a certaine place in Phoeis, & environe the whole pourprise and precine thereof with a huge quantity of wood, and 50 there to fet certaine guards to watch and ward; whom hee gave in charge, that so some as ever they heard how their countrey-men were defaited, they should set the wood on fire, and burne all the bodies within the compasse thereof: which desseigne when all others had approoved, there was one man among them, flood up and faid: It were just and meet, that they had the confent also of the women as touching this matter; and if they would not approve and allow of this counfell, to leave it unexecuted, and not to force them thereto: this confultation being come to the cares of the faid women, they held a counfell together apart by themselves as touching

this entended action, where other refolved to follow the advice of Daiphantus, and that with fo great alacritie and contenument, that they crowned Daiphantus with a chapler of flowers, as having given the best counsell that could be devised for Phoeis. It is reported also, that their verie children fat in counfell hereabout by themselves, and concluded the same: but it fortuned so, that the Phoceans having given the Theffalians battell neere unto a village, called Chone, in the marches or territoric of Hyampolis, defaited them. This resolution of the Phoc wans, was afterwards by the Greekes named Aponan, that is, A desperat desseigne: and in memoriall of the faid victorie, all the people of Phocis to this day do celebrate in Hyampolis, the greatest and most solemne feast that they have to the honour of Diana, and call it Elaphebolia.

THE WOMEN OF CHIOS.

THE men of Chios inhabited sometime the colonie Leuconia, upon such an occasion as this, A gentleman, one of the best houses in Chios, chanced to contract a marriage; and when the bride was to be brought home to his house in a coach, King Hippoclus being a familiar friend unto the bridegroom, & one who was present with others at the espousales and wedding 3 after he had taken his wine wel, being fet upon a merrie pin, and disposed to make sport, leapt up into the coach where the new wedded wife was; not with any entent to offer violence or vilanny, but only to dallic, toy & make pastime in a meriment, as the maner was at such a feast: howbeit 20 the friends of the bridegroome tooke it not fo, but fell upon him and killed him outright in the place: upon which murder there appeared unto those of Chies many evident tokens and signes of Gods anger; yea and when they understood by the oracle of Apollo, that for to appeale their wrath, they should put all those to death who had murdered Hippoelus; they made answere: That they all were guiltie of the fact : and when the god Apollo commanded them, that if they were all tainted with the faid murder, they should all depart out of the citie Chies, they fent away (as manie, as either were parties and principals, or acceffaries and privie to the faid blood-shed; yea, and who foever approoved and praifed the fact, and those were neither few in number, nor men of meane qualitie and power) as far as to Leucoma; which citie the Chians first conquered from the Coroneans, and possessed by the helpe of the Brythreans: but afterwardes when there 30 was warre betweene the faid Chians and the Erythreans (who in those daies were the mightiest people in all Ionia) informuch as the Erythræans came against Lemonia, with a power intending to affault it: the Chians being not able to refift, grew to make a copolition; in which capitalated it was & agreed, that they should quit the city, & depart every person with one coat & cassock only, without taking any thing els with them. The women understanding of this agreement, gave them foule words, & bitterly reproched them, for being fo base minded as to lay off their armor, & thus to go naked thorow the mids of their enimies: but when their husbands alleaged that they had fworn & taken a corporal oth fo to do, they gave them counfel in any wife, not to leave their armes and weapons behind them, but to fay; that a javelin was a coat, and a shield the cassocke of a valiant and hardie man. The Chians perswaded hereunto spake boldly to the Erythræans to 40 that effect, and showed them their armes, infomuch as the Erythræans were affraid to see their resolute boldnesse, and there was not one of them so hardie as to come necre for to empeach them, but were verie well content that they abandoned the place, and were gone in that fort. Thus you may see how these men having learned of their wives to be couragious and consident, faved their honours and their lives. Long after this, the wives of the Chians atchieved an other act nothing inferiour to this in vertue and prowesse. At what time as Philip the sonne of Demetrius, holding their citie befieged, caused this barbarous edict, and proud proclamation to be published: That all the flaves of the citie should rebell against their masters, and come to him: for that he would make them all free, and give them libertie to espouse and marie their mistreffes, even the wives of their former masters. The dames conceived hereof so great choler 50 and indignation in their harts (together with the flaves themselves, who were provoked likewise to anger as well as they, and readie to affift their mistresses) that they tooke heart to mount upon the walles of the citie, and to carrie thither stones, darts and all manner of shot, beseeching their husbands to fight luftily and with good courage, & eftloones admonifhing and encouraging them to quit themselves like men, and do their devoir; which they did forestectually both inword and deed, that in the end they repulled the enemie, and constrained Philip to raise his fiege from before the citie without effecting his purpose, and there was not so much as one flave that revolted from his mafter unto him.

THE WOMEN OF ARGOS.

" He exploit of the Argive dames against Cleomenes king of Lacedemon, in defence of the citie Argos, which they enterprifed under the conduct and by the perswasion of Telefilla the poëtreffe, is not leffe glorious and renowmed, than any action that ever was atchieved by a crew of women. This dame Telefilla (as the fame goeth) was descended of a noble and famous house, howbeit in body she was very weake and sickly; by occasion wherof, she sent out to the oracle for to know how the might recover her health: answer was made, that the shoulde serve, honour and worthip the Muses: the yeelding obedience to this revelation of the god, and giving herfelfe to learne poefie, and likewife vocall muficke, and skill in fong, in fhort time was delivered from her maladie, and became most renowmed and highly esteemed among women for hir poeticall veine, and musicall knowledge in this kind: in processe of time it fortuned that Cleamenes the king of the Spartans, having in a battell flaine a great number indeed of Argives. but not as some fabulous writers have precisely set downe (seven thousand, seven hundred, seven. tie and feven) advanced directly to the citie of Argos, hoping to finde and furprize the fame void of inhabitants: but the women, as many as were of age fufficient (as it were by fome heavenly and divine inflinct) put on a refolute minde, and an extraordinary courage, to doe their best for to beate backe their enemies that they should not enter the citie; and in very truth under the leading of Telefilla, they put on armes, tooke weapon in hand, and mounting up the 20 wals flood round about the battlements thereof, and environed them on every fide, defending the citie right manfully, to the great wonder & admiration of the enemies: thus they gave Cleo. menes the repulle, with the loffe and carvage of a great number of his men. Yea and they chased Democrates another king of Lacedamon out of their citie, as Socrates faith, who had made entrance before, and feifed that quarter which is called Pamphyliacum: when the citie was thus faved by the prowesse of these women, ordeined it was, that as many of them as chaunced in this fervice to be flaine, should be honorably enterred, upon the great causey or high-way called Argeia; and unto them who remained alive, graunted it was for a perpetual monument and memoriall of their proweffe, to dedicate and confecrate one statue unto Mars. This combat and fight (as some have written) was the seventh day, or (as others say) the first of that month 10 which at Argos in old time they called Tetartos, but now Hermew, on which day the Argives do celebrate even in this age, a folemne facrifice and feast which they call Hybriftica (as one would fay) reprochfull and infamous; wherein the custome is, that women went clad in soldiers coates and mantels, but men were arraied and attired in womens peticoates, frocks, and veiles. Now to replenish and repeople the citie againe, for default of men who died in the wars, they did not (as Herodotus writeth) use this pollicie, to marrie their flaves to their widdowes, but they granted free burgeofie of their citie, unto the better fort of men who were their neighbors and borderers, and granted unto them for to affiance and espouse the said widowes: but it should seeme that these wives distained & despised (in some fort) these husbands of theirs, as not comparable to their former; for they made a law, that these wives should have counterfeit beards set to their 40 chins whenfoever they flept and lay with their husbands.

THE PERSIAN WOMEN.

Crew(having caused the Persians to rebel against king Assacs & the Medes) hapned to be discomfitted & vanquished together, with the Persians: now when the Persians fled amaine toward the city, and their enemies followed hard at their heeles, ready to enter pel-mell with the; the women issued out of the gates, met them even before the citie, and plucking up their clothes before, from beneath, to their waste, cried unto them: Whither away, and whither doe you sie, the most beastly cowards that ever were? for run as fast as you will there is no reentrance here for you into that place, out of which you came first into the world: the Persians being ashamed as well to see such a sight, as to heare those words, blamed and rebuked themselves; where upon they turned againe, and made head at their enemies, fought fressly, and put them to slight: from which time forward, there was a law established: That when sever the king returned from some sarre voiage, and entreth into the citie, everie woman should receive of him a piece of gold, and that by the ordinance of king Cyrus, who first enacted it. But it is reported, that king Orbus one of his successors (who being bad enough otherwise) was the most covetous prince

that ever raigned over them, turned alwaies out of the way, passed besides the citie, and never would come into it after such a journey; whereby the women alwaies were disappointed of that gramitie and gift which they ought to have had: but king Alexander contrariwise entred the citie twice, and gave to every woman with childe, double so much, that is to say, two such pieces of gold.

THE WOMEN OF GAULE.

Before that the Gaules paffed over the mountaines called Appes, and held that part of Italy which now they doe inhabit; there arofe a great difcord and dangerous fedition among them, which grew in the end to a civill warre: but when both armies flood embattailed and arranged, ready to fight, their wives put themselves in the very mids betweene the armed troupes, tooke the matter of difference and controversie into their hands, brought them to accord a unitite, and judged the quarrell with such indifferent equitie, and so to the contentment of both parts, that there ensued a woonderfull amitie, and reciprocall good will, not onely from citie to citie, but also betweene house and house; informuch that ever after, they continued this custome in all their confulcations, as well of warre as peace, to take the counsell and advice of their wives; yea to compose and pacific all debates and braules with their neighbours and allies, by the mediation of them: and therefore in that composition and accord which they made with Annaball, at what time as he passed through their citie, among other articles this went for one:

That in case the Gaules complained of any wrongs done unto them by the Carthaginians, the Carthaginian captains and governors which were in Spain should be the judges betweene them; but contrartivise, if the Carthaginians pretended that the Gaules had wronged them, the Gaule dames should decide the quarrell.

THE WOMEN OF MELOS.

"He Melians purpofing to fecke for another land to inhabit, more large and fertile than their owne, chose for the captaine and leader of that troupe or colonie which was sent forth, a yoong gentleman of fingular beautie, named Nymphaus; but first they had consulted 30 with the oracle, where they received this answere: That they should take the seas, and faile; and looke in what place foever they happened to leefe their porters and cariers, there they should rest and inhabit: now it happened as the coasted along Caria, and were set aland, their ships were lost in a tempest and perished; and then the inhabitats of the city Cryassa in Caria, (were it that they had pity of their necessitie, or feared their hardinesse and valour) requested them to make their abode with them, and granted them a part of their territorie to holde and occupie: but afterwards the Carians feeing, that in a finall time the Melians mightily increased and waxed great, they complotted and laid ambushes for to murder them al, at a certeine solemne sealt and Supper which they prepared for them: but it fell out so, that a yoong damosell of Caria named Cophene (who fecretly was in love and enamoured upon Nympheus abovefaid, and could not en-40 dure that her love Nympham should so treacherously be murdered) discovered the said plot and intended deffeigne of her countreymen: now when the Cryaffians came to call them to the feast above said, Nymphaus made them this answere: That the custome of the Greeks was not to go unto any great suppers or feasts, unlesse they had their wives with them; which when the Carians heard, they faid: Bring your wives with you and sparenot, they shall be welcome: thus when he had advertised his countreymen the Melians, what had passed betweene him and the Carians, he gave order that they should themselves come unarmed in their plaine apparell, but every one of their wives should bring with them a skeine or dagger under their clothes, and so ech of them fit close unto her husband: now in the mids of supper, when the fignall was given to the Carians for to go in hand with the execution of their defleigne, they Greeks knew thereby incontinently, that the time was now come to execute this feat; and then the women all at once opened their bosoms, and their husbands caught the skeines aforesaid, ran upon the barbarous Carians, and maffacred all in the place, informed as not one of them escaped with life; and thus being mafters of the countrey, they rafed the city, and built another, which they called New Cryaffa: Cophene then was maried to Nymphen, and woon much honour and favor, which the right well had deferved for the great good fervice that the did: but in my conceit, the principall matter in this whole action, and that which is most to be commended, was the filence and secrecie of these dames, that being so many as they were, there was not one whose hart fainted in the execution of this enterprise, nor perforce and for searce against her will, failed in her dutie.

THE TUSCANE WOMEN.

Here were in times past certaine Tyrrhenians or Tuskanes, who seized upon the isles of of Lemnos and Imbros, yea and ravished certaine Athenian wives out of Brauron, and begat children of them; but afterwards, the Athenians chased that generation out of the said isles, as being mungrels and halfe Barbarians, who fortuning to arrive at the cape or head of Tenarus, to the large and for this cause and for this cause and the large and for this cause as to did very good service under the Spartans in their wars against the Ilots; and for this cause obteined their freedome and burgeofie in Sparta, yea, and were allowed to take wives and marrie among them; onely they were not capable of any office of State or magiltracie, nor admitted into the counfell of the citie: howbeit, suspected they were in the end, that they conspired and went about a change and alteration in the government: whereupon the Spartans apprehended their bodies, and cast them in prison, where they kept them very straight, as close prisoners, to see if they could convince them by some proofes and undoubted evidence. Meanwhile, the wives of these prisoners came to the goales, and by their earnest praiers and imported nate fure, wrought so with their keepers, that they suffred them to have accesse unto their hufbands, onely to vifit, falute, and speake unto them: they were no sooner entred in, but they ad- 20 vised and perswaded their husbands, with all speed to put off their owne clothes, and doc on their apparell, and so to get away with their faces vailed and covered; which presently was put in execution, and themselves remained fast shut up in the said prison, prepared and resolute to abide all the miseries and tortures that might be done unto them: thus the goalers let out their husbands, taking them to be their wives. No fooner were they at libertie, but immediately they went and feized the mountaine Taygera, and follicited with all the Ilots to take armes and rebell; which the men of Sparta much fearing, fent unto them an herald with atrumpet, by whole entercourse they agreed upon these articles of composition. Inprimis, to deliver them their wives. Item, to reffore unto them their money and all their goods. Item, to furnish them with fhips to paffe upon the feas for to feeke their adventure: and when they had found a commodi-30 ous land, in one place or other, & were provided of a citie to inhabit; that they should be named and reputed kinsfolke to the Lacedamonians, and a colonic derived and discended from them. The fame did the Pelasgians, who tooke for their captaines in this voiage, Pollis, Adelphu, and Crataidas, all three Lacedamonians; for when one part of them staied in the isle Melos, the greater troupe under the conduct of Pollis arrived in Candie, attending and expecting if those fignes which had beene foretold them by the oracles would happen; for answer was given them by oracle: That whenfoever they had loft their ankor and goddeffe, then they were at an end of their voiage and should build them a citie: being come therefore unto the demie island Chersonefus, and their ship lying at ankor in the harbour; there hapned in the night a sudden seare and fright among them without any apparant cause, such as they call Panique Frights, wherewith 40 being woonderfully troubled and fearred, they went a shipboord, without all order, and in a tumultuous maner, leaving behinde them for halte, the image of Diana upon the land, which had remained a long time among them, and had paffed by descent from father to sonne, and by their forefathers had beene first brought unto them from Brauron unto the isle Lemnos, and which they caried with them from thence into all places where foever they came: after this fudden fright and tumult was passed, as they failed in the open sea, they missed the said image, and withall Pollis also was advertised, that a flouke of an anker was wanting and lost; for that when they came to weigh anker by great force (as commonly it hapneth in fuch places where it taketh hold of the ground among rocks) it brake and was left behinde in the bottome of the fea; whereupon he faid that the oracles were now fulfilled which foretold them of these fignes, and therewith 50 gave figurall to the whole fleete for to retire backe, and so he entred upon that region to his owne use: and after he had in many skirmishes vanquished those who were up in armes against him, he lodged at length in the citie Lyttus, and wan many more to it. Thus you fee how at this day they call themselves the kinsfolke of the Athenians by the mothers side; but indeed by the lather they are a colonie drawne from Lacedamon.

THE LYCIAN WOMEN.

Hatwhich is reported to have beene done in Lycia, as a meere fable and tale devised of pleasure, yet neverthelesse testified by a constant same that runneth verie currant. For Imisodarus (asthey fay) whom the Lycians name Isarus, came from about the marches of Zelea, a colonic of the Lycians, with agreat fleet of rovers and men of warre, whose captaine or admirall, was one Chimerus) a famous arch-pirate, a warlike man but exceeding cruell, favage and inhumane) who had for the badges and enlignes of his owne ship, in the prow 10 alion, and at the poope a dragon: much hurt hee did upon all the coafts of Livin; infomuch as it was not possible either to faile upon the sea, or to inhabit the maritime cities and townes, necre unto the sea fide for him. This man of warre or arch-rover, Bellerophontes had flaine who followed him hard in chafe with his fwift pinnace (Pegafus) as he fled, untill he had overtaken him, and withall had chased the Amazones out of Lycia; yet for all this, he not onely, received no worthy recompence for his good fervice, at the hands of Iobares king of Lycia, but also which was woorse, sustained much wrong by him: by occasion whereof Bellerophontes taking it as a great indignitic, went to fea againe, where he praied against him unto Neptune, that he would cause his land to be barraine and unfruitfull; which done, hee returned backe againe: but behold a strange and fearfull spectacle, for the sea swelled & overslowed all the coun-20 trey, following him everie where as he went, and covering after him the face of the earth; and for that the men of those parts, who did what possibly they could to entreat him for to stay this inundation of the fea, could not obtaine so much at his hands, the women tooke up their petricots before & went to meet him, & shewed their nakednes; wherupon for very thame he returned back, & the fea likewife (by report) retired with him into the former place. But fome there be (who more civilly avoiding the fabulofity of this tale) fay: That it was not by praiets & imprecations that he drew after him the fea, but because that part of Lyeta which was most fertill, being low and flat, lay under the levell of the fea: there was a banke raifed along the fea fide which kept it in; and Bellerophon cut a breach thorowit, and so it came to passe that the sea with great violence entred that way, and drowned the flat part of the countrey; whereupon the men did what 30 they could by way of praiers and intreatic with him, in hope to appeale his mood, but could not prevaile: howbeit, the women environing him round about by great troups & companies, preffed him fo on all fides, that he could not for verie shame deny them, & fo in favour of them, laid downe his anger. Others affirme that Chimera was an high mountaine, directly opposite to the funne at noon-tide, which caused great reflections and reverberations of the funne beames, and by confequence, ardent heats in manner of a fire, in the faid mountaine, which comming to be spread and dispersed over the champion ground, caused all the fruits of the earth, to dry, fade, and wither away: whereof Bellerophomes (a man of great reach and deepe conceit) knowing the cause in nature, caused in many places, the superfice of the said rocke or mountaine to be cloven and cut in two, which before was most smooth & even, and by that reason consequently, did send 40 back the beames of the fun, & caused the excessive heat in the countrey adjoining: now for that he was not well confidered and regarded by the inhabitants, according to his demerit, in despite he meant to be revenged of the Lycians; but the women wrought him fo, that they allaied his fury. But furely that cause which Nymphus alleageth in his fourth booke as touching Heraclea, is not fabulous nor devised to delight the Reader: for he faith: That this Bellerophonies having killed a wilde bore that destroiced all the fruits of the earth, & all other beafts within the Xanthiens countrey, had no recompense therefore; whereupon, when he had powred out grievous imprecations against those unthankfull Xanthiens, unto Neptune, hee brought falt-water all over the land, which marred all and made all become bitter, untill fuch time as he (being wonne by the praiers and supplications of the women) befought N eptune to let fall his wrath. Loe whereupon 50 the custome arose and continueth still in the Xanthiens countrey: That men in all their affaires negotiate not in the name of their fathers, but of their mothers, and bee called after their names.

THE WOMEN OF SALMATICA.

A mibal of the house of Barea, before that he went into Italie to make warre with the Romaines, laid siege unto a great citie in Spaine, named Salmatica: the besieged were at

the first affraid, and promised to do whatsoever Annibal would commaund them; yea and to pay him three hundred talents of filver; for fecuritie of which capitulation to be performed. they put into his hands three hundred hostages: but so soone as Amibal had raised his siege, they repented of this agreement which they had concluded with him, and would do nothing according to the conditions of the accord; whereupon hee returned against for to befiege them afresh: and to encourage his souldiers the better to give the affault, he said: That hee would give unto them the faccage and pillage of the towne; whereupon the citizens within, were wonderfully affraid, and yeelded themselves to his devotion, upon this condition : That the Barbarians would permit as many as were of free condition, to goe foorth, every man in his fingle garment, leaving behind them their armes, goods, money, flaves and the cirie. Now the dames and 10 wives of the fowne, fearing left the enemies would fearch and rifle their husbands as they went forth of the gates, and not once touch and meddle with them, tooke unto them finort curtelaffes or skeines, hid them under their clothes, and so went forth together with their husbands. When they were all out of the towne, Annibal (having fet a guard of Mafaefylians to attend them) stated them at the end of the fuburbs: meane while the rest of his armie, without all order put themfelves within the citie, and fell to the spoile and fackage of it: which when the Masterylians perceived, they grew out of all patience, & could not containe themselves, nor looke wel unto their prisoners; but were woonderous angrie, and in the end meant for to have as good a part and thare as the rest, of the spoile: hereupon the women tooke up a crie, and gave unto their husbands the fwords which they had brought with them, yea & fome of them fel upon the guardot 20 garrison, insomuch as one of them was so bold, as to take from Banon (the Truchman or interpretor) the speare which he had, and thrust at him with it, but he had on a good corps of a cuirace which faved him; but their husbands having wounded fome of them, and put the rest to flight, escaped by this meanes away, together in a troupe with their wives; which when Annibal underflood, he fet out immediately after them, and furprifed those who were left behind; whiles the reft got away and faved themselves for the present, by recovering the mountaines adjoining; but after they fent unto Annibal and craved pardon, who graciously granted it; yea and permitted them to returne in fafetic and reinhabit their owne citie.

THE MILESIAN WOMEN.

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"HE Milestan maidens upona time, were surprized with a verie strong passionate sit of a fearfull melancholicke humour, without any apparant cause that could be rendred thereof, unlesse it were (as men most conjectured:) that the aire was insected and emposioned, which might caute that alienation of the mind, and worke a diffimperature in their braines, to the overthrow of their right wits; for all on a fudden, every one had a great defire to die, and namely, in a furious rage would needs hang themselves; and in truth many of them secretly knit their necks in haltars, and so were strangled; no, reasons and remonstrances, no teares of father and mother, no perswasions and comfortable speeches of their friends would serve the turne; but looke what keepers foever they had, and how carefully foever they looked unto them, they 40 could find meanes of evalion to avoide and goe beyond all their devices and inventions; in fuch fort, that it was thought to be fome plague and punishment fent from the gods above; and such as no humaine provision could remedie, untill fuch time as by the advice of a fage and wife citizen, there went foorth a certaine edict, and the fame enacted by the counfell of the citie: That if any one more, hapned to hang herselfe, she should be carried starke naked as ever she was borne thorow the market-place in the view of the whole world: this proclamation being thus ratified by the common counfell of the citie, did not onely represse for a while, but also stated for altother, this furious rage of the maidens and their inordinate defire to make themselves away. Thus we may fee, that the fear of difhonor, thame & infamy, is a great figne & infallible token of good nature and vertue, confidering that they feared neither death nor paine, which are the most hor- 50 rible accidents that men can endure; howbeit they could not abide the imagination of vilannie, shame and dishonor, though it hapned not unto them, untill they were dead and gone.

THE WOMEN OF CIO.

He maner and cultome was for the yoong virgins of Cio, to goe altogether unto their publick temples and churches, and so to passe the time at the long day there, one with another:

where their lovers who wooed them for marriage, might behold them disport and daunce : and in the evening they went home to each of their houses, in order, where they waited upo their fathers and mothers, yea and the brethren, one of another, even to the very wathing of their feet, Now it hapned sometimes that many yoong men were enamoured of one and the same maide, but their love was so modest, good, and honest, that so soone as a maiden was assianced and better love was so modest, good, and honest, that so soone as a maiden was affianced and better love was so modest, good, and honest, that so so easier to make any more love unto her: Insumme, the good order and cariage of these women of Cio might be known in this: that in the space of seven hundred yeeres, it was never known nor appeared upon record, that anie wise committed adulterie, nor maiden unmaried lost her virginitie.

THE WOMEN OF PHOCIS.

The tyrants of *Phoeis*, furprized upon a time and seized the citic of *Delphos*; by occasion whereof, the Thebans made that warre upon them, which was called the Holy warre; at which time it so befell, that the religious women consecrated unto *Baechus*, named *Thyades*, being bestraught and out of their right wits, ranne wandring like vagrants up and downe in the night, and knew not whither, untillere they were aware, they ranne unto the citic *Amphissia*, where being wearie (but yet not come againe to their senses) they lay along in the mids of the market place, and couched themselves scattering heere and there to take their sleepe: the wives of *Amphissia* being advertised heereof, and fearing lest their bodies should be abused by the soldiers of the tyrants (whereof there lay a garrison within the citic, for that *Amphissia* was of the league, and consederate with the Phocæans) ranne all thither to the place, standing round about them with silence, and not saying one word, and so long as they sleep, troubed them not; but so some as they wakened of themselves and were gotten up, they tooke the charge of them, gave them mear, and each of them looked to one; yea, and afferwards having gotten leave of their husbands, they conveighed and accompanied them in safetie, so sare the mountains and marches of their owne territorie.

VALERIA and CLOELIA.

THe outrage committed upon the person of a Roman ladie, named Lucretia, and her vertue Logether, were the cause that Tarquinius Superbus (the seventh king of the Romanes after Romalus) was deprived of his roiallestate, and driven out of Rome: This dame being married unto a great personage, descended of the bloud roiall, was abused and forced by one of the sons of the faid king Tarquin, who was enterteined and friendly lodged in her house: by occasion of which villanous fact, she called all her kinsfolke and friends together about her; unto whom after she had deleared and given them to understand the shamefull dishonour that he had done upon her body, she stabbed herselse in the place before them: and Tarquin the father (for this cause being deposed from his princely dignitic, and chased out of his kingdome) levied manie 40 warres against the Romans, thinking thereby to recover his state; and among the rest in the end wrought to effectually with Porfena king of the Tuskanes, that he perswaded him to laie siege to the citic of Rome, and to beleaguer it with a puissant power: Now over and besides this hostilitie, the Romans within, were afflicted also and fore pressed with famine; but hearing that the faid Porfena was not onely a valiant captaine in armes, but withall a good and righteous prince, they were willing to make him the indifferent umpire and judge betweene them and Tarquin: but Tarquin standing stiffe in his owne opinion, and highly conceited of himselfe, giving out alfo, that Porfena it he continued not a fast and constant ally, he would not afterwards be a just & equal judge: whereupon Porfena forfaking him, and leaving his alliance, capitulated and promifed to depart in good tearmes of amitie & peace with the Romans, upon condition to recover 50 of them all those lands which they had occupied in Tuskane, & to have away with him those prifoners whom they had taken in those wars: now for the better affurance of this composition so concluded, there were delivered into his hands as hostages, ten boies, and as many yoong maidens; among whom Valeriathe daughter of Poplicola the confull was one: which done, prefently he brake up his campe and diffodged, yea and gave over preparation of farther warre; notwithstanding that all the articles of the said capitulation were not yet accomplished. These yong virgins beforefaid, being in his campe, went down as it were to bath and wath themselves, unto the river fide, which ran a good way from the campe; and by the motion and inftigation

of one among the rest named Cloelia; after they had wrapped and wreathed their clothes fast about their heads; they tooke the river which ran with a very ftrong streame and swift current, and by swimming crosse over it, helping one another what they could amid the deepe channell. and furging whirlpoles thereof, untill with much travell, they hardly recovered the bankeon the other fide. Some report, that this damosell Clocka, made meanes to get an horse, mounted his backe, and gently by little and little paffed overthwart the river, shewing the way unto the rest of hir fellowes, encouraging, yea, and supporting them as they swomme on each side and round about her : but what the reason is of this their conjecture, I will shew anon: when the Romans faw that they were gotten over in fafetie, they woondered at their boldnesse and rare vertue; howbeit they were nothing well pleafed with their returne; neither could they endure to be chalenged and reproched: that in fidelitie and troth, they all should be infetior to one man, and therefore gave commandement that these virgins should return from whence they came, and fent with them a guard to conduct them; but when they were paffed over the river Tybris againe, they escaped very hardly of being surprized by an ambush that Tarquin had laid for them by the way: as for Valeria the confull Poplicolaes daughter, the fled at first with three fervants into the campe of Porfena : and the rest, Arnus the sonne ofking Porfena, who ran prefently to the refcue, recovered out of the hands of the enemies: now when they were all presented and brought before the king; hedemaunded which of them it was, who had encouraged her companions to swim over the river, and given them counsell so to doe: all the rest fearing lest the king would doe Cloelin some harme, would not speake a word; but she her selfe 20 confessed all: Porsena highly esteeming her valour and vertue, caused one of the fairest horsesto be fetched out of his stable, richly trapped and set out with costly furniture, which he bestowed upon her, yea, and that which more is (for her fake and to grace her) curteoufly and kindly difmiffed all her fellowes, and fent them home. This is the geffe (I fay) by which fome thinke that Cloelia passed over the river on horse-back: but others say no; who deliver the storie thus, That the king marvelling at this valour and extraordinarie hardinesse, above the proportion of that fex, thought her woorthy of a prefent, which is woont to be given unto a valiant man at armes and a brave warrior: but how ever it was, for a memoriall of this act, there is to be seene her statue at this daie, to wit, a maiden sitting on horse-backe, and it standeth in the street called Via facera, which fome fay, representeth Cloelia, others Valeria.

The vertuous deeds of women.

MICCA and MEGISTO.

Ristotimus having usurped tyranny and violent dominion over the Elians, bare himselfe A much upon the favor and countenance of king Antigonus, established the same; but so cruelly and exceffively he abused this power and authoritie under him, that in nothing he was tolerable; for over and befides that, he was a man by nature given to violence (by reason that he shood in some service feare, and was glad to please the guard that he had about him of mixt Barbarians, whom he had gotten together from divers parts, for the defence of his state and person) he suffered them also to commit many infolent parts and cruell outrages upon his subjects; and 40 among the rest, that unhappic indignitie which befell to Philodemnus, who had a faire damosell to his daughter, named Micea, unto whom one of the captaines of the faid tyrant, named Lucisu, feemed to make court, not for any true love and heartie affection that he bare unto her, but upon a wanton lust to abuse and dishonour herbodie: so he sent for this maiden to come and speake with him: her parents seeing, that whether they would or no, constrained they should be to let her goe, gave her leave; but the damofell her felfe of a generous spirit and magnanimous heart, clasped them about and hung upon them, fell downe at their feet, and humbly befought them, all that ever the could, rather to kill her out of hand, than to fuffer her thus thamefully to be betraied, and villanously to be despoiled of her maidenhead: but for that she staied longer than was to the good liking of the forefaid Lucius, (who burned all this whiles in luft, and 50 had withall taken his wine liberally)he rose from the table in great choler, and went himselfe toward her: when he came to the house, he found Micea with her head upon her fathers knees, and her he commanded to follow him; which the refused to do; whereupon he rent her clothes from her bodie, and whipped her starke naked; and she, without giving one word againe, endured for her part with patience and filence all the smart and paine: but her father and mother, seeing, that with all their piteous praiers and tender teares, they could not prevaile nor boot anie thing with this wretch, turned to call and implore the helpe both of God and man, crying with a

loudvoice: Out upon fuch injurious indignity and intolerable villany: whereupon, this barbarous villaine (growen now to be furious and enraged, partly with choler, and in part with drunkennesse) killed this filly poore girle, even as the couched her face in the very lap and bosome of her father: howbeit, for all this and fuch like wicked pranks plaied, the tyrant was nothing at all moved to pitic and compassion, but many citizens he murdered, and more he banished and caused to leave their countrey; in such fort, that (as the speech went) no sewer than eight hundred fled to the Actolians, craving at their hands to make meanes unto the tyrant, that they might have away their wives and little children alfo. Not long after, the tyrant of his owne accord caused proclamation to be made by found of trumpet; that as many women as were willing to go unto their husbands, should make them ready and depart, yea, and cary with them as much of their goods as they would: now when he understood, that they all with great joy of this proclamation thus published, and that they were affembled together with much contentment of minde, to the number of fixe hundred, he commanded that they should depart, and put themfelves in their journey all together on a certeine day by him prefixed, making femblant against that time, to provide a good convoy for their better fecurity: when the time appointed was come, they flocked thicke to the gates of the city, having brought with them their truffes and fardles of fuch goods as they meant to have away with them, carying fome of their little babes in their armes, taking order for others for to be brought in waggons; and so they staied there, & attended one anothers comming: but fuddenly, many of the fouldiers and those of the tyrants 20 guard, came running toward them, and crying aloud afarre off: Stay, stay: now when they approched nere, all the women they commanded to go backe againe, but the waines and waggons they turned together with the horses full upon them, and drave them amaine thorow the mids of the troupe and throng of the women, not fuffering them either to follow, or to stay or succor their poore little infants, whom they law to die before their faces: for fome of them perished with falling out of the chariots to the ground, others were destroied and trampled under the horsefeet; and all this while, these pensioners of the guard, with loud out-cries and with whipping, drave the women before them, like as they had bene fo many sheepe, and thronged them fo hard, that one tumbled upon another; and thus they chased them, untill such time as they had cast them all into prison: but all their bag and baggage was seized upon, and brought unto Ari-30 flotimus. Now when the men of Elia were were heerewith mightily offended; the religious women confecrated to the fervice of Bacchus, whom they call the Sixteene (carrying in their hands boughs of olive trees, like suppliants, and chaplets of vine branches about their heads, which they tooke from the god whom they ferved) went to meet with Aristotimus about the marketplace of the citie: his fquires and penfioners about him for the guard of his bodie, made a lane for them, and feemed (upon some reverence) to give them way that they might come nere: and the women at first kept filence, doing nought els but in most humble and deuout maner tender unto him their branches, like suppliants: but after that the tyrant understood that it was for the Eliens wives that they came thus to make supplication, and namely, that hee would take some commiseration of them; being wroth & displeased with his guard, he cried out upon them for fuffering the faid women to approch fo neere unto his perion; and thereupon commanded them to drive some and to beat others, untill they were all chased out of the market-place; and more than all this, he condemned these religious votaries in a fine of two talents a piece. During these occurrences, there was within the citie, one of the burgesses named Hellanicus, a man very farre stept in age, who was the authour of a conspiracie and insurrection against the tyrants one that of all others he least distrusted, and whom he never thought likely to practise against him, both for that he was very aged, and also because but a little before he had buried two of his children: and it fortuned at the very fame time, that fro Aetolia the exiles before named, passed into the territorie of Elis, and feized upon a fort called Amymom, fituate in a very commodious place for to mainteine warre; where they received and enterteined many other inhabitants of 50 thecitie, who immediatly reforted thither, and ran apace: upon these tydings, the tyrant Ariflotimus much fearing the fequel hereof, went unto their wives in prison; and thinking to compalle his defleignes better by feare, than favor and love, he commanded them to fend unto their husbands, & to write unto them, for to abandon their holde and depart out of the countrey, menacing the poore women, that if they did not so, he would cause their children first to be mangled with whips, and so killed before their face, and then put themselves also to death: all of them were filent a good while, & notwithstanding he importuned them a long time, and urged them to speake at once whether they would doe it or no? they looked one upon another without say-

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ing a word, giving him thereby to understand, that they stood in no feare, and were not associated for all his threats: at the last, one of them, named Megisto, wife to Timoleon, and a woman whom the rest regarded and held as their captainesse, as well in respect of her husbands honour, as her owne vertue, deigned not to rife up from her feat herfelfe, nor fuffered any of the reft to fland up ; but fitting still in her place, thus faid: If thou wert a wife man, thou wouldest not deale thus as thou don't, betweene women and their husbands, but rather fend unto them, as to those who have the power and authoritic over their wives, and to deliver unto them better speeches than fuch, whereby thou hast deceived us; now if (being past hope to perswade them) thoushinkest to circumvent and delude them by the meanes of us, never looke that thou shalt abuse us any more, northinke that they will be foill advised or fo base minded, as that for to spare their 10 wives and little children, they will abandon and lofe the libertie of their countrey: for furely the loffe of us will not be to them fo much, confidering that they now enjoy us not, as the gaine and benefit, in delivering their countrey and fellow-citizens from fuch outrageous cruekie. Whiles Megifto enterteined Aristormus with these speeches, he could no longer endure, but commanded her little fonne to be brought before him, for to murder him before her eies; and when the penfioners about the tyrant fearched for him among other little boies that were play. ing & wreftling together, his mother called unto him by name, faying : Come hither to memy boy, that thou maiest be delivered from the crueltie of this tyrant, before thou hast any sense or understanding to know what tyranny is: for a greater griefe it would be unto me another day to fee thee for to ferve like a flave vnworthily, than to die here prefently: here at Ariftotimus through impatience of furious anger, drew his fword upon the woman herfelfe, meaning to run her thorow; but one of his familiar friends, named Cylon (who made femblant to be true & faithful unto him but hated him fecretly in his hart, & indeed was of the complices in that conspiracy of Hellanieus) (tepped before him, and by his effectuall praiers turned his hand, making remonttrance unto him, that it was no generous and manly deed, but a womanish act: neither favoured it of a prince or fuch a personage as knew how to manage great affaires of State, to deale in that sort, which he forced and preffed fo instantly that hardly and with much ado though it were; Aristotinus was of a better minde, bethought himselfe and went his way. Now there befell unto hima ftrange accident, which prefaged what mischiese was toward him; for about high noone it was, when being in his bed-chamber, & repofing himself with his wife, whiles his dinner was now rea-die to be ferved up, those of his houshold might perceive an eagle foaring round over his house; 30 and the let fal a bigge stone directly upon the very place of the roofe of the faid chamber where he lay, as if upon deliberate purpose the had aimed and leveled as it were so to doe, himselfe hearing the noise and rap that the stone gave upon the house top over his head, and withall, the ontery beneath of those who beheld the foule, was mightily affrighted, and demanded what the matter might be? when he understood what it was; hee sent presently for the wizard or soothfaier, whom he was wont to use in such cases, and all troubled and perplexed in spirit, asked him what this figne might prefage? the foothfaier coforted him, & willed him to be of good cheere, faying unto himselfe: That it was Jupiter who wakened him, & shewed how willing he was to alfull and fuccour him; but unto other citizens whom he might truft, he expounded it otherwife, and affured them that it was the vengeance of God, which speedily would light upon the tyrants. head: whereupon Hellanicia and his adherents were refolved to deferre the execution of their deffeignes no longer, but to fet upon the enterprise the next morrow: in the night that came be. tweene, Hellanieus as he flept, dreamed, and in that vision he thought, that one of his sons late deceased stood before him & faid: Father, what meane you to lie asleepe, considering that once to morrow you must be captaine general and sovereigne governor of this citie: Hellameus wonderfully encouraged by this vision, started up, and went to follicit the rest of his complices and companions in the faid confpiracie. By this time was Aristotimus advertised that Craterus was comming to aide him with a puissant armie, and lay encamped neere to Olympia; in the affurance and confidence whereof the prefently tooke Cylon with him, and went foorth with 50 out any guard about his person: Hellanieus seeing the opportunitie now offred, and taking the vantage thereof, gave not the fignal and watchword which was agreed upon, with those who first were to set to the execution of their entended enterprise; but stretching foorth both his hands with a loud voice cried out: Now, now, my mafters and valiant men, what staic you for? can you defire a fairer theater to flew your valour in, than to fight for the defence of your libertie, in the very heart of your native countrey? At which words, Cylon drew his fword first, and finot one of them that followed and accompanied Aristotimus; but Thrasibulus and Lampis

came afront, and ran upon the tyrant himfelfe, who preventing the venue of their fltoake, fled for refuge and fanctuarie into the temple of Jupiter, where they flew him out-right, and drew his dead corps into the market place; and then affembled all the citizens thither, for to recover their freedome: but many of the people could not prevent the women; for they range our with the first in great alacritie, weeping and crying out for very joy, and environing their husbands round about, crowned them, and fet chaplets of flowers upon their heads: then the multitude of the common people fet upon the tyrants house, and assaulted it; his wife having shut her selle within her chamber, there hung herfelfe, and whereas the had two daughters, virgins as yet, but in the prime and flower of their yeeres, ready for marriage; those they tooke, and by force haled to them out of the house, with full intent to kill them; in the end after they had abused their bodies first, and then perpetrated all the villanie & shame they could devise unto them; which no doubt they would have put in execution, but that Megisto with other honest matrons of the citie,opposed themselves and came betweene, who cried aloud unto them; that in so dooing they should commit an indignitic unbeforming them, if considering, that now being in the verie traine and high way of recovering their libertie, for to live from hencefoorth in a popular government, they should perpetrate as violent outrages, as the most bloudy and cruell tyrants are used to commit: the people in good respect and reverence to the honour and authoritie of this vertuous and honest dame, who spake her minde so frankely unto them with teares gushing out of her cies, were reclaimed and advised to offer no abuse nor vilanie unto their persons; but 20 to put unto their choife what death they would die? and when they had brought them both back againe into the house, and intimated unto them, that there was no other remedie but die they mult, and that prefently; the elder of the twaine named Myro, untied her girdle from about her wafte, and with a running noofe did it about her owne necke in maner of an halter; then kiffing and embracing her yoonger fifter, the praied her to marke what the did, and according to her example to doe thereafter: To the end(quoth she) that we may not die basely, unwoorthy the place from whence we are come and defcended; but the yoonger defired againe, that the might diefirst, caught hold of the girdle and snatched it from her; then the elder; Well sister (quoth she) I never yet refused to do any thing that you defired at my hands; & even now content I am to doe fo much for you as to endure and fuffer that, which will be more greeyous unto me than 30 death it felfe, namely, to fee my most decre and best beloved fister to die before me; which faid, the her felfe taught her how to fit the faid girdle to her necke, and to knit it for the purpose, and when the perceived once that the life was out of her bodie, the tooke her downe and covered herbreathlesse corps; then addressing her speech unto dame Megisto her selfe, she befought her, that the would not fuffer her bodie after the was dead, to lie shamefully above the ground, and not interred: the fight heereof and the words withall were fo patheticall, that there was not one prefent fo hard hearted, or fo fpightfully and malicoufly bent against the tyrant, but deploredtheir wofull effate, and pitied the generofitie and magnanimitie of these two young ladies. Now albeit there be infinit prefidents of noble deeds, that in old time, women have done in companies together; yet me thinkes thefe few examples which I have already delivered, may 40 fuffice: from hencefoorth therefore I will rehearle the particular vertuous acts of feverall women by themselves, as they come scattering into my remembrance: for I suppose that such narrations and histories as these, doe not require of necessitie the precise order and consequence of the times.

PIERIA.

F those Ionians who were come to dwell in the citic of Miletum, some chaunced to be at variance and debate with the children of Nelew; by occasion whereof in the end, they thought the city too hot for them, and constrained they were to remoove and retire themselves 50 into the citic Myw, where they made their abode & habitation; and yet even there also, much molested they were and troubled by the Milesians, who warred upon them, for their revolt and apostasse: howbeit this warre was not so bloudie and mortall, but that they used to fend one unto another, yea and to communicate and negotiate reciprocally in divers things: for even unto another, yea and to communicate and negotiate reciprocally in divers things: for even unto Milesum: now among these Myuntines, there was a noble man and of great name, one Pythes, who had to wise a ladic called Japygia, by whom he was father of a faire daughter, cleped Pieria: when as therefore the great feast unto Diana and a solemne facrifice called Nelew, was

celebrated by the Milesians: Pythes, sent thither unto this solemnitie, his wise and daughter aforesaid, for they had requested leave of him to be partakers of the seast. It fortuned whiles they were there, that one of the somes of Nelew (a man of most credit and greatest authoritie in the citie) named Phrygius, cast a fancie to Pieria; and in courting her after the manner of lovers, desired to know of her what it might be, wherein he might gratishe her most, and best content her, unto whom the answered: It Sir you will so bring about, that I my selfe with many more may oftentimes refort hither, you shall doe me the greatest pleasure that you can devise. Phrygius (conceiving presently what her meaning was, namely that there might be econtinual peace and amitie betweene those two cities) wrought so, that he composed the warre onboth sides: in regard hereof Pieria was highly esteemed and honoured in both cities; in such wise, to that unto this day the Milesian dames do wish ordinarily and pray unto the gods, that they may be as well beloved, as Pieria was of Phrygius.

POLYCRITE.

Here was in times past, warre betweene the Naxians and the Milesians, about Nearathe wife of Hypsureon, and the same arose upon this occasion. This Neura was enamoured upon Promedon, a Naxian, infomuch as the would embarke, take the fea, and faile with him: for why an ordinarie guest he was of Hapfiereons, and used to lodge in his house when soever hee came to Miletum : yea and fecretly the had him to lie with her, the loved him fo well: but 20 in processe of time when shee feared that her husband perceived it, he faire tooke her cleane away with him to Naxos, where he ordained, that the thould be a suppliant of Vesta. Hypsuren fent for her againe; but when the Naxians in favour of Promedon refused to render her, alleaging for a colourable pretente of their excuse the priviledge and franchises of suppliants: hereupon the warre began between them; in which quarrell the Erythræans favoured the Milefians verie affectionatly and fided with them, infomuch as it grew to a long and lingering warre, and many miseries and calamities that follow warres, it drew withall, as well to the one part as the other; until at last the quarrel was finally ended by the vertue of one woman, like as it began first by the vice and wickednesse of another. For Diegnetus the captaine generall of the Erythraans, (unto whom was comitted the charge of keeping a fort, seated upon a very commodious place 30 to annoy & endamage the Naxians) made rodes and incursions into their territorie, where with many other huge booties that he drave and carried away, he took and led as his prisoners many maidens and wives of good houses and parentage; among whom there was one named Polycrite, whom himselfe fancied and fell in love with; her he kept and entertained not like a captive or prisoner, but as if the had beene his espoused wife: now it fortuned that the day was come when the Milefians lying in campe, were to folemnize a great feaft; by reason whereof they sel to drinking freely and making good cheere, inviting one another as the maner was: then Polycrite asked captaine Diognetus, whether hee would be offended if the thould fend certaine tants, pies, and cakes, provided for that feast unto her brethren ? who answered : that he not onely permitted, but also willed her so to doe: she taking the opportunitie of good occasion, put within 40 one of these tarts, a little thinne plate of lead which was written upon, charging him expressely who had the carriage thereof, to fay unto her brethren, that in any case none but they, should tafte of the faid cakes or tarts: this meffage was done accordingly, and when they came to eate the tarts, they found within one, a writing of their fifters; whereby thee advertised and advised them not to faile, but that very night to come and affaile their enemies, for that they should finde them in great diforder, without sentinell and corps-de-guard, without any watch and ward at all, for that they were all drunke by occasion of the good cheere that they had made at that feast: having this intelligence, they presently acquainted the captaines generall of the Naxians armie therewith, praying them to enterprise this service by their direction and with them: thus were the Erythræans defeized of their strong hold, and a great number of them within, put 50 to the fword: but Polyerite craved Diognetus of her fellow-citizens, and by that meanes faved his life; now when the approched neere unto the gates of Naxos, feeing all the inhabitants comming foorth to meet her with exceeding great joy and mirth, putting garlands of flowers upon her head, and chanting fongs of her praifes, her heart was not able to endure fo great joy; for the died at the very gate of the citie, where afterwards the was enterred and entombed; and her monument was called, the Sepulcher of Envie, as if there had beene some envious fortune, which had grudged unto Polycrite, the fruition of fo great glorie and honour. Thus the Historiographers

riographers of Naxes have delivered this narration: howbeit (Ariflotle faith) that Polyerte was never taken prifoner; but Diognetus having had a fight of her by tome other meanes, became enamoured upon her fo farre, that he was ready to give unto her, and to do for the love of her, whatfoever the would: also that the promifed to go with him, in case he would agree and graunt one thing, and (as the faid philosopher telleth the tale) thereupon the required of the an obligation of his oth; and after he had faithfully sworne unto her, the demanded that hee should deliver unto her the castle Delio; for that was the name of the fort or piece whereof hee had the charge, otherwise she faid that she would never come in bed with him; whereupon he (aswell for the great desire that he had to enjoy her love, as in regard of his forefaid oath, by 10 which he was bound and obliged) quit the place and tendred it into the hands of Polyerie, who presently delivered it up unto her countrey-men and fellow-citizens; by which meanes they being now able once againe to make their parts good with the Milessans, made an accord and concluded peace, under what conditions they desired themselves.

LAMPSACE.

N the citie Phocas, there were fometimes two brethren twinnes, of the house and family of the Codrida; the one named Phobus, the other Blep (us; of which twaine, Phobus was the first that (according as Charon the Chronicler of Lampfacum doth record) cast himselfe from the 20 high rocks and cliffes of Leucas into the fea. This Phobus being of great puiffance and royall authoritie in his countrey, hapned to have fome private affaire and negotiation of his owne in theifle of Paros, and thither he went; where he contracted amitie, alliance and hospitalitie with Mandron king of the Bebrycians, furnamed Pityoeffenes: and by vertue of this new league he aided them, and in their behalfe made warre with them, against other barbarous people their neighbours, who did them wrong and wrought them much damage: afterwards (when he was upon hisdeparture and returne home) Mandron among many other courtefies and tokens of kindnesse which he bestowed upon him, now ready to embarke and take the sea, offered him the one moitie of his country and city, if he would come & dwel in the citie Pirroeffa, with some part of the Phocæans, for to people the place: whereupon Phobus after he was come home against to 30 Phocaa, proposed this matter unto the Phocæans his citizens; & having perswaded them to accept of the offer; he fent his owne brother, as leader and captaine to conduct this colonie of new inhabitants; who upon their first arrivall and comming thither; found themselves as well entreated, & as courteoufly entertained as they could wish or looke for at Mandron his hands: but in tract of time, after that they had gotten many advantages at the Barbarians hands, their neighbours & borderers, wan divers booties from them, and gained much pillage & spoile; they began to be envied first, and afterwards to be dread and feared of the Bebrycians; who being defirous for to be rid and delivered of fuch guefts, durft not addresse themselves unto Mandron, whom they knew to be an honest and just man, for to perswade him to practise any disloyaltie or treacherie, against men of the Greek nation; but espying a time when he was absent and out of 40 the countrey; they complotted and prepared to furprize the Phocæans by a wile, and fo to dispatch them al at once out of the way: but Lampface (the daughter of Mandron, a maiden yet unmarried, having fome fore-inkling and intelligence of this forelaied ambush) laboured & dealt, first with her familiar friends to divert them from so wicked an enterprise, shewing and prooving unto them, that it was a damnable act before God, and abominable among men, to proceed to treacheroufly against their allies and confederates, who had been ready at all times to aid and affift them in their need against their enemies, and besides, were now incorporate with them, and their fellow-citizens: but when the faw that there would no good be done, and that she could not diffwade them from it: she acquainted the Greeks under hand with this treason, which was a warping against them, & advised them to look unto themselves, & stand upon their 50 own guard: fo the Phocæans made a folemn facrifice & a publick feaft, invited the Pityoeffenes to come out of the citie into the fuburbes to take part thereof; & themselves they divided into two troupes, whereof the one feifed the wals of the citie, whiles the inhabitants were at the feaft, meane time the other were bufie in maffacring the guests that were bidden to it; and by this meanes they became masters of the whole citie, and sent for Mandron, whom they defired to participate with them in their counsels and affaires: as for Lampface his daughter, who fortuned to die of ficknesse, they interred magnificently, and in memoriall of that good which she did unto them, called the citic after her name Lampfacum: howbeit Mandron because he would not be sufpected to have beene a traitour unto his owne people, would not consent to dwell among them, but required to have of them, the wives and children of them who were dead; whom they sent unto him with all speed and diligence, without dooing any harme or displeasure at all unto them; as for Lamsaca unto whom before they had ordeined heroick honors; they decreed for ever to sacrifice unto her as unto a goddesse, and even to this day they doe continue and observe the same divine worship unto her.

ARETAPHILA.

Retaphila of Cyrene, was none of them that lived in ancient time, but lately in the daies 10 of king Mithridates; but the thewedvertue, & performed an act comparable to the magnanimous counfels and desseignes of the most autike demi-goddesses that ever were: daughter the was to Aeglator, and wife to Phedimus, both noble men and great personages; faire & beautifull of vifage, of deepe conceit and high reach, and namely in matters of effate, & affaires of government well experienced: the publike calamities of her countrey did illustrate her name, and caused her to be well knowne and voiced in the world: for Nicocrates having usurped the tyrannie of Cyrene, put to death many of the chiefe and principall men of the citie, and among the reft, one Melanippus the high priest of Apollo, whom he slew with his owne hands, for to enjoy his priesthood: he did to death also Phadimus the husband of Aretaphila, and not content therewith, married her perforce and against her will: this tyrant over & above an infinit 20 number of other cruelties which he daily committed, fet certaine warders at every gate of the city; who when there was caried foorth any dead corps to buriall out of the citie, abused the fame, with digging into the foles of their feet, with the points of their daggers and poinards, or else with searing them with red hot irons; for seare that any of the inhabitants should be conveied alive out of the citie, under colour of being borne to the grave as dead: private and particular crosses, had Aretaphila no doubt, which were greevous unto her, and hardly to be endured, although the tyrant was otherwise kinde enough unto her, and led her a faire life, letting her have her owne will, for the love he bare unto her, infomuch as the tyrant suffred her to enjoy a great part of his puissance and regall power; for love had enthralled and subdued him unto her; and not one there was but she alone who knew how to use and handle him; for to all the 20 others he was untractable, inflexible, and favage beyond all measure: but it grieved her most of all, to fee her native countrey so miserably abused, and so unwoorthily intreated by this tyrant; for there was not one day went over his head, but he caused to be executed one citizen or other, neither was there to be feene any hope of revenge or deliverance out of these calamities on any fide; for that the exiled persons and such as fled, being weake and feeble every way, and altogether heartlesse and searcfull, were scattered some in this place others in that: Aretaphila therefore (building upon her felfealone, the onely hope of recovering and raifing the State of the common-weale, and propoling the magnanimous and renowmed acts of Theba, the wife of the tyrant Pheres, as examples to imitate; but wanting and destitute altogether of faithfull friends and truftie kinsfolke for to helpe and fecond her in any enterprife, fuch as the prefent times and 40 affaires did affoord unto the other) affaied to make away the tyrant by fome poison; but as she was about the provision heereof, and affaied to make proofe of the forces of many strong poifons, the could not carrie her deffeigne to fecretly but it came foorth, and was discovered: now when the thing was averred & evidently proved; by ftrong prefumptions: Calbia the mother of Nicoerates (a bloudy woman, and of nature implacable) thought to have her put to many exquilite torments, and then to bring her soone after to her death : but the affection that Nicorates bare unto her wrought some delay in revenge, and dulled the edge of his anger, and withall, Aretaphila, (who constantly and resolutely offered her-selfe to answer all imputations that were laid unto her charge;) gave fome colourable excuse unto the passionate affection of the tyrant: but in the end feeing that the was convinced by certaine proofes and evidences, which the knew 50 not how to answer, neither could the denie that the had fome drugs in her closet,& did temper certaine medicines; but confessed that indeed she had prepared certaine drugs, yet such as were neither deadly nor dangerous: But my good lord (quoth the unto her husband the tyrant) I am much perplexed and troubled with many things of great confequence, and namely how to preferve the good opinion which you have of me, the kinde affection also which of your gracious favour you beare unto me, by meanes wherof, I have this honour, as to enjoy a good part of your power and authoritie jointly with you; this maketh me to be envied of wicked women, at

whole hands I (fearing forceries, charmes, enchantments, and other cunning divellith cafts, by which they would goe about to withdraw and distract you from the love that you beare me) refolved at the length with my felle for to feeke means how to meet, encounter, and prevent their devices; foolish peradventure they may be (as indeed the very inventions of a woman) but in no wife worthy of death; unlesse haply, fir (in your judgement) it be just and reasonable to put your wife to death, for that The mindeth to give you fome love drinks, and amatorious cups; or devifeth fome charmes, as defirous to be more loved of you than haply it is your pleafure for to love her. Nicocrates having heard these excuses alledged by Arctophila, thought good, and refolved to put her to torture; whereat Calbia her mother was prefent, who never refented 10 nor feemed to be touched with her dolorous torments, but remained inexorable: now when the was laid upon the racke, and asked fundrie questions, the needled not unto the paines that the fullained, but continued invincible, and confessed no fault in the height of all externities; untill at length Calbia herfelfe, even against her will was forced to give over tormenting her any longer: and Nieverates let her goe, being not fully perfwaded, that the excuses alledged by ber were true & to be credited, repenting that he had put her to fuch paine as he did; and it was not long after (fo deepely was the passion of love imprinted in his heart) but he returned to her, and affaied to win her grace and good will againe, by all honours, favours, courtefies and kindneffe that possibly he could shew unto her; but she, who had the power and strength to refift all torments and yeeld unto no paines, would not be overcome with all his flatteries; but joining 20 now unto her former defire of doing fome vertuous deed, the animofitie for to be revenged and to effect her purpose, assaid other meanes. One daughter she had mariageable, and beautifull the was belides; her she suborned and fet as an alluring bait to entrap and catch the tyrants brother, a yong gendeman, easie to be caught with the pleasures & delight of youth: and many are of opinion, that the used certeine charmes and amatorious potions, aswell as the object of her daughters beautie, whereby the enchanted and bewitched the wits and fenfes of this youg man, whom they called Leander: when he was once enamoured with the love of this young damofell, hee prevailed so much by praiers and entreatie with his brother, that he permitted him to wed her: no fooner was he married, but his fresh spouse (having instructions before hand from her mother) began to be in hand with him, and to perswade him for to enterprise the recoverie 30 of freedome unto the citie, thewing by good remonstrance, that himselfe enjoied not libertie, fo long as he lived under tyrannie, neither had he power of himfelfe, either to wed a wife, or to keepe her when he had her, if it pleafed not the tyrant: on the other fide, his friends and other of his familiar acquaintance, for to gratific Aretaphila and to doe her pleasure, repaired unto him continually, forging fome new matter of quarrels and suspitions against his brother the tyranes when he perceived that Aretaphila was also of the same minde, and had her hand therein, he resolved to execute the enterprise; and thereupon he set one Daphnis, a servant of his owne, in hand with the bufineffe, by whose meanes he killed Nicocrates: but after he was thus murdered, Leander would no more be advised by Aretaphila, nor follow her counsell in the rest; but showed incontinently by his deportments and carriage in all actions, that a brother indeed hee had 40 murdered, but not killed a tyrant: for in his owne government, he bare himselfe like a foole, and ruled infolently and furioufly: howbeit, unto Aretaphila he thewed alwaies fome honour and reverence, conferring upon her some part of his authoritie in management of State affaires; for that the made no femblant at all of discontentment, nor directly and in open maner seemed to warre against him, but privily practifed, and cunningly disposed all: for first and formost, The raifed warre upon him out of Lybia, by the meanes of a prince there, named Anabus, betweene whom and her there paffed fecret intelligence: him thee follicited and perfwaded to invade his countrey, and with a puiffant armie to approch the citie Cyrene: then the buzzed into Leanders head, certeine furmizes and suspitions of dislocaltie in his peeres, his friends and captaines; giving him to understand, that their hearts stood not to this warre, but that they loved 50 peace and quietneffe rather: Which (quoth fhe) to fay a truth, as things now fland, were better for you & for the establishment of your roial state & dominion, in case you would rule in deed, holde under, and keepe in awe, your subjects and citizens: and for mine owne part, I holde it good policie for you to make meanes for a treatie of peace, which I will labour to effect, and for that purpose bring you and Anabus together, to an interview and parle (if you thinke so good) before that you grow to farther tearmes of hostilitie and open warre, which may breed a mischiefe, that afterwards will admit no cure nor remedie. This motion the handled and followed with fuch dexteritie, that Leander condescended thereto; and shee herselfe in person went to

conferre with the Lybian prince, whom the requested, that so soone as ever they were met together to treat of this pretended accord, he should arrest the tyrant as his prisoner; and to doethis feat, the promifed him great gifts and prefents, besides a good reward in money: the Lybian foone accorded hereto : now Leander made fome doubt at first, to go into this parle, and staied a while, but afterwards (for the good respect that he had unto Areraphila, who promised in his behalfe, that he should come to conference) he set forward, naked, without armes and without his guards: when he approched the place appointed for this interview, and had a fight once of Anabus, his heart mifgave him againe; and being much troubled and perplexed, he would not go on, but faid, he would ftay for his guard: howbeit, Aretaphila who was there prefent, partly encouraged him, and in part rebuked and checked hin, faying: That he would be taken and te- 10 puted for a base minded coward, and a disloiall person, who made no account of his word, if he thould now flinch and fart backe: at the last, when they were at point to meet; she laied holde upon him, plucked him forward by the hand, and with great boldneffe and refolution haled him. untill the had delivered him into the hands of the barbarous prince: then immediatly was hee apprehended, and his bodie attached by the Lybians, who kept him bound as a prifoner, and fer a straight guard about him, untill such time as the friends of Aretaphila with other citizens of Cirene, were come to the campe, and brought the money and gifts unto her which she had promised unto Anabus. For so soone as it was knowen in the city that Leander was taken prisoner & in fure hold, a number also of the multitude ran forth, to the place appointed of conference; and so some as they had set an eie on Aretaphila, they went within a little of sorgetting all their anger and malice which they bare unto the tyrant, thinking that the revenge and exemplate punishment of him was but accessarie and by-matter; as being now wholly amused upon another thing, and supposing the principall fruition of their libertic consisted in faluting and greeting her most kindly, and with so great joy, that the teares ran downe their cheeks, infomuch as they were ready to kneele, yea, and cast themselves downe prostrate at her seet, no lesse than before the facred image and flatue of a goddeffe; thus they flocked unto her, by troups out of the citic one after another, all day long, infomuch as it was wel in the evening before they could advise with themselves to seize upon the person of Leander, and hardly before darke night did they bring him with them into the citie. Now after they were well fatisfied with giving all maner of praises, and doing what honour they could devise unto Aretaphila, in the end they turned to confultation what was best to be done with the tyrants? so they proceeded to burne Calbia 2 quicke; and as for Leander, they put him in a leather poke and fowed it up close, and then cast it into the fea. Then ordeined and decreed it was, that Aretaphila should have the charge and administration of the weale publicke, with fome other of the principall personages of the citie joined in commission with her: but she (as one who had plaied many and fundry parts alreadie upon the stage so well, that shee had gotten the garland and crowne of victorie) when shee saw that her countrey and citic was now fully free and at libertie, immediatly betooke her felfe to her owne private house, as it were cloiftered up with women onely, and would no more intermeddle in the affaires of State abroad; but the rest of her life she passed in peace and repose with her kinsfolke and friends, without fetting her felfe to any bufinesse, fave onely to her wheele, her web, and fuch womens works.

The vertuous deeds of women.

CAMMA.

Here were in times past, two most puissant Lords and Tetrarches of Galatia, who also were in blood of kinne one to the other, Sinatus and Synorix. Sinatus had espoused a yoong virgin named Camma, and made her his wife; a ladie highly esteemed of as many as knew her, as well for the beautie of her person, as the sloure of her age; but admired much more in regard of her vertue and honestie; for she had not onely a tender respect of her owne good name and honour, carried an affectionate love and true heart unto her; but also, shee was wise, magnanimous, and passing well beloved of all her subjects and tenants, in regard of her gentle nature, and her debonair and bounteous disposition; and that which made her better reputed and more renowned, was this, that the was both a religious priestresse of Diana (a gooddesse whom the Galatians most devoutly honour and worthip) and also in every solemne procession and publicke facrisses, she would alwaies be seene abroad most sumptiously set out, and stately adorned. It fortuned so, that Synavix was enamoured of this brave dame, but being not able to bring about his purpose and to enjoy her, neither by faire meanes nor soule, perswade he, or menance what

he could, fo long as her husband lived: the divell put in his head, to commit a most he inous and deteftable fact; for he laid waite for Sinatus, and treacheroufly murthered him: he flaied not long after, but he fell to wooing of Camma, and courting herby way of marriage; the made her abode within the temple at that time, and tooke the infamous act committed by Synoris, not piteoufly, and as one cast downe and dejected therewith, but with a front heart and a stomacke mooved to anger, and yet confideratly, waiting the time and opportunitie of revenge: on the other fide, Synorix followed his fute verie earneftly, foliciting and intreating importunately; neither feemed he to alledge vaine and frivolous reasons, but such as carried some colourable pretenfe of honestie; namely, that he had alwaies shewed himselfe a man of more valor 8 worth than Sinatus and whereas he took away his life, induced he was thereto for the execuding love that hee bare to Camma, and not mooved thereto by any malice otherwife. This yoong dame at the first seemed to denie him, but yet her denials were not verie churlish, and fuch, as he might take for his finall answer; for daily by little and little, the made semblant that the relented and inclined unto him, for that divers kinsfolk and friends also of hers, joined with him to fecond his fute, who (for to gratific and doe pleafure unto Synorix, a man of the greatest credit and authoritie in his countrey) perswaded, yea & forced her to yeeld unto this match. To be short, in the end she gave her consent, & Synorix was fent for to come unto her, where she kept her refrance, that in the prefence of the faid goddeffe, the contract of marriage might paffe, & the efpoulals be folemnized: when he was come, the received and welcomed him with an amiable and gracious countenance, lead him unto the very altar of Diana, where religiously & with great ceremonie fhe powred forth before the goddeffe, a little of a potion which thee had prepared, out of a boule; the one part thereof the drunke herfelfe, & the other the gave unto Synorix for to drinke: now this potion was mead mingled with ranke poison: when the faw that he had taken his draught, the fetching a loud and evident groane, doing reverence also unto the goddeffe: I protest and call thee to witnesse (quoth the) most powerfull and honourable goddeffe, that I have not furvived Sinarus, for any other cause in the world, but onely to see this day, neither have I had any joic of my life all this while that I have lived fince, but onely in regard of hope that one day I might be revenged of his death, which feeing that now I have effected, I go most gladly and joifully unto that sweet husband of mine; and as for thee (most accurred & wic-30 ked wretch in the world) give order to thy kinsfolke and friends, in flead of a nuprial bed, to provide a grave for thy burial: the Galatian (hearing these words, and beginning withal to scele the operation of the poison, and how it wrought & troubled him within his bowels, and all parts of his body;) mounted prefently his chariot, hoping that by the jogging and agitation thereof, he might vomit and cast up the poison; but immediately he alighted againe, and put himselfe into an eafie litter; but did he what he could, dead he was that very evening: as for Camma, the continued all the night languishing, and when she heard for certaintie that he was deceased, she also with joy and mirth departed out of this world.

STRATONICE.

The felfefame province of Galatia affootded two other dames woorthy of eternall memories, to wit, Stratonice the wife of king Devotarus, and Chiomara the wife of Ortiagon: as for Stratonice, she (knowing that the king her husband was desirous to have children lawfully begotten, for to leave to be his succeffors & inheritors of the crowne, and yet could have none by her) praied and intreated him to trie another woman, and beget a childe of her body, yea and permitted that it should be put unto her, and she would take it upon her as her owne: Deiotarus woondered much at this resolution of hers, and was content to doe all things according to her mides wherupon she chose (among other captives taken prisoner in the warres) a proper faire maiden stamed Electra, whom she brought into Deiotarus bed chamber, & thut them in both together:

30 and all the children which this concubine bare unto him, his wife reared and brought up with as kinde an affection and as princelike, as if she hadborne them herselse.

CHIOMARA.

A T what time as the Romans, under the conduct of Cn. Seipio, defaited the Galatians that inhabit in Asia; it befell that Chiomara the wife of Ortiagon, was taken prifoner with other Galatian women: the captaine whose captive she was, made use of his fortune, did like a sol-

dier, and abused her bodie, who as he was a man given unto his fleshly pleasure, so he looked alfo as much or rather more unto his profit and filthie lucre; but fo it fell out, that overtaken he was and entrapped by his owneavarice: for (being promifed by the woman a good round quantitic of gold, for to deliver her out of thraldome and fet her at libertie;) he brought her to the place which the had appointed for to render her and fet her free; which was at a certeine banke by the river fide, where the Galatians should passe over, tender him the said monie, and receive Chiomara: but the winked with her cie, & thereby gave a fignall to one of her own companie for to kill the faid Romane captaine, at what time as he should take his leave of her with a kiffe and friendly farewell; which the partie did with his fword, & at one stroke setched off his head: the head the herfelfe tooke up, and wrapped it in the lap of her gowne before, and fo gat her away a- 10 pace homeward when the was come to her husbands house, downe the cast his head at his feet, whereat he being aftonied: Ah my fweet wife (quoth he) it is a good thing to keepe faithfull promise: True (quoth she) but it is better, that but one man alive should have my companie. Polybius writeth of the fame woman, that himfelfe talked with her afterwards in the citie of Sardis, and that he found her then to be a woman of an high minde and of woonderfull deepe wit. But fince I am fallen to the mention of the Galatians, I will rehearle yet one flory more of them.

A WOMAN OF PERGAMUS.

Ing Atithridases fent upon a time for threefcore of the principall lords of Galatia, to repair unto him upon trust and safe-conduct as friends, into the citic Pergamus: whombeing come at his request, he enterteined with proud & imperious speeches, whereat they altook great fcorn and indignation, infomuch as one of them named Toredorix (a ftrong & tal man of his hands, & befides woonderfull couragious, Tetrarch of the Toffepians country) undertooke this one day enterprife, to fet upon Mithridates, at what time as he fat in judgement, & gave audience from the tribunal feat in the publike place of exercise, and both him and feat together to tumble downe headlong into the pit underneath: but it fortuned that the king that day came not abroad as his maner was, up into that place of open exercise, but commanded al those Galatian lords, to come and speake with him at his house: Toredorix exhorted them to be bold and 30 confident, and when they were altogether in his prefence, to runne upon him from everie fide, to teare him in pieces and make an end of him: this plot was not projected so closely, but it came to Mithridates cares, who caused them al to be apprehended, and sent to chop off al their heads one after another; but immediately after, he called to remembrance that there was one young gentleman among the rest, for the slower of his yeeres, for beautie also, and seature of bodie, the goodlieft person that he had set cie on in his daies; whom he tooke pitie of, and repented that he had condemned him to die with his fellowes, shewing evidently in his countenance, that he was mightily greeved and disquieted in his minde, as thinking verily that he was executed already with the first; howbeit, at a very venture he sent in all haste a countermaind, that if he were yet alive, he should be spared and let goe: this yoong mans name was Bepolitanus; 40 and verily his fortune was most strange and woonderfull: for had away hee was to the place of execution in that habit wherein he was attached, and the fame was a very faire and rich fute of apparell, which because the butcherly executioner defired to referve cleane and unsprent with bloud, he was formewhat long about the stripping of him out of it; & whiles he was fo doing he might perceive the kings men come running apace toward him, and with a loud voice naming Bepolitanus. See how coverousnesse, which hath beene the death of many a thousand, was the meanes beyond all expectation, to fave the life of this young gentleman : as for Toredorix, after he was cruelly mangled with many a chop and hacke, his bodie was cast foorth unburied to the dogs; neither durft any of his friends come neere for to enterre it: one woman onely of Pergamus, whom this Galatian in his life time had knowen, in regard of her fresh youth and beau- 50 tic, was so hardie as to hazard the taking of his dead corps away, and to burie it; which when the warders and watchmen perceived they attached her, and brought her to the king: and it is reported that Mithridates at the very first fight of her, had compassion, for that she seemed to be a yoong thing, & a fimple harmeleffe wench every way; but when he understood withal that love was the very cause thereof, his heart melted so much the rather; whereupon he gave her leave to take up the bodie, and committeto the earth, allowing her for that purpose funerall clothes, and furnishing her at his owne charges, with all other things meet for comly and decent buriall.

TIMOCLIA.

TIMOCLIA.

Heagines the Theban, carried the like minde and purpose for the defence of his countrey and the common-wealth, as formetimes Epaminondas, Pelopidas, and the bravelt men in the world had done; but his fortune was to fall in that common ruine of Greece, when as the Greeks loft that unfortunate battell before Charenea; and yet for his owne part he was a victour, and followed them in chafe, whom he had difarrated and put to flight; for he it was who when one of them that fled cried out unto him: How farre wilr thou purfue and follow us; answered: Even 10 asfarre asinto Macedonia: but when he was dead, a fifter of his who furvived him, gave good tefilmony, that in regard as well of his auncestors vertue, as his owne naturall disposition, he had beene a worthy personage, and worthy to be reckoned and renowned amongst the most valiant knights in his daies; for some fruit received, and reaped vertue, which helped her to beare and endure patiently as much of the common miferies of her country as touched her; for after that Alexander the Great had woon the citie of Thebes by affault, & the foldiers ran to and fro into al parts of the towne, pilling and ranfacking whatfoever they could come by : it chanced that one feifed upon the house of Timoelia, a man who knew not what belonged to honour, honestic, or common curtefic and civilitie, but was altogether violent, furious and out of reason; a captaine he was of a coronet of Thracia light horfemen; and caried the name of king Alexander his 20 lord and mafter, but nothing like he was unto him in conditions: for having filled himfelfe with wine after supper, and good cheere, without any respect unto the race and linage of this noble dame, without regard of her estate and calling; he was in hand with her to be his bedfellowall that night, neither was this all; for he would needs fearch and know of her, where the had laid up and hourded any gold or filver, one while threatning to kill her, unlesse the would bring him to it, another while bearing her in hand that he would make her his wite, if the would yeeld unto him: the taking vantage of this occasion which himselfe offred and presented unto her: It might have pleafed the gods (quoth she) that I had died before this night, rather than remaine alive; for though I had loft all befides, yet my bodic had beene undefiled & faved from all violence and villanie; but fince it is my fortune, that heere after I must repute you for 30 my lord, my mafter, and my husband, and feeing it is gods will to give you this puiffance and foveraigntic over me, I will not deprive and disapoint you of that which is yours, and as for my felfe, I fee well, that my condition from hencefoorth must be such as you will; I was woont indeed to have about me, costly jewels and ornaments for my bodie; I had filver in plate, yea and fome gold in good coincand other ready money; but when I faw that the citie was loft, I willed my women and maid-fervants about me to get altogether, and fo I cast it away, or rather indeed to fay a truth, I bestowed it, and referved it in safetic within a dry pit, wherein no water is san odde blinde corner I may fay to you, that few or none docknow; for that there is a great stone lieth over the mouth of it, and a many of trees grow round about to shade and cover the fames as for you, this treasure will make you a man, yea, and a rich man for ever, when you have 40 it once in your possession; and for my part, it may serve for a good testimony and sufficient proofe, to show how noble and wealthy our house was before-time. When the Macedonian heard these words, his teeth so watted after this treasure, that he could not stay untill the morrow, and attend the day light; but would needs out of hand be conducted by Timoelia, and her maidens to the place; but he commanded her in any wife to shut fast and locke the fore-yard gate after them, that no man might fee and know; and so he went downe in his shirt into the forefaid pit:but curfed and hideous Clothe, was his mistresse and guide, who would punish and be revenged of his notorious wickednesse by the hands of Timoclia, who standing above; for when the perceived by his voice that he was now at the very bottom, the herfelte threw downe a number of stones upon him, & her women also tumbled downe many others, & those very hig ones 50 and heavy, after him, untill they had brained him, overwhelmed him, and in manner filled the pit up: which when the Macedonians heard of, they made meanes to draw up his dead bodie, and for that there was a proclamation published before by found of trumpet throughout the city, that they should not massacre one Theban more, they apprehended Timocha, & brought her beforeking Alexander, whom they had already acquainted from point to point in particular, with that audacious act which the had committed: the king judging (by her fetled & confident countenance, by her stated gate also and portly pace) that the could not chuse but be of some great and noble house; demanded of her, first, what the was? and she with rare boldnesse and resolution without shewing any figne that she was daunted and assonied; I had (quoth she)a brother named Theagines, who being captaine generall of the Thebans, against you, in the battell of Charonea, lost his life fighting manfully, in the defence of the libertie of Greece, to the end that we might not fall into that wofull milery, into which we are at this prefent fallen; but feeing it is fo, that we have fuffred those outrages & indignities which be unworthy the place from whence we are descended, for my selfe I refuse not to die, and peradventure it were not expedient for me to live any longer, and trie fuch another night as the last was, unlesse your selfe impeach and debarre such demeanors: at these words, the noblest and most honorable persons who were present, could not for beare but weepe; as for Alexander, he thought that the hautie mind and courage of this dame, was greater than to moove pitty and compaffion; and therefore highly to praising her vertue and commending her speech which he marked, and pondered well enough, gave straight charge and commaundement unto his captaines, to have a good eie, and carefull regard, yea, and to take order presently, that there should no more such abuses be offred in any house of honor and nobilitie: and as touching Timoclia, he ordeined immediately, that the should be fet at full libertie, both herselse, and also all those who were knowne and found any way to be of her bloud and kinred.

ERYXO.

B Attus who was furnamed *Demon*, that is to fay, Happie, had a fonne whose name was Ar- 10 cefalaus, in nothing at all resembling the maners and conditions of his father; for even du. ring his fathers life (for raifing of battlements and pinnacles round about the walles of his owne house,) hee was condemned by his father himselfe in a fine of one whole talent; and after his death, being of a crooked, rough and troublefome spirit, (according as his very name, Calepus, implied), and for that he was governed altogether by the counfell of aminion and favourite of his owne, named Laarchus, a man of no worth nor respect, he proved a tyrant in stead of a king. And this Laarchus aspiring likewise to be tyrant, either chased and banished out of the citie, or els caused to be put to death, the best and principall citizens of all Cyrene; but when he had so done, he derived from himselfe all the blame and imputation upon Arcesidans; and in the end gave him to drinke a cup of poison, to wit, a sea-hare, whereupon he fell into a lingering and 30 languishing disease, whereby he pined away, and died at the last; by which meanes himselse ufurped the feignorie and rule of the citie, under a colour of keeping it as Tutour and Lord Protectour, for the behoofe and use of Battus the sonne of Arcesilaus; for a very childe he was, and lame withall; fo that in regard aswell of his nonage and minoritie, as the defect and imperfection of his body, he was despised of the people; but many there were, who drew and ranged themselves unto his mother, and were willing to obey and honour her, for that she was a wise ladie, and of a milde and courteous nature: befides, most of the mightiest men in those parts were knit to her either in bloud and kindred, or els by bond of friendship : by meanes whereof, Laurchus made court to her, yea, and fued unto her for her good will by way of marriage, offering unto her (if the would be affianced and wedded unto him) to adopt Battus for his owne fonne, 40 and make him partaker of his feigniorie and dominion : but Eryxo (for that was the name of this noble ladie) being advised and counselled thereto before-hand by her brethren, willed Laurebus to impart the matter unto them, for that upon conference with them (if they thought well of this marriage) The would be content and condescend thereto: Laurehus failed not so to do, but went and brake the thing unto her brethren accordingly; and they (as it was complotted before) drew the matter out in length, and drave him off from day to day; but Eryxo fent unto him fecretly one of her waiting maidens, to give him notice from her, that her brethren in deed for the present did contradict her minde and croffed her will; but were the knot once knit and confummate in bed together, they would contest and haste no longer, but be willing enough to like and approove thereof as a convenient match: and therefore the advited him (if he thought to 50 good) to repaire by night unto her: for if the thing were once wel begun, the rest no doubt wuld speed accordingly; this message pleased Laurehus, and sitted his humour passing well: being therefore transported wholly besides himselse with these lovely and sugred words of this dame, he promised to attend her at what houre soever she would appoint. Now was this device complotted and laid by the counfell of her eldeft brother Polyarchus; and after that the had fet downe the just time when they should meet and company together, against that very instant, she tooke order that the faid brother should secretly be conveied into her chamber, who brought with

him two luftic tall yoong men well appointed with good fwords, and who defired nothing more than to revenge their fathers bloud, whom lately Laurehus had caused to be put to death: when all things were now in readinesse, the sent for Laarehus, willing him to come alone without any of his guard about him: no fooner was he entred into the chamber, but thefe two yoong men charged upon him with their fwords, wounded him in many parts of his bodie, that he died in the place: his dead corps they cast over the walles of the house; which done, they brought the yong prince Battus abroad into the publicke place, declared and proclamed him king after the maner and custome of the citie. Thus Polyarchus rendered unto the Cyrenians their ancient government which they had from the beginning. Now there happened to be at the fame time 10 in Cyrene many fouldiers of Amasis the king of Aegypt, in whom Laarehus reposed his confidence, and found them falt & truftie unto him; by whose meanes he became dread and terrible to the Cyrenians: these sent in post with all speed unto king Amasis, messengers of purpose, to charge & accuse Eryxo & Polyarchus for this murder; whereat the king was wroth, and in great indignation intended out of hand to make that pe war upon the Cyrchians; but as he prepared to fet forward this expedition, it fortuned that his mother departed this life; whiles therfore he was bufic about her funerals, newes came to Cyrene, how this king was highly displeased and refolved to levie warre against them: whereupon Polyarchus thought good to addresse himselfe in person to the said king, and to render a reason unto him of this late sack committed upon the bodic of Laurchus: neither would his fifter Eryxo tary behinde, but follow him, and expose her 20 owne person to the same perill that he entredinto : yea, and the mother of them both, named Critola (very aged though the was) was right willing to goe, and accompanied her fonne and daughter in this journey: now was the a great ladie, and most highly esteemed in this regard especially, that she was the sister in the whole bloud to Battus the first of that name, fornamed the Happie. When they were arrived in Aegypt, all other lords and noble men of the court approved well of that which they had done in this case; and Amasis himselfe infinitely commen-

ded the pudicitie and magnanimitie of dame Eryxo; and after he had honoured them with rich

presents, and roially enterteined them, he sent them all backe (Polyarchus I meane, and the two

The vertuous deeds of women.

XENOCRITE.

ladies) with his good grace and favour, to Cyrene.

V Enerite a ladie of the citic Cumes, descriveth no leffe to be praised and admired, for that which the practifed against Aristodemus the tyrant, whom some thinke to have bene furnamed Malacos, that is to fay, Soft and effeminate, in regard of his loofe and diffoline carriage: butthey are deceived and ignorant in the true original and occasion of his name; for the Barbatians gave him this addition Malacos, which in their language fignifieth a Yonker: because being a very youth, with other companions of equall age, as yet wearing their haire long, whom in olds time they tearmed Coronifte, (of their blacke locks as it should feeme) he above the rest, in the warres against the Barbarians, bare himselse so bravely: (for he was not only hardy & cou-40 ragious in spirit, stout also and tall of his hands, but withall full of wit, discretion and forecast, and so farre excelled all others in fingularitie) that hee became right famous and renowmed 5 whereupon he grew into fuch credit and admiration among his countreymen and fellow-citizens, that incontinently promoted he was and advanced by them to the greatest offices of State and highest dignities in common-weale; infomuch as when the Tuskans made warre upon the Romans in the right and quarrell of Tarquinius Superbus, and namely, to reflore him againe to his crowne and kingdome, from which lie was deposed; the Cumans made him captaine generall of those forces which they sent to aide the Romans: in which expedition and warfare that continued long, he carried himselfe so remisly among his citizens, (which were in the campe under his charge, and gave them fo much the head to do what they would, winning their hearts 50 by courtefies and flatterie, rather than commanding them as their generall) that he put into their heads, and perswaded them (upon their returne home) to run upon the Senate, and to joine with him in expelling and banishing the mightiest persons and best men of the citie. By which practice he fet up himselfe as an absolute tyrant: and as he seemed wicked and violent otherwise in all kinde of oppression and extortion; so most of all he was outragious and went beyond himfelfe in villanie toward wives and maidens, to yoong boies also of good houses and free borne: for among other enormities, this is recorded of him: That he forced young lads to we are their haire long, like laffes, to have also upon their heads, borders, cawles, and attires with spangles of golde;

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golde; contrariwife, hee compelled young maidens to be rounded, polled, and notted, and to weare fhort jackets, coats & mandilians without fleeves, after the fashion of springalds: howbeit, being exceedingly enamored upon Xenocrita the daughter of one of those principall citizens who by him were exiled, her he kept, not having espoused her lawfully, nor woon her good will by faire perswasions, supposing that the maiden might thinke her selfe well appaied, and her fortune veric happie, to be enterteined (in any fort what foever) by him, being by that meanes fo highly reputed of and effeemed fortunate among all the citizens: but as for her, all these favors did not ravish and transport her found judgement and understanding; for besides that she was mightily discontented to converse and keepe companie with him, not espoused, nor affianced and given in marriage by her friends, the had no leffe defire to recover the liberty of her countrey, than those who were openly hated of the tyrant. Now it fortuned about the same time, that Aristodemus caused a trench to be cast, & a bank to be raised round about histerritory, a piece of worke neither necessarie, nor profitable, which he did onely upon a policie, because he would thereby vexe, out toile confume & waste his poore subjects; for he tasked every man, to cast up & cary forthby the day a certaine number of measures full of earth. Xenocrita when the saw him at any time comming toward her, would turne afide, and cover her face with the lappet of her gown : but when Ariffodemus was paffed by & gone, yong men her play-feres , by way of minh and pastime, would aske her why the muffled and masked her-felfe, as afhamed to fee him onely, and was not abathed to fee and be feene of other men as well; unto whom the would anfiner demurely, & that in right good earnest say: Iwis I do it of purpose because there is not one man among all the Cumans but Aristodemus: this word touched them all very neere; but such as 10 were of any noble spirit and courage, it galled and pricked for very shame, yea, and gave them an edge to fet in hand and enterprise some manly act for to recover their freedome: which when Xenocrita heard, the faidby report, that the would rather herfelfe carie earth in a basket upon her owne shoulders as other did, for her father if he were there present, than participate in all delights and pleasures, yea, and enjoy great power and authoritie with Aristodemus. These and fuch like speeches cast out by her, confirmed those who were conspired and ready to rise against the tyrant, of whom the chieferaine and principall leader, was one Themotecles: unto these conspiratours Xenocrita gave free accesse and ready entric unto Aristodemus; who finding him alone, unarmed and unguarded, fell many at once upon him, and so quickly dispatched him out 30 of the way. Lo how the citie of Cumes was delivered from tyrannie by two vertues of one wo man; by the one the first gave the citizens an affection, minde and heart, to begin and enterprise; and by the other she ministred unto them, meanes to execute and performe the same: for which good service of Xenoerita, those of the citic offred unto her many honors, prerogatives, and prefents; but the refused them all, onely the requested this favour at their hands, that the might enterre the corps of Ariflodemus, which they graunted, and more than fo, they chose her for to be a religious priestresse unto Ceres, supposing that this dignitie would be no lesse acceptable and pleasing unto the goddesse, than beforming and fitting the person of this lady.

THE WIFE OF PYTHES.

T T is reported moreover, that the wife of rich Pythes, in the daics of Xerxes when he warred Lupon Greece, was a vertuous and wife dame; for this Pythes having (as it should feeme) found certeine mines of gold, and fetting his minde thereon, not in measure, but exceffively, and unfatiably, for the great sweetnesse and infinit gaines that arose thereby; both himselfe in person bestowed his whole time therein, and also he emploied all his subjects and citizens indifferently without respect of any person, to digge and delve, to carrie, to purge, and clense the said golde oare; not fuffering them to follow any other trade, or exercise any occupation else in the world: upon which unmeasurable and incessant toile, many died, and all were wery, and grumbled thereat, infomuch as at last, their wives came with olive branches, like humble suppliants to the gate of this lady his wife, for to moove pittie, and befeech her for redresse and succour in this case: the having heard their supplication, sent them away home to their houses with veric good & gracious words, willing them not to distrust and be discomforted: meane while she fent fecretly for gold-finers, goldsmithes, and other worke-men in gold, such as she reposed most confidence in, & thut them up close within a certeine place, willing them to make loaves, pies, tarts, cakes, pastrie-works, and junkets of all forts, sweet meats, fruits, all manner of meats and viands, fuch as the knew her husband Pythes loved best, all of cleane gold; afterwards, when all

were made, and he returned home to his house (for as then he was abroad in a forren country:) so foone as he called for supper, his wife set before him a table furnished with all kinds of counterfeit viands made of gold, without any thing at all, either good to be eaten or drunken, but all gold, and nothing but gold: great pleasure at the first tooke Pythes for to see so rich a fight, and fo glorious a banquet, wherein arte had fo lively expressed nature; but after he had fed his cies fufficiently with beholding these goodly golden works, he called unto her in good carnell for fomewhat to cate; but the still whatfoever his minde stood to, brought it him in gold; fo that in the end he waxed angric, and cried out, that he was ready to familh: Why fir (quoth fhe) are not your felfe the cause of all this? for you have given us foifon and store of this mettall, but To caused extreame want and scarcitic of meat and all things else, for all other trades, occupations, arts, and mysteries are decaied, and their use cleane gone; neither is there anic man that followeth husbandry and tilleth the ground; but laying afide, and caffing behind us all thing that should be fowen and planted upon the earth for the food and sustentation of man, we doe nothing elfe but digge and fearch for fuch things as will not ferve to feed and nourish us, spending and wearing out both our selves and our citizens. These words mooved Pythes verie much; howbeit, for all this, he gave not over quite the mines and mettall works, but enjoining the fifth part of his subjects to travell therein by turnes, one after another; he gave the rest leave to husband their lands, and plie their other crafts and misteries. But when Xerxes came downe with that puiffant armie for to make warre upon the Greeks. this Pythes showed his magnificence in the enterteinment of him, with sumptuous furniture, costlie gifts and prefents, which he gave unto the king and all his traine: for which he craved this onely grace and favour at his hands againe: that of many children which he had, he would dispence with him for one of them, that he might not goe to the warres, to the end that the faid fonne might remaine with him at home in his house, for to tend and looke unto him carefullie in his old age: whereat Xerxes was fo wroth, that he commaunded that one fonne (whom he requefted) to be killed prefently, and his dead body to be cloven through in the mids, and divided into two parts; and fo diflodged and caused his armicto march betweene them both; the rest of his sonneshe led with him to the warres, who died all in the field; whereupon Pythes being discomforted, and his heart cleane cast downes. did that which those ordinarilie doe, who want courage and wit; for he feared death, and 30 hated life; willing he was not to live, and yet hee had not the power to make an end of his life; what did he then? There was within the citie a great banke or mount of earth, under which there ranne a river, which they called Pythopolites; within this mount he caufed his tombe to be made, & turned afide the course of the faid-river, in such fort, that as it passed, the streame might glide upon this monument of his; which being prepared and done accordingly, hee went downe quicke and alive into the same sepulchre, having resigned over unto his wives hands the citie, and the whole feignoric thereof; injoyning her thus much; that the should not approch herselfe unto this tombe or monument but onely every daie once fend unto him, his supper in a little punt or boat downe the riveret, and to continue this follong untill the faw, that the faid punt went beyond the monument, having

in it all his victuals whole and untouched; for then she should not need to fend him anymore, but take this for an affured figne, that he was dead. Thus lived Pythes the rest of his daies; but his wife governed and managed the State prudently, and wrought a great change and alteration in the toilsome life of her people.



CONSOLATORIE ORATION SENT UNTO

APOLONIUS UPON THE DEATH OF HIS SONNE.

The Summaric.

Owfoever Plutarch in this treatife bath difplaied his eloquence and all the skill and

helps that he had by the meanes of Philosophie, yet we see that the same is not suspicion to to forthe minde and spirit of man in true reposes, and that such consolations are (as they 20 (his) but pelliatroe cures of no better: wherein also is discovered the want and default of light in the reason and wisdome of man: yet not with standing, take this with all shat such discourses doe recommend and shew unto us so much the better, the excellencie of celestiall wisedome, which furnisheth as with true and affured remedies, and in slead of leaving the heart afflicted amid humane thoughts and considerations, raiseth and lifterhit up unto the justice, wise dome and hountie of the true God and heavenly father; it causeth it to see the estate of eternall life; it assure thit of the soules immortalitie, of the refurrection of the bodie, (points of learning, wherein the Pagans were altogetherignorant) and of the permanent and everlasting joies above, in the kingdome of heaven. Now albeit as this trueth of God (revealed unto us in his facred word) hath instructed and resolved us sufficiently, it will not be amisse and impertinent, to learne of our authour and such others, those things 30 which themselves did not well and thorowly understand, neither in life nor yet in death; for that the foundation failed them, and they miffed the ground worke indeed, and in cleaving and leaning to (1 wot not what) fortune and fatall destinie, they caused man to rest and stay himselfe upon a vaine skadow of vertue, and willed him (in one word) to feeke for confolation, where there was nothing but defolation, for happinesse in misery, and for life in death. Astouching the argument and contents of this treasife; advined it is with notable reasons, similitudes, examples and testimonies, the substance whereof is this: That Apollonius (unto whom it is addressed) ought not to be over-pensive and heaviefor the death of his sonne, deceased in the slower of his age. To move and personade him thereto, Plutarchaster he had excused himselfe in that he wrote no sooner unto him, and shewed, that space of time comusing betweene, doth better preparemens hearts, which forow and bein anguish, to receive comfort; 40 he condemneth as well blockish and senselesse folke, as also those that be weaklings and over-tender in adversitie. Which done, he entreth into a generall review of the remedies which be appropriate to cure the mileries and afflictions of man; namely, that hee ought to holde a meane, and to continue alwaies like himselfe zto cast his cie and have regard upon the divers accidents of our life, and in enjoying the blefings thereof; to thinke upon future croffes and calamities; to be armed with reason for to beare all changes; to remember and carefully to thinke upon the estate of this mortall and transacrie life; to consider the evils and miseries of the same; to endure patiently that which can not be avoided and prevented with all the cares and lamentations that he; and to compare our owne adversities withother mens. Then he proceedeth unto the particular confolations of those who are heavie and soroufull for the death of their children, kinsfolke or friends; to wit: That there is no harme nor evill at all in death, 50 but rather that it is a good thing, that the houre of it being uncertaine, it is a comfort unto those whom it summoneth, who no doubt would be east downe and overthrowen with the apprehension of miseries to come in case they had any foresight thereof. After this, he proves hat large by three inductions and arguments of Socrates, that there is not any evill in death; which he confirmeth by divers examples: and then returning into his confolations, he mainteineth and holdeth: That who foever die young, are

most happie; that the consideration of Gods providence ought to reteine and stay us; that we are not

to mourne and lament for the dead, neither in regard of them nor of our felves; that fince over-long

hewinesse and sorow maketha man miserable, it were very good for him to be rid and disputched of nearming quickly. Having finished this point, he resolveth and associate certaine difficulties which are presented in these maters: and then taking in hand his purpose againe, he ruleth and resormeth the affections of the living, toward them that are departed; he reelaimeth them from per lifting and continuing oblimately in bewaiting their absence, willing them rather to bewaile the case of those who are living; and by many reasons doth prove and conclude, that they who die betimes have one marvellous advantage over these that remaine alive in the world. Then he teacheth a man to mainteine and cary himselfe as he ought, in all affaires; refuteth those who can abide no paine and trouble; and knitting up all the premission few words, he adjoinsth certains necessarie and profitable counsels in such accidents; 10 and before that he conclude th the whole treatife, he describe th the felicity of those whom death cutterh off in the prime of their yeeres, having a speciall regard herein, to Apollonius the partie unto whom he priteth, and assuring him by the recital of the good parts and vertues which were in his sonne lately departed, that he was without all question, in that place of repose and rest which the Poets do imagine. upon which occasion he treateth of the immortalitie of the soule, according to the doctrine of Plato and his followers, which is the very end and closing up of all that had bene delivered before.

for the death of his sonne.

A CONSOLATORIE ORA-

tion sent unto Apollonius upon the death of his sonne.



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T is not newly come upon me now at this prefent and not before, to pitie your case and lament in your behalfe (à Apollorius) having heardlong fince (as I did) the heavy newes concerning the untimely death of your fonne, a yoong gentleman fingularly well beloved of us all, as who in that youth and tender yeeres of his, shewed rare examples of wife carriage, flaied and modest behaviour, together with precise observance of those devout ducties and just offices, which either perteined to the religious service of the gods, or were respective to his parents and friends; for even from that time have I condoled with you, and had a fellow feeling of your forrow: but

for me to have come then, and vifited you immediatly upon his deceate & departure out of this world, to prefent you with an exhortation to beare patiently and as becommeth a man, that unfortunate accident, had bene an unfeemly part of mine and unconvenient, confidering how in that verie instant your minde and bodie both (overcharged with the insupportable burden of so iltrange and unexpected a calamitie) were brought low and much infeebled; and my felfe befides, mult needs have mouned you, felt part of your griefe, and forrowed with you for companie: for even the best and most skilfull Physicians, when they meet with violent rhewmes 40 and catarrhes, which fuddenly furprife any part of the body, doe not proceed at the first to a rough cure by purgative medicines, but permit this rage and hot impression of instanced humours to grow of it felfe to maturitie by application onely of supple oiles, mild liniments, and gentle fomentations. But now, that fince your faid misfortune, some time (which useth to ripen all things) is passed betweene, and given good opportunitie, considering also, that the present disposition and state of your person seemeth to require the helpe and comfort of your friends, I thought it meet and requisit to impart unto you certeine reasons and discourses consolatorie, if happily by that meanes I may ease your anguish, mitigate your pensivenesse, and stay your needleffe mourning and bootleffe lamentation: for why?

If minde be sicke, what physicke then? But reasons fit for ech disease? A wife man knowes the feafon when To use those meanes, the heart to ease. And according as the wife Poet Euripides faith: Ech griefe of minde, ech maladie Doth crave a severall remedie: If restlesse sorow the heart torment, Kind words of friends worke much content.

Vv3

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Where folly swaies in every action, Great need there is of sharpe correction.

For verily among fo many paffions and infirmities incident to the foule of man, dolor and heavinesse be most irkesome and goe neerest into it. By occasion of anguish many a one (they fay) hath run mad and fallen into maladies incurable; yea, and for thought and hearts-griefe, some have bene driven to make away themselves. Now to forow and be touched to the quicke for the loffe of a fonne, is a paffion that arifeth from a naturall cause, and it is not in our power to avoid: which being fo, I cannot (for my part) holde with them, who fo highly praise and extoll, I wot not what brutish, hard, and blockith indolence and stupiditie, which if it were possible for a man to enterteine, is not any way commodious and available. Certes, the fame would be reave vs of 10 that mutuall benevolence and fweet comfort which we finde in the reciprocall interchange of loving others and being loved againe; which (of all earthly bleffings) we had most need to preferve and mainteine. Yet do I not allow that a man should suffer himselfe to be transported and caried away beyond all compasse & measure, making no end of forow; for even that also is likewife unnaturall, and proceedeth from a corrupt and erronious opinion that we have: and therefore, as we ought to abandon this exceffe as fimply naught, hurtfull, and not beforming vertuous and honest minded men; so in no wife must we disallow that meane and moderation in our paffions, following in this point fage Crantor the Academick Philosopher: I could with (quoth he) that we might be never ficke; howbeit, if we chance to fall into some disease, God sendus yet fome fenfe and feeling, in cafe any part of our bodie be either cut, plucked away, or difmem- 20 bred in the cure. And I affure you, that fenfeleffe impaffibilitie is never incident unto a man. without fome great mischiese and inconvenience ensuing; for lightly it salleth out, that when the bodie is in this case without feeling, the soule soone after will become as insensible: reason would therefore, that wife men in thefe and fuch like croffes, cary themfelves, neither void of affections altogether, nor yet out of measure passionate; for as the one bewraieth a fell and hard heart, refembling a cruell beaft; so the other discovereth a foft and effeminate nature, befeeming a tender woman; but best advised is he, who knoweth to keepe a meane, and being guided by the rule of reason, hath the gift to beare wisely and indifferently, aswell the flattering favours, as the fcowling frownes of fortune, which are fo ordinarily occurrent in this life; having this forecast with himfelfe: That like as in a free State, and popular government of a common wealth, where 30 the election of lovereigne magistrates passeth by lots; the one whose hap is to be chosen must be a ruler and commander; but the other who miffeth, ought patiently to take his fortune, and beare the repulle; even so in the disposition and course of all our worldly affaires, we are to be content with our portion allotted unto us, and without grudging and complaint, gently to yeeld our selves obedient: for furely they that can not so doe, would never be able with wifedome and moderation to weld any great prosperitie: for of many wife speeches and well faid sawes, this fentence may go for one:

How ever fortune fmile and looke full faire, Be thou not proud nor beare a loftie mind; Ne yet esst downe and plung d in deepe ac spaire, If that she frowne or shew herfelfe unkind; But alwates one and same let men thee find. Constant and firme receive thy nature still, As gold in fire, which alter never will.

For this is the propertie of a wife man and well brought up, both for any apparent flew of profperitie to be no changling, but to be are himselfe alwaies in one fort; & allo in adversitie, with a
generous and noble mind, to mainteine that which is decent & befeeming his own persons for
the office of true wisdome & considerate discretion is, either to prevent & avoid a mischiete coming, or to correct and reduce it to the least & narrowest compasse when it is once come, or els
to be prepared and ready to be are the same mansfully, and with all magnanimitie. For prudence, so
as touching that which we call good, is seene and emploied four emaner of waies; to wit, in getting, in keeping, in augmenting, or in well and right using the same: these be the rules as well
of prudence, as of other vertues, which we are to make use and benefit of in both fortunes, as well
the one as the other: for according to the old proverb:

No man there is on earth alive, In every thing who ay doth thrive. And verily By course of nature, unneth it wrought may be, That ought should check fatall necessitie.

And as it falleth out in trees and other plants, that some yeeres they beare their burden, and yeeld great store of frute, whereas in others they bring foorth none at all; also living creatures one whiles be frutefull and breed many yoong, otherwhiles againe, they be as barren for it; and in the sea it is now tempest, and then calme: semblably in this life there happen many circumstances and accidents, which winde and turne us into the chaunces of contrarie fortunes; in regard of which varietie, a man may by good right and reason, say thus:

O Agamemnon, thy father Attens bee,
Alwaies to profer hath not begotten thee:
For in this life thou must have one day joy,
Another, griefe and wealth, mixt with annon,
And why? thou are by mortall nature fraile,
Thy will against this course cannot prevaile:
For so is is the pleasure of the gods,
Tomake this change, and worke in man such ods.

As also that which to the same effect the poet Menander wrote in this wise:

Sir Trophimus, if you the onely wieht Of women borne, were brought into this light With priviledge, to have the world at will. 20 To taste no woe, but prosper alwaics still? Or if some god had made you such behest, To live in joy, in solace and in rest? You had just cause to fare thus as you doe. And chafe, for that he from hu word doth goe, And hath done what he can not justifie: But if fo be, as truth will te stifie: under one law this publike vitall aire. You draw with us, your breath for to repaire: 30 I say to you (gravely in tragick stile) Tou ought to be more patient the while; To take all this in better woorth (I (ay) Let reason rule, and stand for finall pay. And to knit up in few words, Trophimus Of this discourse the summe; I reason thus: Aman you are, (that is as much to fay) A creature, more prompt and subject ay To sudden change, and from the pitch of blis, To lie in pit where bale and forow is.

To sudden change, and from the pitch of blis,
To licin pit, where bale and forw is,
To han others all: and not unwoorthily:
For why, most weake by his owne nature, he
Will needs himselfe in highest matters wrap,
Above his reach, secure of after-clap:
And then anon, he falling from on high,
Beares downe with him all good things that were nigh:
But as for you, the goods which heere to fore
O Trophimus you lost, exceeded not, no more
Than those mishaps which you this day sustence
Excessive be, but keepe with in a meane:
Hencesorth therefore, you ought to beare the rest

Indifferently, and you shall finde it best.

Howbeit, although the condition and estate of mens affaires stand in these tearmes, yet some there be, who for want of sound judgement and good discretion, are growen to that blockish stupiditie, or vaine overweening of themselves, that after they be once a little raised up, and advanced, either in regard of excessive wealth, and store of gold and silver under their hands, or by reason of some great offer, or for other presidence and preeminence of high place which they hold in the common-weale; or essentially occasion of honours and glorious titles which they

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have acquired, doe menace, wrong and infult over their inferiors, never confidering the uncertaintie and inconstance of mutable fortune, nor how quickly that which was a lost may be flung downe; and contrariwife, how soone that which lieth below on the ground, may be extolled and lifted up on high by the fudden mutations and changes of fortune: to feeke for any certaintie therefore in that which is by nature uncertaine and variable, is the part of those that judge not aright of things:

For as the wheele doth turne, one part we fee Of folly high and low in course to bee.

But to attaine unto this tranquillitie of spirit, void of all griefe and anguish, the most soveraigne powerfull, and effectuall medicine, is reason, and by the meanes thereof, a prepared estate and 10 resolution against all the changes and alterations of this life: neither is it sufficient for a man onely to acknowledge himselfe to be by nature borne mortall; but also that he is allotted unto a mortall and transitorie life, and tied as it were unto such affaires as soone doe change from their present estate unto the contrarie: for this also is most certaine, that as mens bodies be mortall and fraile, so their fortunes also, their passions and affections be slitting and momentanie; yea, and in one word, all that belongeth unto them is transitorie; which it is not possible for him to avoid and escape, who is himselfe by nature mortall: but as Pindarus said:

With masie weights of strong necessite, Of hell so darke to bottome forc'd are we.

Veric well therefore faid Demetrius Phalereus, whereas Euripides the Poet wrote thus:

Noworldly wealth is firme and sure, But for a day it doth endure.

Alfo:

How small things may our state quite overthrow!

It falleth out (as every man doth know)

That even one day is able downe to cast Some things from height, and others raise as fast.

All the rest (quoth he) was excellently by him written, but farre better it had bene, if he had na-

med, not one day, but the minute, moment, and very point of an houre:

For earthly fruits and mortall mens estate Turneround about in one and (elfe same rate,

Some live, waxe strong and prosper day by day,

Whiles others are cast downe and fade away.

And Pindarus in another place

What is it for to be but one?

N ay what is it to be just none?

And verily aman is made

To be the dreame even of a shade.

nath declared the vanitie of mans life, by using an Hyperbole or excessive maner of an over-reaching speech, both passing wittily, and also to the purpose most significantly. For what is there 40 more weake & feeble than a shadow? but to come in with the fantasticall dreame of a shadow; furely it is not possible that any other man should expresse the thing that he meant, more lively & in fitter tearmes. And verily, Crantor in good correspondence hereunto, when he comforteth Hippocles for the untimely death of his children, useth these words among the rest: These are the rules (quoth he) that all the schoole thorowout of ancient Philosophie doth deliver and teach; wherein, if there beany point besides, that we can not admit and approove, yet this at leastwise is most undoubted true, that mans life is exceeding laborious and painfull : for fay that in the owne nature it be not fuch; so it is, that by our owne selves it is brought to that corruption: befides, this uncerteine fortune haunteth and attendeth upon us afarre off, and even from our very cradle and fwadling bands, yea, and ever fince our first entrance into this life accompa-50 nieth us, for no good in the world.

To fay nothing, how in all things what foever that breed and budde, there is evermore fome portion more or leffe of naughtineffe inbred and mingled therewith; for the very natural feed (which at the first, when it is at best, is mortall) doth participate this primitive cause, whereupon proceed the untoward inclination and disposition of the minde, maladies, cares and sorrowes; and from thence there creepe and grow upon us, all those fatall calamities that befall to mortall men. But what is the reason that we are digressed hitherto? for sooth, to this end, that

for the death of his sonne.

we may know that it is no newes for any man to tafte of miferies and calamities, but rather that we are all subject to the same : for (as Theophrassus faith) fortune never aimeth or levelleth at any certeine marke, but shooteth at randon; taking much pleasure, and being very powerfull to turne a man out of that which he hath painfully gotten before, and to overthrow a supposed and reputed felicity, with all regard of any fore-fet and prefixed time to worke this feat. Thefe reafons, and many other fuch like, every one of us may eafily confider and ponder within himfelfe; yea&besides, lay thereto the sage speeches (which he is ay to heare and learne) of ancient and wife men: among whom, the chiefe and principall is that heavenly and divine Poet Homer, who faith thus:

More weake than man, there is no creature That from the earth receiveth noursture: So long as limmes with strength he can advance, And whiles the gods do lend him puiffance, He shinks no harme will ever him befall, He casts no doubt, but hopes to outgoe all: But let them once from heaven some sorrowes send, Maugre the (mart, he beares unto the end. Alfo:

Such minds have men, who here on earth do live. As Jupiter from heaven doth daily give.

And in another place:

Why aske you of my bloud and parentage? Sir Tydeus sonne, a knight magnanimous. To leaves of trees much like is mans linage: Leaves some blowen downe by minde ourragious Lie shed on ground, and others, numerous, Bud fresh in wood, when pleasant spring doth call: Mens houses so, some rise and others fall.

Now that this fimilitude or comparison of tree-leaves fully expressed and represented the transi-30 toric vanitie of mans life, it appeareth evidently by those verses which he wrote in another

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You would not say that I were wife, if I did armour take To fight with you, in wretched mens behalfe and for their fake, Who much resemble leaves at first, faire in their fresh verdure, So long as they of earthly fruits do feed for nouriture; And afterward be like to them, withred and dead againe, When humour radicall is spent, and no strength dothremaine.

Simonides the Lyricall Poet, when as Paulanias king of Lacedamon (bearing himselfe high, and vaunting of his brave exploits) bad him (upon a time, by way of mockery) to give unto him 40 fome fage precept & good advertisement 3 knowing ful well the pride & over-weening spirit of the faid prince) counfelled him onely to call to minde, and remember: That he was but a man. Philip likewife, king of Macedon, hearing newes in one and the fame day, of three feverall happie successes: the first: That he had woon the prize, at the great running of chariots drawen with horses, in the solemnitie of the Olympicke games: the second: How his lieutenant generall, Parmenio, had defaited the Dardanians in battell: and the third: That his wife Olympias was delivered fafe of a jolly sonne: lifted up his hands toward heaven, and faid: O fortune, I befeech thee to fend unto me in counterchange, fome moderate adverfitie: as knowing full well, that the bare spight and envie alwaies to great selicities. Semblably, Theramenes one of the thirty tyrants of Athens, at what time as the house wherein he supped with many others feil 50 downe, and he alone escaped safe out of that dangerous ruine, when all others reputed him an happie man, cried out with a loud voice: O fortune, for what occasion of misfortune reservest thou me? and verily within few daies after, it hapned that his owne companions in government cast him in prison, and after much torture, put him to death. Moreover, it seemeth unto me, that the poet Homer deserveth fingular praise in this matter of consolation, when hee bringeth in Abilles speaking of king Priames (being come unto him for to raunsome and redeeme the corps of his fonne Hector) in this wife;

Aconsolatorie oration sent to Apollonius

Come on therefore and heere (it downe, by me upon this throne, Let be all plaints, for beare we thus to weepe, to figh and grone, And though our griefe of heart be much, let us the same represse, For why? no teares will ought prevaile, nor helpe us in diffreffe. To live in paines and for rowes great men are predestinate By gods above, and they alone dwell ay in bleffed fate, Exempt from cares and discontents, for in the entrie-fill Of Jove his house in heaven aloft, two tunnes are standing still, Whereout he doth among men deale, such gifts as they containe, In one good ble sings are bestowed, in th' other curse and paine: Now he to whom great Jupiter vouchfafes of both to give, Sometime in joy, and other whiles in heavine fe shall live: But if a man be onely from that cursed veffell fed, With (bame, with want, and penurie he is full ill be feed, He shall be sure upon the earth to wander and to firay, In much difgrace with God and man untill his dying day.

The poet who came after him both in order of time, and affo in credit and reputation, Hessau, although he taketh upon himselfe the honour to have beene a disciple of the Muses, having as well as the other included the miseries and calamities of mankind within one tun; writeth that Pandera in opening it, set them abroad in great quantitie, and spred them over all lands and seas, 20 saying in this maner:

No source then this woman tooke, the great lid from the tun,
With both her hands, but all abroads effectived anon,
With both her hands, but all abroads effectived anon,
World of plagues and miscriess, thus mischieses manifold
She wronght threby to mertall men on earth both young and old:
Lispe onely didremaine behinde, and slew all abroad,
Lius underneath the upmost brim and edge it fill doode,
For why, before it could get foorth, the lid she clapt to fast:
When other evils infinite were flowen from first to last:
Full was the earth of sundrie plagues, full was the seathewise,
Discasses then and maladies from day to day didrise
Anong mankind, and those by might doe waste and creepe by steatth,
All sold in they come, in silence deepe they make not any noise,
For supice in wisedomne great, bereft them all of voice.

To these sayings and sentences the comicall poet according well, as touching those who torment themselves by occasion of such missfortunes when they happen, writeth thus,

If teares could cure and heale all our disease,
Or weeping stay at once our paine and griese,
We would our goldeschange for teares so ease
Our maladies, and so procure reliefe:
But (Master), now teares with them beare no sway,
Nor ought prevaile, for weepe we, or weepe not,
They hold their course, and still keepe on their way,
So that we see by plaints nothing is got;
What gaine we then ? nought, sir, yet give me eare,
Griese brings soorth teares, as crees their srute doe heare.
It when he comforted Danaë, who sorrowed overmuch for the

And Dyelis when he comforted Danaë, who forrowed overmuch for the death of her fonne, spake unto her in this maner;

Thinke you that Pluto doth your teares regard,

Thinke you that Pluto do to your teares regard,
And will for fighes and grones your forme back fend?
No, no, ceafe you to fob and weepe fo hard,
Tour neighbours cafe marker at her and intend:
Harts eafe will come, if that you call to minde,
How many men have died in dung con deepe?
Or waxenold, bereft of children kind,

Or princely state and port who could not keepe, But fell to basedegree; consider this, Andmake right use, it will you helpe twis.

He giveth her counfell to confider the examples of those who have beene more or lesse unfortunate then herfelfe, as if the comparing of their condition might ferve her turne very well, the better to endure her owne calamitie. And heereto may a man very pertinently draw and applie the faying of Socrates, who was of opinion; that if we laid foorth all our advertities and mifforumes in one comon heape, with this condition, that each one should carrie out of it an equal portion; most men would wish and be glad to take up their owne and goe away with all. The 10 poet Antimachus alfouled the like induction, after that his wife whom he loved fo entirely, was departed; for whereas her name was Lyde, he for his owne confolation in that forrow of his, composed an Elegie or lamentable dittie, which he called Lyde: wherein he collected all the calamities and misfortunes which happed in old time to great princes and kings, making his owner dolour and griefe the leffe, by comparing it with other miferies more greevous: whereby it is apparent, that he who comforteth another, whose heart is afflicted with forrow and anguish, (giving him to understand that his infortunitie is common to more besides him, by laying before his face the femblable accidents which have befallen to others,) changeth in him the fense and opinion of his owne greevance, and imprinteth in him a certaine fetled perswasion, that his misforume is nothing to great as he deemed it to be before.

20 Aeschylus likewise seemeth with very great reason to reproove those who imagine that death

is naught, faying in this wife:

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Or

How wrongfully have men death in disdaine, Of many evils the remedie soveraigne.

For inimitation of him, right well faid he who foever was the authour of this fentence:

Come death to cure my painfull malady, The onely leech that bringeth remedy; For hell is th' haven for worlds calamity, And harbour furein all extremiy.

And verily, a great matter it is, to be able for to fay boldly and with confidence:

How can he be a flave justile, Who careth not at all to die? As also: If death me belpein my har à plight,

No firits nor ghosts shall me affright. For what hurt is there in death? and what is it that should so trouble and molest us when we die: Astrange case this is, & I can not see how it commets to passe, that being so well knowen, so ordinarily, familiar & naturall unto us as it is, yet it should seeme so painfull & dolorous unto us. For what wonder is it, if that be flit or cut, which naturally is given to cleave? if that melt, which is aprto be molten? if that burne, which is subject to take fire? or if that perish & rot, which by 40 nature is corruptible? and when is it that death is not in our felves? for (according as Heraelitus faith) quicke and dead is all one; to awake and to fleepe, is the fame; in yoong and olde, there is nodifference; confidering that these things turne one into another, and as one passeth, the other commeth in place: much after the maner of an imager or potter, who of one maffe of clay, is able to give the forme and shape of living creatures, and to turne the same into a rude lumpe, as it was before; he can fashion it againe at his pleasure, and confound all together, as he list: thus it lieth in his power, to do and undoe, to make and marre, as often as he will, one after another, unceffantly; semblably, nature of the selfe-same matter, framed in times past our anceflours and grandfires, and confequently, afterwards brought foorth our fathers; then the made us; and in processe of time, will of us ingender others; and so proceed still to further posteritie; 50 in fuch fort, that as the current (as it were) of our generation will never flay, so the streame also of our corruption will run on still, and be perpetuall; whether it be the river Acheron or Cocitus, as the Poets call them; whereof, the one fignifieth, privation of joy, & the other betokeneth lamentation. And even so, that first and principall cause which made us to live and see the light of the funne, the fame bringeth us to death and to the darkeneffe of hell. And hereof we may see an evident demonstration and resemblance, by the very aire that compassethus round about; which in alternative course and by turnes, representeth unto us the day, and afterwards the

night; it induceth us to a fimilitude of life and death, of waking and fleeping: and therefore, by

good right is life called, a fatall debt, which we must duely fatisfie, and be acquit of: for our forefathers entred into it first; and we are to repay it willingly, without grumbling, fighing and groaning, when soever the creditour calleth for it; unlesse we would be reputed unthankfull and unjust. And verily, I believe that nature seeing the uncertainty and shortnesse of our life, would that the end thereof and the prefixed houre of death should be hidden from us, for that shee knew it good & expedient for us fo to be; for if it had bene fore-knowen of us, fome (no doubt) would have languished and fallen away before, with griefe and forrow; dead they would have bene before their death came. Confider now the troubles and forrowes of this life; how many cares and croffes it is subject unto: certes, if wee went about to reckon and number them, wee would condemne it as most unhappie, yea, we would verifie and approove that strong opinion 10 which fome have held: That it were farre better for a man to die than to live; and therefore faid the Poet Simonides:

Aconsolatorie oration sent to Apollonius

Full feeble is all humane puissance: Vaine is our care and painfull vigilance: Mans life is even a hort paffage, Paine upon paine is his arrivage: And then comes death that fareth none. So fierce, fo cruell, without pardone: Over our heads it doth defend, And threats alike those that doe spend Their yeeres in vertue and goodneffe, As in all sinne and wickednesse.

Likewise Pindarus:

For ble sing one which menobtaine, The gods or daine them curses twaine. And those they can not wisely beare, Fooles as they be, and will not heare. Or thus:

They can not reach to life immortall, N or yet endure that which is mortall.

And Sophocles :

Of mortall men when one is dead, Doth thine heart groane, and eie teares shead; N ot knowing once what future gaine May come to him, devoid of paine?

As for Euripides, thus he faith:

In all thy knowledge, canst thou find The true condition of mankinde? I thinke well, No: For whence should come Such knowledge deepe, to all or some? Give eare, and thou halt learne of me The skill thereof, in veritie: All men ordain'd are once to die, The debt is due, and paied must be: But no man know's if morow next. unto his daies shall be annext: And whither fortune bend's her way,

Who can fore-fee, and justly fay? If it be so then, that the condition of mans life is such indeed as these great clearks have delivered and described unto us; is it not more reason to repute them blessed and happy, who are freed 50 from that fervitude which they were subject to therein, than to deplore and lament their estate, as the most part of men doe, through follie and ignorance? Wife Socrates faid, that death refembled for all the world, either a most deepe and found sleepe, or a voiage farre remote into forraine parts, in which a man is long absent from his native countrey; or else thirdly, an utter abolition and finall diffolution both of foule and bodie. Now take which of these three you will, according to him, there is no harme at all in death: for thus he discoursed through them well, and beginning at the first, in this wife he reasoneth: If death (quoth he) be a kinde of sleepe, and

those that sleepe feele no ill; we must needs confesse likewise, that the dead have no sense at all of harme: neither is it necessaries to goe in hand to proove, that the deepest sleepe is also the fweetest, and most pleasant; for the thing it selfe is plaine and evident to all the world. To fair nothing of Homers tellimonie, who foeaking of fleepe writeth thus:

Most sweetly doth a man sleepe in his bed, When least he wakes, and scemes most to be dead.

The same he iterateth in many places 3 and namely once in this wise:

With pleasant sleepe she there didmect, Deaths brother germain, you may weet. And againe:

Death and fleepe are fifter and brother, Both twinnes refembling one another.

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Where by the way, he lively declareth their fimilitude, and calling them twins; for that brothers and fifters twinnes, for the most part be very like; and in another place befides, he calleth death a brasensleepe; giving us thereby to understand, how sencelesse death is: neither seemeth he unelegandy and befides the purpose, who soever he was, to have expressed as much in this verse when he faid:

That fleepes (who doth them well advise)

Of death are pettie mysteries.

20 And in very deed, fleepe doth represent (as it were) a preamble, inducement, or first profession toward death : in like manner also the cynick philosopher Diogenes said very wisely to this point, for being surpressed and overtaken with a dead sleepe, a little before he yeelded up the ghoft, when the physician wakened him, and demaunded what extraordinary fymptome or grievous accident was befallen unto him? None (quoth he) onely one brother is come before another, to wit, fleepe before death : and thus much of the first refemblance.

Now if death be like unto a farre journey or long pilgrimage, yet even so, there is no evill at all therein, but rather good, which is cleane contrary: for to be in servitude no longer unto the flesh, nor enthralled to the passions thereof; which seizing upon the soule, doe empeach the same, and fill it with all follies and mortall vanities, is no doubt a great bleffednesseand feli-30 citie: for as Plato faith: The body bringeth upon us an infinit number of troubles and hinderances about the necessarie maintenance of itselse; and in case there be any maladies besides, they divert and turne us cleane away from the inquisition and contemplation of the truth; and in itead thereof, petter and stuffe us full of wanton loves, of lusts, scarcs, foolish fansies, imaginations and vanities of all forts; infomuch, as it is most true which is commonly faide: That from the bodie there commeth no goodnesse nor wisedome at all. For what else bringeth upon us warres, feditions, battels and fights, but the bodie and the greedie appetites and lufts proceeding from it; for to fay a truth, from whence arife all warres, but from the covetous defire of money, and having more goods? neither are we driven to purchase and gather still; but onely for to enterteine the bodie, and ferve the turne thereof; and whiles we are amused & em-40 Ploied thereabout, we have no time to fludie Philosophie: finally (which is the woorst and very extremitie of all) in case we find some leasure to follow our booke, and enter into the studie and contemplation of things, this body of ours at al times & in every place is ready to interrupt and put us our; it troubleth, it empeacheth and so disquieteth us, that impossible it is to attaine unto the perfect fight and knowledge of the truth; whereby it is apparent and manifeft, that if ever we would cleerely and purely know any thing, we ought to be sequestred and delivered from this bodie; and by the cies onely of the mind, contemplate & view things as they be; then shall we have that which we defire and wish; then shall we attaine to that which we say we love, to wir, wiscdome, even when we are dead, as reason teacheth us, and not so long as we remaine alive: for if it cannot be, that together with the bodie we should know any thing purely; one of these 50 two things must of necessitie ensue, that either never at all, or else after death we thould attaine unto that knowledge; for then and not before, the foule shall be apart, and separate from the bodie; and during our life time, to much necret shall we be unto this knowledge, by how much leffe we participate with the body, and have little or nothing to doe therewith, no more than very necessitie doth require; nor be filed with the corrupt nature thereof, but pure and neat from all fuch contagion, untill fuch time as God himfelfe free us quite from it; and then being fully cleered and delivered from all fleshly and bodily follies, we shall converse with them and such like pure intelligences, feeing evidently of our felves all that which is pure and fincere, to wit,

be unperfect,

truth it selfe; for unlawfull it is and not allowable that a pure thing should be infected or once touched by that which is impure; and therefore fay that death feeme to translate men into fome other place, yet is it nothing ill in that respect, but good rather, as Plate hath very well prooved by demostration; in which regard, Socrates in my conceit spake most heavenly & divinely unto the judges, when he faid: My lords, to be affraid of death, is nothing elfe but to feeme wife when a man is nothing leffe, & it is as much as to make femblance of knowing that which he is most ignorant of; for who wotteth certainly what is death? or whetherit be the greatest felicitie that may happen to a man? yet men doe feare and dread it, as if they knew for certaintie, that it is the greatest evill in the world. To these sage sentences he accordeth well who said thus:

A consolatorie oration sent to Apollonius

Les no man fland in doubt and feare of death,

Since from all travels it him delivereth. and not from travels only, but also from the greatest miseries in the world; whereto it seemeth. that the verie gods themselves give testimonie: for we reade that many men in recompense of their religion and devotion, have received death, as a fingular gift and favour of the gods. But to avoid tedious prolixitie, I will forbeare to write of others, and content my felfe with making mention of those onely who are most renowned and voiced by every mans mouth: and inthe first place, rehearfe I will the historie of those two young gentlemen of A gos, namely, Clobis and Biron; of whom there goeth this report: That their mother being priestresse to Juno, when the time was come that thee should present herselfe in the temple, and the mules that wereto draw her coatch thither, not in readinesse, but making stay behinde; they seeing her drivento 20 that exigent, and fearing left the houre should passe, under-went themselves the yoke, and drew their mother in the coatch to the faid temple: the being much pleafed, and taking exceeding joy to fee fo great pietie and kindneffe in her children, praied unto the goddeffe, that the would vouchfafe to give them the best gift that could befall to man: and they the same night following, being gone to bedde for to fleepe, never rose againe : for that the goddesse sent unto them, death, as the onely recompense and reward of their godlinesse. Pindarus also writeth as touching Againedes & Trophonius: That after they had built the temple of Apollo in Delphos, they demanded of that god, their hire and reward; who promifed to pay them fully at the feven-nights end; meane while he bade them be merie and make good cheere; who did as he enjoined them: fo upon the feventh night following, they tooke their fleepe, but the next morning they were 20 found dead in bed. Moreover, it is reported that when Pindarus himselfe gave order unto the commissioners that were sent from the State of Baotta unto the oracle of Apollo, for to demand what was best for man? this answere was returned from the prophetisse: That he who enjoined them that errand, was not ignorant thereof, in case the historic of Agamedes and Trephonius (whereof he was author) were true; but if he were disposed to make further triall, he should himfelfe fee shortly an evident proofe thereof: Pindarus when he heard this answer, began to thinke of death, and to prepare himfelfe to die; and in trueth, within a little while after changed his life. The like narration is related of one Eurhynous an Italian, who was fonce to Elyfius of Tering, for vertue, wealth and reputation, a principall man in that citie, namely, that he died fuddenlie, without any apparent cause that could be given thereof: his father Elystus, incontinently there-40 upon, beganto grow into some doubt (as any other man besides would have done) whether it might not be, that he died of poilon, for that he was the onely childe he had, and heire apparant to all his riches: and not knowing otherwise how to found the trueth, bee sent out to a certeine oracle, which used to give answere by the conjuration and calling forth of spirits or ghosts of men departed; where (after he had performed facrifices and other ceremonial) devotions according as the law required) he laied him downe to fleepe in the place, where he dreamed, and faw this vition: There appeared unto him (as he thought) his owne father, whom when he faw, he discoursed unto him what had fortuned to his some requesting and beseching him to be asfiftant with him to finde out the tructh, and the cause indeed of his so sudden death: his sather then thould answere thus: And even therefore am I come hither; here therefore receive at this 50 mans hands, that certificate which I have brought unto thee, for thereby thalt thou know all the cause of thy griefe and forrow: now the partie whom his father shewed and presented unto him, was a yoong man that followed after him, who for all the world in stature and yeeres resembled his some Euthynois; who being demanded by him, what he was? made this answere : I am the gholt or angell of your fonne: and with that, offered unto him a little scrowle or letter; which when Elysius had unfolded, he found written within it, these three verses:

The vierre Haune operas ar Spir. Годийо Ф ксти цогеобія Зачато. '() เมาในปี วูอี (อยาว สบาลป์ หลุมภิติข ตาล วุตยงปียา.

Which may be done into English thus:

Élyfius thou foolijh man, aske living Sages read, Euthynous by facall courfe of destimes is dead; For longer life would neither him nor parents fland in flead.

Audithus much may fuffice you, both as touching the ancient hustories written of this matter, of this matter,

and also of the second point of the foresaid question.

But to come unto the third branch of Socrates his conjecture: admit it were true, that death is the utter abolition and destruction as well of soule as body; yet even so, it cannot be reckoned fimply ill: for by that recloning there flould follow a privation of all fenfe, and a generall deliverance from paine, anxietic and angush : and like as there commeth no good thereby, even so, no harme at all can enfue upon it; for afmuch as good and evil have no being, but in that thing onely which hath effence and fubliflence, and the fame reason there is of the one as of the other: fo as in that which is not, but utterly becommeth void, anulled, and taken quite out of the world, there can not be imagined either the one or the other. Now this is certeine, that by this reason the dead returne to the same estate and condition wherein they were before their nativitie: like as therefore, when we were unborne, we had no fenfe at all of good or evill; no more and as those things which preceded our time, nothing concerned us; fo whatfoever hapneth after our death, thall touch us as little,

No paine feele they that out of world be gone: To die, and not be borne, I holde all onc.

For the fame state and condition is after death, which was before birth. And do you thinke that there is any difference betweene, Never to have bene, and To cease from being? furely they differ no more, than either an house, or a garment, in respect of us and our use thereof after the one is ruined or fallen downe, and the other all rent and torne, from that benefit which we had by them before they were begun to be built or made; and if you fay, there is no difference in them in these regards; as little there is be you fure, between our estate after death, and our condi-20 tionbefore our nativitie: a very pretie and elegant speech therefore it was of Arcefilaus the philosopher when he faid: This death (quoth he) which every man tearmeth evill, hath one peculiar propertie by it felfe, of all other things that be accounted ill; in that when it is prefent, itnever harmethany man; onely whiles it is abfenrand in expectance it hurteth folke. And in very truth, many men through their folly and weakenelle, and upon certaine flanderous calummations and falle furmifes conceived against death, fuster themselves to die because for sooth they would not die. Very well therefore and aptly wrot the poet Epicharmus in these words:

That which was knit and joined fast, Is loofed and distolv' dat last: Each thing returnes into the fame, Earth into earth from whence it came: The firit up to beaven anon;

Wherefore what harme heerein? just none. And as for that which Creshontes in one place of Euripides, speaking of Hercules said:

If under globe of earth, with those he dwell, Who being none, have left, laid once in grave: Amanof him might fay, and that right well, That puiffance and strength be none can have. By altering it a little in the end, you may thus inferre:

If under glube of earth with those he dwell. Who being none have left, laid once in grave: Aman of himm ght fay, and that right well, That sense at all of paine, he can none have.

A generous and noble faying also was that of the Lacedamonians:

Now are we in our gallant prime, Before as other's had their time, And after us shall others floure, But we shall never see that houre,

eth chat Cicero, Tufni. 1. m tranflating read it thus :

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Asalfothis:
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N ow dead are they who never thought, T hat life or death were simply ought: But all their care was for to dy And live, as they should, honestly.

Right excellent also are those verses of Euripides, as touching them who endure long maladies:

I hate all those by meat and drink, it ho to prolong their daies doethink: By Magick arte and forcery, The course of death who turne awry. If here as they should be glad and faine, then as they see it is but waine Of earth to live upon the face,

For youngers then to quit the place.
As for Merope in pronouncing these manlike and magnanimous words, the mooveth the whole

theater to this confideration of her speeches, when she faith;

I am not th' onely mother left,
Who of faire children am bereft;
Nor yet a widow am I alone,
Who my decre bushand have for gone:
For others in finite there bee,
Who have felt the calamice.

tinto this, a man may very aptly adjoine these verses also:

a man may very apply adjoint their venes and
What is become of that magnificence?
Where is king Cracius with his opulence?
Or Xerxes, he whole monstrous workeit was,
By bridge, the firth of Hellespont to pas?
To Pluto now they are for ever gon,
To houses of most deepe oblivion.

Their goods, and their wealth, together with their bodies are perished; howbeit, beleeve me, 30 fome will say; many are mooved perforce to weepe and lament, when they see a yoong person die before due time; and yet I assure you, this hastie and untimely death admitteth so readie consolation, that even the meanest and most vulgar comicall poets have seene into the thing, and devised good meanes, and effectuall reasons of comfort: for consider what one of them shith in this case, to him that mourned and lamented for the untipe and unseasonable death of a friend of his, in these words:

If thou hadf knowne for certaine, that thy friend Who have is dead, should have beene blessed ay, Throughout that course of life which was behind, In case the gods had shad his dying day;
His death had beene unimely, I would say,
But if long life, should bring him greeses incurable, To him high was death, than now more savorable.

Seeing then uncertaine it is whether the issue and end of this life will be expedient unto a man; and whether he shall be delivered and excused thereby from greater evils, or no; we ought not to take ones death so heavile, as if we had utterly lost all those things which we hoped for, and promised our selves by his life to enjoy; and therefore me thinks that Amphiaraus in a certaine tragedy of a poet, did not impertinently and without good purpose, comfort the mother of Archemorus, who tooke it to the heart, and grieved excessively, that her sonne a yoong infant died so long before the ordinarie time: for thus he saith unto her:

No man there is of womans body born,
But in his dates much travell he doth beare:
Children fome die the purents long beforn,
And are by them enterred: then they reare
And get yoong babes for those that buried were:
Listly, themselves into the graves doefall,
This is the course, this is the end of all.

Tet men for them doe weepe and forrow make, Whofe bodies they on biere to earth doe fend, Although in truth a way direct they take, As eares of corne full ripe, which downward bend, As some begm, so others make an end. Why should men grieve and figh at natures sore that must, shall be, thinke it not hard therefore.

In fumme, every man ought both in meditation within himfelfe, and in earnest discourse also with others, to hold this for certaine; that the longest life is not best, but rather the most vertous: for neither the that plaieth most upon a lute or citterne, is commended for the cunningest musician; no more than he who pleadeth longest, is held the most eloquent orator; nor he that sitteth continually at the helme, is praised for the best pilot; but they that doe best, deserve the greatest commendation: for we are not to measure goodnesse by the length of time, but by vertue, by convenient proportion and measure of all words and deeds: for this is that amiable beautie which is esteemed happie in this world, and pleasing to the gods: which is the reason that the poets have left unto us in writing, that the most excellent worthies or denie gods, and such (as by their saying) were begotten by gods, changed this their mortal life, and departed before they were old: for even * he

Ampliarans

Who was of mightie Jupiter, and Phabus loved best, permitted was not long to live, and in old age to rest.

For this we alwaics fee, that ordinarily the maturitie of yeeres, and the same well emploied, is preferred before old age and long life: for thus we repute those trees and plants best, which in leaft time beare most frute; as also those living creatures which in little space yeeld greatest profit and commodity to mans life : furthermore, little difference you shall finde betweene short time and long, in comparison of eternitie; for that a thousand, yea and ten thousand yeeres according to Simondes are no more than a very prick, or rather the smallest indivisible portion of a prick, in respect of that which is infinit. We reade in histories that there be certaine living creatures about the land of Fontus, whose life is comprised within the compasse of one day; for in the morning they are bred, by noone they are in their vigor and at best, and in the evening 30 they be old, and end their lives: would not these creatures thinke you, if they had the soule of man, and that use of reason which we have, seele the very same passions that we doe, if the like accidents befell unto them? certes, those that died before noone, would minister occasion of mourning and weeping; but fuch as continued all day long, thould be reputed happy. Well, our life should be measured by vertue, and not by continuance of time; so that we are to esteem such exclamations as these, foolish and full of vanitie: Oh, great pittie, that he was taken waie so yoong; it ought not to have beene that he should dieyet: and who is he that dare fay; This or that ought? But many things else have beene, are, and shall be done heereafter, which some man might fay, ought not to have been done: howbeit, come we are not into this life for to preferibe lawes, but rather to obey those lawes which are decreed and set down already by the gods, 40 who governe the world, and the ordinances of destinie and divine providence.

But to proceed, those who so much deplore & lament the dead, do they it for love of theselves, or for their fake who are departed? If in regard of their own felves, for that they find how they are deprived of some pleasure or profit, or els disappointed of support in their old age, which they hoped to receive bythose who are departed? furely this were but a small occasion, & no honest pretence of lamentation; for that it feemeth they bewaile not the dead persons, but the losse of those comodities which they expected from them:but in case they grieve in the behalf of those that be gone out of this world, soone wil they shake off their forrow, if they be perswaded and bekeve, that after death they feele no ill; & obey they wil that ancient & wife fentence, which teachethus to extend as much as we can all good things, but to draw in and restraine those that be 50 ill:now if forrow is robe counted good, we ought to augment and encrease the same as much as possibly we can; bit if we acknowledge it (as it is indeed) to be naught, we are to thorten & diminish it, as much as we may, yea, & to abolish it quite, if it lie in our power: and that this may be eafily effected, it appeareth by the precedent, of fuch a confolation as this: We reade that a certaine ancient Philosopher went upon a time to visit queene de sinoe, who mourned & lamented much for a sonne of hers lately departed this life; & to her he used these or such like words: Madame, at what time as Jupiter dealt among the petie gods, goddeffes, & other heavenly wights, certaine honors and dignities, it chaunced that dame Sorom, was not present among the rest: but

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after that the distribution and dole was made, the also came in place and presented her selfe, craving of Jupiter, her part of honor as well as the other: Jupiter being thus driven to his shifts, for that he had divided and given away all before, not having any thing else to bestow, gave unto her the honor which is done unto those that be departed this life, to wit, teares, plaints, and a mentations: as other petic gods and goddesses therfore, love those who honor them and none else; even so (good lady). Soron (if you make not much of her, and give her divine honor) will not come neere unto you; but in case you worship and honor her dutifully with those prerogatives which be allotted unto her, to wit, weeping, wailing, and lamentations, she will affect and love you, she will haunt you, yea, she will alway minister matter unto you, that the may be continually honored by you. This device of the Philosopher, wonderfully wrought with the woman, and perswaded her in such fort, as the staicd her plaints, gave over her weeping, and cast off all legs for you.

In one word, a man may deale in this wife with one that is in forrow, and demand of him: Whether art thou minded one day to cease this mourning, and make an end of pitcous lamentation? or to perfift ftill in afflicting and tormenting thy felfe as long as thou liveft? for if thou continue all thy life time in this dolourous anguish, thou wilt procure and bring upon thy felfe perfect miserie & infelicitie in the highest degree, through thy esteminate softmesse and seeble. neffe of heart; but if thou meaneft at the length to change this fit, and to lay all mourning afide, why doeft not thou beginne betimes, and refolve out of hand, to be delivered from this miferie at once ? for looke what reasons and meanes thou art to use hereafter, for to be freed from these 20 paines and perplexities; by the helpe of the fame thou maiest presently be quit of this unhappie plight and flate wherein thou art. And as it fareth in our bodies, the fooner that wee ridde away the crafte indispositions and maladies thereof, the better it is for us; even so it is in the difeafes and paffions of the foule: that therefore, which thou art minded and disposed to yeeld unto long time, give forthwith unto reason, unto literature and knowledge; discharge thy selfe (I fay, and that with speed) of these calamities which now environ and compasse thee roundabout. But haply you will fay, I never thought that this would have befallen unto me, neither did I fo much as doubt any fuch thing: yea, but you ought to cast doubts afore hand; you should long time before have confidered and meditated of the vanitie, weakeneffe and instabilitie of mans affaires; by which meanes you had not bene furprifed as you are, nor taken fo unprovi- 20 ded, as by fome sudden incursion of enemies. Very well and wifely therefore it seemeth, that noble The few in Euripides, was prepared and armed against all such accidents of fortune, when he thus faid:

According as a wife man once me taught, I did in minde all miferies forecast; And namely, how I might be overeaught With bitter spight; and not to sit so fast in native soile, but fore't to she at last: Untimely death of wise, of childe, of friend, How some might hop, full er offe unto my minde. In summe, I did missortunes manifolde Estsoones propose and set before mine cies, To she end that I acquainted thus of olde With such fore-casts, might some learne to despife, And set noughs by adverse calumities:

For no mischance, or for tune over thwart, Could noy be strange, and nip me to the hart.

But those who are effeminate, base-minded, and not exercised before-hand in such premeditations, never plucke up their spirits, nor set their mindes to deliberate and consult as touching any honest or profitable course; but suffer themselves to breake out into extremities and mise so ries remediles afficing and punishing their harmelesse bodies, and as Alexan was woontto say, forcing them to be sicke with them for companie, which ailed nought before. Anotherefore Plato (in my conceit) gave a very wise admonition: That in such casualties and mischances as these, we should be quiet; as well, for that it is uncerteine whether it be good or ill for them whose death we seeme to lament; as also because there can no good ensue unto us by such pensivenesse and forow: for this is certeine: That as sage consultation in a mans selse (as touching that which is happed alreadie) doth remove forrow; so griese impeacheth wise counsell, which

would have a man to employ and accommodate all his affaires and occurrences the best way he can; like as in playing at the tables, to dispose so of his cast and chance what soever, as may most serve to win the game.

If it be our hap therefore, to flumble and catch a fall, by the crooked afpect of adverte fortune, we must not doe as little children, who laying their hands upon that part which is hurt, fall appling or fetting up a crie; but apply our minds prefently to feeke for remedie; to fet that upright, which is fallen; to rectifie that which is out of frame, by helpe of good medicines; and

in one word, to put away all moanes and lamentations.

Certes, it is reported, that he (whofoever he was) that fet downe lawes and flatutes to the Ly10 cians, ordeined exprefly: That whenfoever they were difpofed to mourne and lament, they
10 cians, ordeined exprefly: That whenfoever they were difpofed to mourne and lament, they
10 cians, ordeined exprefly: That whenfoever they were difpofed to mourne and lament,
10 they have been a feminine and fervile paffion, nothing at all befirting grave perfons, well defended, or honefly brought up: for (to fay a trueth) to weepe and walle thus, is meete womaninh,
11 and bewraieth a bafe and abject minde: and like as women ordinarily be more prone and forward thereto than men; fo Barbarians rather than Greeks; and the woorfe fort of people are given thereto more than the better: also, if you goe thorow all barbarous nations, you shall not
12 finde those who are most haughtie-minded and magnanimous, or cary any generofitie of spirit
13 in them, such as be the Almans or Gaules addicted hereunto; but Aegyptians, Syrians, Lydians, and such there hide themselves for many daies together, and not fo much as see the light of
13 the summer of the second of such as see the light of
14 the summer, because (forfooth) the dead partie whom they mourne for, is deprived thereof. In
15 which regard, son the Tragicall Poet having (as it should feeme) heard of such societies, bringethin upon the stage, a woman speaking in this wise:

Come for th am I, now as the last, Tour nourse and childrens governesse, Our of deepe caves, where some daies past, I kept in bale full beavinesse.

Others there be also of these Barbarians, who cut away some parts, and dismember themfelves, flit their owne no fes, crop their cares, mifule & disfigure the rest of their bodies, thinking 20 to gratifie the dead in doing thus, if they feeme to exceed all measure, & that moderation which is according to nature. There are befides, who reply upon us and fay: That they thinke we ought not to waile and lament for every kind of death, but onely in regard of those that die before their time; for that they have not as yet tafted of those things which are esteemed bleffings in this life, to wit, the joies of marriage, the benefit of literature and learning, the perfection of yeeres, the management of common weale, honors and dignities; for these be the points that they stand upon, and grieve most who lose their friends or children by untimely death, for that they be disappointed and frustrate of their hopes before the time; ignorant altogether that this hastic and overspeedie death, in regard of humane nature, differeth nothing at all from others: for like as in the returne to our common native countrey, which is necessarily imposed upon al, 40 and from which no man is exempted, some march before, others follow after, and all at length meet at one and the same place; even so in traveling this journey of fatall destinie, those that arrive late thither, gaine no more advantage than they who are thither come betime: now if any untimely or hastie death were naught simply, that of little babes and infants that sucke the breft, and cannot speake, or rather such as be newly borne were woorst; and yet their death we beare verie well and patiently, whereas we take their departure more heavily, and to the heart, who are growen to some good yeeres, and all through the vanitie of our soolish hopes; whereby we imagine and promife to our felves affuredly, that those who have proceeded thus farre, be past the woorst, and are like to continue thus, in a good and certaine estate. If then the prefixed terme of mans life were the end of twentie yeeres, certes, him that came to be fifteene yeeres 50 old we would not judge unripe for death, but thinke that he had attained to a competent age; and as forhim who had accomplished the full time of twentie yeeres, or approched neere thereto we would account him absolute happy, as having performed a most blessed and perfect life: but if the course of our life reached out to two hundred yeeres, he who chanced to die at one hundred yeeres end, would be thought by us to have died too foone; and no doubt his untimely death we would bewaile and lament. By these reasons therefore, and those which heeretofore we have alledged, it is apparent, that even the death which we call untimely, foone admitteth confolation, and a man may beare it patiently; for this is certaine, that Troilus would have wept

Aconsolatorie oration sent to Apollonius

leffe; yea even Priamu himfelfe; shed fewer teares, in case he had died fooner; at what time as the kingdome of Troy flourished, or whiles himfelfe was in that wealthy estate; for which he lamented so much; which a man may evidently gather by the words which he gave to his some Hestor, when he admonished and exhorted him to retire from the combat which he had with Achilles in these verses:

Returne my some within these wals, that thou from death maist save The Trojan men and women both , let not Achilles have Of thee that honour, as thy life fo fweet to take away, By victorie in single fight, and hast thy dying day: Have pittie yet my sonne of me, thy wofull aged fire, Ιø Erethat my wits and fenfes faile, whom Jupiter inire Will else one day at the end of this my old and wretched reeres. Consume with miserable death, out-worne and spent with teeres. As having many objects seene, of sorrow and hearts griefe; My sonnes cut short by edge of sword, who should be my reliefe; My daughters trail dby haire of head, and ravisht in my sight; My pallace rac'd, their chambers fackt, wherein I tooke delight: And sucking babes from mothers brests pluckt, and their braines dasht out Against the stones of pav'ment hard, lie sprawling all about: When enemie with (word in hand, in heat of bloudy heart 20 Shall havocke make : and then my selfe at last must play my part : Whom when some one by dint of sword, or launce of dart from farre, Hath quite bereft of vitail breath, the hungry dogs shall arre About my corps, and at my gates hale it and drag along, Gnawing the flesh of hoarie head, and gristed chin among, Mangling besides the privile parts of me a man soold, Unkindly flaine, a spectacle most piteous to behold. Thus fake the aged father tho, and pluckt from head above His haires milke-white, but all thefe words, did Hector nothing move.

Seeing then, formany examples of this matter presented unto your cies, you are to thinke and consider with your felle, that death doth deliver and preserve many men from great & gree. vous calamities, into which without all doubt they should have fallen, if they had lived longer: But for to avoid prolixitie, I will omit the rest, & my selfe, with those that are related already, as being sufficient to proove & shew; that we ought not to breake out beside nature, and beyond measure into vaine forrowes and needleffe lamentations, which bewray nothing else but base and feeble minds. Crantor the philosopher was wont to fay: That to suffer adversine causelesse, was no small easement to all finister accidents of fortune: but I would rather say: That innocencie is the greatest and most soveraigne medicine to take away the sense of all dolour in adversitie: moreover, the love and affection that we beare unto one who is departed, confifteth not in afflicting and punishing our selves; but in doing good unto him so beloved of us: now the pro- 40 fit and pleasure that we are able to performe for them who are gone out of this world, is the honour that we give unto them by celebrating their good memorials; for no good man deferveth to be mourned and bewailed; but rather to be celebrated with praile and commendation: Heis not woorthy of forrow and lamentation, but of an honorable and glorious remembrance; he requireth not teares as testimonials of griefe and dolour; but honest offrings, and civill oblations: if it be true, that he who is gone out of this world, doth pertake a more divine and heavenly condition of life, as being delivered from the servitude of this bodie, and the infinite ares perplexities, and calamities which they must needs endure, who abide in this mortall life, untill such time as they have runne their race, and performed the prefixed course of this life, which nature hath not granted unto us for to be perpetuall, but according to the lawes of fatall deftiny hath 50 given to every one in feverall proportion, Such therefore as be wife and well minded, ought not in forow and griefe for their friends departed, to passe beyond the bounds and limits of nature, and in vaine plaints and barbarous lamentations forget a meane, and never know to make an end, expecting that which hath befallen to many before them, who have bene fo far gone in heavinesse and melancholie, that before they had done lamenting, they have finished their daies, and ere they could lay off the mourning habit for the funerals of others, they have bene ready themselves to be carried forth to their unhappie sepulture: insomuch as the sorowes which

they enterteined for the death of another, and the calamities proceeding from their owne folly, have bene buried together with them; fo as a man might very well and truely fay of them as

Whiles they their plaints and sorowes made, Darke-night over-spread them with her shade.

And therefore in fuch case we are effoones thus to speake unto our selves, and reason in this manet : What? fhall we make an end once? or rather never cease so long as we live? but still keepea weeping and wailing as we do? for I affure you, to thinke that forrow thould never end, were a point of extreame folly, confidering that often times we see even those, who of all others to take on and fare most impartiently in their fits of griefe and heavinesse, become (in processe of time) so well appealed, that even at those tombs and monuments where they piteously cried out and knocketheir brefts, they metafterwards folemnly to make magnificent feafts, with muficke, minstrellie, and all the meanes of mirth that might be devised. It is the propertie therefore of a mad man and one bereft of his wits, to refolve and fet downe with himselfe to dwell evermore in forow, and not to give it over: but if men thinke and reckon, that it will cease at length and paffe away, by occasion of some thing that may occurre, let them call this withall, that space of time, will (after a fort) doe it: for that which once is done, can not by God himselfe be undone: and therefore that which now is hapned contrary to our hope and expectation, is a sufficient proofe&demonstration of that which is wont to befall unto many others by the same meanes. How then? is not this athing that we are able to comprehend by learning and discourse of reafonin nature? to wit:

The earth is full, and sea likewise,
Of sundricevils and miseries.
As also:
Such mischiefs ay, and strange calamities,
Are daily one after another sent
Tomortall men by fatall destinies;

The skie it felfe is not thereof exempt. For not onely in these daies, but time out of minde, many men (and those of the wifer sort) have 30 deploted the miseries of mankinde, reputing life it selse to be nothing els but punishment; and the verie beginning of mans birth and nativitie, to be no better than woe and miserie. And Arifotle faith: That even Silenus, when he was caught and taken captive, pronounced as much untoking Midas. But forafmuch as this matter maketh fo well to our purpose, it were best to ferdowne the very words of the faid Philosopher; for in his booke entituled Eudemus or Of the Soule, thus he saith: Therefore (quoth he) ô right excellent and of all men most fortunate, as we esteeme the dead to be blessed and happy, so we thinke that to make a lie or speake evil of them, is meere impietic, and an intolerable abuse offered unto them, as being now translated into a far better and more excellent condition than before: which opinion and custome in our countrey is so ancient and of such antiquitie, that no man living knoweth either the time when it first began, or the first authour thereof, who brought it in: but from all eternitie this custome hath 40 began, or the first antifort thereof, who or only beneamong us observed for a law. Moreover, you know full wel the old faid faw, that from time beneamong us observed for a law. to time hath run currant in every mans mouth: And what is that? quoth he: then the other presently inferred this answere, and said: That simplie it was best, not to be borne at all, and to diebetter than to live: and hereto have accorded and given testimonie, the very gods themfelves, and namely, unto king Midas who having in chafe and hunting (upon a time) taken Silenus, demanded of him what was best for man? and what it was that a man should wish for and chuse above all things in the world? at the first he would make no answere, but kept silence, and gave not fo much as a word, until fuch time as Midas importuned and urged him by all means; to as at length (leeing himfelfe compelled even against his will) he brake out into this speech, 30 and faid unto him: O generation of small continuance! ô secd of laborious and painfull destinie!ô issue of fortune, wretched and miserable! why force you me to say that unto you, which it were better for you to be ignorant of? for that your life is leffe dolorous and itselome, when ithathnoknowledge at all of her owne calamities; but so it is, that men by no meanes can have that which fimply is best, nor be partakers of that which is most excellent: for best it had beene for all men and women both, never to have bene borne at all; the next to it, and indeed the principall and chiefe of all those things that may be effected, (however in order it falleth out to be fecond) as to die immediatly after one is borne. So that it appeareth plainly, that Silenus judged and pronounced the condition of the dead to be better than of the living. For the proofe of which conclution, ten thouland fentences and examples there be, and ten thouland more upon the head of them, which may be alledged: but needleffe it were, to difcourfe farther of this point, and make more words thereof. Well then: we ought not to lament the death of yong folke, in this regard, that they be deprived of those bleffings and benefits which men doe enjoy by long life: for uncerteine it is (as we have thewed often times before) whether they be deprived of good things or delivered from bad; confidering that in mans life there be farre more for once, than joics; and those (as few as they be) we get with much paines, great travell, and many cares; whereas calaunties and evils come cally unto us; infomuch (as fome men fay) they be round and united close, and following aprly one upon another; whereas good things be separate and disjoined, infomuch as hardly they neet together at the very end of mans life; and to therefore it seemeth that we forget our selves; for as Europides sant:

Not onely worldly goods are not Proper to 1 sen when they are got,

but not any thing els whatfoever; and therefore of all fuch things we are thus to fay:

The gods have all inrig bifull propertie, And under them, at will we tenants be, To bold and ufe the fame, some more some lesse,

Untill they please to quite to dispossiffe. We ought not therefore to be grieved and discontented, if they redemand of us that which 10 they have lent and put into our hands, onely for alittle while; for even the banquers themfelves (as we were wont oftentimes to fay) are not displeased or offended when they be called unto or conftrained to render and give up those stocks of money that have beene committed unto them, if they be boneft men, and well minded: for a man may by good right fay unto those who are mowilling to redeliver the same: Hast thou forgotten that thou didst receive these monies to repay againe? And the very fame may be applied unto all mortal men: for we have our life at Gods hands, who upon a fatall necessitie, have lent and left the same unto us; neither is there any time fore-fet or prefixed, within which we ought to yeeld the fame; no more than the forefaid banquers are limited to fome appointed day, on which they are bound to deliver up those flocks of money which be put into their hands; but unknowen and uncerteine it is when they 30 thall be called unto, for to render the fame to the owners. He therefore who is exceeding much displeased, & angrie, when he perceiveth himselfe readie to die; or when his children have changed this life; is it not evident that he hath forgotten, both that himselfe is a man, and also thathe begot children mortall? for furely it is no part of a man whose understanding is cleere and entire, to be ignorant in this point, namely that man is a mortall creature, or that he is borne upon this condition, once to die: and therefore if dame Niebe, according as fables recount unto us, had been alwaies furnished with this opinion and tetled resolution; That

The floure of age she should not aie

Injor, nor children fee alway

About her fresh in number many,

To keepe her ever company:

X or sweet sun-shine commudite

Behold, untill that she must die.

the would never have fared to, and fallen into fuch despaire, as to defire to be out of the world, for the unsupportable burden of her calamitie, and even to conjure the gods for to fetch her away, and plunge her into most horrible destructions. Two rules and precepts there are written in the temple of whollow, at Delphas, which of all others be most necessaries for mans life; the one is, know thy selfe; and the other; Too much of nothing; for of these twaine depend all other bestions, and these two accord and sound very well together; for it seemeth that the one doth declare the other, and containe the force and efficacie one of the other; for in this rule; know thy so selfic, is comprised; Nothing too much: likewise in this, a mandoth comprehend the know-kalge of himselse; and therefore some temples who poets the selfice is not the supplementation.

Know thy felfe; awordbut flort, Implies aworke not quickly done, Of all the gods and heavenly fort None skils thereof but heavenly jove alone. And Pindur wwitcth in this wife: This fentence briefe: Nothing excessively,
N'ise men have prais' d alwaies exceedingly.

Wholoever therefore setteth alwaies before the cies of his minde these two precepts, and holdesh them in such reverence as the oracles of Apollo deserve, he shall be able to apply them easily unto all the affaires and occurrents of humane life, and to beare all things modestly as it becommeth, both having a regard to his owne nature, and also endevouring neither to mount up too high with pride and vain-glorie, sor any happie fortune that may befall, nor yet be dejected and cast downe beyond measure, to mourning and lamentation upon infirmitic offortune, or rather of the minde, or by reason of that inbred seare of death imprinted deepely in our hearts for want of knowledge and good consideration of that which is ordinary, and customably happeth in mans life, either through necessitie, or according to the decree of stall destinic. Notable is that precept of the Pythagoreans:

What part thou haft of griefe and woe, which unto man is fent, By hand of God, take well in woorth, and shew no discontent.

And the tragicall poet Aefchylus faid very well:

Wife men and vertuous in all woe and diffresse,

Against God will not murmure more or lesse.

As also Euripides:

The man who yeelds unto nece fitie,
Well skilled is in true divinitie:
And fuch we count, and not un woorthily

To beare themselves among men most wisely.

And in another place:

Who knows the way, what ever doth befall

With patience meekely to suffer all; Inmy conceit, he may be thought right well, In vertue and wifedome all men to excell.

But contrariwife, most men in the world complaine and grumble at every thing; and whatsoever falleth out crosse and contrary to their hope and expectation, they imagine the same to
go proceed alwaies from the malignitie of fortune and the gods; which is the reason that in all accidents they weepe, waile, and lament; yea, and they blame their owne froward and adverse fortune: tinto whom we may very well and with great reason reply in this maner:

No God it is, nor heavenly wight, That works thy woe, and all this spight.

but even thine owne felfe, thy folly and errour proceeding from ignoraunce: and upon this falfe perfuafion and erronious opinion it is, that these men complaine of all forts of death; for if any of their friends chaunce to die in a forreine countrey, they fetch a deepe sigh in his behalfe, and cry out saying:

Alas poore wretch, wo's me for thee, that neither father thine, Nor mother deere shall present be, to close thy sight-lesse cien.

Dieth he in his owne native foile, and in the prefence of father and mother? they mourne and lament, for that being taken out of their hands, he hath left unto them nothing elfe behind, but adeepe impression of griefe, in seeing him die before their eies: Is it his hap to depart out of this world in silence, and without giving any charge of ought concerning him or them? then they cry out amaine, and breake foorth into these words; as he did in Homer:

Also the while that no wife speech and lesson thou me gave, Which while my breath and life doth last, I should remembred have.

Againe, if he delivered any words unto them at the houre of his death, they will evermore have the fame in their mouthes to kindle anew and refresh their forow: went he suddenly, and never 50 bad his friends strewell, when he departed? they lament and say: That he was ravished away and forcibly taken from them: if he languished, and was long in dying, then they sal a complaining, and give out; that he consumed and pined away; enduring much paine before hee died: to be thort, every occasion & circumstance whatsoever, is enough to thire up their griefe, and minister matter to mainteine forowfull plaints. And who be they who have mooved and brought in all these outcries and lamentations, but Poets, and even Homer himselfe, most of all other, who is the chiefe and prince of the rest, who in this maner writeth:

Like as a father, in the fire of wofull funerals,

Burning the bones of his yoong fonne, foone after his espousals, Sheds many teares for griese of minde, and weepesh bitterly: The mother likewise (tender heart) bewailes him piteously, Thus he by his untimely death, both parents miserable, Afflicts with sorrowes mansfold, and woes mexplicable:

But all this while it is not certeine whether it bewel and rightly done, to make this forrow; for fee what followeth afterwards:

He was their onely fonne, and borne to them in their olde age, Sole heire of all, and so enjoy a goodly heritage.

And who knoweth, or is able to fay, whether God in his heavenly providence and fatherly cate of mankinde, hath taken some out of the world by untimely death, foreseeing the calamities and miseries which otherwise would have hapned unto them? and therefore we ought to thinke that nothing is befallen them which may be supposed odious or abominable:

For nothing grievous thought may be, Which commeth by necessitie.

Nothing (I fay) that hapneth to man, either by primitive cause immediatly, or by consequences aswell in this regard, that often times most kinds of death preserve men from more grievous aduersities, and excuse them for greater miseries; as also for that it is expedient for some, never to have bene borne, and for others, to die in their very birth; for fome, a little after they been tred into this life, and for others againe, when they are in their flower, and growen to the verie height and vigor of their age: all which forts of death, in what maner foever they come, men are to take in good part, knowing that whatfoever proceedeth from fatall destinie, can not possible be avoided; and befides, reason would, that being well taught and instructed, they should consider and premeditate with themselves, how those whom we thinke to have bene deprived of their life before their full maturitie, go before us but a little while; for even the longest life that is can be effeemed but fhort, and no more than the very minute and point of time, in comparison of infinit eternitie: also, that many of them who mourned and lamented most, within a while have gone after those whom they bewailed, and gained nothing by their long forow; onely they have in vaine afflicted and tormented themselves: whereas, seeing the time of our pilgrimage here in this life is so exceeding short, we should not consume our selves with heavine steam sadnesse, 10 nor in most unhappie forrow and miserable paines, even to the punishing of our poore bodies with injurious mifulage; but endeyour and strive to take a better and more humane course of life, in converfing civilly with those persons who are not ready to be pensive with us, and fitto ftirre up our forrow and griefe after a flattering fort; but rather with fuch as are willing & meet to take away or diminish our heavinesse, with some generous and grave kinde of consolation: and we ought to have ever in minde these verses in Homer, which Hellor by way of comfortdelivered unto his wife Andromache, in this wife:

Unhappy wight, do not my heart vexe and follicit still,
For noman shorten shall my daies, before the heavenly will:
And this (I say) Andromache, that fatall destinie,
No person good or had, once borne, avoide an possibly.
And of this shall destinic the same Poet speaketh thus in another place:
No sooner out of mothers wombe, are babes brought forth to light,
But destinic hash shuthe thread for every mortall wight.

These and such like reasons, if we would conceive and imprint before-hand in our mindes, we should be free from this soolish heavinesse, and delivered from all melancholy; and namely, considering how short is the terme of our life betweene birth and death, which we ought therefore to spare and make much of, that we may passe the same in tranquillitie, and not interrupt it with carking cares and dolefull dumps, but laying assisted the marks and habits of heavinesse, have a regard both to cheerish our owne bodies, and also to procure and promote the welfare and good of those who live with us. Moreover, it will not be amisse to call to minde and remember those arguments and reasons, which by great likelihood wee have sometime used to our kindes sold and striends, when they were afflicted with like calamities, when as by way of consolation we exhorted and perswaded them to be are the common accidents of this life with a common course of patience, and humanic cases, humanely. Neither must we show our selves so far short and faultie, as to have bene sufficiently furnished for to appease the sorrow of others, and not be able by the remembrance of such comforts, to do our selves good: we ought therefore present.

ly to cure the anguish of our heart with the sovereigner emedies and medicinable drogues (as it were) of reason; and so much the sooner, by how much better we may admit delay in any thing els than in discharging the heart of griefe and melancholie: for whereas the common proverbe and by-word in every mans mouth, pronounceth thus much:

Who loves delaies, and his time for to flacke,

Lives by the loffe, and shall no forrows lacke. Much more dammage (I supose) he shall receive, who deferreth and putteth off from day to dayto be discharged of the grievous and adverse passions of the minde. Aman therefore is to turne his eies toward those worthy personages who have shewed themselves magnanimous and 10 of great generofitie in bearing the death of their children: as for example, Anaxagoras the Clanomenian, Pericles and Demosthenes of Athens, Dion the Syracufian, and king Antigonus, befides many others, both in these daies and also in times past : of whom, Anaxagor as (as we reade in historie) having heard of his sonnes death by one who brought him newes thereof, even at what time as he was disputing in naturall philosophie, and discoursing among his scholers and disciples, paused a while, and staied the course of his speech, and said no more but thus unto those who were about him: Well I wish that I begat my sonne to be a mortall man. And Perieles who for his paffing eloquence and excellent wisedome, was surnamed Olympius, that is to fay, divine and heavenly; when tidings came to him that his two fonnes Paralus and Xamippus hadboth changed this life, behaved himfelfe in this manner as Protagoras reporteth of him in 20 thefe words: When his two fonnes (quoth he) both yoong and beautifull, died within eight daies, one after the other; he never shewed any fad countenance or heavie cheere, but tooke their death most patiently: for in truth he was a man at all times furnished with tranquillitie of foirit, whereby he daily received great frute and commoditie; not onely in respect of this happinesse; that he never tasted of hearts griefe; but also in that he was better reputed among the people; for every man feeing him thus flourly to take this loffe and other the like croffes, esteemed him valiant, magnanimous, and of better courage than himselfe; the one being privie to his owne heart, how he was woont to be troubled and afflicted in such accidents: As for Perules I say, immediately after the report of both his sons departure out of this world, he ware a chaplet of floures neverthelesse upon his head, after the maner of his country, put on a white 30 tobe, made a folemne oration to the people, propounded good and fage counfels to the Athenians, & incited them to war. Semblably Xenophon one of the followers & familiars of Socrates; when he offred facrifice one day unto the gods, being advertifed by certaine meffengers returned from the battel, that his fonne Gryllus was flaine in fight; prefently put off the garland which was upon his head, and demannded of them the manner of his death; and when they related unto him that he bare himselfe valiantly in the field, and fighting manfully lost his life, after he had the killing of many enemies; he tooke no longer paule for to represse the passion of his mind by the discourse of reason, but after a little while, set the coronet of flowers againe upon his head, and performed the folemnitie of facrifice; faying unto those who had brought those tidings; I never praied unto the gods that my fonne should be either immortall, or long lived, 40 for who knoweth whether this might be expedient or no ? but this rather was my praier, that they would vouchfafe him the grace to be a good man, and to love and ferve his countrey well, the which is now come to paffe accordingly. Dion likewife the Syracufian, when he was fet one day in confultation, and devifing with his friends, hearing a great notic within his house, and a loud outery, demannded what it was? and when he heard the mischaunce that hapned; to wit, that a sonne of his was fallen from the top of the house, and dead with the fall; without anie fhew or figne at all of aftonishment or trouble of mind, he commanded that the breathlesse corps should be delivered unto women, for to be interred according to the maner of the countrey; and as for himselfe, he held on and continued the speech that hee had begun unto his friends. Demostheres also the oratour is reported to have followed his steps; after he had buried 50 his onely and entirely beloved daughter, concerning whom, Aefchines thinking in reprochfull wife to chalenge her father, faid thus: This man within a feven night after his daughter was departed, before that he had mourned or performed the due obsequies according to the accustomed manner; being crowned with a chaplet of flowers, and putting on white robes, facrificed an oxe unto the gods, and thus unnaturally he made no reckoning of her that was dead, his onely daughter, and the that first called him father, wicked wretch that he is: this Rhetorician thus intending to accuse and reproch Demosthenes, used this manner of speech, neverthinking that in blaming him after this manner he praised him, namely, in that hee rejected and cast behind

him all mourning, and shewed that he regarded the love unto his native countrey, more than the naturall affection and compaffion to those of his owne bloud. As for king Antigonus, when he heard of the death of his founc Alegoness, who was flaine in a battell, he beheld the mellengers of these wofull tidings, with a constant and undaunted countenaunce; but after he had muled a while with filence, and held downe his head, he uttered these words: O Aleyoners, thou hast loft thy life later than I looked for, ventring thy felfe to refolutely as thou halt done among thine enemies, without any care of thine owne fafetic, or respect of my admonitions. These no. ble perfonages, there is no man but doth admire and highly regard for their constance & mag. nanimitie; but when it commeth to the point and triall indeed, they cannot imitate them through the weakenesse and imbecillitie of mind, which proceedeth of ignorance, and want of good instructions: howbeit, there be many examples of those who have right nobly and vertuoully caried themselves in the death and losse of their friends and neere kinsmen which we may reade in histories, as well Greeke as Latin; but those that I have rehearsed already may suffice (Huppose) to moove you for to lay away this most irksome mourning, and vaine forrow that you take, which booteth not, nor can ferve to any good: for that young men of excellent vertue, who die in their youth, are in the grace and favour of the gods, for being taken away in their best time, I have already thewed heeretofore, and now also will I addresse my selfe in this place as briefly, as possibly 1 can to discourse, giving testimonic of the truth to this notable wiseson tence of Menander :

To whom the gods vouchfafe their love and grace, He lives not long but loone hath runne his race.

Bur peradventure (my most loving and right deere friend) you may reply in this maner upon me: Namely, that young Apollorine, your fonne, enjoied the world at will, and had all things to his hearts define; yea, and more befitting it was, that you should have departed out of this life, and beene enterred by him, who was now in the flower of his age, which had beene more answerable to our nature, and according to the course of humanitie. True it is Leonsestly in haply not agreeable to that heavenly providence and government of this universall world; and verily in regard of him who is now in a blessed end end government of this investall world; and this lite longer than the terme prefixed and limited unto him; but after the had honestly performed the course of his time, it was need tall and requisit for him to take the way for to returne upon his destinite that called for him to come sugardon him the hard beful of the happier heas, in that he hath felt no more miseries of this life for as Emipides said very well:

That which by name of life we call, Indeed is travell communil.

Certes, this fonne of yours (I must needs say) is soone gone, and in the very best of his yeeres and flower of his age, a yoong man in all points entire and perfect, a fresh bacheler, affected, effectmed and well reputed of all those who kept him companie, loving to his father, kinde to his mother, affectionate to his kinfefolke and friends, studious of good literature, and (to lay allina word) a lover of all men; respecting with reverence (no lesse than fathers) those friends, who 40 were elder than himselfe, making much of his equals and familiars, honoring those who were his teachers; to strangers aswell as to citizens most civill and courteous; gracious and pleasant to all; generally beloved, aswell for his sweet attractive countenance, as his lovely affabilitie. All this (I confesse) is most true; but you ought to consider and take this withall: That he is translated before us in very good time out of this mortall and transitorie life into everlasting eternity, carying with him the generall praise and bleffed acclamation of all men for his pietre and observance toward you, as also for your fatherly regard of him; and departed he is as from some banquet, before he is fallen into drunkennesse and follie, which hee could not have eschewed, butit would have enfued upon olde age: and if the faying of ancient Poets and Philosophers bettue, as it feemeth verily to be, namely: That good men and those that devoutly serve God, when to 50 ever they die, have honour and preferment in the other world, and a place allotted them apart, where their foules abide and converfe; furely you are greatly to hope very well, that your fonne is canonized and placed in the number of those bleffed faints; concerning the state of which happie wights deceased, Pindurus the Lyricke Poet, writeth in his canticles after this maner:

When we have herethe fludie night, The shining sunne to them gives light: The medowes by their citie side Wish roses red are beautified,
Shaded with trees which please the sense,
Wish golden fruits and sweet incense:
Some, borses ride for exercise,
Disporting in most comely wise;
Others delight in harmonic,
In musicke and in symphonic.
I be slive where plensic ever ie houre
Of all delights doub frestly sloure;
Where alt ars of the gods do sume
In every coast with sweet persume,
Of odors all most redolent,
Burning in fire farre resplendent,
Which is maintein d cominnally:
Thus they converse right pleasants.

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And a little after he proceedeth to another lamentable dittie, wherein speaking of the soule, he uses the words:

Happie is their condition,
Whom death from all wexation
Exempted but h: all books dis
Perforce, there is no remedie:
The foule, of perpetuitie
The througe, from divinitie
Onely dervi d, dath live alway,
And is not knowen for to decay:
Whiles limmes to wake and worke are press,
She takes her sleepe and quiet rest,
And doth by many dreames present
To those who sleepe, * her owne judgement,
As well of things which her displease,
As of such as do her well please.
Or thus:

* the due judgement, Afwell for vertuom deeds well done, As for foule facts which be misdone.

And as for that divine Philosopher Plato, he hath disputed much, and alledged many reasons in his * treatife of the foule, as touching the immortalitie thereof, like as in his books of policie, in * Called the dialogue intituled Menon, in that also which beareth the name of Gorgias, and in diversplaces of many others: But as concerning those discourses which he hath expresly made in his di-40 alogue, I will give you an extract thereof apart by it felfe, according to your request; and for this present I will deliver those points which are to the purpose, and expedient to the matter in hand, to wit, what Socrates faid to Callieles the Athenian, a familiar friend and scholar of Gorgias the Rhetorician. Thus therefore faith Socrates in Plato: Give eare then, and liften unto a most elegant speech, which you (I suppose) will thinke to be a meere fable or tale, but I esteeme an undoubted trueth, and as a true report I will relate it unto you! So it was, that (according to the narration of Homer) Jupiter, Neptune and Pluto, parted betweene themselves, the empire which fell unto them from their father: now this law there was concerning men, during the reigne of Saturne (which also stood in force time out of minde, and remaineth even at this day among the gods) That looke what man foever lead a just & holy life, after his death he should take his way 56 directly to certain fortunate illands, there to remain in bliffe & happineffe, freed fro all mifery and infelicitie; but contrariwife, he that lived unjuftly, without feare and reverence of the gods, should goe to a certeine prison of justice and punishment, named Tartarus, that is to say, Hell: now the judges who far judicially, and gave their doome of fuch persons, aswell in Saturnes daies, as in the beginning also of the reigne of Jupiter, were those men alive, who gave sentence and judgement of other men living, even upon that very day wherein they were to depart this life:by reason wherof there passed many judgements, not good, until such time as Pluto & other procurators or superintendents of those fortunate Isles came and made report unto Jupiter, that

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there

there were thither fent fuch persons as were not woorthy. Unto whom Jupiter made this answer I will take order from hencefoorth, and provide that it shall be so no more: for the cause of this disorder and abuse in judgement is this; that they who are to be tried, come clad and arraied unto the barre, for to receive their doome, whiles they are yet living; yea, & many of them haply having filthic foules, are apparelled (as it were) with faire and beautifull bodies, with nobilitie of birth and parentage, yea, and adorned with riches; and whiles they stand before the tribunal to be judged, many there be who come to depofe and give testimonic in their behalfe, that they lived well: the judges therefore (being dazzeled and amazed with these witnesses and depositions, being themselves also likewise arraied) do give sentence, having before, their minds, their cies, cares, teeth, and whole bodic covered; no marvell therefore if these be impediments to impeach found and fincere judgement, to wit, as well their owne vefture, as the raiment of the judges. First and formott therefore, good heed would be had, that men may know no more befor chand the houre of their death; for now they foresee the terme and end of life: whereup. on let Prometheus have first in charge, that from henceforth men may have no fore-knowledge of their dying day ; and then all judgements hecreafter shall passe indifferently of them that be all naked. For which purpose it were requisit that they be all first dead, as well the parties in que ftion, as the judges themselves; so that they come to heare causes and fit in judgement with their foules onely, upon the foules likewise of those who are departed; even so some as they are seperated from the bodies, being destitute now and forlorne of all kinsfolke and friends to assist them, as having left behind them upon earth, all the vefture and ornaments which they were to woont to have; by which meanes, the judgement of them may passe more just and right; which I knowing well enough, before you were acquainted therewith, have ordained mine owne founes to be judges; namely for Afia two, Minos and Rhadamanthus; and one for Europe, to wit, Aeneus: Thefe therefore after they be dead, shall fit in judgement within a meddow, at a quarrefour or croffe-way, whereof the one leadeth to the fortunate ifles, the other to hell: Rhidamant has thall determine of them in Afia; Meacus of those in Europe; and as for Minos I wil grant unto him a preeminence in judgement above the rest; in case there happen some matter unknowen to one of the other two, and escape their censure, he may upon weighing and examining their opinions, give his definitive fentence, and so it shall be determined by a most sincere and just doome, whether way each one shall goe. This is that O Callieles which I have heard, and 30 believe to be most true; whereout I gather this conclusion in the end; that death is no other thing than the separation of the soule from the body. Thus you see (ô Apollonius my most deere friend) what I have collected with great care and diligence, to compose for you fake a consolatorie oration or discourse, which I take to be most necessarie for you, as well to affwage and rid away your prefent griefe, to appeale likewife, and cause to cease this heavinesse and mourning that you make, which of all things is most unpleasant and troublesome; as also to comprise within it that praise and honour which (me thought) I owed as due unto the memorial of your fonne Apollonius, of all others exceedingly beloved of the gods: which honour in my conceit is a thing most convenient and acceptable unto those, who by happie memorie, and everlasting gloric are confectated to immortalitie. You shall doe your part therefore, and verie wifely, if 40 you obey those reasons which are therein conteined; you shall gratifie your sonne likewife, and doe him a great pleasure, in case you take up in time and returne from this vaine affliction (wherewith you punish and undoe both bodie and mind) unto your accustomed, ordinarie and naturall course of life: for like as whiles he lived with us he was nothing well appaied, and tooke no contentment to fee either father or mother fadde and defolate; even fo now, when he converfeth and solaceth himselfe in all joy with the gods, doubtlesse he cannot like well of this state wherein you are. Therefore plucke up your heart, and take courage like a man of woorth, of magnanimitie, and one that loveth his children well: release your selfe first, and then

the mother of the yoong gentleman together with his kinsfolke and friends from 50 this kind of miserie, and take to a more quiet & peaceable maner of life, which will be both to your fonne departed, and to all of us (who have regard of your person, as it becommethus) more agreeable.



CONSOLOTARIE

LETTER, OR DISCOURSE

SENT UNTO HIS OWNE WIFE, AS TOUCHING THE DEATH OF HER AND HIS DAUGHTER.

The Summarie



10

Lutarch being from home, and farre absent, received newes concerning the death [] of a little daughter of his , a girle about two yeeres old,named Timoxene, a childe of a gentle nature, and of great hope: but fearing that his wife would apprehend such a loffe, too neere unto her heart; he comforteth her in this letter, and by giving teflimome unto her of vertue and constancie herved at the death of other children, of hers

more forwardin age than she was ; he exhorteth her likewise to patience and inederation in this newe. occurrence and triall of hers; condemning by fundry reasons the excessive seriow, and unwoorthy sathion of many fond mothers, thewing withall, the inconveniences, that fuch excessive heavineffe dianethafter it. I hen continuing his confolution of her, he declareth with what cie we ought to regard infants and children afwell before, as during and after life; how happiethey be, who can content themselves and rest in the will and pleasure of God, that the blessings past, ought to dulce and mitigate the calamities present, to stay us also that we proceed not to that degree and height of infortunitie, as to make account onely of the misadventures and discommodities happing in this our life. Which done, he 30 answereth to certeine objections which his wife might propose and set on foot; and therewith delivereth his owne advice as touching the incorruption and immortalitie of mans foule (after he had made a medly of divers opinions which the ancient Philosophers held as teuching that point); and in the end concludeth: That it is better and more expedient to die betimes, than late: which position of his, he confirmeth by an ordinance precisely observed in his owne countrey, which expressly for bad to mourne and lament for those who departed this life in their childhoed.

A CONSOLATORIE LETTER

or Discourse, sent unto his owne wife, as touching the death of her and his daughter.

PLUTARCH unto his wife; Greeting.



A

He messenger whom you sent of purpose, to bring me word as touching the death of our little daughter, went out of his way (as I suppose) and so missed of me, as he journeyed toward Athens; howbeit, when I was arrived at Tonagra, I heard that the had changed this life. Now, as concerning the funerals and enterring of her, I am verily perswaded, that you have already taken sufficient order, so as that the thing is not to doe; and I pray God, that you have performed that ductie in fuch fort, that neither for the prefent, nor the time to come, it worke you any grievance & displeasure but if haply you have put off any fuch complements (which you were willing

chough of your felfe to accomplish) untill you knew my minde and pleasure, thinking that in so doing, you should with better will and more patiently beare this adverse accident; then I pray you, let the same be performed without all curiositic and superstition; and yet I must needs say, you are as little given that way as any woman that I know: this onely I would admonish you,

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deare heart, that in this case, you show (both in regard of your selfe and also of me) a constancie and tranquillitie of minde : for mine owne part, I conceive and measure in mine owne heart. this loffe, according to the nature and greatnesse thereof, and so I esteeme of it accordingly; but if I should finde, that you tooke it impatiently, this would be much more grievous unto me. and wound my heart more, than the alamitie it felfe that caufeth it; and yet am not I begotten and borne either of an oake or a rocke; whereof you can beare me good witnesse, knowing that wee both together have reared many of our children at home in house, even with our owne hands; and how I loved this girle most tenderly, both for that you were very desirous (after foure fonnes, one after another in a row) to beare a daughter, as also for that in regard of that fancie. I tooke occasion to give her your name: now, besides that naturall fatherly affection, which men 10 comonly have toward little babes, there was one particular propertie that gave an edge thereto. and caused me to love her above the rest; and that was a speciall grace that she had, to make joy and pleasure, and the same without any mixture at all of curstnesse or frowardnesse, and no. thing given to whining and complaint; for the was of a woonderfull kinde and gentle nature. loving the was againe to those that loved her, and marvellous desirous to gratiste and pleasure others; in which regards, the both delighted me, and also yeelded no small testimonic of tare debonairitie that nature had endued her withall; for thee would make pretie meanes to her nourse, and sceme (as it were) to intreather to give the brest or pap, not onely to other infants, like her felfe, her play feeres, but also to little babies and puppets, and such like gauds as little ones take joy in, and wherewith they use to play; as if upon a fingular courtesie and humanitie 20 fhee could finde in her heart to communicate and distribute from her owne table, even the best things that shee had, among them that did her any pleasure. But I see no reason (sweetwise) why these lovely qualities and such like, wherein we tooke contentment and joy in her life time, should disquiet and trouble us how, after her death, when we either thinke or make relation of them : and I feare againe, left by our dolour and griefe, we abandon and put cleane away all the remembrance thereof, like as Clymene defired to do, when the faid:

Thate the bow folight of Cornel tree: All exercise abroad, farewell for me.

as avoiding alwaies and trembling at the remembrance and commemoration of her fonne, which did no other good but renew her griefe and dolour; for naturally we feeke to flee all that 30 troubleth and offendeth us. We ought therefore to demeane our felves, that as whiles the lived, we had nothing in the world more fweet to embrace, more pleafant to fee, or delectable to heare than our daughter; so the cogitation of her, may still abide and live with us all our life time, having by many degrees our joy multiplied more than our heavinefle augmented: if it be meet and fit that the reasons and arguments which wee have often times delivered to others, thould profit us when time and occasion requireth, and not lie still and idle for any good wee have by them, nor challenge and accuse us, for that in stead of joies past, we bring upon our felves many more griefs by farre. They that have come unto us, report thus much of you, and that with great admiration of your vertue, that you never put on mourning weed, nor fo much as changed your robe, & that by no meanes you could be brought to disfigure your felfe or any 40 of your waiting maidens and women about you, nor offer any outrage or injurie to them in this behalfe; neither did you fet out her funerals with any fumptuous panegyricall pompe, as if it had bene some solemne feast, but performed every thing soberly and civilly, after a still maner, accompanied onely with our kinfefolke and friends. But my felfe verily made no great woonder (that you who never tooke pride and pleafure to be seene, either in theater or in publike proceffion, but rather alwaies effected all fuch magnificence fo vaine, and fumptuofitie superfluous, even in those things that tended to delight) have observed the most safe way of plannesse and simplicitie, in these occasions of forrow and sadnesse. For a vertuous and chastematrone ought not onely to keepe herselfepure and inviolate in Bacchanall feasts; but also to thinke thus with herfelfe, that the turbulent stormes of sorrow, and passionate motions of anguish had 50 no lesse need of continencie to resist and withstand, not the natural love and affection of mothers to their children, as many thinke, but the intemperance of the mind. For we allow and graunt unto this naturall kindnesse, a certaine affection to bewaile, to reverence, to wish for, to long after, and to beare in minde those that are departed; but the excessive and infatiable defire of lamentations, which forceth men and women to loud out-cries, to knocke, beat, and mangle their owne bodies, is no leffe unfeemely and shamefull, than incontinence in pleasures: howbeit, it seemeth by good right to deserve excuse and pardon, for that in this undecencie, there is

griefe and bitternesse of forrow adjoined, whereas in the other, pleasure and delight: for what is more abfurd and fenceleffe, than to feeme for to take away exceffe of laughter and mirth; but contrariwife to give head unto streames of teares which proceed from one fountain, and to fuffer folke to give themselves over to weeping and lamentation as much as they will; as also that which fome use to doe, namely, to chide and rebuke their wives for some sweet perfinnes, odoriferous pomanders, or purple garments, which they are defirous to have; and in the meane while permit them, to teare their haire in time of mourning, to have their heads, to put on blacke, to fit unfeemely upon the bare ground, or in afters, and in most painfull manner tocrie out upon God and man; yea and that which of all others is woorst, when their wives 10 chastifeexceffively, or punish unjustly their fervants, to come betweene and state their hands; but when they rigorously and cruelly torment themselves, to let them alone and neglect them in those crosse accidents, which contrariwise had need of facilitie and humanitie? But betweene us twaine, fweet heart, there was never any need of fuch fraie or combat, and I suppose there will never be. For to speake of that frugalitie which is seene in plaine and simple apparell, or of sobrietie in ordinary diet, and tending of the bodie; never was there any philosopher yet converling with us in our house, whom you put not downe and strucke into an extraordinarie amaze, nor fo much as a citizen whom you caused not to admire (as a strange and woonderfull fight, whether it were in publicke facrifices, or infrequent theaters, and folemne processions) your rare simplicitie: femblably, herretofore you shewed great constancie upon the like con-20 flict and accident at the death of your eldest fonne; and againe when that gentle and beautifull Charon departed from us untimely, in the prime of his yeeres; and I remember very well that certainestrangers who journeied with me along from the sea side, (at what time as word was brought of my fonnes death) came home with others to my house, who seeing all things there felled, nothing out of order, but all filent and quiet (as they themselves afterward made report) began to thinke that the faid newes was falle, and no fuch calamitic had hapned; fo wifely had you composed all matters within house, when as iwis, there was good occasion given that might have excused some disorder and confusion; and yet this sonne you were nurse unto your felfe, and gave it fuck at your owne pappe; yea, and endured the painfull incifion of your breft, by reason of a cancerous hard tumour that came by a contustian. Oh, the generositie of a ver-30 tuous dame, and behold the kindneffe of a mother toward her children! whereas you shall fee many other mothers to receive their yoong babes at the hands of their nurses, to dandle & play withall forfooth, in mirth & pastime; but afterwards the same women (if their infants chance to die) give themselves over to al vain mourning, & bootlesse forow, which proceedeth not doubtleffe from good will indeed; (for furely heartie affection is reasonable, honest and considerate) but rather from a foolish opinion mingled with a little naturall kindnesse; and this is it that engendreth favage, furious, & implacable forowes. And verily Aefope (as it should feeme) was not ignorant heereof, for he reporteth this narration: That when Jupiter made a dole or distribution of honors among the gods and goddeffes; Sorrow came afterwards and made fute likewife to be honored, and so he bestowed upon her, teares, plaints, and lamentations; little for them 40 onely who are willing thereto, and ready to give her intertainment. And I affore you, this they commonly doe at the very beginning; for everie one of his owne accord bringeth in and admitteth forrow unto him, who (after the is once entertained, and in proceffe of time well fetled, fo that the is become domesticall and familiar) will not be driven out of dores nor be gone, if a man would never fo faine; and therefore refultance must be made against her, even at the verie gate, neither ought we to abandon our hold, and quit the fort, renting our garments, tearing or thearing our haires, or doing other fuchthings, as ordinarily happen every day; caufing a man to be confused, shamefull, and discouraged, making his heart base, abject and thut up, that he cannot enlarge it, but remaine poore and timorous; bringing him to this paffe, that he dare not be metrie, supposing it altogether unlawfull to laugh, to come abroad and see the sunne light, 50 to converse with men, or to eate or drinke in companie; into such a captivitie is he brought through forrow and melancholie: upon this inconvenience after it hath once gotten head, there followeth the neglect of the bodie, no care of annointing or bathing, and generally a retchlessend contempt of all things belonging to this life; whereas contrariwise and by good reason, when the mind is ficke or amisse, it should be helped and sustained by the strength of an able and cheerefull body: for a great part of the foules griefe is allaied, and the edge thereof as it were dulled, when the bodie is fresh and disposed to alacritie, like as the waves of the sea be laid even, during a calme and faire weather : but contrariwife, if by reason that the bodie be

evill entreated, and not regarded with good diet and choifekeeping, it become dried, rough, and hard, in fuch fort, as from it there breathe no fweet and comfortable exhalations unto the toule, but all smookie and bitter vapors of dolour, griefe, and sadnesse annoy her; then is it no easie matter for men (be they never so willing and desirous) to recover themselves, but that their foules being thus feized upon by fo grievous passions, will be afflicted and tormented still. But that which is most dangerous and dreadfull in this case, I never feared in your behalfed to wit) That foolith women thould come & visit you, and then fall a weeping, lamenting, and crying with you; a thing (I may fay to you) that is enough to whet forrow, and awaken it if it were afleepe, not fuffring it either by it felfe, or by meanes of helpe and fuccour from another, to paffe, fade, & vanish away; for I know verie well what adoe you had, & into what a conflict you 10 entred about the fifter of Theon, when you would have affifted her & refifted other women who came into her with great cries & loud lamentations, as if they brought fire with them, in al hafte to maintaine & encrease that which was kindled already. True it is indeed, that when a friends or neighbors house is seene on fire, every man runneth as fast as he can to helpe for to quench the fame; but when they fee their foules burning in griefe and forrow, they contrariwife bring more fewel & matter stil to augment or keepe the faid fire: also if a man be diseased in his cies, he is not permitted to handle or touch them with his hands, especially if they be bloud shotten, and post fessed with any inflammation; whereas he who fits mourning and forrowing at home in his house, offereth and presenteth himselfe to the first commer, and to every one that is willing to irritate, fline, and provoke his passion, (asit were a floud or streame that is let out and set arun-10 ning) infomuch as where before the grievance did but itch or fmart a little, it now beginnes to shoot, to ake, to be fell and angrie, so that it becommeth a great and dangerous maladie in the end: but I am verily perswaded (I say) that you know how to preserve your selse from these extremnies. Now over and befides, endevour to reduce and call againe to mind the time when as we had not this daughter, namely, when the was as yet unborne; how we had no cause then to complaine of fortune; then, see you joine (as it were with one tenon) this present, with that which is palt, setting the case as if we were returned agains to the same state wherein we were before: for it will appeare (my good wife) that we are discontented that ever she was borne, in case we make thew that we were in better condition before her birth, than afterwards; nor that I wish we should abolish out of our remembrance the two yeeres space between her nativitie and decease; 20 but rather count and reckon it among other our pleasures and bleffings, as during which time, we had the fruition of joy, mirth, and passime, and not to esteeme that good which was but little and endured a forall while, our great infortunitie; nor yet feeme unthankfull to fortune, for the favour which the hath done unto us, because the added not thereto that length of life which we hoped and expected. Certes to rest contented alwaies with the gods; to thinke and speake of them reverently as it becommeth; notto complaine of fortune, but to take in good woorth whatfoever it pleafeth her to fend, bringeth evermore a faire and pleafant frute: but he who in these cases, putteth out of his remembrance the good things that he hath, transporting and turning his thoughts and cogitations from obscure and troublesome occurrents, unto those which be electe and resplendent; if he doe not by this meanes utterly extinguish his sorrow, yet at 40 leastwife by mingling and tempring it with the contrary, he shall be able to diminish or else make it more feeble: for like as a fweet odor and fragrant ointment delighteth and refresheth alwaies the fense of finelling, and besides is a remedic against stinking savours; even so the cogiragion of these benefits which menhave otherwise received, serveth as a most necessarie and present succour in time of adversitie unto as many as refuse not to remember and call to minde their joies paffed, and who never at all for any accident whatfoever complaine of fortune; which we ought not to doe in reason and honestie, unlesse we would seeme to accuse and blame this life which we enjoy, for fome croffe or accident; as if we cast away a booke if it have but one blut or blot in it, being otherwise written throughout most cleane and faire; for you have heard itoftentimes faid; that the beatitude of those who are departed, dependeth upon the right and sound 50 discourses of our understanding, and the same tending to one constant disposition; as also, that the chaunges and alterations of fortune beare no great fivay, to inferre much declination or cafualitie in our life: but if we also as the common fort, must be ruled and governed by external things without us, if we reckon and count the chaunces and casualties of fortune, and admit for judges of or felicitie our miserie, the base and vulgar fort of people; yet take you no heed to those teares, plaints, and moanes that men or women make who come to visit you at this prefent, who also (upon a foolish custome & as it were of course) have them ready at command for

every one; but rather confider this with your felfe; how happie you are reputed, even by those who come unto you, who would gladly and with all their hearts be like unto you, in regard of those children whom you have, the house and family which you keepe, & the life that you leade; for it were an evill thing to fee others defire to be in your effate and condition for all the forrow which now afflicteth us, and your felfe in the meane time complaining and taking in ill part the fame, and not to be so happy and bleffed, as to find and feele (even by this crosse that now pincheth you, for the loffe of one infant) what joy you thould take, and how thankefull you ought to be for those who remaine alive with you: for heerein you should resemble very well, those Criticks, who collect and gather together all the lame and detective verfes of Homer, which are to but few in number; and in the meane time, paffe over an infinite fort of others, which were by him most excellently made. In this maner (I say) you did, if you would search narrowly, and examine every particular mishap in this life, and finde fault therewith; but all good bleffings in grofe, let go by, and never once respect the same; which to do, were much like unto the practise ofthosecoverous mifers, worldlings and peni-fathers, who cake and care, punish both bodic and minde, untill they have gathered a great deale of good together, and then enjoy no benefit or use thereof; but if they chance to forgo any of it, they keepe a piteous wailing and wofull lamentation.

Now if haply you have compaffion and pitie of the poore girle, in that the went out of this world a maiden unmarried, and before that the bare any children; you ought rather on the contarie fide, to rejoice and take delight in your felfe above others, for that you have not failed of the belfings, nor bene difappointed either of the one or the other: for who would holde and mainteine; that these things should be great to those who be deprived of them; and but simall to them, who have and enjoy the same? As for the childe, who doubtless is gone into a place where the feeleth no paine, surely she requireth not at our hands that we should afflict & grieve our selves for her sake: for what harme is there befallen unto us by her, if the her selsen ow feele nohurt? And as for the losses of great things indeed, surely they yeeld no sense at all of dolor, when they are come once to this point, that there is no more need of them, or care made for the. But verily, thy daughter Timoxena is bereft, not of great matters, but of small things, for in trueth, she had no knowledge at all, but of such neither delighted the in any, but in such; seeing then, that she had no perceivance nor thought of those things, how can she properly and truely be said to be deprived thereof?

Moreover, as touching that which you heard of others, who are woont to perswade many of the vulgar fort, faying: That the foule once separate from the bodie, is diffolved, and seeleth no paine or dolor at all: I am affured, that you yeeld no credit and beliefe to fuch politions; aswell in regard of those reasons and instructions which you have received by tradition from our anceftors, as also of those facred and symbolical mysteries of Bacchus, which we know well enough, who are of that religious confraternitie, and professed therein. Being grounded therefore in this principle, and holding it firmely for an undoubted trueth: That our foule is incorruptible and immortall; you are to thinke, that it fareth with it, as it doth with little birds that are caught 40 by the fowler alive, and came into mens hands: for if it have bene kept and nourished daintily a long time within the bodie, so that it be inured to be gentle and familiar unto this life, to wit, by the management of fundry affaires and long custome, it returneth thither againe, and reentreth a second time (after many generations) into the bodie; it never taketh rest nor ceaseth, but is inwrapped within the affections of the flesh, and entangled with the adventures of the world, and calamities incident to our nature: for I would not have you to thinke that olde age is to be blamed and reproched for rivels and wrinckles, nor in regard of hoarie white haires, ne yet for the imbecillitie and feeblenesse of the body; but the worst and most odious thing in it, is this: That it causeth the soule to take corruption by the remembrance of those things whereof it had experience whiles it staied therein, and was too much addicted and affectionate unto it, whereby 50 it bendeth and boweth, yea, and reteineth that forme or figure which it tooke of the bodie, by being fo long devoted thereto; whereas that which is taken away in youth, pretendeth a better estate and condition, as being framed to a gentler habit, more soft, tractable and lesse compact, Putting on now a naturall rectitude, much like as fire, which being quenched, if it be kindled agame, burneth out, and recovereth vigor incontinently: which is the cause that it is farre better

Betimes to yeeld up vitall breath,
And frome to passe the gases of death,
before that the soule have taken too deepe an imbibition or liking of terrene things herebelow,

and cre it be made foft and tender with the love of the bodie, and (as it were) by certeine medicines and forcible charmes united and incorporate into it. The trueth hereof may appeare yet better, by the fathions and ancient customes of this countrey; for our citizens (when their children die yong) neither offer mortuaries, nor performe any facrifices & ceremonies for them, as others are wont to do for the dead: the reason is, because they have no part of earth nor earthly ly affections; neither doe they keepe about their tombs and sepulchres, nor lay forth the dead corps abroad to be seene of men, nor fit necre unto their bodies: for our lawes and statutes doe not permit and suffer any mourning at all for those that so depart in their minoritie, as being a custome not holy and religious; for that wee are to thinke they passenint a better place and happier condition. Which ordinances and customes, fince it is more dangerous nortogive redit unto, than beleeve, let us carie and demeane our selves according as they command, for outward order; as for within, all ought to be more pure, wise and uncorrupt.



HOWITCOMMETH, 20

THAT THE DIVINE IUSTICE

DEFERRETH OTHER-WHILES
THE PUNISHMENT OF
WICKED PERSONS,

The Summarie.



Orasmuch as the order of all considerate sustice importeth and requireth, that goodmen 30 should be mainteimed and cherished, but contrariwise, wicked per sons repressed and put in sustained for their leud acts: the Epicureans (drunken & intoxicate with susse supposals, ceing in the conduct of this worlds assaires, some that be honest and versuous, districtives and oppressed by divers devices and practises; whereas others againe, who be

naught and victous, continue in repose, without any chastifement at all for their misdemeanors) would needs take from God the dispose and government of humane affaires, holding and mainteining this point: That all things roll and run at a venture, and that there is no other cause of the good and evil accidents of this life, but enther fortune or els the will of man. Now among other arguments which they have to confirme themselves in this unhappie and impious opinion, the patience and long suffering 10 of the divine justice, is one of the principall; concluding thereby very fondly, that (considering makfa-Etors are thus supported and seene to escape all chastifement) there is no Deitie or Godhead at all, which regardeth men, either to reward them for vertue, or to punish and do vengeance for their iniquity and transgresson. Plutarch therefore, having to deale in his time with such dangerous spirits, confutesh them in this treatise, which of all others is most excellent, and deserves his beread and perm sedower againe in these wretched daies, wherein Epicurisme beareth up the head as high as at any time ever before. True it is (I confesse) that Theologie and Divinitie is able to furnish us with reasons and answeres more firme and effectuall (without comparison) than all the Philosophie of Pagans what soever: how beit, for all that, there is here sufficient to be found (as touching this point) for to stoppe the mouthes of those who have any remnant of shame, boneftie or conscience behinde in them. 50 This present treatise may very well be divided into two principall parts: in the former, Epicurus being brought in to dispute against devine providence, and so departing without stay for answere, other Philosophers deliberate to be resolved of this point in his absence : and before that they refute his objection, two of them doe amplifie and exaggerate the same at large: which done, our authour taketh the question in hand, and by seven soreible arguments or firme answeres, refelleth the blashbemie of the Epicureans, proving by fundry arguments, enriched with similitudes, fentences, examples and notable histories, that wieked persons never continue unpunished, but that the vengeance of God accompanieth

quickly and cominually their miscleds. In the second part, they debate a certaine question depending of the precedent objection, to wis, Wherefore children be chassised for the similar and their stations and ancessors and increase a certaine Philiopher, named Timon, who handled this matter, taxing after an oblique maner, the justice of God, which Plutarch mainteineth and defendeths, showing by divers reasons, that what soever Timon had alledged, was meere false; and that God did no injurie at all until to those children, in with drawing his grace and seven from them, and chassissipped them with their parents, finding them likewise culpable for their pare. But in this place, our authour answereth not sufficiently and to the purpose; as being ignorant of originall sinne, and the universall corruption of Adams children, which enwrappeth them all in the same condemnation, although some are swither gone in sinsulins, which enwrappeth them all in the same condemnation, although some are swither much as we may well marvell at this, that a poore Pagan hat be for proceeded in this point of Theologie; and Christians have so much greater occasion to looke unto themselves, in the mids of this light which directes themse, considering how this mancould see so cleare in anxenife, which appeare the sufficiently in the end of this discourse; where he intermedice be certain fables as touching the state of our soules after they be parted from the bodies.

HOW IT COMMETH, THAT

the divine justice deferreth otherwhiles the punishment of wicked persons.



Fter that Epicurus had made this speech (ô Cynius) and before that any one of us had answered him, by that time that we were come to the end of the galleric or walking place, he went his way out of our sight, and so departed; and we woondering much at this strange fashion of the man, stood still a pretie while in silence, looking one upon another, and so we betooke our selves to our walking againe, as before: then Patroeless began first to moove speech and conserence, saying in this maner: How now my masters! if youthinke so good, let us discussed this question, and make answere in his absence, to those reasons which be hath alledged, as well as if he were pre-

fentin place: hereupon Timon tooke occasion to speake, and said: Certes it were not well done of us, to let him escape so without revenge, who hath left his dart sticking in us; for captaine Brasidas (as it appeareth in the Chronicles) being wounded with the shot of a javelin, drew it out of his bodie his owne selfe, and therewith simot his enemie who had hurt him, so as he will him outright: as for us, we need not so greatly to be revenged of those who have let slie among us, some rash, soolish and salse speeches; for it will be sufficient, to shake the same off, and send them backe againe, before our opinion take holde thereof. And what was it, I pray you (quoth 40 I) of all that which he delivered, that moved you most? for the man handled many things confusedly together, and nothing at all in good order, but kept a prating and babling against the providence of God, facing and inveighing most bitterly and in reprochfull tearmes, as if he had benein a fit of anger and rage. Then Paroeless: That which he uttered as touching the long delay and slacknesses of divine justice in punishing the wicked, in my conceit was a great objection and troubled me much, and to say a truth, their reasons and words which he delivered have imprinted in me a new opinion, so as now I am become a novice, and to begin againe to learne. True it is that long since I was discontented in my heart to heare Europides speake in this wise;

He putteth off from day to day, Gods nature is, thus to delay.

50 For itwere not meet and decent, that God should be slow lin any action whatsoever, and least of all in punishing sinners; who are themselves nothing slothfull, normake delaie in perpetrating wicked deeds, but are caried most specially and with exceeding violence of their passions, pricked forward to do wrong and mischiese. And verily when punishment ensueth hard after injury and violence committed; there is nothing as (Thursaides saith) that so some stoppeth up the passing against those who are most prone and ready to runne into all kinde of wickedness; for there is no delay of paiment that so much coseebleth the hope, and breaketh the heart of a man wronged and offended, nor causeth him to be so insolent and audacious, who is disosted

disposed to mischiefe, as the deferring of justice and punishment: whereas contrariwise the corrections, & chastifements, that follow immediately upon leud acts, and meer with the malefactours betimes, are a meanes both to represse all future outrage in offenders, and also to com. fort and pacific the heart of those who are wronged. For mine owne part the saying of Bias trou. bleth me many times, as often as I thinke upon it, for thus he spake unto a notorious wicked man: I doubt not but thou shalt one day smart for this geere, and pay for thy leudnesse; but I feare I shall never live to fee it. For what good unto the Messenians being slaine before, did the punishment of Aristocrates, who having betraied them in the battell of Cypres, was not detec. ted and discovered for his treason in twentie yeeres after, during which time, he was alwaies king of Areadia, and being at the last convicted for the faid treacherie, suffred punishment for 10 his deferts? meane while, those whom he had caused to be massacred, were not in the world to fee it. Or what comfort and confolation received the Orchomenians, who lost their children, kinsfolke, and friends, through the treason of Lycifers, by the maladie which long after feized upon him, eating & confuming al his bodie? who ever as he dipped and bathed his feet in thetiver water, kept a swearing and cursing, that he thus rotted and was eaten away, for the treachers which most wickedly he had committed? And at Athens the childrens children of those poore wretches who were killed within the privileged place of fanctuarie, could never fee the vengeance of the gods which afterwards fell upon those bloudie and facrilegious caitifes, whose dead bodies and bones being excommunicate, were banished, and cast out beyond the confines of their native countrey. And therefore me thinkes Euripides is very abfurd, when to divert men 20 from wickednesse he useth such words as these:

Juffice (feare not) will not thee overtake, To pierce thy heart, or deepe wound ever make In liver thine; nor any mortall wight Befides, though leud he be, and doe no right. But flow she goes, and filent to impeach And chastife such, if over them she reach.

For I affure you, it is not like, that wicked & ungracious persons use any other perswalions, but even the very fame to incite, move and encourage themselves to enterprise any leud and wicked acts, as making this account and reckoning, that injustice will quickly yeeld her frute ripe in due 20 time, and the same evermore certaine: whereas punishment commeth late and long after the pleasure and fruition of the said wickednesse. When Parrocleas had discoursed in this wise, olympiacus tooke the matter in hand and faid unto him: Marke moreover (ô Patrocleas) what inconvenience and abfurditie followeth upon this flownesse of divine justice, and prolonging the punishment of malefactors? for it causeth unbeliefe in men, and namely, that they are not perfinaded that it is by the providence of God that fuch be punished; & the calamitie that cometh upon wicked ones, not presently upon every finful act that they have committed, but long time after, is reputed by them infelicitie, and they call it their fortune, and not their punishment; whereupon it commetts to passe, that they have no benefit thereby, nor be any whit better, for howfoever they grieve and be discontented at the accidents which befall unto them, yet they 40 never repent for the leud acts they have before committed. And like as in punishment among us, a little pinch, stripe, or lash given unto one for a fault or error, presently upon the dooing thereof, doth correct the partie, and reduce him to his dutie; whereas the wrings, fcourgings, knocks, and founding thumps, which come a good while after; feeme to be given upon fome occasion beside, and for another cause rather than to teach; and therefore well may they put him to paine and griefe, but instruction they yeeld none; even so naughtinesse rebuked and repressed, by some present chastisement, every time that it trespasset and transgresseth, howso ever it be painfull at first, yet in the end it bethinketh it felfe, learneth to be humbled, and to feare God as a severe justicier, who hath an eie upon the deeds and passions of men, forto punish them incontinently, and without delay; whereas this justice and revenge which commeth 50 fo flowly, and with a foft pace (as Euripides faith) upon the wicked and ungodly perfores, by reafon of the long intermission, the inconstant and wandring incertitude, and the consuled disorder resembleth chance and adventure more than the desseigne of any providence : insomuch as I cannot conceive or see what profit can be in these grindstones (as they call them) of the gods, which are folong a grinding; especially, seeing that the judgement and punishment of finners is thereby obleured, and the feare of finne made flight, and of no reckoning. upon the deliverie of these words, I began to studie and muse with my selfe: then Timon: Would you (quoth

he) that I should cleere this doubt once for all, and so make an end of this disputation ? or permithim first to dispute and reason against these oppositions? And what need is there (answered I) to come in with a third wave for to overflow and drowneat once our speech and discourse, if hebe not able to refute the former objections, nor to escape and avoid the chalenges alreadie made. First and formost therefore to begin at the head, and (as the manner is, to fay) at the goddesse Vesta, (for the reverent regard and religious feare that the Academick philosophers profeffe to have unto God, as an heavenly father) we utterly disclaime, and refuse to speake of the Deitie, as if we knew for certaintie what it is: for it were a greater prefumption in us who are but mortall men, to enterprise any set speech or discourse as touching gods or demi-gods, than To for one who is altogether ignorant in fong, to dispute of musick, or for them who never were in campe, nor faw fo much as a battell fought, to put themselves forward to discourse of armes and warfare; taking upon us, (unskilfull as we are, and void of art) a fantafticall knowledge, grounded onely upon some light opinion, and conjecture of our owne, as if we were right cunning workemen and artifanes: for it is not his part, who is not studied in the arte of Physick, to gesse at the reason and consideration that the physician or chirurgian had, why he made incission no fooner in his patient, but staied long ere he proceeded thereto? or wherfore he bathed him not vefterday, but to day ? femblably, it is neither easie nor fase for a mortall man to speake otherwife of the gods, than of those who knew well enough the due time and opportunitie to minister ameer and convenient medicine, unto vice and finne; and exhibit punishment to every tref-20 paffe, as an appropriate drouge, or confection to cure and heale ech maladie; notwithflanding that the fame measure and quantitie be not common to all delinquents, nor one onely time and the fame, is alwaies meet therefore. Now that the physicke or medicine of the foule, which is called Right and Justice, is one of the greatest sciences that are; Pindarus himselfe befides an infinit number of others, beareth witnesse; when he calleth the Lord and governour of the world, to wit, God, a most excellent and perfect artificer, as being the author and creatour of justice, unto whom it appertaineth to define and determine, when, in what manner, and howfar foorth, it is meet and reasonable to challice and punish each offender. Plato likewise faith: That Minos the fonne of Jupiter (was in this science) the disciple of his father; giving us hecreby to understand, that it is not possible for one to carie himselfe well in the execution of 30 justice, nor to judge a right of him that doth as he ought; unlesse he have before learned that science, and be throughly skilfull therein. Furthermore, the positive lawes which men have established, seeme not alwaies to be grounded upon reason, or to sound and accord in all respects with absolute equitie and justice; but some of their ordinances be such, as in outward appearance may be thought ridiculous, and woorthy of mockerie; as for example, At Laceda. mon the high controllers called Ephori, fo foone as they be enstalled in their magistracie, cause proclamation to be published by found of trumper, that no man should we are mustaches, or nourish the haire on their upper lips; also that willingly every man should obey the lawes, to the end that they might not be hard or grievous unto them. The Romans also, when they affranchife any flave, and make him free; cast upon their bodies a little small rodde or wande: like-40 wife when they draw their last wils or testaments, institute some for their heires, whom it pleafeth them, but to others they leave their goods to fell; a thing that carieth no fenfe nor reason with it. But yet more abfurd and unreasonable is that statute of Solons making, wherein it was provided: That what citizen foever, in a civill fedition, ranged not himfelfe to a fide, nor tooke part with one or other faction, should be noted with infamie, and disabled for being capable of any honorable dignitie. In one word, a man may alledge an infinit number of abfurdities befides, contained in the civill lawes; who neither knoweth the reason of the lawgiver that wrot them, nor the cause why they were set downe. If then it be so difficult to conceive and understand the reasons which have mooved men thus to doe, is it any marvell that we are ignorant of the cause, why God chastiseth one man sooner and another later? howbeit, this that I have said, 50 is not for any pretence of flarting backe and running away, but rather for to crave leave and pardon, to the end that our speech having an eie thereto, (as unto an haven and place of refuge;) might be the more hardie, with boldnesse to raunge foorth still in probabilities, to the matter in doubt and question: But I would have you to consider first, that (according to the saying of Plato) God having fet himselse before the eies of the whole world, as a perfect pattern and example of all goodnesse, doth unto as many as can follow and imitate his divinitie, infuse humane vertue, which is in some fort conformable and like unto him; for the generall nature of this univerfall world, being at the first a confused and disordered Chaos, obtained this principle

Why divine justice deferreth punishment.

and element, for to change to the better, and by some conformitie and participation of the Idea of divine vertue, to become this beautifull frame of the world: And even the verie same man of divine vertue, to become this beautifull frame of the world: And even the verie same man statch when the same, that by the site wand admiration of those celeticall bodies which moove in heaven, our soule might learne to embrace and be accustomed to love that which is beautifull and in good order, as also to be an enemie unto irregular and inordinate passions; yea, and to avoid doing of things rashly and at adventure, which in truth is the very source of all vice and sinne; for there is nothing in the world wherein a man may have a greater fruition of God, than by the example and imitation of his good and decent qualities, to become honest and vertuous: wherefore if we perceive him to proceed flowly, and in tract of time to lay his heavie hand upon the wicked, and to punish to them, it is not for any doubt or feare that he should doe amisse, or repent afterward if he chasticed them sooner, but by waining us from all beastly violence, & hastinesse in our punishments, to teach us not immediately to flie upon those who have offended us, at what time as our blowl is most up, and our choler set on a light fire,

When furious yre in hart so leapes and boiles,

That wit andreason beare no sway the whiles.

making haste as it were to fatisfic some great hunger, or quench exceeding thirst, but (by imitating his elemencie, and his maner of prolonging and making delay) to endevor for to execute justice in all order, at good leisure, and with most carefull regard; taking to counsell Time, which seldome or never is accompanied with repentance; for as Socrates was wont to say: Lesse, which seldome or never is accompanied with repentance; for as Socrates was wont to fay: Lesse, which seldome and danger there is, if a man meet with troubled and muddle water, and intemperately take and drinke thereof, than whiles his reason is confounded, corrupt, and full of choler and furious rage, to be set altogether upon revenge, and runne hastily ypon the punishment of another bodie, even one who is of his owne kinde and nature, before the same reason be seled againe, clensed and fully purissed. For it is nothing so as Thurydides writeth: That vengeance the neerer it is unto the offence, the more it is in the owne kind; but cleane contrary, the farther off it is, and longer delaied, the better it apprehendeth and judgeth of that which is sit and decent. For according as Melanthius saith:

When anger once dislodged bath the wit,

even fo reason performeth all just and honest actions, when it hath chased and removed out of Foule worke it makes, and ourrage doth commit. the way, ire and wrath: and therefore men are mollified, appeafed, and become gentle by examples of men, when they heare it reported, how Plato, when hee lifted up his staffe against his page, stood so a good while, and forbare to strike; which hee did (as he said) for to represent choler. And Architas, when he found some great negligence and disorder at his ferme-house in the countrey, in his houfhold fervants, perceiving himfelfe moved and difquieted therewith, infomuch as he was exceeding angrie, and readie to flie upon them, proceeded to no act, but onely turning away and going from them, faid thus : It is happie for you, that I am thus angie with you. If then it be so, that such memorable speeches of ancient men, and woorthy acts reported by them, are effectuall to represse the bitternesse and violence of choler; much more 40 probable it is, that we (feeing how God himselfe, although he standeth not in feare of any perfon, nor repenteth of any thing that he doth, yet putteth off his chastisements, and laieth them up a long time) should be more wary and considerate in such things, and esteeme, that clemencie, long sufferance and patience is a divine part of vertue that God doth shew and teachus, which by punishment doth chastise and correct a sew, but by proceeding thereto slowly, doth instruct, admonish and profit many. In the second place, let us consider, that judiciall and exemplarie processe of justice practised by men, intendeth and aimeth onely at a counterchange of paine and griefe, refting in this point: That he who hath done evill, might suffer likewife; proceeding no farther at all and therefore baying and barking (as it were) like dogges at mens faults and trespasses, they follow upon them, and pursue after all actions by tract and footing: 50 but God (as it should seeme, by all likelihood) when hee setteth in hand in justice to correct a finfull & difeased soule, regardeth principally the vicious passions thereof, if haply they may be bent & wrought fo, as they will incline & turne to repentance; in which respect he stateth long before that he inflict any punishment upon delinquents, who are not altogether past graceincorrigible; for confidering withall, and knowing as he doth, what portion of vertue, foules have drawen from him in their creation, at what time as they were produced first and came into the world; as also how powerfull and forcible is the generolitie thereof, and nothing weake and see

ble in it selfe; but that it is cleane contrary to their proper nature, to bring forth vices, which are engendered either by ill education; or els by the contagious haunt of leaud company; and how afterward, when they be well cuted and medicined (as it falleth out in some persons) they soone returne unto their owne naturall habitude, and become good againe: by reason heereof, God dothnot make hafte to punish all men alike, but looke what he knoweth to be incurable, that he quickly riddeth away out of this life, and cuteth it off, as a very huttfull member to others, but yet most harmefull to it felfe, if it foould evermore converse with wickednesse; but to such pertons in whom (by all likelihood) vice is bred and ingendred, rather through ignorance of goodnelle, than upon any purpose and will to chusenaughtinesse, hee giveth time and respit for to change and amend: howbeit, if they perfilt Hill, and continue in their leand waies, hee paieth them home likewise in the end, and never feareth that they shall escape his hands one time or other, but suffer condigne punishment for their deferts. That this is true, consider what great alterations there happen in the life and behaviour of men, and how many have beene reclaimed and turned from their leaudneffe; which is the reason that in Greeke our behaviour and converfation is called partly Tpomos that is to fay, A convertion; and in partifies, the one, because mens maners be subject to change and mutation; the other, for that they be ingendered by use or cuftome; and the impression thereof being once taken, they remaine firme and fure: which is the cause also (as I suppose) that our ancients in olde time attributed unto king Cecrops a double nature and forme, calling him Double; not for that (as some faid) of a good, element and gracious prince, he became a rigourous, fell and cruell tyrant, like a dragon; but contrariwife, because (having bene at the first perverte, crooked and terrible) he proved afterward, a milde and gentle lord : and if we make any doubt hereof in him, yet we may be fure (at leastwife) that Gelon and Hieroin Sicilie, yea, and Pifistratus the sonne of Hipocrates, all usurpers (who atteined to their tyrannicall dominion by violent and indirect meanes) used the same vertuously: and howsoever they came unto their fovereigne rule by unlawfull and unjust meanes, yet they grew in time to be good governours, loving and profitable to the common weale, and likewife beloved and deareunto their subjects; for some of them having brought in and established most excellent lawes in the countrey, and caused their citizens and subjects to be industriuous and painfull in tilling the ground; made them to be civill, fober and discreet, whereas before, they were given to be ridiculous, as noted for their laughter and lavish tongues; tobe true labourers also, and painfull, who had bene idle and playfull. And as for Gelon, after he had most valiantly warred against the Carthaginians, and defaited them in a great battell; when they craved peace, would never grant it unto them, unleffe this might be comprised among the articles and capitulations: That they should no more facrifice their children unto Saturne. In the citie also of Megalopolist here was a tyrant named Lydiades, who in the mids of his usurped dominion repented of his tyrannie, and made a conscience thereof, detesting that wrongfull oppression wherein he held his subjects, in such fort, as he restored his citizens to their ancient lawes and liberties, yea, and afterwards died manfully in the field, fighting against his enemies in the defence of his countrey. Now if any one had killed Atilitiades at the first, whiles he exercised tyrannie in Chersonefus; or if another had called judicially into question Cimon, enditing him for keeping his owne 40 fifter, and so being condemned of incest, had caused him to be put to death; or disfranchised and banished Themistocles out of the citie, for his loose wantonnesse and licentious insolencie thewed publickly in the Common place, as Alcibiades afterwards was ferved and profcribed, for the like excelle and rior committed in his youth:

Where had bene then that famous victorie Archieved on the plannes of Marathon? Where had bene that removemed chivalrie Performed neere the stream Eurymedon? Or at the mount, sure Artemission? Where Athens youth (as poet Pindare said) Freedome sir it the glorious ground-morke laid?

For foir is, that great natures and high minds can bring foorth no meane matters; nor the vehement force of action which is in them remaine idle, folively and fubtile it is, but they wave to and frocontinually, as if they were toffed by tempelt and winde upon the fea, untill fuch time as they come to be fetled in a constant firme, and permanent habitude of maners: like as therefore, he who is altogether unskilfull of husbandrie and tillage, maketh no reckoning at all of a ground which he feeth full of rough bushes and thickets, befer with savage trees, and overspread

with ranke weeds; wherein allo there be many wilde beafts, many rivers, and by confequence, great flore of mudde and mire: but contrariwife, an expert husband, and one who hath good judgement, and can difference the difference of things, knoweth these and all such fignes, to betoken a fertile and plentifull foile; even fo great wits and hautie spirits, doe produce and put foorth at the first, many strange, absurd, and leud pranks, which we not able to endure, thinke, that the roughnesse & oficultive pricks thereof, ought immediately to be cropt off and cut away. but he who can judge better (confidering what proceedeth from thence good and generous) attendeth and expecteth with patience, the age and feafon, which is cooperative with vertue and reason, against which time, the strong nature in such, is for to bring foorth and yeeld her

proper and peculiar frute. And thus much may fuffice of this matter.

But to proceed forward: Thinke you nor that fome of the Greeks have done well and wifely, 19 to make a transcript of a law in Egypt, which commaundeth; that in case a woman who is attaint and convicted of a capital crime, for which in justice the ought to die, be with childe, she should be kept in prison untill the were delivered? Yes verily, they all answered? Well then (quoth I) Set case there be some one who hath no children conceived in his wombe to bring foorth, but breedeth fome good counfell in his head, or conceiveth a great enterprise in his minde, which he is to bring to light, and effect in time, either by discovering an hidden mischiefe, or setting abroad an expedient and profitable counfell, or inventing fome matter of necessarie confequence: Thinke you not that he did better, who deferred the execution of fuch an ones punishment & flay until the utilitie that might growby him were feene, than he who inconfiderately 20 & in all hafte proceedeth to take revenge, & prevent the opportunitie of fuch a benefit? Cettes. for mine owne part, I am fully of that minde; and even we no leffe, answered Patrocleas, Well then (quoth I) it must need be so; for marke thus much: If Dionysius had beene punished for his usurped rule, in the beginning of his tyraunie; there should not one Grecian have remained inhabitant in Sietlie, for the Carthaiginans would have held the fame and driven them al outlike as it must needs have befallen to the citie Apollonia, to Anactorium, and the Chersonese ordemic itland Leucadia, if Periander had fuffered punishment at first, and not a long time after, as he did. And I suppose verily that the punishment and revenge of Casander was put off and prolonged of purpose, untill by that meanes the citie of Thebes was fully reedified and peopled againe . And many of those mercenary soldiers and strangers, who seized and held this temple 30 wherein we are, during the time of the facred warre, passed under the conduct of Timoleon into Sicilie, who after they had defaited in battell, the Carthaginians, and with all suppressed & abolished fundrie tyrannies, they came to a wretched end, wicked wretches as they were. For God in great wisedome and providence, otherwhiles maketh use of some wicked persons, as of butchers and common excutioners, to torment and punish others, as wicked as they or woorle, whom afterwards he destroieth; and thus in mine opinion he dealeth with most part of tyrants. For like as the gall of the wild beaft Hyana, and the rendles or rennet of the Sea-calfe, as also other parts of venemous beafts and ferpents, have one medicinable propertie or other, good to heale fundry maladies of men; even fo God feeing some people to have need of bitte and bridle, and to be chastised for their enormities, sendeth unto them some inhumane tyrant, or 40 a rigorous and inexorable lord to whip and fcourge them, and never giveth over to afflict and vexe them, untill he have purged and cleered them of that maladie wherewith they were infected. Thus was Phalaris the tyrant a medicine to the Agrigentines: thus Marius was sent as a remedie to cure the Romanes: as for the Sicyonians, even god himfelfe Apollo foretold them by oracle: That their citie had need of certaine officers to whippe and fcourge them, at what time as they would perforce take from the Cleoneans, a certain yong boy named Teletias, who was crowned in the folemnitie of the Pythian games, pretending that he was their citizen, and borne among them, whom they haled and pulled in fuch fort, as they difmembred him: But these Sicyonians met afterwards with Orthagoras that tyrannized over them; and when he was gone, they were plagued also with Myron and Clisthenes, and their favorites, who held them in 50 fo fhort, that they kept them from all outrages, and stated their insolent follies: whereas the Cleoneans, who had not the like purgative medicine to cure them, were subverted and through their mildemeanor come to nothing. Marke well therefore that which Homer in one place

His sonne he was, and in all kind of valour did surmount His father farre, who was (to fay a truth) of base account. And yet this sonne of Coprem never performed (in all his life) any memorable act, beseeming a

man of woorth and honour: whereas the ofspring of Sifyphus, the race of Antolycus, and the posteritic of Phlegyas flourished in glorie, and all maner of vertue among great kings and princes. At Athens likewife, Pericles descended from an house excommunicate and accursed: And so at Rome Pompeius surnamed Magnus, that is, the Great, had for his father one Strabo, a man whom the people of Rome fo hated, that when he was dead, they threw his corps out of the hierewherein it was caried foorth to buriall, and trampled it under their feet. What abfurditio then were it, if as the husbandman never cutteth up or stocketh the thorne or bush, before he hath gathered the render sprouts and buds thereof: nor they of Libya burne the boughes of the plant Ledrom, untill they have gotten the aromaticall gumme or liquor out of it called Ladanum; to even fo God never plucketh up by the root, the race of any noble and roiall familie (wicked and wretched though they be) before it hath yeelded fome good and profitable frute: for it had bene farre better and more expedient for the men of Phoeis, that ten thousand beefs and as many horfes of Iphitus had died; that the Delphians likewife had loft much more gold and filver by farre, than that either ultiffes or Aefculaping thould not have bene borne; or others in like cafe, whole parents being wicked and vicious, were themselves honest and very profitable to the commonwealth. Are we not then to thinke, that it were far better to punish in due time and maner convenient, than to proceed unto revenge haltily and out of hand? like as that was of Callippus the Athenian, who making femblance or friendship unto Dion, stabbed him at once with his dagger, and was himselfe afterwards killed with the same, by his friends? as also that other of Mirius 20 the Argive, who was murdered in a certeine commotion and civill broile : for it hapned fo, that in a frequent affembly of the people, gathered together in the market place, for to beholde a folemne shew, a statue of brasse fell upon the murderer of Mitius, and killed him outright. And youhave heard (I am fure) ô Patrocleas (have you not?) what befell unto Beffus the Poconian, and Arifton the Octeian, two colonels of mercenarie and forren fouldiers ? No verily (quoth he) but I would gladly know: This Ariston (quoth I) having stollen and caried away out of this temple, certaine jewels and coffly furniture of queene Eriphyle, which of long time had there benekept fafe, by the grant and permission of the tyrants who ruled this citic, carried them as a present to his wife; but his sonne being on a time (upon some occasion) displeased and angrie with his mother, set fire on the house, and burnt it with all that was within it. As for Bessius, who 20 had murdered his owne father, he continued a good while not detected, until fuch time, as being one day at Supper with certains of his friends that were strangers, with the head of his speare he pierced and cast downe a swallowes neast, and so killed the yong birds within it: and when those that flood by, feemed (as good reason there was) to say unto him: How commeth this to passe, good fir? and what aile you, that you have committed fo lend and horrible an act? Why (quoth heagaine) doe these birds crie aloud and beare false witnesse against me, testisying that I have murdered mine owne father ? hee had no sooner let fall this word, but those who were present tooke holde thereof, and wondering much thereat, went directly to the king, and gave information of him; who made so diligent inquisition, that the thing upon examination was discovered, and Beffus (for his part) punished accordingly for a parricide. Thus much (I say) have we 40 related, that it may be held as a confessed trueth and supposition, that wicked men otherwhiles have some delay of their punishment: as for the rest, you are to thinke that you ought to hearken unto He fiedus the Poet, who faith not as Plate did, that the punishment of finne doth followfinne hard at the heeles, but is of the fame time and age, as borne and bred in one place with it, and springing out of the very same root and stocke: for these be his words in one place:

Bad counsell who deviseth first, unto himfelfe hall finde it worft.

And in another:

Who doth for others mischiefe frame, To his owne heart contrives the fame.

The venimous flies Cantharides are faid to conteine in themselves a certeine remedie, made and compounded by a cotrarietie or antipathie in nature, which ferveth for their owne counterpoilon; but wickednesse ingendering within it selfe (I wot not what) displeasure and punishment, not after a finfull act is committed, but even at the very instant of committing, it beginneth to fuffer the paine due to the offence: neither is there a malefactour, but when he feeth others like himselfe punished in their bodies, beareth forth his owne crosse; whereas mischievous wickednesse frameth of her selfe, the engines of her owne torment, as being a wonderfull artisan of a milerable life, which (together with thame and reproch) hath in it lamentable calamities,

many terrible frights, fearefull perturbations and passions of the spirit, remorse of conscience. desperate repentance, and continuall troubles and unquietnesse. But some men there be, who for all the world resemble little children, that beholding many times in the theater, leand and naughtic persons arraied in cloth of golde, rich mantles, and robes of purple, adorned also with crownes upon their heads, when they either dance or play their parts upon the stage, have them in great admiration, as reputing them right happie, untill fuch time as they feethem how they be either pricked and pierced with goads, or fending flames of fire out of those gorgeous, cost. ly and fumptuous vestments. For to say a tructh, many wicked persons, who dwel in stately hou. fes, are descended from noble parentage, sit in high places of authoritie, beare great dignities and glorious titles, are not knowen (for the most part) what plagues and punishments they fu- 10 fleine, before they be seene to have their throats cut, or their necks broken, by being cast downe headlong from on high; which a man is not to tearme punishments simply, but rather the sinall end and accomplishment thereof. For like as Herodicus of Selymbria, being fallen into an incurable phthificke or confumption, by the ulcer of his lungs, was the first than (as Plato faith) who in the cure of the faid diteafe, joined with other Phylicke, bodily exercise, and in so doing, drew out and prolonged death, both to himfelfe and to all others who were likewise infeded with that maladie; even so may we say, that wicked persons (as many as seeme to have escapeda present plague, and the stroke of punishment out of hand) suffer in truth, the paine due for their finfull acts, not in the end onely and a great time after, but fufteine the fame a longer time: fo that the vengeance taken for their finfull life is nothing flower, but much more produced and 20 drawen out to the length; neither be they punished at the last in their olde age, but they waxe olde rather in punishment, which they have endured all their life. Now when I speake of long time, I meane it in regard of our felves; for in respect of the gods, the whole race of mans life (how long foever it be thought) is a matter of nothing, or no more than the very moment and point of the instant. For fay, that a malefactour should suffer the space of thirtie yeres for some hainous fact that he hath committed, it is all one, as if a man should stretch him upon the racke, or hang him upon a jibbet in the evening toward night, and not in the morning betimes; especially, feeing that fuch an one (all the while that he liveth) remaineth close and fast shut up (as it were) in a strong prison or cage, out of which he hath no meanes to make an escape and get away. Now if in the meane while they make many fealts, manage fundry matters, and entertheir disports and pleasures; it is even as much, and all one, as when malefactours (during the time they be in prison) should play at dice or cockall game, having continually over headthe rope hanging, which must strangle them; for otherwise, we might aswell say, that prisoners condemned to die, fuffer no punishment all the whiles they lie in hard and colde yrons, nor until the executioner come and strike the head from the shoulders; or that he who by sentence of the judges hath drunke the deadly potion of hemlocke, is not punished, because he walketh stil, and goeth up and downe alive, waiting untill his legs become heavie, before the generall colde and congelation surprise him, and extinguish both sense and vitall spirits, in case it were so, that we esteeme and call by the name of punishment, nothing but the last point and extremity thereof; 40 letting paffe and making no reckoning at all of the paffions, feares, painfull pangues, expediance of death, pricks and forrowes of a penitent conscience, wherewith every wicked person is troubled and tormented: for this were as much as to fay, that the fifh which hath swallowed downe the hooke, is not caught, untill we fee the faid fifth cut in pieces, or broiled, roafted and fodden by the cooke. Certes every naughty person is presently become prisoner unto justice, so foone as he hath once committed a finfull act, and fwallowed the hooke together with the bait of sweetnesse and pleasure, which he taketh in leaudnesse and wrongfull doing; but when theremorfe of conscience imprinted in him, doth pricke, he feeleth the very torments of hell, and can not rest;

But as in seathe Tuny si,h doth swiftly crossethewaves, . And travers still while tempest lasts, so he with anguish raves.

For this audacious raftnesse and violent infolence (proper unto vice) is verie puissant, forward, and readie at hand, to the effecting and execution of sinfull acts; but afterwards, when the passion (like unto a winde) is laied, and beginnes to faile, it becommeth weake, base and feeble, subject to an infinite number of searce and superstitions; in such fort, as that Stesichorus the Poet seemeth to have devised the dreame of queene Clytemnesser, very conformable to the trueth, and answerable to our daily experience, when he bringeth her in speaking in this maner:

Methought I saw a dragoncome apace, Whose *crest alost on head * with bloudwas stein d; With that anon there did appeare in place. Plisthenides the king, who that time reign d.

* gdom* fellow no acros angen which

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For the visions by night indreames, the fantasticall apparitions in the day time, the answers of Free Harms oracles, the prodigious fignes from heaven, and in one word, what loever men think to be done a main head. immediately by the will and finger of God, are woont to strike great troubles and horrors into fuch persons so affected, and whose consciences are burdened with the guilt and privitie of finne. Thus the report goeth of Apollodorus, that he dreamed upon a time, how he faw himfelfe first flaied by the Scythians, then cut as finall as flesh to the pot, and so boiled; he thought alfo that his heart spake softly fro out of the cauldron, and uttered these words: I am the cause of all thefe thy evils: and againe, he imagined in his fleepe, that his own daughters, all burning on a light flaming fire, ran round about him in a circle. Semblably Hipparchus the fonne of Pififfratwo, a little before his death, dreamed that Penus out of a certaine viall sprinkled bloud upon his face. The familiar friends likewife of king Ptolomaus, furnamed Ceraunos, that is to fay, Lightning, thought verily in a dreame that they faw Selenew accuse and indite him judicially before wildewolves, and greedie geires that were his judges, where he dealt and diffribued a great quantitie of fleth among his enemies. Paulanias also at Bizantium, sent for Cleonice, a virgin and gentlewoman free borne, of a worthipfull house; intending perforce to lie with her all night, 20 and abuse her body; but being halfe a sleepe when she came to his bed, he awakened in a fright, and suspecting that some enemies were about to surprise him, killed her outright; whereupon everafter he dreamt ordinarily, that he fawher, and heard her pronounce this speech:

To judgement feat, approach thou neere I fay, Wrong dealing is to men most hurtfull ay.

Nowwhen this vision as it thould seem ceased not to appeare unto him night by night; he embarked and failed into Heraclea, to a place where the spirits and ghosts of those that are departed beraifed and called up, where after he had offered certaine propitiatorie facrifices, and powredfoorth funerall effusions, which they use to call upon the tombes of the dead; he wrought foeffectually, that the ghost of Cleonice appeared; and then she said unto him, that so soone as 30 he was arrived at Lasedamon, he should have repose and an end of all his troubles: and so in very truth, no fooner was he thither come, but he ended his life and died. If therefore the foule had no fense after it is departed out of the bodie, but commeth to nothing; and that death were the finall end and expiration as well of thankefull recompenses, as of painfull punishments, a man might fay of wicked persons who are quickly punished, and die soone after that they have committed any mildeeds; that God dealeth very gently and mildly with them: For if continuance of time, and long life bringeth to wicked persons no other harme; yet a man may at least wife fay thus much of them, that having knowne by proofe, and found by experience, that injuffice is an unfrutefull, barren, and thankleffething, bringing foorth no good thing at all, nor ought that deserveth to be esteemed after many travels and much paines taken with it; yet the verie 40 feeling and remorfe of confeience for their finnes, disquieteth and troubleth the mind, and turneth it upfide downe. Thus we reade of king Lysmachus, that being forced through extreame thirst, he delivered his owne person, and his whole armie into the hands of the Getes; and when being their prisoner, hee had drunke and ouenched his thirst, he said thus : O what a miserie is this, and wretched case of mine, that for so short and transitorie a pleasure, I have deprived my selfe of so great akingdome, and all my roiall estate. True it is, that of all things it is an exceeding hard matter to relift the necessitie of a naturall passion; but when as a man for covetousneffe of money, or defire of glorie, authoritie, & credit among his countrimen and fellow-citizens, or for fleshly pleasures, falleth to commit a foule, wicked, and execrable fact, and then afterwards in time, when as the ardent thirst and furious heat of his passion is past, seeing that there 50 abide and continue with him, the filthy, thamefull, and perilous perturbations onely of injustice and finfulnesse; but nothing at all that is profitable, necessarie, or delightsome; is it not very likely and probable, that he shall eftsoones, and oftentimes recall into this thought, and confideration? how being seduced and caried away by the meanes of vain-glory, or dishonest pleafures, (things bale, vile, and illiberall) he hath perverted and overthrowen the most beautifull and excellent gifts that men have, to wit, right, equitie, justice, and pietie; and in stead thereof, bath filed and polluted his life, with shame, trouble, and danger? For like as Simonides was woontto fay in mirth: That he found one coffer of filver and money alwaies full; but that other

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offavors, thanks, and benefits, evermore emptie; even fo wicked men, when they come to examine and perufe aright the vice that is in themselves, they finde it presently (for one pleasure which is accompanied with a little vaine and glosing delight) void altogether and destitute of hope; but fully replenished with searcs, cares, anxieties, the unpleasant remembrance of missements past, suspension of future events, and distrust for the present: much after the manner as we do heare ladie 100 in the theaters, repenting of those soule facts which she had committed, and speaking these words upon the stage:

How should I now, my friends and ladies deere Begin to keepe the house of Athamas, Since that all whiles that I have lived heere, Nought hath beene done by me that decent was? Or thus:

How may I keepe, ô ladies deere alas, The house againe of my lord Athamas, As who therein had not committed ought Of those leud parts which I have done and wrought.

For femblably it is meet that the minde and foule of every finfull and wicked person should ruminate and discourse of this point in it selfe after this maner: After what fort should I forget and put out of remembrance the unjust and leud parts which I have committed? how should I cast off the remorfe of conscience from me? and from hencefoorth begin to turne over a new lease, 20 & lead another life : for furely with those in whom wickednesse beareth sway, & is predominant, there is nothing affured, nothing firme & constant, nothing sincere and sound; unlesse haply we will fay and maintaine; that wicked perfons and unjust, were some Sages and wise philosophers. But we are to thinke, that where avarice reigneth & exceffive concupifcence, and love of pleafure, or where extreme envie dwelleth, accompanied with spight and malice; there if you mark and looke well about, you shall finde superstition lying hidden among, sloth and unwillingnesse to labour, feare of death, lightneffe and quicke mutabilitie in changing of minde and affection, together with vaine glory proceeding of arrogancie: those who blame them, they seare, such as praise them, they dread and suspect; as knowing well how they are injured and wronged by their deceitful semblance, and yet be the greatest enemies of the wicked, for that they commend 30 fo readily, and with affection, those whom they suppose, and take to be honest: for in vice and finne (like as in bad iron) the hardnesse is but weak and rotten, & the stiffenesse also brittle & eafie to be broken: and therefore wicked men (learning in proceffe of time, better to know themfelves what they are) after they come once to the full confideration thereof, are displeased, and discontented, they hate themselves, and detest their owne leud life: for it is not likely that if a naughtic person otherwise (though not in the highest degree, who hath regard to deliver again a pawne or piece of money left in his hands to keepe; who is ready to be furetie for his familiat friend, & upon a braverie and glorious minde, hath given largeffes, and is prest to maintaine & defend his countrey, yea, and to augment and advance the good estate thereof) soone repent and immediately be grieved for that which he hath done, by reason that his mind is so mutable, 40 or his will so apt to be seduced by an opinion or conceit of his: considering that even some of those who have had the honor to be received by the whole bodie of the people in open theater, with great applause and clapping of hands, incontinently fall to figh to themselves, and groane againe, fo foone as avarice returneth fecretly, in place of glorious ambition: those that kill and facilifice men to usurpe and fet up their tyrannies, or to maintaine and compasse some conspiracies, as Apollodorus did; circumvent and defraud their friends of their goods and monies, which was the practife of Glaucus, the sonne of Epicydes, should never repent their misdeeds, nor grow into a detestation of themselves, nor yet be displeased with that they have done: For mine owne part, I am of this opinion (if it be lawfull fo to fay) That all those who commit such impleties and missemeanors, have no need either of God or man to punish them; for their owne life 50 onely being fo corrupt, and wholy depraved and troubled with all kind of wickednesse, is sufficient to plague and torment them to the full: But confider (quoth I) whether this discourse seeme not already to proceed farther, and be drawen out longer than the time will permit. Then Timon answered: It may well so be, if peradventure we regard the length and prolixitie of that which followeth and remaineth to be discussed; as for my selfe, I'amnow ready to rise as it were out of an ambush, and to come as a fresh and new champion with my last doubt and question, foralmuch as me thinks, we have debated enough already upon the former: for this would I

have you to thinke, that although we are filent and fay nothing, yet we complaine as Emiphes did, who boldly chalenged and reproched the gods, for that

The parents finne and their iniquitie, They turne on children and posteritie.

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For fav that themselves, who have committed a fault, were punished, then is there no more need to challife others, who have not offended, confidering it were no reason at all to punish twife for one fault the delinquents themselves : or beit so, that through negligence they having omitted the punishment of wicked perfons and offenders, they would long after make them to pay for it who are innocent; furely they doe not well, by this injuffice to make amends for the 10 faiding ligence. Like as it is reported of Aefope, who in times past came hither to this city, being fent from king Cr. fis with a great fumme of golde, for to facufice unto god Apollo in magnificent wife, yea, and to diffribute among all the citizens of Delphos, * foure pounds a piece : but it *unagram of Delphos fortuned to that he fell out with the inhabitants of the city upon fome occation, and was excee- esding anary with them, infomuch as he performed in deed the facrifice accordingly, but the reft of the money which he should have dealt among the people, he sent backe against to the city of Sardis, as if the Delphians had not bene worthy to enjoy the kings liberalitie; whereupon they taking greatindignation, laied facriledge to his charge, for determing (in fuch fort) that facred money; and in trueth, after they had condemned him thereof, they pitched him downe headlong from that high rocke, which they call Hyampia: for which act of theirs, god Apollo was fo 20 highly displeased, that he sent upon their land sterilitie and barennesse, besides many and sundryffrange and unknowen difeafes among them, fo as they were confireined in the end, to goe about in all the publicke feafts and generall aftemblies of the Greeks, of purpose, to make proclamation by found of trumpet: That who foever hee was (kinternan or friend of Aclope) that would require fatisfaction for his death, should come foorth, and exact what penaltie he would defire and thus they ceafed not continually to call upon them; untill at length, and namely, in the third generation after, there prefented himselfe a certeine Samian, named Idmon, who was nothing at all of kin to Aefope, but onely one of their posteritie, who at the first had bought him for a flave in open market, within the ifle of Samos; and the Delphians having in some measure made fatisfaction and recompense unto him, were immediatly delivered from their calamities: 30 and it is faid, that from that time forward, the execution of facrilegious persons, was translated from the forefaid rocke Hyampia, unto the cliffe of Nauplia. And verily, even those, who of all others most admire Alexander the Great & celebrate his memorial, of which nuber we also confesse our selves to be, can in no wise approve that which he did unto the Branchides, when he rafed their citie to the very ground, & put all the inhabitants thereof to the fword, without respect either of age or of fex, for that their ancestours in olde time had betraied and delivered up by treason, the temple of Miletum. And Agathoeles the tyrant of Syracu/a, who laughed and scoffed at the men of Corphu: for when they demanded of him the occasion why hee forraied their ifle, made them this answere: Because (quoth hee) your forefathers in times past, received and enterteined ulyffes. Semblably, when the islanders of Ithnea made complaint unto him of his fouldiers, for driving away their theepe: Why? (quoth he) your king, when he came one time into our illand, not onely tooke away our sheepe, but also put out the eie even of our shepheard. Thinke you not then that Apollo dealt more abfurdly and unjustly than all these, in destroying the Pheneotes at this day, in Hopping up the mouth of that bottomleffe pit that was wont to receive and foake up all the waters which now doe overflow their whole countrey; because that a thousand yeeres agoe (by report) Hercules having taken away from the Delphians, that sacred trefect, from which the oracles were delivered, brought the fame to the citie Pheneum? And as for the Sybarites, he answered them directly: That their miseries should then cease, when they had appealed the ire of Juno Leucadia, by three fundry mortalities. Certes, long agoe it is not, fince that the Locrians defifted and gave overfending every yeere their daughters, virgins, un-50 to Troie,

Who there went bare-foot, and did ferve all day from morne to night, In habit of poore wretched flaves, in no apparell dight; No coffe, no casle, nor honest veile, were they allow d to weare In decent wise, for womanhood, though aged now they were:
Refembling such as never rest,
but Pallas temple sweepe,
And sacredater dayly cleanse,

where they do atway keepe. and all for the lascivious wantonnesse and incontinence of Ajax. How can this be either just or reasonable, considering that we blame the very Thracians, for that (as the report goes) they use flill (even at this day) to beat their wives in revenge of Orpheus death? Neither do we commend the barbarous people, inhabiting along the river Po, who (as it is faid) do yet mourne and weare blacke, for Phaeton his fall. Yet (in my conceit) it is a thing rather fortish and ridiculous, that 10 whereas the men who lived in Phaeton his time, made no regard of his ruine: those that came five (yea, and ten) ages after his wofull calamitie, should begin to change their raiment for his fake, and bewalle his death: for furely, herein there is nothing at all to be noted, but meere folly, no harme, no danger or absurditie (otherwise) doth it conteine. But what reason is it, that the wrath and judgement of the gods, hidden (upon a fudden) at the very time of some hainous fact committed (as the propertie is of some rivers) should breake out, and shew it selfe afterwards, upon others, yea, and end with some extreame calamities? He had no sooner paused awhile, and thired the current of his speech: but I doubting whereto his words would tend, and fearing left he should proceed to utter more absurdities and greater follies, presently made this replie upon him: And thinke you, fir, indeed, that all is true that you have faid? What if all (quothhe) 20 be not true, but some part thereof onely, thinke you not yet, that the same difficultie in the que. Rion still remaineth? Even so peradventure (quoth I) it fareth with those who are in an extreame burning fever, who whether they have more or leffe clothes upon them, feele evermore within them the same excessive heat of the ague; yet for to comfort and refresh them a little, and to give them some case, it is thought good to diminish their clothes, and take off some of them. But if you are not fo disposed, let it alone, you may do your pleasure; howbeit, this one thing I will fay unto you, that the most part of these examples resemble fables and fictions, devited for pleasure: Call to mind therefore and remembrance, the feast celebrated of late in their honour, who fometime received the gods into their houses, and gave them intertainment; also that beautifull & honorable portion fet by apart, which by the voice of an herald was published 30 exprelly to be for the posterity descended from Pindarus, and record with your selfe how honorable and pleasant a thing this seemeth unto you. And who is there (quoth he) that would not take pleasure to see this preeminence and preference of honour so naturall, so plaine, and fo auncient, after the maner of the old Greeks, unlesse he be such an one, as (according to the fame Pindarus)

Whose heart all black of metall forg drwis And by cold stame,made stiffe and hardened is.

I omit (quoth 1) to speake of the like solemne commendation published in Sparta, which enfued ordinarily after the Lesbian fong, or canticle in the honor and memoriall of that auncient Terpander: for it feemeth, that there is the same reason of them both: But you who are of the 40 race of Opheltes, and thinke your felfe woorthy to be preferred before all others, not Baotians onely, but Phocacaus alfo; and that in regard of your flock-father Daiphant us, have affifted and feconded me, when I maintained before the Lycormians and Satilaians (who claimed the priviledge and honor of wearing coronets due by our lawes and statutes unto the progenie of Hereules) That fuch dignities and prerogatives ought inviolably to be preferved and kept for those indeed who descend in right line from Hercules, in regard of his beneficiall demerites which in times past he heaped upon the Greeks, and yet during his life, was not thought woorthy of reward and recompence: You have (quoth he) revived the memorie of a most pleasant question to be debated, and the same marvelous well befeeming the profession of Philosophie: But I pray you my very good friend (quoth I unto him,) forbeare this vehement and acculato- 50 rie humour of yours, and be not angry, if haply you fee that fome because they be borne of leud and wicked parents, are punished; or else doe not rejoice so much, nor be ready to praise, in case you see nobilitie also of birth to be so highly honored: for if we stand upon this point, and dare avow, that recompence of vertue ought by right and reason to continue in the line and pofleritie; we are by good confequence to make this account, that punishment likewife should not thay and ceale together with misseeds committed, but reciprocally fall upon those that are defeended of mifdoers and malefactors: for he who willingly feeth the progenie of Cimon, ho

noured at Athens, and contrariwise is offended and displeased in his heart, to see the race of Lachares, or Ariston banished & driven out of the citie; (he I say) seemeth to be too fost, tender, and passing effeminate, or rather to speake more properly, over-contentious and quarrelsome, even against the gods, complaining and murmuring of the one side; if the children, & childrens children of an impious & wicked person do prosper in the world; and contrariwise is no lesse given to blame and find fault, if he doe fee the posterity of wicked and ungracious men to be held under, plagued, or altogether destroied from the face of the earth; accusing the gods if the children of a naughtie man be afflicted even as much as if they had honest persons to their parents: But as for these reasons alledged, make you this reckoning, that they be bulwarks and rampars to for you, opposed against such bitter & sharpe accusers as these be. But now taking in hand again the end (as it were) of a clew of thread, or a bottom of yearne, to direct us as in a darke place, and where there be many cranks, turnings and windings to and fro (I meane the matter of gods fecret judgements) let us conduct and guide our felves gently and warily, according to that which is most likely & probable, considering that even of those things which we daily manage, and doe our felves, we are not able to fet downe an undoubted certaintie: as for example; who can yeeld a found reason, wherefore we cause and bid the children of those parents who died either of the phthilick and confumption of the lungs, or of the dropfie, to fit with their feet drenched in water, until the dead corps be fully burned in the funeral fire? For an opinio there is that by this meanes the faid maladies shall not passe unto them as hereditarie, nor take hold of their bodies as alfo, what the cause should be, that if a goat hold in her mouth the herbe called Ermgites, that is to fay, Sea holly, the whole flocke will frand still, untill fuch time as the goat herd come and take the faid herbe out of her mouth? Other hidden properties there be, which by fecret influences and paffages from one to another, worke strange effects, and incredible, as well speedily, as in longer tract of time: and in very truth, we woonder more at the intermission and stay of time betweene, than we doe of the distance of place, and yet there is greater occasion to marvell thereat: as namely, that a peltilent maladie which began in Aethiopia, should raigne in the citie of Athens, and fill every street and corner thereof, in such fort, as Pericles died, and Thucydides was ficke thereof, than that when the Phocæans and Sybarits had committed fome hainous fins, the punishment therefore should fall upon their children, & go through their posteritie? For furely these powers and hidden properties have certaine relations and correspondences from the last to the first; the cause whereof, although it be unknowen to us, yet it ceaseth not secretly to bring foorth her proper effects. But there seemeth to be veric apparent reason of justice, that publicke vengeance from above should fall upon cities many a veere after; for that a citie is one entire thing, and a continued body as it were, like unto a living creature, which goeth not befide or out of it felfe for any mutations of ages, nor in tract and continuance of time, changing first into one, and then into another by succession, but is alwaies uniforme and like it felfe, receiving evermore, and taking upon it, all the thanke for well doing, or the blame for mildeeds, of whatfoever it doth or hath done in common, fo long as the focietie that linketh & holdethit together maintaineth herunitie: for to make many, yea & in-40 numerable cities of one, by dividing it according to space of time, were as much as to go about to make of one man many, because he is now become old, who before was a yong youth, & in times past also a very stripling or springall: or else to speake more properly, this resembleth the devifes of Epicharmus, wherupon was invented that maner of Sophisters arguing, which they cal the Croissant argument; for thus they reason: He that long since borrowed or tooke up mony, now oweth it not, because he is no more himselse, but become another: & he that yesterday was invited to a feast, cometh this day as an unbidden guest, cosidering that he is now another man. And verily, divers ages make greater difference in ech one of us, than they do commonly in cities and States: for he that had feene the citie of Athens thirtie yeeres agoe, and came to visit it at this day, would know it to be altogether the very same that then it was; infomuch as the maoners, cultomes, motions, games, pastimes, serious affaires, favours of the people, their pleasures, displeasures and anger at this present, resemble wholly those in ancient time: whereas if a man be any long time out of fight, hardly his very familiar friend shall be able to know him, his countenance will be fo much changed; and as touching his maners and behaviour, which alter and change so soone upon every occasion, by reason of all sorts of labour, travell, accidents and lawes, there is fuch varietie and so great alteration, that even he who is ordinarily acquainted and conversant with him, would marvell to see the strangenesse and noveltie thereof; and yet the man is held and reputed still the same, from his nativitie unto his dying day: and in like case, a

citie remaineth alwaies one and the felfe fame; in which respect we deeme it great reason, that it should participate aswell the blame and reproch of ancestours, as enjoy their glorie and puisfance, unlesse we make no care to cast all things in the river of Herachtus, into which (by report) no one thing entreth twife, for that it hath a propertie to alter all things and change their nature. Now if it be fo, that a citie is an united and continued thing in it felfe, we are to thinke no leffe of a race and progenie, which dependent upon one and the fame flocke, producing and bringing foorth a certeine power and communication of qualities, and the same doth reach and extend to all those who descend from it : neither is the thing ingendred of the same nature that a piece of worke is, wrought by art, which incontinently is separate from the workeman, for that it is made by him, and not of him; whereas contrariwife, that which is naturally engendred, is formed of the very substance of that which ingendred it, in such fort as it doth carie about it some part thereof, which by good right deserveth either to be punished or to be honoured even in it selfe. And were it not, that I might be thought to jest & speake in game and not in good earnest I would aver and pronounce affuredly, that the Athenians offered more wrong and abuse unto the brasen statue of Cassander, which they caused to be defaced and melted; and likewise the dead corps of Dionylius suffered more injurie at the hands of the Syracusians, which after his death they caused to be carried out of their confines, than if they had proceeded in rigor of justicea. gainst their of spring and posterity; for the said image of Cassander did not participate one whit of his nature; and the foule of Dionysius was departed a good while before out of his bodie: whereas Nifem, Apollocrates, Amipater, Philip & all fuch other, descended from vicious & wicked 20 parents, reteined still the chiefe and principall part which is in them inbred, and remainethnot quiet, idle and doing nothing, but fuch as whereby they live and are nourifhed, whereby they negociate, reason and discourse: neither ought it to seeme strange and incredible, that being of their iffue, they should likewise reteine their qualities and inclinations. In summe, I say and asfirme, that like as in Phylicke, whatfoever is holefome and profitable, the fame is also just; and woorthy were he to be laughed at and mocked, that calleth him unjust, who for the Sciatica or disease of the huckle-bone, would cauterize the thumbe; or when the liver is impostumate, searific the bellie; and if kine or oxen be tender and foft in the clees, anoint the extremities and tips of their hornes; even so he deserveth to be scorned and reproved as a man of a shallow conceit, who in chastifement of vice, esteemeth any other thing just, than that which may cure and 20 heale the fame; or who is offended and angry, if a medicine be applied, or a course of Physicke used into some parts for curing others; as they do who open a veine for to heale the inflammation of the cies: fuch an one (I fay) feemeth to fee and perceive no further than his owneoutward fenfes leade him, and remembreth not well, that a schoolemaster often times in whipping one of his scholars, keepeth all the rest in awe and good order; and a great captaine and generall of the field, in plitting to death for exemplarie justice, one fouldier in every ten, reformethall befides, and reduceth them to their duetie; and even so there happen not onely to one partby another, but also to one soule by another, certeine dispositions, aswell to worse and impairing, as to better and amendment, yea, and much more than to one body by the meanes of another; for that there, to wit, in a bodie, there must (by all likelihood) be one impression and the same 40 alteration; but here, the foule (which often times is led and caried away by imagination, either to be confident, or distrustfull and timorous) fareth better or woorse accordingly. And as I was going forward to speake, Olympiacus interrupting my speech: By these words of yours (quoth he) you seeme to set downe as a supposall, a subject matter of great consequence and discourse, to wit, the immortalitie of the foule, as if it remained still after the separation from the body: Yea mary (quoth he) & even this have I inferred by that which you do now grant, or rather have granted heretofore; for our discourse hath bene from the beginning prosecuted to this presupposed point: That God dealeth & distributeth to every of us according as we have deserved. And how (quoth he) doth this follow necessarily, that in case God doth behold all humaneassaires, & dispose of every particular thing here upon earth, the soules therfore should become either im-50 mortal & incorruptible, or els continue in their entire estate long after death? O good sir (quoth I)be content; is God(thinke you) so base minded, or imploied in so small & trifling matters, and having so little to do, that (when we have no divine thing in us, nor ought that in any fort resembleth him, or is firme and durable, but that we continually decay, fade and perish like unto the leaves of trees (as Homer faith) and that in a small time) he should all on a sudden make so great account of us (like to those women, who cherish and keepe the gardens (as they say) of Admis within brittle pots and pannes of earth) as to make our foules, for one day to flourish and looke

greene within our fleshly body, which is not capable of any strong root of life, and then within a while after, suffer them to be extinguished and to die upon the least occasion in the world? But if you please, let us passe other gods, and consider wee a little this our God onely, him I meane, who is honoured and invocated in this place, namely, whether hee (knowing that the souther of the dead are presently exhaled and vanished away to nothing, like unto a vapour of moake, breathing forth of our bodies) doth ordeine incontinently oblations to be offered, and propiriatoric facrifices to be made for the departed? and whether he demand not great honors, worship and veneration in the memorial of the dead? or whether hee doth it to abuse and decive those that beleeve accordingly? For I assure yo, for my part I will never graunt that the 10 souledieth, but remaineth still after death, unlesses one or other (as by report Hereules did in old time) come suffer and take away the prophetical stoole or tresteet of Pything, and destroy the oracle for ever rendring any more answers, as it bath delivered even unto these our daies, such as by report was given in old time to Corax the Naxian in these words:

Impletie great it is for to beloeve,

That soules doe die, and not for ever live.

Then Patrocles: What prophecie (quoth he) was this ? and who was that Corax? for furely the thing it selfe, & that very name, be both of them strange and unknowen to me: That cannot be (quoth I)but thinke better of the matter; for it is long of me who have used his furname in flead of his proper name; for I mean him who flew Archilochus in battel, whose name indeed was Cal-20 londas, but men lurnamed him Corax: This ma was at the first rejected by the prophetesse Pythia, as a murderer who had killed a worthy personage consecrated & devoted unto the Muses but afterwards having used certaine humble praiers & requests, to gether with divers allegatious of excule, preteding to justifie his fact, in the end he was enjoined by the oracle, to go to the house & habitation of Tetrix, & there by certaine expiatorie facrifices & oblations, to appeale & pacific the ghost of Architechus; now this house of Tettix was the cape or promontory Tenarus; for it is faid, that Tettix the Cadian, arriving with his fleet in times palt, at the head of Tenarus, there builta citie, & inhabited it, necre unto the place where the maner was to conjure spirits, & raise the ghosts of those that were departed: The semblable answer being made to those of Sparta, namely, that they should make meanes to pacific the soule of Pausama, they sent as farre as into 20 Italy for facrificers exorcists, who had the skil to conjure spirits, & they with their facrifices chafed his ghost out of the temple: This is one reason therefore (quoth I) that doth confirme and proove, that both the world is governed by the providence of God, and also, that the soules of men do continue after death: neither is it possible that we should admit the one, & denie the other. If it be so then that the soule of man hath a subsistence & being after death; it is more probable & foundeth to greater reason, that it should then either taste of paine for punishment, or enjoy honor for reward: for during this life here upon earth, it is in continuall combat in maner of a champion; but after al combats performed & finished, then she receiveth according to her deferts. Now as touching those honors or punishments which it receiveth in that other world, lone by her-felfe, and separate from the bodie, the same concern and touch us nothing

who remaine alive; for either we know them not, or give no beliefe thereto; but fuch as 40 , who remaine anye; for either we know their children or posteritie, for that they be apparant and be either conferred or inflicted upon their children or posteritie, for that they be apparant and evident to the world, those doe containe and curbe wicked men, that they doe not execute their malicious desseignes: And considering that there is no punishment more ignominous, or that commeth neerer to the quicke, and toucheth the heart more, than for men to see their of spring, or those that depend upon them, afflicted for their fake & punished for their faults; & that the foule of a wicked person, enemie to God and to all good lawes, seeth after his death, not his images & statues, or any enfignes of honor overthrowne, but his owne children, his friends & kinsfolk ruinate, undone & perfecuted with great miseries & tribulations, suffring grievous punishment for it; there is no man I thinke, but would chuse rather to forgoe all the honors of 50 Jupiter, if he might have them, than to become again either unjust or intemperate & lascivious. And for the better testimonie & truth hereof, I could relate unto you a narration which was delivered unto me not long fince, but that I am afraid you will take it for a fabuolus tale, devifed to make sport: In regard wherof I hold it better to alleage unto you nothing but substantial reasons, and arguments grounded upon very good likelihood and probabilitie. Not so (quoth Olympiaeus) in any case; but reheatse unto us the narration which you speake of: And when others also requested the same at my hands: Suffer me yet first (quoth I) to set abroad those reasons which carie some good shew of truth, and then afterwards, if you thinke well of it, I will recite the fa-

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ble also, if so be it is a fable: As for Bion when he faith, that God in punishing the children of wicked men and finners for their fathers, is much more ridiculous than the physician, who for the maladie of father or grandfire, goeth about to minister medicine unto the child or nephew; furely this comparison faulteth heerein, that things be partly semblable, and in partdivers and unlike; for if one be cured of a difease by medicinable meanes, this doth not by and bu heale the maladie or indisposition of another: For never was there man yet being sicke of a fea. ver, or troubled with bleered and impostumate eies, became cured by feeing an ointment applied, or a falve laid unto another: But contrariwife, the punishment or execution of justice upon malefactors, is for this cause done publikely before all the world, that justice being miniftred with reason and discretion, should effect thus much, namely to keepe in, and retaine some 10 by the chasticement and correction of others: But that point wherein the foresaid comparison of Bion answereth to our matter in question, himselfe never understood; for many times it falleth out, that a man being fallen ficke of a dangerous disease, how beit not incurable, yet through his intemperance and diforder afterwards, fuffreth his bodie to grow into greater weakneffe and decay, untill at last he dieth: whereupon his some after him being not actually surprised with the same disease, but onely disposed thereto, a learned physician, some trustie friend, or an expert annointer, and mafter of exercises, perceiving so much, or rather indeed a kind friend and gentle mafter & governor, who hath a carefull cie over him, taketh him in hand, bringeth him to an exquisite maner of austere diet, cutteth off all superfluity of viands, deintie cates, & banketting dilhes, debarreth him of unfeafonable drinkings, and the company of women, purgeth 20 him continually with foveraigne medicines, keepeth his body downe by ordinarie labour and exercife, and so doth diffipate and dispatch the first beginning and small inclination to a dangerous disease, in not permitting it to have head & to grow forward to any greatnesse: And is not this an usual practife among us to admonish those who are borne of fickly and diseased parents, to take good heed unto themselves, and not to neglect their indisposition, but betimes and even at the very first to endevor for to remoove and rid away the root of such inbred maladies, which they bring with them into the world? for furely it is an easie matter to expell and drive out, yea and to conquer and overcome the same, by prevention in due time: Yes verily anfwered they all. Well then (quoth I) we commit no abfurditie, nor doe any ridiculous thing, but that which is right, necessarie and profitable, when we ordeine and prescribe for the children to of those who are subject to the falling sicknesse, to madnesse, phrenesse and the gout, exercises of the bodie, diets, regiments of life, and medicines appropriate for those maladies, not when they are ficke thereof, but by way of precaution, to prevent that they should not fall into them: for the bodie ingendred of a corrupt and diseased bodie, neither needeth nor deserveth any punishment, but physicke rather by good medicines and carefull attendance; which diligence and heedfull regard, if any one upon wantonnesse, nicetie and delicacie doe call chastissement, because it deprive tha man of pleasures and delights, or haply inferreth some pricke of dolour and paine, let him goe as he is, we passe not for him. Now if it be expedient to cure and medicine carefully one body iffued and descended from another that is corrupt, is it meet and convenient to let go the resemblance of an hereditarie vice, which beginneth to bud and sprout in a yoong 40 man, to ftay and fuffer it (I fay) to grow on still, burgen and spread into all affections, untill it appeare in the view of the whole world? for as Pindarus faith:

The foolish heart doth bring forth from within,

Her hidden fruit, corrupt and full of sin.

And thinke you not that in this point God is wifer than the Poet Hesiodus, who admonished us and giveth counsell in this wise:

No children get, if thou be newly come From dolefull grave or heaviefunerall: Bu: fare not when thou arreturned home

as if he would induce men to beget their children, when they be jocund, fresh and mery, for that the generation of them received the impression, not of vertue and vice onely, but also of joy, sadnesse, all other qualities: howbeit, this is not a worke of humane wisdome (as Hesiodus supposed) but of God himselfe, to discern & foreknow perfectly either the conformities or the diversities of mens natures, drawen from their progenitors, before such time as they breake forth into some great enormities, whereby their passions & affections be discovered what they are; for the yong whelps of beares, wolves, apes & such like creatures, thew presently their natural inclinations.

on even whiles they be very yong, because it is not difguised or masked with any thing; but the nature of man calting it felle, and fetling upon maners, cultomes, opinions & lawes, concealeth often times the ill that it hath, but doth imitate & counterfeit that which is good and honeft sin fuch fort as it may be thought either to have done away cleane all the flaine, blemifh & imperie-Ation of vices inbred with it, or els to have hidden it a long time, being covered with the vaile of craft & fubriltie; fo as we are not able, or at leaftwife have much adoe to perceive their malice, by the fling, bit & pricke of every feveral vice. And to fay a truth; herein are we mightily deceived; that we thinke men are become unjust then only and not before; when they do injurie; or diffolute, when they play fome infolent and loofe part; cowardly minded, when they run out of the to field; as if a man should have the coceit; that the sting in a scorpion was then bred & not before, when he gave the first pricke; or the posson in vipers was ingendred then only, when they bit or flung; which furely were great simplicitie and meere childithnesse: for a wicked person becommeth nor then fuch an one, even when he appeareth fo, and not before; but hee hath the rudiments and beginnings of vice and naughtineffe imprinted in himfelfe, but hee sheweth and tifeth the fame, when he hath meanes, fit occasion, good opportunitie, and might answerable to his minde; like as the thiefe spieth his time to robbe, and the tyrant to violate and breake the lawes. But God, who is not ignorant of the nature and inclination of every one, as who fearcheth more into the fecrets of the heart and minde than into the body, never waiteth and staieth untill violence beperformed by ftrength of hand; impudencie bewraied by malepart speech; or 20 intemperance and wantonneffe perpetrated by the naturall members and privile parts, ere he punish: for he is not revenged of an unrighteous man, for any harme and wrong that he hath received by him; nor angry with a thiefe or robber, for any forcible violence which he hath done unto him; neyet hateth an adulterer, because he hath suffered abuse or injurie by his meanes; but many times he chastifeth by way of medicine, a person that committeth adulterie; a covetous wretch and a breaker of the lawes; whereby otherwhiles he riddeth them of their vice, and preventeth in them (as it were) the falling ficknesse before the fit surprise them. Wee were crewhile offended and displeased, that wicked persons were over-late and too slowly punished; and now discontented we are, & complaine, for that God doth represse & chastise the evill habit and vicious disposition of some, before the act committed; never confidering and knowing, that 30 full often a future mischiese is worse and more to be seared, than the present; and that which is fecretand hidden, more dangerous than that which is open and apparent. Neither are we able to comprehend and conceive by reason, the causes wherefore it is better otherwhiles to tolerate and fuffer fome persons to be quiet, who have off-inded and transgressed already; and to prevent or flay others, before they have executed that which they intend: like as (in very trueth) wee known or the reason, why medicines and physicall drogues (being not meet for some who are ficke) be good and holfome for others, though they are not actually difeased, yet haply in a more dangerous estate than the former. Hereupon it is, that the gods turne not upon the children and pofterity, all the faults of their fathers and anceftours : for if it happen, that of a bad father there descend a good fonne, like as a sickly and crasse man may beget a found, strong and 40 healthfull childe, fuch an one is exempt from the paine and punishment of the whole house and race, as being translated out of a vicious familie, and adopted into another: but, that a yoong fonne (who thall conforme himfelfe to the hereditarie vice of his parents) is liable to the punishment of their finfull life, aswell as he his bound to pay their debts by right of succession and inheritance. For Antigonus was not punished for the finnes of his father Demetrius; nor (to speake of leand persons) Phileto for Augens, ne yet N estor for Neleus his sake; who albeit they were descended from most wicked fathers, yet they prooved themselves right honest: but all fuch, as whose nature loved, embraced and practifed that which came unto them by descent and parentage; in those (I say) divine justice is wont to persecute and punish that which resembleth vice and finne: for like as the werts, blacke moales, foots and freekles of fathers, not appearing 50 at all upon their owne childrens skinne, begin afterwards to put foorth and shew themselves in their nephews, to wit, the children of their fonnes and daughters : And there was a Grecian woman, who having brought foorth a blacke infant, and being troubled therefore, and judicially accused for adultrie, as if thee had beene conceived by a blacke-moore, thee pleaded and was found to have been eherfelfe descended from an Aethiopian, in the fourth degree remooved: As also it is known for certaine; that of the children of Python the Nisibian who was descended from the race and line of those old Spartans, who were the first lords and founders of Thebes, the youngest, and he that died not long since, had upon his body the print and forme of a

speare, the very true and natural marke of that auncient line; so long and after the revolution of to many yeeres; there fprang and came up againe as it were out of the deepe, this refemblance of the stocke and kinred : even so it falleth out many times, that the first generations and descents, doe hide and after a fort drownethose qualities and affections of the minde which are affected and appropriate to fome kinred; but afterwards, at one time or other, puttlien foorth, and drive them outward to appeare in those that follow, and the same doe represent that which is proper to each race, as well in vertue as vice. Now when I had finished this speech, I held my peace; and with that Olympicus finiled and faid: Wee would not have you to thinke (quoth he) that we commend you, as having fufficiently proved your discourse by demonstration, left we might feeme to have forgotten or to neglect the tale or narration which you pro-mifed to relate unto us: Mary then will we give our fentence and opinion thereof, when we shall to likewife have heard the fame. Thus therfore I began againe to enter into speech, and followmy intended purpole. There was one Thespesius, of the city of Soli in Cilicia, a great friend and family liar of Protogenes, who formetime here converfed with us, who having led his youthful daies very loofely, within a small time had wasted and confumed all his goods, whereby he was fallen for a certaine foace to extreme want and necessitie, which brought him also to a leud life, infomuch as he proved a very badde man; and repenting his former follies and difpense, began to make thifts, and feeke all meanes to recover his state againe; much like unto those loose and lascivious persons, who making no account of their lawfull and espoused wives, nor caring at all for them whiles they have them; afterwards, when they have cast them off, and put them away, see 20 ing them wedded unto others, follicite them to yeeld their bodies, & give the attempt to force and corrupt them most wickedly: Thus he forbare no leud, indirect, and shamefull practifes, so they turned to his gaine and profit, and within a little while, he gat together not great flore of goods, but procured to himfelfe a bad name of wicked dealing, much shame, and infamie: But the thing that made him famous, and so much spoken of; was the answer delivered unto him from the oracle of Amphilochus, for thither had he fent, as it should feeme, to know whetherhe should live the rest of his life better than he had done before? Now the oracle returned this anfwer: That it would be better with him after he was dead; which in fome fort hapned unto him not long after: For being fallen from an high place with his head forward, without any limme broken, or wound made; onely with the fall, the breath went out of his body, and there heelay 10 for dead; and three daies after, preparation being made for his funerals, caried foorth he wasto be buried; but behold all on a fudden, he revived, and quickly came to himfelfe againe; whereupon there enfued fuch a change and alteration in his life, that it was wonderfull; for by thereport and testimonic of all the people of Cicilia, they never knew man of a better conscience in all his affaires and dealings, whiles he did negotiate and dwell among them; none more devout and religious to God-ward, none more fast and fure to his friends, none bitterer to his enemies; infomuch, as they who were most inward with him, and had kept his company familiarly a long time, were very defirous & earnest with him, to know the cause of so strange and sudden alteration; as being perfy. .ded that fo great amendment of life (fo loofe & diffoline as it was before) could not come by meere chaunce and cafualtie, (as in truth it did,) according as himfelfemade 40 relation unto the faid Protogenes, and other fuch familiar friends of his; men of good woorth & reputation; for thus he reported unto them & faid: That when the spirit was out of his bodie, he fared at the first (as he thought himselse) like unto apilot, flung out of his ship, and plunged into the bottome of the fea; so woonderfully was he astonished at this chaunge; but afterwards when as by little & little he was raifed up againe and recovered, fo that he was ware that he drew his breath fully, and at libertie, he looked round about him, for his foule seemed as if it had beene one eie fully open; but he beheld nothing that he was woont to view, onely he thought that he saw planets and other starres of an huge bignesse, distant an infinit way a funder, and yet for multitude innumerable, calting from them a woonderfull light, with a colour admirable, and the same glittering and thining most resplendent, with a power and force incredible, in 50 fuch fort, as the faid foule being gently and eafily caried, as in a chariot, with this fplendor and radiant light, as it were upon the fea in a calme, went quickly whether foever the would; but letting passe a great number of things woorthy there to be seene; he said that he beheld how the foules of those that were departed this life, as they rose up and ascended, resembled certains fmall firie bubbles, and the aire gave way and place unto them as they mounted on high; but anon when these bubbles by little and little brast in funder, the soules came foorth of them, and appeared in the forme and shape of men and women, very light and numble, as discharged

from all poise to beare them downe: howbeit, they did not move and bestir themselves all alike and after one fort; for fome leaped with a wonderful agilitie, and mounted directly and plumbe upright; others turned round about together like unto bobins or fpindles, one while up and another while downe, fo as their motion was mixt and confused, and so linked together, that unnethfor a good while and with much adoe, they could be staied and severed as funder. As for these soules and spirits, many of them he knew not (as hee faid) who they were; but taking knowledge of two or three among them who had bene of his olde acquaintance, hee preffed forward to approch neere and to speake unto them : but they neither heard him speake, nor indeed were in their right fenfes; but being after a fort altonied and belide themto felves, refused once to be either seene or felt, wandering and slying to and fro apart at the first; but afterwards, encountring and meeting with a number of others disposed like unto themselves, they closed and clung unto them, and thus lincked and coupled together, they mooved here and there diforderly without difcretion, and were carried every way to no purpose, uttering I wot not what voices, after a maner of yelling or a blacke-fanctus, not fignisicant nor diffinct, but as if they were cries mingled with lamentable plaints and dreadfull feare. Yetthere were others to be seene aloft in the upmost region of the aire, jocund, gay and pleafant, fo kinde also an courteous, that often times they would seeme to approch neere one unto another, turning away from those other that were tumultuous and disorderly; and as it should feeme, they showed some discontentment, when they were thronged and hudled close together, 20 but well appaied and much pleased, when they were enlarged and severed at their liberty. Among there (by his owne faying) he had a fight of a foule belonging to a kinfman and familiar friend of his, & yet he knew him not certeinly, for that he died whiles himselfe was a very childe; howbeit, the faid foule comming toward him, faluted him in these tearmes: God save you Thespesius: whereat he marvelled much, and said unto him: I am not Thespesius, but my name is Arideus: True in deed (quoth the other) before time you were fo called, but from hencefoorth * The specime shall be your name; for dead you are not yet, but by the providence of God and * That is to permission of Destinie, you are hither come, with the intellectual part of the soule; and as for say, Drivine all the rest, you have left it behinde, sticking fast as an anchor to your bodie : and that you may now know this and evermore heereafter, take this for a certeine rule and token: That the fiprits of those who are departed and dead indeed, yeeld no shadow from them; they neither wincke nor yet open their cies. The specius hearing these words, began to plucke up his spirits fo much the more, for to confider and discourse with himselfe: looking therefore every way about him, he might perceive that there accompanied him a certeine shadowy and darke lineature, whereas the other foules thone round about, and were cleere and transparent within forth, howbeit, not all alike; for fome yeelded from them pure colour, uniforme and equall, as doth the full moone when the is at the cleereft; others had (as it were) feales or cicatrices, dispersed here and there by certeine diftant spaces betweene; some againe, were wonderfull hideous and strange to see unto, all to be specked with blacke spots, like to serpents skinnes; and others had lighticarifications and obscure risings upon their visage. Now this kinsman of Thespesius (for 40 there is no danger at all to tearme foules by the names which men had whiles they were living) discoursed severally of each thing, saying: That Adrastia the daughter of Jupiter and Necessitie, was placed highest and above the rest, to punish and to be revenged of all forts of crimes and hainous finnes; and that of wicked and finfull wretches, there was not one (great or fmall) who either by force or cunning could ever fave himfelfe and escape punishment: but one kinde of paine and punishment (for three forts there be in all) belonged to this gaoler or executioner, and another to that; for there is one which is quicke and speedie, called min that is, Penaltie, and this taketh in hand the execution and chaftisement of those, who immediatly in this life (whiles they are in their bodies) be punished by the bodie, after a milde and gentle maner, leaving unpunished many light faults, which require onely fome perie purgation; but fuch as re-30 quire more ado to have their vices and finnes cured, God committeth them to be punished after death to a fecond tormentreffe, named Dice, that is to fay, Revenge; mary those who are so laden with finnes, that they be altogether incurable, when Dice hath given over and thrust them from her, the third ministresse of Adrastia, which of all other is most cruell, and named Erinnys runneth after, chafing and pursuing them as they wander and runne up and downe; these (I say) the courfeth and hunteth with great miferie and much dolor, untill fuch time as the have overtaken them all and plunged them into a bottomleffe pit of darkeneffe inenarrable and invisible. Now of these three sorts of punishments, the first which is executed by Pane, in this life resem-Aaa 3

bleth that which is used in some barbarous nations: for in Persia, when any are by order of law and judicially to be punished, they take from them their copped caps or high pointed turbants. and other robes, which they plucke and pull haire by haire, yea, and whip them before their faces, and they themselves shedding teares and weeping, crie out pitcoufly and befeech theoff. cers to cease and give over; semblably, the punishments inflicted in this life in bodie or goods. are not exceeding tharpenor come very nere to the quick, neither do they pierce & reach unto the vice and finne it felfe, but the most part of them are imposed according to a bare opinion onely, and the judgement of outward naturall fense. But if it chance (quoth he) that any one & scape hither unpunished, and who hath not bene well purged there before, him Dice taketh in hand all bare and naked as he is, with his foule discovered and open, as having nothing to hide, to palliate and maske his wickednesse, but lying bare and exposed to the view thorowout, and on every fide, the presenteth and sheweth him first to his parents, good and honest persons (if haply they were fuch) declaring how abominable he is, how dextenerate and unwoorthy of his Da. rentage; but if they also were wicked, both he and they susteine so much more grievous punish. ment, whiles he is tormented in feeing them, and they likewife in beholding him how he is punished a long time, even untill every one of his crimes and sinnes be dispatched and rid away with most dolourous and painfull torments, surpassing in tharpnesse and greatnesse, all comorall griefs, by how much a true vision indeed is more powerfull and effectuall than a vaine dreame or fantafticall illusion: whereupon, the wales, marks, scarres and cicatrices of sinne and vice remaine to be feene, in fome more, in others leffe. But observe well (quoth he) and consi-20 der the divers colours of these soules of all sorts; for this blackish and soule duskish hew, is properly the tincture of avarice and niggardife; that which is deepe red and fierie, betokeneth cruelty and malice; whereas, if it stand much upon blew, it is a signe that there, intemperance and loosenesse in the use of pleasures, hath remained a long time, and will be hardly scowred off, for that it is a vile vice: but the violet colour and sweetish withall, proceedeth from envie, a venimous and poisoned colour, resembling the inke that commeth from the cuttle fish, for in life, vice when the faile is altered and changed by passions, and with all doth turne the body, putteth foorth fundry colours: but heere it is a figne that the purification of the foule is fully finished, when as all these tinettures are done away quite, whereby the soule may appeare in her native hew, all fresh, neat, cleare and lightsome: for so long as any one of these colours remaineth, 30 there will be evermore some recidivation and returne of passions and affections, bringing certaine tremblings, beatings as it were of the pulse, and a panting in some but weake and feeble, which quickly staieth, and is soone extinguished; and in other more strong, quicke, and vehement: Now of these soules, some there be which after they have beene well and throughly chaftised, and that fundry times, recover in the end a decent habitude and disposition; but others againe are fuch, as the vehemence of their ignoraunce, and the flattering shew of pleasures and luftfull defire, transporteth them into the bodies of brute beafts; for the feeblenesse and defect of their understanding, and their sloth and slacknesse to contemplate and discourse by reason, maketh them to incline and creepe to the active part of generation; but then they find and perceive them selves destitute of a lascivious organ or instrument, whereby they may be able to 40 execute and have the fruition of their appetite, and therefore defire by the meanes of the bodie to enjoy the same: forasinuch as, here there is nothing at all but a bare shadow, and as one would fay, a vaine dreame of pleafure, which never commeth to perfection and fulneffe. When hee had thus faid, he brought and lead me away, most swiftly, an infinit way; howbeit, with ease, and gently, upon the raies of the light, as if they had beene wings, unto a certaine place, where there was a huge wide chinke, tending downward still, and thither being come, he perceived that he was forlorne and for faken of that powerfull spirit that conducted and brought him thither; where he saw that other soules also were in the same case; for being gathered and flocked together like a fort of birds, they flie downward round about this gaping chawne, but enter into it directly they durst not; now the said chinke resembled for al the world within, the caves of Bacehus, 50 fo tapiffed and adorned they were with the verdure of great leaves and branches, together with all varietie of gaie flowers, from whence arose and breathed foorth a sweet and milde exhalation, which yeelded a delectable and pleafant favour, woonderfull odoriferous, with a most temperate aire, which no lesse affected them that smelled thereof, than the sent of wine contenteth those who love to drinke: in such fort as the soules feeding and feasting themselves with these fragrant odors, were very cheerefull, jocund, and merrie; so as round about the said place, there was nothing but pastime, joy, solace, mirth, laughing and singing, much after the manner of

Why divine justice deferreth punishment.

men that rejoice one with another, and take all the pleasure and delight that possibly they can. And he faid moreover, that Bacchus by that way mounted up into the focietie of the gods, and afterwards conducted Semele; and withall, that it was called, the place of Lethe, that is to fair. Oblivion: Whereupon he would not let The feefin, though he were exceeding defirous, to flay there, but drew him away perforce; instructing him thus much; and giving him to understand, that reason and the intelligible part of the minde is dissolved, and as it were melted and moistened by this pleasure; but the unreasonable part which savoreth of the bodie, being watered and incarnate therewith, reviveth the memorie of the bodie; and upon this remembrance, there groweth and arifeth a luft and concupifcence, which haleth and draweth unto generation (for to he called it) to wit, a confent of the foule thereto, weighed downe and aggravated with overmuch moisture: Having therefore traversed another way as long as the other, he was ware that he saw a mightie standing boll, into which divers rivers feemed to fall and discharge themselves, whereof one was whiter than the fome of the fea, or driven fnow, another of purple hue or fearlet colour, like to that which appeareth in the raine bow; as for others, they feemed a farre off to have every one of them their diffinct luftre, and severall tincture: But when they approached necreunto them, the foresaid boll, after that the aire about was discussed and vanished awaie, and the different colours of those rivers no more seene, left the more slourishing colour, except onely the white: Then he faw there three Dæmons or Angels, fitting together in triangular forme, medling and mixing the rivers together, with certaine measures. And this guid of The-20 Pecius foule faid morever, that Orpheus came fo farre when he went after his wife; but for that hekept not well in minde, that which he there faw, he had fowen one false tale among men; to wit: That the oracle at Delphi was common to Apollo, and the Night, (for there was no commerce or fellowship at all betweene the night and Apollo) But this oracle (quoth he) is common to the moone and the night, which hath no determinate and certaine place upon the earth, but is alwaies errant and wandring among men, by dreames and apparitions; which is the reason that dreames compounded and mingled as you see, of falshood and truth, of varietie and fimplicity, are spread and scattered over the world. But as touching the oracle of Apollo, neither have you feene it (quoth he) nor ever shalbe able to see; for the terrene substance or earthlypart of the foule, is not permitted to arife & mount up on high, but bendeth downward, being fathened unto the bodie: And with that he approached at once neerer, endevoring to thew him the shining light of the threefeet or three-footed stoole, which (as he said) from the bosome of the goddeffe Thenis, reached as farre as to the mount Pernafus: And having a great defire to fee the same, yet he could not, his eies were so dazeled with the brightnesse thereof; howbeit, as he paffed by, a loud and shrill voice he heard of a woman, who, among other things delivered in metre, uttered also as it should seeme by way of prophesie, the very time of his death: And the Demon faid, it was the voice of Sibylla; for the being caried round in the globe and face of the moone, did foretell and fing what was to come; but being defirous to heare more, he was repelled and driven by the violence of the moone as it were with certaine whirle-puffes, cleane a contrarie way; so he could heare and understand but few things, and those very short; namely 40 the accident about the hill * Vefuvius, and how Dicaarchia should be consumed and burnt by * Or Lobins. casuall fire, as also a clause or peece of a verse, as touching the emperour who then reigned, to this effect:

Agracious prince he is, but yet must die, And empire leave by force of maladie.

After this they passed on forward to see the paines and torments of those who were punished; and there at first they beheld all things most piteous and horrible to see to; for Thespesius who doubted nothing leffe, mette in that place with many of his friends, kinsfolke, and familiar companions, who were intorment, and fuffering dolorous paines, and infamous punishment, they moned themselves, lamenting, calling and crying unto him; at the last he had a sight of 50 his owne father, rifing out of a deepe pit, full he was of pricks, gashes, and wounds, and streetching foorth his hands unto him, was (mauger his heart) forced to breake filence, yea and compelled by those who had the charge and superintendence of the said punishments, to confesse with a loud and audible voice, that he had beene a wicked murderer of certaine strangers, and guests whom he had lodged in his house; for perceiving that they had silver and gold about them, he had wrought their death by the meanes of poilon: and albeit he had not beene detected thereof in his life time, whiles he was upon the earth, yet here was he convicted and had fuficined already part of his punishment, and expected to endure the rest afterwards. Now The spe560

fins durst not make fute nor intercede for his father, so affrighted he was and astonied; but defirous to withdraw himselfe and be gone, he lost the fight of that courteous and kind guide of his. which all this while had conducted him, and he saw him no more: but hee might perceive other horrible and hideous spirits, who enforced and constrained him to passe farther, as if it were necessarie that he should traverse still more ground: so he saw those who were notorious malefactours, in the view of every man (or who in this world had bene chastised) how their shadow was here tormented with leffe paine, and nothing like to others, as having bene feeble and imperfect in the reason lesse part of the soule, and therefore subject to passions and affections: but fuch as were difguifed and cloaked with an outward apparence and reputation of vertue abroad, and yet had lived covertly and secretly at home in wickednesse, certeine that were about to them, forced some of them to turne the infide outward, and with much paine and griefe to lav themselves open, to bend and bow, and discover their hypocritall hearts within, even against their owne nature, like unto the scolopenders of the sea, when they have swallowed downean hooke, are wont to turne themselves outward: but others they flaied and displaied, discovering plainly and openly, how faulty, perverse and vicious they had bene within, as whose principali part of the reasonable soule, vice had possessed. He said moreover, that he saw other souls wound and enterlaced one within another, two, three and more togither, like to vipers and other ferpents, and these not forgetting their olde grudge and malicious ranker one against another, or upon remembrance of losses and wrongs susteined by others, fell to gnawing and devouring ech other. Also, that there were three parallel lakes ranged in equal distance one from the 0-20 ther; the one feething and boiling with golde, another of lead exceeding cold, and a third, most rough, confifting of yron: and that there were certeine spirits called Dæmons, which had the overlooking and charge of them; and thefe, like unto mettall-founders or finithes, with certaine instruments either plunged in, or els drew out, soules. As for those who were given to filthie Jucre, and by reason of insatiable avarice, committed wicked parts, those they let downe into the lake of melted golde, and when they were once fet on a light fire, and made transparent by the strength of those flames within the said lake, then plunged they were into the other of lead; where after they were congealed and hardened in maner of haile, they transported them anew into the third lake of yron, where they became exceeding blacke and horrible, and being crackt and broken, by reason of their drinesse and hardnesse, they changed their forme, and then at last 30 (by his faying) they were throwen againe into the forefaid lake of gold, fuffering by the meanes of these changes and mutations, intolerable paines. But those soules (quoth he) who made the greatest moane unto him, and seemed most miscrably (of all others) to be tormented, were they, who thinking they were escaped and past their punishment, as who had suffered sufficiently for their deferts at the hands of vengeance, were taken againe, and put to fresh torments; and those they were, for whose sinnes their children and others of their posteritie suffered punishment: for whenfoever one of the foules of these children or nephewes in lineall descent, either met with them, or were brought unto them, the same fell into a fit of anger, crying outupon them, thewing the marks of the torments and paines that it fuffeined, reproching and hitting them in the teeth therefore; but the other making hafte to flie and hide themselves, yet were 40 not able to doe; for incontinently the tormentors followed after and purfued them, who brought them backe againe to their punishment, crying out, and lamenting for nothing so much, as that they did forefee the torment which they were to fuffer, as having experience thereof alreadie. Furthermore, he faid that he faw fome, and those in number many, either children or nephewes, hanging together fast, like bees or bats, murmuring and grumbling for anger, when they remembred and called to minde what forrowes and calamities they full eined for their fake. But the last thing that he faw, were the foules of such as entred into a second life and new nativitie, as being turned and transformed forcibly into other creatures of all forts, by certeine workemen appointed therefore, who with tooles for the purpose and many a stroake, forged and framed fome of their parts new, bent and wrested others, tooke away and abolished a 50 third fort; and all, that they might fort and be futable to other conditions and lives: among which he espied the soule of Nero afflicted already grievously enough otherwise, with many calamities, pierced thorow every part with spikes and nailes red hote with fire: and when the artifans aforefaid tooke it in hand to transforme it into the shape of a viper, of which kind (as Pindarw faith) the yong ones gnaweth thorow the bowels of the dam to come into the world, and to denoure it, he said that all on a sudden there shone forth a great light, out of which there was heard a voice giving commandement that they should metamorphoze and transfigure it into

the forme of another kinde of beaft, more tame and gentle, forging a water creature of it, chanting about standing lakes and marishes; for that he had bene in some fort punished already for the finnes which hee had committed, and befides, fome good turne is due unto him from the gods, in that of all his fubjects, he had exempted from taxe, tallage and tribute, the bell nation and most beloved of the gods, to wit; the Greeks. Thus farre foorth, he faid, he was one iv a spe-Catour of these matters; but when he was upon his returne, he abid all the paines in the world, for very feare that he had; for there was a certaine woman, for vifage and stately bignesse, admirable, who tooke holde on him, and faid: Come hither, that thou maieth keepe in memoric all that thou hast feene, the better: wherewith the put forth unto him a little rod or wand all fierie, to fuch as painters or enamellers use, but there was another that stated her; and then he might perceive himselfe to be blowen by a strong and violent winde with a trunke or pipe, to that in the turning of an hand he was within his owne bodic againe, and to began to looke up with his cies in maner, out of his grave and sepulchre.

Why divine justice deferreth punishment.



THAT BRVTE BEASTES HAVE USE OF REASON:

A discourse in maner of a dialogue, named GRYLLUS.

The Summarie.

They who have given out that man is a living creature endued with reason, have in few words expressed that which every one of wought principally to consider in him: But for want of declaring what this word reason down import, themselves sor the most part have not well under flood this definition, but asmuch as in them is reduced the condition of mento amourfeestate, than that of bruite teasts: For albeit mans bodie

mooved and governed by his immortall foule, hath many excellent advantages above beasts; yes if reason the guide of the soule have no other helpe than of her selfe, cortes, it may be well and truely said; that man is the most miserable creature in the world: And heerem it is, that Philosophers defitme of the light of gods word, are become and so remaine farre short, as being ignorant of Adams fall, originall finne, and the hereditarie fource and firing of so many defects and impersections which proceed from the under standing and the will, so much depravate and corrupt in us by sinne, that when we are to raunge and reduce reason, to her true devoir and dutie in deed; namely, to know and serve God, according as he commandeth, she is starke blinde, yea and a very enemie herselfe to that good grace which in offred unto her. By reason therefore, which maketh the difference betweene us and brutebeasts, we are to under stand the true knowledge of God, for to serve and glorific him according to the tenour of his word all the daies of our life; this is called true religion, of which if man be destitute, according to the sentence of our Saviour : It booteth not him to have gained the whole world, if he lose his owne soule: as also; That it were better for a scand slow man, and him by whom offence 50 commeth, never to have bene borne, or at least wife soone exterminate and rooted out : Likewise, that whoseever is proud of himselfe, and forgetteth his God, is no more a man, but resembleth brute beasts, whose soule perisheth together with the bodie. But to enter no farther into this Theologicall discouse we see in this present dialogue somewhat thereof, o that the intention of Plutarch was to Bew that the intelligence and cogitation of God, is the onely true priviledge prerogative and advantage which men have above beafts: howbeit, left he hath this worke imperfect, even in that very point, which of all other is hardest, and impossible to be prooved by him or his like : for what found understanding, apprehension or conseit could they have of God, who knew not at all the true God? So then, it may be

laid that this parcell or remnant of the disputation, conteineth a forme of processe against all Pagans and Atheifts, to proove that brute beafts excell them, and be in more happie estate than they. As touching the discourse it selfe, to the end that it might not be odious, in case he had handled it as his owne invention, he helpeth himselfe with the fabulous tale of Circe, who transformed into beasts the companions of Ulylles: By which allegorie, the Philosophers and Poets implie and teach thu much that workally pleasure doth make al persons brutish, save onely the wise, who use & enjoy goods, honore & delights, with a flated mind of first fetled, on hich never miffeth, nor cometh front or wide of the markethat it shooteth at: He bringeth intheresore ulysics, conferring by the leave and permission of Circe, with a Greekenamed Gryllus, transmuted and turned into a swine: and the chiefe point of their disputation is this : Whether the life of man is better to be esteemed than that of beasts? 10 Gryllus for to uphold and maintaine his cause, treateth of fower points principally: First of the vertue in generall; secondly of the valor and fortitude; in the third place of the temperance; and last of all the wisedome of beasts; prooving against ulysics, and that by divers arguments set out and marked in order, that beafts have the flart and vantage of men in all these points; and leaving the Reader to make the conclusion; he sheweth sufficiently, that if men have no other approach to rest upon, than a naturall habitude of an earthly vertue, and can affure the repose of their consciences upon nothing but upon humane valliance, temperance, and wisedome, they doe but goe in the companie of beasts, or rather come behind them. Thus you see why our author maketh ulysses to enter into a discourse as touching the knowledge of God: But whether it were that his other affaires and occupations or the iniquitie of time hath deprived us of the rest, this treatife or dialogue hath beene cut off in that very 20 place, where it described and required to be more throughly and lively prosecuted: And this which remaineth and is come unto our hands may ferve all men in good stead for their instruction and learning, not to glory and vaunt themselves, but in the mercy of him, who calleth them to a better life, wherein bruse beasts, (created onely for our use, and for the present life, with which they perish for ever) bave no part nor portion at all.

THAT BRUTE BEASTES have use of reason.

The personages that discourse in this Dialogue, Ulysses, Circe, Gryllus.

ULYSSES.



E thinks dame Circe that I have fufficiently conceived, and firmely imprinted these matters in my memorie. Now would I gladly aske the question, and know of you, whether among those men which be transformed into wolves and lions, you have any Greeks or no?

CIRCE. Yes mary have I, and those very many, decre heart ulyffes; but wherefore demaund you this question?

Because I am perswaded, it will be greatly for mine honour among the Greeks, if by your gracious favour I may obtaine thus

much, as at your hands to receive them men againe, and fave them, strangers though they be, as well as my companions, nor fo neglect their state, as to suffer them against nature to age & waxe old in the bodies of wilde beafts, leading a life to miferable, ignominous, and infamous. CIRCE.

See the simplicitie of this man; he would through his folly, that his ambitious minde should 50 procure damage and calamity not to himselfe onely and his friends, but also to those who are meere aliens, and nothing belonging to him?

I perceive very well (ô Circe) that you are about the rempering and brewing of another cup and potion of words, to be witch me; for certainly you should make a very beast of me in deed, if I would fuffer my felfeto be perfuaded, that it were a detriment or loffe to become a man againe of a brute beaft.

That brute beasts have use of reason.

Why? have you not already done woorfe for your felfe than fo, and committed greater abfurdities? confidering that letting goe a life immortall, and not fubject to old age, which you might enjoy if you would make your abode and dwell with me; you will needs goe in all the halte to a woman mortall, and (as I date well fay) very aged by this time, and that through ten thousand dangers, which yet you must endure, promiting your selfe, that you shall thereby be better regarded, more honored and renowned from hence foorth, than now you are; and in the meane while you consider not that you seeke after avaine selicitie, and the image or shadow onely for the thing indeed.

ULYSSES. Well Circe, I am content that it be so as you say; for why should we so often contest and debate thus about the same still ? But I pray you of all loves , unbinde and let loose these poore men for my fake, and give them me.

Nay, that I will not; I fweare by Hecate: You shall not come localily by them; for I tell you they be no meane perfons, and of the common fort: But you were best to aske them first if they themselves be willing thereto or no? And if they answer nay? then, like a noble valiant gentleman as you are, deale with them effectually, and induce them thereto: But in case you cannot with all your reasons bring them to it, and that they be able to convince you by force of argu-20 ment, let it suffice you that you have advised your selfe and your friends but badly.

Is it so indeed good lady? and are you about to mocke and make a soole of me? For how can they either yeeld or receive reason in conference, so long as they be asses, swine and lions, as

Goe to fir, most ambitious man that you are; let that never trouble you; for I will uphold them sufficient both to heare and understand whatsoever you shall alledge unto them, yea, and able to reason and discourse with you: Or rather, I passe not much if one of them for all his fellowes shall both demaund and answer: Lo heare is one, deale with him as it pleaseth you.

ULYSSES. And by what name shall we call him, Circe? or who might he be, when he was a man? Circe.

What matters that ? and what maketh it to the difputation and question in hand? Howbeit, name him if you thinke good, Gryllus: And to the end that you should not thinke, that for to gratifie or doe me a pleafure, he may feeme to reason crosse and against your minde, I will for the time retire my felfe out of the place.

GRYLLUS

God save you uly Tes.

ULYSSES.

And you also gentle Gryllw.

GRYLLUS.

What is your will with me, and what would you demaund of me?

ULYSSES.

I wot well that you and the rest were sometimes men, and therefore I have great ruth and pitie to fee you all in this estate, but as good reason is, it grieveth memost for the Greeks, that they are fallen into this calamity: But to it is, that even now I requested Circe, to loosen as many of you as be willing thereto, and after the hath restored them to their auncient shape, to give them leave to goe with me.

GRYLLUS. Peace ulysses, and say not a word more I beseech you; for we all have you in contempt now, feeing that you have bene taken and named all this whiles for a fingular man, and feemed far to futpasse all others in wisedome, whereas there is little or no cause thereof; in that you have bene afraideven of this, to change from the woorfe to the better; and never confidered, that as children abhorre the medicines and drogues that Physicians ordeine, and refuse to learne those sciences and disciplines, which of sickly, diseased and foolish, might make them more healthie, found, & wife; even fo you have rejected & cast behind you this oportunitie to be transformed and changed from one to another; and even still you tremble and dare not venture to keepe company

CIRCL.

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companie and lie with Circe, for dread and feare, left ere you be aware, the should make of you either a fwine, or a woolfe; and you would perfwade us, that whereas we live now in abundance. and enjoy the affluence of all good things, we should quit the same, and withall, abandon and for fake her who hath procured us this happinesse, and all to goe away with you, when we are become men againe; that is to fay, the most wretched creatures in the world.

Ulysses.

It feemeth Gryllus that the potion which you dranke at Circes hands, hath not onely marred the forme and fashion of your bodie, but also spoiled your wit and understanding; having intoxicate your braine, and filled your head with corrupt, strange, and monstrous opinions for ever; or els some pleasure that you have taken by the acquaintance of this body solong, hath to cleane bewitched you.

GRYLLU'S.

Nav iwis, good sir, it is neither so nor so, if it please you o king of the Cephallenians; but if you be disposed to argue with reason, rather than to wrangle with opprobrious tearmes, we will foone bring you to another opinion, and proove by found arguments, upon the experience which we have of the one life and the other, that there is great reason why we should love and embrace this present state above the former.

ULYSSES.

For mine owne part I am readie to give you the hearing.

GRYLLUS. And I as willing likewife to deliver my minde: But first and formost, begin I will to speakeof 20

vertues, upon which I fee you fland formuch, and in regard whereof, you woondroufly pleafe your felves, as who would be thought in justice, in wisedome, in magnanimitie and other vertues to excell and farre furpaffe all brute beafts. Answer me therefore I befeech you, the wifest man of all other, to this point: For I have heard fay, that upon a time you made relation unto Circe of the Cyclopes countrey, how the foile there is naturally fo good and fertill, that with. out plowing, fowing, or planting at all, it bringeth footth of it felfe all forts of fruit: Tellme I fay, whether you esteeme better of it (so frutefull as it is) or of Ithaca a rough and mountaine region, good onely for to breed goats in, and which hardly and with great labour yeeldeth unto those that till it, small store (God wot) of poore and leane frutes, which will not quit for the cost 20 and paines? But take heed it grieve you not to answer contrarie to your minde, for the love that you beare unto your native countrey.

ULYSSES.

I love verily (for I must not lie) yea, and I imbrace and holde most deare, mine owne countrey and place of nativitie: howbeit, I praise and admire that other region of theirs.

Gryllus.

Why then belike, the cafe stands thus, and this we are to fay, that the wifest man is of opinion, that there be fome things which are to praise and commend, and other things to chuse and love : and verily, I thinke that your judgement is the fame of the foule; for the like reason there is of it and a land or plot of ground, namely, that the foule is better, which without any travell or 40 labour, bringeth forth vertue, as a fruit springing and growing of it selfe.

ULYSSES.

Well: be it so as you say.

GRYLLUS.

You grant then and confesse already, That the soule of brute beasts is by nature more kinde, more perfect and better disposed to yeeld vertue, considering that without compulsion, without commandement, or any teaching, which is as much to fay, as without tillage and fowing it bringeth forth and nourisheth that vertue which is meet and convenient for every one.

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And what vertue is that (my good friend Gryllue) whereof beafts be capable? GRYLLUS.

Nay, what vertue are they not capable of? yea, and more than the wifest man that is. But first, confider we (if you pleafe) valour and fortitude, whereupon you beare your felfe and vaunt fo highly, neither are you abathed and hide your felfe for feare, but are very well pleafed when as men surname you, Hardie, Bolde, and a Winner of cities; whereas you have (most wicked wretch that you are) circumvented and deceived men, who know no other way of making war, but that which is plaine and generous, and who were altogether unskilfull of fraud, guile and

lealing, by your wily shifts and subtill pranks, attributing the name of vertue unto cunning casts, the which in deed knoweth not what deceit and fraud meaneth. But you fee the combats of beafts aswell against men as when they fight one against another, how they are performed with out any craftinesse or sleight, onely by plaine hardinesse and cleane strength, and as it were upon anative magnanimitie, they defend themselves, and be revenged of their enemies: and neither by enforcement of lawes, nor for feare to be judicially reprooved and punished for cowardife, but onely through inflinct of nature avoiding the shame and diffrace to be conquered, they endure and holde out fight to the very extremitie, and all to keepe themselves invincible: for fay they be in body the weaker, yet they yeeld not for all that, nor are faint hearted and give To over, but chuse to die in fight: and many of them therebe, whose courage and generositie, even when they are readie to die, being retired into some one corner of their bodie, and there gathering it felfe, refifteth the killer, it leapeth and fretteth flill, untill fuch time as, like a flame of fire, it be quenched and put out once for all: they cannot skill of praying and intreating their enemie, they crave no pardon and mercy; and it were strange in any of them, to confesse that they are overcome; neither was it ever feene that alion became a flave unto a lion, or one horfe unto another in regard of fortitude, like as one man to another, contenting himfelfe and willingly embracing servitude as next cousin and a surname appropriate unto cowardife. And as for those bealts which men have surprised and caught by snares, traps, subtill sleights and devices of engins, such if they be come to their growth and perfect age, reject all food, refuse nourish-20 ment, yea, and endure thirst, to such extremitie, that they chule to die and seeke to procure their ownedeath, rather than to live in servitude, but to their yoong ones and whelps, which for their tender age be tractable, pliable, and caffe to be led which way one will, they offer so many deceitfullbaits to entice and allure them with their fweetnesse, that they have no sooner tasted thereof, but they become enchanted and bewitched therewith: for these pleasures, and this delicatelife, contrary to their nature, in tract of time caufeth them to be fort and weake, receiving that degeneration (as it were) and effectionate habit of their courage, which folke call tameneffe, and in deed but basenesse and defect of their naturall generositie: whereby it appeareth, that beafts by nature are bred and paffing well disposed to be audacious and hardie; whereas contrarivile, it is not kindly for men to be fo much as bolde of speech and resolute in speaking their 30 mindes. And this you may (good ul/sse) learne and know especially by this one argument: for in all brute beafts, nature swaieth indifferently and equally of either side, as touching courage and boldneffe, neither is the female in that point inferior to the male, whether it be in fulleining paine and travell for getting of their living, or in fight for defence of their little ones. And I am fure you heard of a certeine Cromyonian swine, what foule worke she made, being a beast of the fæmale fex, for Thefens, & how the troubled him; as also of that monstrous Sphinx, which kept upon the rocke Phicton, and held in awe all that tract underneath and about it: for furely all her craft and fubrilty in deviling ridles, and propoling darke questions, had booted her nothing, in case the had not been e withall, of greater force and courage than all the Cadmeians. In the very same quarter was (by report) the fox of Telmesus, a wily and craftie beast. And it is given 40 out, that neere unto the faid place, was also the fell dragon which fought in fingle fight hand to hand with Apollo, for the Seignorie of the oracle at Delphi. And even your great king Agamemnon, tooke that brave mare Aethe, as a gift, of an inhabitant of Sycion, for his dispensation and immunity, that he might not be prest to the warres: wherein he did well and wisely in mine opininion, to preferre a good and couragious beaft, before a coward and dastardly man: and you your own felfe(uly/fes) have feene many times lioneffes and the libbards, how they give no place at all to their males in courage and hardineffe, as your lady Penelope doth, who gives you leave to be abroad in warfarre, whiles the fits at home close by the herth, and by the fire fide, and dares not doe so much as the very swallowes, in repelling those back who come to destroy her and her house, for all she is a Laconian woman borne: What should I tell you of the Carian or 50 Mæonian women? for by this that hath beene faid already, it is plaine and evident, that men naturally are not endued with proweffe, for if they were, then should women likewise have their part with them in vertue and valour: And thereupon I inferre and conclude that you and fuch as you are, exerercife a kind of valiance (I must needs say) which is not voluntarie nor naturall, but confireined by force of lawes, subject and servile to (I wot not what) customes reprehenfions; and you meditate I say and practise for vain-glorious opinion, fortitude, gaily set out with trim words; you sustaine travels and perils, not for that you set light by them, nor for any hardinesse and confidence in your selves, but because you are afraid lest others should goe Bbb

before you, and be esteemed greater than you. And like as heere among your mates at sea, he that first riseth to his businesse of rowing, laieth hand and seizeth upon the lightest oarethathe can meet with, doth it not, for that he despiseth it, but because he avoideth and is affraid to han. dle one that is heavier: and he that endureth the knocke of a bafton or cudgel, because he would not receive any wound by the fword : as also, he that refisteth an enemie, for to avoid some ignominous infamic of death, is not to be faid valiant in respect of the one, but coward in regard of the other: even so the valour in you, is nothing els but a wise and warie cowardise, and your prowesse and boldnesse, is no better than timerousnesse, accompanied with skill and knowledge how to decline one danger by another. To be briefe, if you thinke your felves to be more har. die and valiant than beafts, how commeth it, that your Poets tearme those who fight manfully to against their enemies, λυκόρουνας that is, wolves for courage; Βυμωλέοντας that is, lion-hearted: and or inches about that is, resembling the wilde boare in animositie and force: but never doth any of them call a lion, and ported year, that is, as valiant as a man : or a wild boare, and expersion about that is . comparable to a man in courage and strength. Yet I wot well, when they would speake excessively in comparison, their maner is to call men that are swift in running, molluneuss, that is, light-footed like the winde: and those who be faire ad beautifull, beenders, that is, angelicall, or to fee to like unto angels: and even fo, they compare and refemble brave warriours in the highest degree, unto beasts, who in that case are much more excellent than men: the reasonisthis, for that choler and heat of courage is (as it were) the steele, the file, yea, the very whetstone that giveth the edge unto fortitude; and this doe brute beafts bring with them pure and fimple unto 20 fight; whereas in you, it being alway mingled and tempered with fome discourse of reason, asif wine were delaied with a little water, it is gone and to feeke in the greatest dangers, and failethat the very point of opportunity, when it is most to be used. And some of you are of opinion, and flicke not to fay, that in battell and fight there is no need at all of anger, but that laying affide all choler, we are to employ fober and staied reason; wherein they speake not amisse, and I holde well with them, when the question is of defence onely, and the securing of a mans ownelife: but furely, if the case be so, that we are to offend, to annoy and defait our enemic, they talke most shamefully. Is it not a very abfurd thing, that we should reproove and blame nature, for that the hath not fet unto your bodies any flings or pricks, nor given you tusks and teeth to revenge your felves with, ne yet armed you with hooked clawes and tallons to offend your enemies; and 30 in the meane while your owne felves take, spoile, and bereave the soule of that naturall weapon which is inbred with it, or at leaftwife cut the fame short and disable it?

ULYSSES.

What Gryllus! you feeme (as farre as I geffe) to have beene heeretofore some wittie and great oration; who now grunting out of your slic or stank, have so pithily argued the case, and discoursed of the matter in hand: but why have you not in the same traine disputed likewise of temperance?

GRYLLUS.

Because for footh I thought that you would first have refuted that which hath already beene spoken; but I see well you defire to heare me speake of temperance, because you are the hul-40 band of a most chaste wife, and you thinke besides, that your selfe have shewed good proofe of your own continencie, in that you have rejected the love & wanton company of Circe; but even heerein you are not more perfect, I meane in continence, than any one beaft, for even they alfo lust not at all to companie or engender with those that are of a more excellent kind than their owne, but take their pleafure with those, and make love to such as be of the same fort, and therefore no marvell, that as the Mendesian buck-goat in Aegypt, when he was shut up with many faire and beautifull women, never for all that made to any of them, but abhorred to meddle with them; whereas he was raging wood in heat of luft after the does or female goats: So you taking delight in your ordinary love, have no defire at all, being a man, to fleepe or deale carnally with an immortall goddeffe: And as for the chastitie and continence of your owne lady Pe- 50 nelope, I tell you there be ten thousand crowes in the world, that after their manner, caing and croking as they doe, will make a meere mocke of it, and thew that it is no fuch matter to be accounted of; for there is not one of them, but if the male or cock chance to die, remaineth a widow without feeking after a make, not for a little while, but even for the space of nine ages & lives of a man; so that in this respect, your faire Penelope commeth behind the poorest crow or raven that is, and deserveth northen inth part of her honour for chastitie: But seeing you are water that I am so eloquent an oratour, I care not much if I observe a methodicall order in this dif-

course of mine, and like a clearke indeed, beginne first with the definition of temperance, and then proceed to the division of appetites and lusts, according to their several distinct kinds right formally. Temperance therefore is a certaine restraint, abridgement, or regularitie of lusts, and defires, a restraint I say, and abating of such as are forten, strange, and superfluous, to wit, unnecessarie, and a regularitie which by election and choise of time and temperature of a meane, doth moderate those that be naturall and necessiarie; for you see that in lusts and desires, there beinfinit differences: As for example, the appetite to drinke, besides that it is naturall, is also necessatic; But the lust of the flesh, or concupiscence, although nature hath given the beginning thereof; yet fo it is, that we may live commodiously without it; fo as well it may be called naturall, but in no wife necessarie. Now there is another fort of defires, that be neither naturall not necessarie, but accidentall, and infused from without by a vaine opinion, and upon ignorance of that which is good, and there be fuch a number of them, that they goe verie neere to chase away and thrust out, all your natural appetites, much like as when the aliens and strangers that fwarme in a citie, drive out and expell the naturall inhabitants; whereas brute beafts give no entrance nor any communication and fellowship to forren affections for to settle in their foules, but in their whole life, & all their actions be farre remote from vain-glory, felfe-conceit, & fond opinions, as if they abode within the mediterranean parts, distant from the sea: True it is that in their port and carriage, they be not so elegant, so fine & curious as men: howbeit otherwife, for temperance & good government of their affections, which be not many in number ci-20 ther domesticall, or strange & forcen, they are more precise & woonderfull exact in the observing of them than they; for the proofe and truth heereof, the time was once, when I my felfe no leffe doated and was befotted upon gold than you are now, thinking verily that there was no good nor possession in the world comparable to it; I was in love also of silver and ivorie. and he that had most store heereof, me thought was a right happie man, and most highlie in grace and favour with the gods, whether he were Phrygian or Carian it skilled not, more base minded than Dolon, or infortunate otherwise than Priamus; infomuch as being linked fast and tied to these desires, I reaped and received no pleasure nor any contentment at all from al other bleffings; for notwithstanding I was sufficiently furnished with them, yet I tooke my selfe left needic and destitute of those which I accounted the greatest; and therefore I well remember, when I faw you upon a time stately arraid, with a rich robe in Candie, I wished not to have your wifedome and vertue, but your beautifull caffock fo deintily and finely wrought, your mantell Ifay of purple, fo delicate & foft, the beautie whereof I beheld with fuch admiration, that I was even ravished and transported with the fight thereof, as for the button or claspe, al of pure gold, belonging thereto, it had in it a fingularitie by it felfe, and an excellent workeman hee was no doubt, who tooke delight in the turning and graving thereof; and verily for mine owne part, I followed after you for to fee it, as if I had beene enchaunted or bewitched; as women that bee amorous of their lovers: But now being delivered from these vaine and foolish ovinions, and having my braine purged from fuch fantafficall conceits, I passe over gold and filver, and make no more account of them, than I doe of other ordinarie stones; your goodly habilliments, 40 your fine embroidered garments of needle worke and tapiffrie, I fet fo light by, that I make more reckoning I affure you, of a good deepe puddle of fost mire and dirt to walter and wallow in at mine ease, and for to fleepe when my belly is ful than of them: neither is there any of thele appetites comming from withour, that hath place in our foule, but our life for the most part we paffe in defires and pleasures necessarie; and even those which are meere naturall onely, and not altogether io needflatie, wee use them neither disorderly, nor yet unmeasurably: And of them let us first discourse: As forthat familiar pleasure which proceedeth from sweet odours, and fuch things, as by their fent doe affect the finelling, over and besides the simple delight that it yeeldeth, which coffeth nought, it bringeth therewith a certaine profit and commoditie, for to discerne nourishment, and make choise of food; for the tongue is named, 50 as it is indeede, the judge of fweet, of sharpe, eager and sowre sapours, namely, when as the juices of those things which are talted, come to bee mingled and concorporate with the discretive faculties, and not before: But our sense of smelling, before wee once taste those juices or sapours, judgeth of the force and qualitie of every thing, yea, and senteth them much more exquifitely than all the tafters that give effaie before kings and princes: As for that which is familiar and agreeable unto us, it receiveth inwardly, but whatfoever is strange and offensive, it rejecteth and sendeth foorth, neither will it suffer the same once to touch us, orto offend our tafte; but it bewraieth, accuseth, and condemneth the evilland noi-

before you, and be esteemed greater than you. And like as heere among your mates at sea, he that first riseth to his businesse of rowing, laieth hand and seizeth upon the lightest oare that he can meet with, doth it not, for that he despifeth it, but because he avoideth and is affraid to han. dle one that is heavier: and he that endureth the knocke of a bafton or cudgel, because he would not receive any wound by the fword: as also, he that refisteth an enemie, for to avoid some ignominous infamic of death, is not to be faid valiant in respect of the one, but coward in regard of the other: even so the valour in you, is nothing els but a wise and warie cowardise, and your proweffe and boldneffe, is no better than timerousneffe, accompanied with skill and knowledge how to decline one danger by another. To be briefe, if you thinke your felves to be more har. die and valiant than beafts, how commeth it, that your Poetstearme those who fightmanfully 10 against their enemies, λυκόρεονας that is, wolves for courage; Φυμωλάοντας that is, lion-hearted: and or ixines annulude that is, resembling the wilde boare in animolitie and force: but never doth any of them call a lion, and pount out that is, as valiant as a man : or a wild boare, and extrinsival alalist that is, comparable to a man in courage and strength. Yet I wot well, when they would speake exceffively in comparison, their maner is to call men that are swift in running, and tweeters, that is, light-footed like the winde: and those who be faire ad beautifull, Occasion that is, angelicall, or to fee to like unto angels: and even fo, they compare and refemble brave warriours in the highest degree, unto bealts, who in that case are much more excellent than men: the reasonisthis, for that choler and heat of courage is (as it were) the steele, the file, yea, the very whetstone that giveth the edge unto fortitude; and this doe brute beafts bring with them pure and fimpleunto 20 fight; whereas in you, it being alway mingled and tempered with fome discourse of reason, asis wine were delaied with a little water, it is gone and to feeke in the greatest dangers, and failethat the very point of opportunity, when it is most to be used. And some of you are of opinion, and flicke not to fay, that in battell and fight there is no need at all of anger, but that laying alideall choler, we are to employ fober and staied reason; wherein they speake not amisse, and I holde well with them, when the question is of defence onely, and the securing of a mans ownelife: but furely, if the case be so, that we are to offend, to annoy and defait our enemic, they talke most shamefully. Is it not a very absurd thing, that ye should reproove and blame nature, for that the hath not fet unto your bodies any ftings or pricks, nor given you tusks and teeth to revenge your felves with, ne yet armed you with hooked clawes and tallons to offend your enemies; and 30 in the meane while your owne felves take, spoile, and bereave the soule of that naturall weapon which is inbred with it, or at leastwife cut the same short and disable it?

Hrveere

What Gryllin! you seeme (as farre as I gesse) to have beene heeretofore some wittie and great or atour; who now grunting out of your stie or frank, have so pithily argued the case, and discoursed of the matter in hand: but why have you not in the same traine disputed likewise of temperance?

GRYLLUS.

Because for sooth I thought that you would first have refuted that which hath already beene spoken; but I see well you desire to heare me speake of temperance, because you are the hul- 40 band of a most chaste wife, and you thinke besides, that your selfe have shewed good proofe of your own continencie, in that you have rejected the love & wanton company of Circe; but even heerein you are not more perfect, I meane in continence, than any one beaft, for even they alfo lust not at all to companie or engender with those that are of a more excellent kind than their owne, but take their pleafure with those, and make love to such as be of the same fort, and therefore no marvell, that as the Mendesian buck-goat in Aegypt, when he was shut up with many faire and beautifull women, never for all that made to any of them, but abhorred to meddle with them; whereas he was raging wood in heat of luft after the does or female goats: So you taking delight in your ordinary love, have no defire at all, being a man, to fleepe or deale carnally with an immortall goddeffe: And as for the chaftitie and continence of your owne lady Pe- 50 nelope, I tell you there be ten thousand crowes in the world, that after their manner, caing and croking as they doe, will make a meere mocke of it, and shew that it is no such matter to be accounted of; for there is not one of them, but if the male or cock chance to die, remaineth a widow without seeking after a make, not for a litle while, but even for the space of nine ages & lives of a man, so that in this respect, your faire Penelope commeth behind the poorest crow or raven that is, and deserveth northen inth part of her honour for chastitie: But seeing you are water that I am so eloquent an oratour, I care not much if I observe a methodicall order in this dis-

course of mine, and like a clearke indeed, beginne first with the definition of temperance, and then proceed to the division of appetites and lusts, according to their several distinct kinds right formally. Temperance therefore is a certaine restraint, abridgement, or regularitic of lusts, and defires, a restraint I say, and abating of such as are forren, strange, and superfluous, to wit, unneceffarie, and a regularitie which by election and choise of time and temperature of a meane, doth moderate those that be naturall and necessarie; for you see that in lusts and desires, there heinfinit differences: As for example, the appetite to drinke, besides that it is naturall, is also necessatio; But the lust of the flesh, or concupiscence, although nature hath given the beginning thereof; yet fo it is, that we may live commodiously without it; fo as well it may be called naturall, but in no wife necessarie. Now there is another fort of desires, that be neither naturall nornecessarie, but accidentall, and infused from without by a vaine opinion, and upon ignorance of that which is good, and there be such a number of them, that they goe verie neere to chase away and thrust out, all your natural appetites, much like as when the aliens and strangers that swarme in a citie, drive out and expell the naturall inhabitants 3 whereas brute beasts give no entrance nor any communication and fellowship to forren affections for to settle in their foules, but in their whole life, & all their actions be farre remote from vain- glory, felfe-conceit, & fond opinions, as if they abode within the mediterranean parts, distant from the sea: True it is that in their port and carriage, they be not fo elegant, fo fine & curious as men: howbeit otherwife, for temperance & good government of their affections, which be not many in number, ei-20 ther domesticall, or strange & forren, they are more precise & woonderfull exact in the observing of them than they; for the proofe and truth hecreof, the time was once, when I my selfe no leffe doated and was befotted upon gold than you are now, thinking verily that there was no good nor possession in the world comparable to it; I was in love also of silver and ivorie, and be that had most store heereof, me thought was a right happie man, and most highlie in grace and favour with the gods, whether he were Phrygian or Carian it skilled not, more base minded than Dolon, or infortunate otherwise than Priamus; informuch as being linked fast and tied to these defires, I reaped and received no pleasure nor any contentment at all from al other bleffings; for notwithstanding I was sufficiently furnished with them , yet I tooke my selfe left needic and destitute of those which I accounted the greatest; and therefore I well remember, when I faw you upon a time stately arraid, with a rich robe in Candie, I wished not to have your wifedome and vertue, but your beautifull caffock fo deintily and finely wrought, your mantell Ifay of purple, fo delicate & foft, the beautic whereof I beheld with fuch admiration, that I was even ravished and transported with the light thereof, as for the button or claspe, al of pure gold, belonging thereto, it had in it a fingularitie by it felfe, and an excellent workeman hee was no doubt, who tooke delight in the turning and graving thereof; and verily for mine owne part, I followed after you for to see it, as if I had beene enchaunted or bewitched; as women that bee amorous of their lovers: But now being delivered from these vaine and foolish opinions, and having my braine purged from fuch fantasticall conceits, I passe over gold and silver, and make no more account of them, than I doe of other ordinarie stones; your goodly habilliments, 40 your fine embroidered garments of needle worke and tapiffrie, I fet fo light by, that I make more reckoning I affure you, of a good deepe puddle of foft mire and dirt to walter and wallow in at mine eafe, and for to fleepe when my belly is ful, than of them: neither is there any of thefe appetites comming from withour that hath place in our foule, but our life for the most part we passe in defires and pleasures necessarie; and even those which are meere naturall onely, and not altogether to needflatie, wee use them neither disorderly, nor yet unmeasurably: And of them let us first discourse. As forehar familiar pleasure which proceedeth from sweet odours, and such things, as by their fent doc affect the smelling, over and besides the simple delight that it yeeldeth, which coffeth nought, it bringeth therewith a certaine profit and commoditie, for to discerne nourishment, and make choise of food; for the tongue is named, 50 as it is indeede, the judge of fweet, of sharpe, eager and sowre sapours, namely, when as the juices of those things which are tasted, come to bee mingled and concorporate with the discretive faculties and not before: But our sense of smelling, before wee once taste those juices or sapours, judgeth of the force and qualitie of every thing, yea, and senteth them much more exquifitely than all the tafters that give effaie before kings and princes: As for that which is familiar and agreeable unto us, it receiveth inwardly, but whatfoever is strange and offensive, it rejecteth and sendeth foorth, neither will it suffer the same once to touch us, orto offend our tafte; but it bewraieth, accuseth, and condemneth the evill and noi-

fome qualitie thereof, before it doth us any harme, and otherwise it troubleth not us at all, as it doth you, whom it forceth to mixe and compound together for perfumes, cinamon, nard, spike, lavander camell, the sweet leafe malabathum, and the aromatical calamus, or cane of Arabia, medling and incorporating one within another, by the exquisit skilling and cunning of the apothecarie and perfumer, forcing drogues and spices of diversnatures to be blended and confected together, and buying for great fummes of money one pleasure, which is not be. feeming men, but rather fit for fine wenches and daintie damosels, and nothing at all profitable: And yet being thus corrupt as it is, it mareth not onely all women, but also the most part of you that are men, in fo much as you will not otherwhiles, lie with your owne espoused wives, unlesse they be perfumed and before ared all over with sweet oiles and ointments, or els bestrewed with 10 odoriferous powders, when they come to companie with you: Whereas contrariwife among us, the fow allureth the bore, the doc or the goat draweth unto her the buck, & other females the males of their kinde, by their owne fent and finell, casting from them the pure and neat favour of the medowes, and the verdure of the fields, and so comming together as in marriage for generation, with a kinde of mutual love and reciprocall pleasure; neither doethe females hold off and make it daintie, difguifing and covering (as it were) their owne lust as harlotsdoe, with looking strange and coie at the matter, pretending colourable excuses, or making semblance of refufall, and all to enchant, entife, and draw on the rather; nor the males when they come unto them, being pricked with the furious inflinet of luft to generation, doe built either for money or for great paine and travell, or for long subjection and servitude, the act of generation; but 20 they performe the fame unfeignedly, and without deceit in due time and feafon, without anie cost, when as nature in the spring stirreth up and provoketh the generative concupiscence of all living creatures, even as it putteth foorth the buds and sprouts of plants, and anon delaiethasit were and quencheth the same ; for neither the semale after she is once sped and hath conceived, feeketh after the male, nor the male wooeth her any more, nor followeth after her; of fo link regard and small price is this pleasure among us; but nature is all in all, and nothing doe wee against it: Heercof also it is, that there bath not beene knowne unto this day, any lust so fare to transpote brute beasts, as that males should joine in this act with males, or females with females; whereas among you, there be many fuch examples, even of fuch as otherwise were accounted great and woorthie personages, for I let those passe who were of no woorth or note 30 to speake of : Even Agamemnon went through all Baotia, chasing and hunting after * Argynnu, who fledde secretly from him; meane while he pretended colourable, yet false excuses of his abode there, to wit, the sea and the windes, and afterwards this faire and goodly knight, bathed himselfe gently in the poole of Copais, as it were there to quench the heat of his love, and to deliver himfelfe from this furious luft. Semblablie Hercules purfuing after a yoong beardleffe Genymade whom he loved, was left behind the other gallants and brave knights that enterprifed the voiage for the golden fleece, and so not embarquing with them, betraied the fleet. Likewife upon a fourchian of the louver or valted roufe of Apollos temple, furnamed Ptoins, there was one of you, who fecretly wrote this infeription; Achilles the faire; even after that Achilles himselse had begotten a sonne; and I heare say, that these letters remaine there to be seene 40 even at this day: Now if it chaunce that a dunghill cocke tread another cocke, when there is no henne at hand; he is burnt quicke, for that some wizard, soothsaier, or interpreter of such straunge prodigies, will pronounce that it is omenous, and prelageth some evill lucke: Thus you see, how men themselves are forced to confesse, that bealts are more continent than they, & that to fatisfie & fulfil their lufts, they never violate nor abuse nature; whereas in youit is otherwise: for nature (albeit she have the helpe and aide of the law) is not able to keepe your intemperance within the limits and bounds of reason; but like unto a violent streame which runneth forcibly, often times and in many places it worketh much outrage, caufing great diforder, scandall and confusion against nature, in this point of carnall love and fleshly lust: for there have bene men who attempted to meddle and deale with fhee goats, with fowes and mares; as 50 alfo women who have bene as wood and raging mad after certeine beafts of the male kinde: and verily, of fuch copulations as these, are come your Minotaures and Aegipanes; yea, and as I verily thinke, those Sphinxes and Centaures in time past, have bene bred by the same meanes. True it is (I confesse) that otherwhiles, upon necessity and extreame famine, a dogge hathbene knowen to have devoured a man or a woman, yea, and some fowle hath tasted of their flesh, and begun to cat it; but there was never found yet any brute beaft to have lufted afterman or woman, to engender with them; whereas men both in this lust and in many other pleasures, have

often times perpetrated outrage upon beafts. Now if they be fo unbridled, fo difordinate and incontinent in these appetites, much more diffolite they are knowen to be than bealts in other desires and lusts that be necessiarie, to wit, in meats and drinks, whereof we never take pleasure, but it is with some profit; but you seeking after the tickling pleasure and delight in drinking and eating, rather than the needfull nourishment to content and satisfie nature, are afterwards well punished for it by many grievous and long maladies, which proceed all from one fource, to wit, furfeit and repleation, namely, when you stuffe and fill your bodies with all forts of statulent humors & ventofities, which hardly are purged & excluded forth: for first & formost, ech fort of beafts hath a feverall food and peculiar kinde of nourifhment; fome feed upon graffe, others upon roots, and some there be againe which live by fruits: as for those that devoure flesh, they never touch any other kinde of pasture, neither come they to take from the weaker and more feeblekind, their proper nouriture, but fuffer them to grafe & feed quietly. Thus we fee that the lion permitteth the stag and hinde to grase; and the wolfe likewise the sheepe, according to natures ordinance and appointment: but man (being through his difordinate appetite of pleafures, and by his gluttonic, provoked to all things, talting and affaying whatfoever he can meet with or heare of, asknowing indeed no proper and naturall food of his owne) is of all creatures living, he alone that enteth and devoureth all things; for first, he feedeth upon flesh, without any need or necessitie enforcing him thereto, considering that he may alwaics gather, presse, cut and reape from plants, vines and feeds, all fort of fruits, one after another in due and convenient 20 scalons, untill he be weary againe, for the great quantity thereof; and yet for to content his delicatetooth, and upon a lothforne fulnesse of necessarie sustenance, he seeketh after other victuals, neither needfull nor meet for him, ne yet pure and cleane, in killing living creatures, much more cruelly than those savage beasts that live of ravin: for bloud and carnage of murdered carcases is the proper and familiar food for a kite, a wolfe, or a dragon; but unto man it serveth in flead of his daintie dish: and more than fo, man in the use of all forts of beasts, doth not like other creatures that live of prey, which abletine from the most part, and warre with some small nüber, even for very necessity of food; for there is neither fowle flying in the aire, nor (in maner) any fifth swimming in the sea, nor (to speake in one word) any bealt feeding upon the sace of the earth, that can escape those tables of yours, which you call gentle, kinde and hospitall. But you 30 will fay, that all this standeth in stead of sauce to season your food : beit so : why then doe you kill the same for that purpose, and for to furnish those your milde and courteous tables?

*But the wifedome of beafts, farre different; for it giveth place to no arte whatfoever, that is *Itteemeth vaine and needleffe; and as for those that be necessarie, it enterteineth them not as comming that some from others, nor as taught by mercenatic masters for hire and money; neither is it required, wanting, that it should have any exercise to glue (as it were, and joine after a flender maner) ech rule, principle and proposition, one to another; but all at once of it selfe, it yeeldeth them all as native and inbred therewith. We heare fay, that all the Aegyptians be Physicians; but furely every beast hath in it selfe not onely the art and skill to cure and heale it selfe when it is sicke, but alfo is fufficiently inftructed how to feed and nourifh it felfe, how to use her owne ftrength, how 40 to fight, how to hunt, how to ftand at defence, yea, and in very muficke they are skilfull, ech one in that measure as is requisit and befitting the owne nature: for of whom have we learned, finding our felves ill at case, to goe into the rivers for to feeke for crabbes and craissishes? who hath taught the tortoifes, when they have caten a viper, to feeke out the herbe Organ for to feed upon? who hath shewed unto the goats of Candie, when they be shot into the bodie with arrowes, to finde out the herbe Dictamnus, for to feed on it, and thereby to cause the arrow head to come forth and fall from them? For if you fay (as the trueth is) that nature is the schoole-mistresse, teaching them all this, you referre and reduce the wifedome and intelligence of dumbe beafts unto the fagest and most perfect cause or principle that is; which if you thinke you may not call reason, nor prudence, ye ought then to seeke out some other name for it, that is better and 50 more honourable : and to fay a trueth, by effects thee theweth her puiffance to be greater and more admirable, as being neither ignorant nor ill taught, but having learned rather of it felf, not by imbecilitie and feebleneffe of nature, but contrariwife, through the force and perfection of naturall vertue, letting go, and nothing at all esteeming that beggerly prudence which is gotten from other by way of apprentisfage. Neverthelesse, all those things which men either for delicacie or in mirth and pastime, do present unto them for to learne and to exercise their conceit and wit withall, howfoever they be against the natural inclination of their bodies: yet such is their capacitie and the excellencie of their spirit, that they will reach thereto and compasse the

fame thorowly. If ay nothing how whelps follow and trace beafts by the foot, or how colts prachife to fet their feet forward in their pace by measures: but how crowes and ravens will talke and practic, how dogs will leape and dance upon wheeles as they turne round about: also horses and oxen we see in the theaters, how they being taught to couch and lie downe, to daunce, to stand upright on their hinder feet, so woonderfully, that men themselves have much adoo to performe the like dangerous gestures, and yet this they doe after they have once learned it from others, yea, and remember the feat thereof, onely for a proofe, if there were no. thing elfe, that docible they be and apt to learne whatfoever a man would have them, fince that all this ferveth for nothing else in the whole world. Now if you bee hard of beliefe, and will not be perswaded that we learne the arts, I will say more than so; namely, that we can teach the same for the old rowen partridges teach their yoong ones how to runne awaie from before the fowler, and to escape by lying upon their backs, and holding up with their feete a clod of earth to hide themselves under it; and see we not daily upon the tops of our houses, how the old storks standing by their little ones, traine and teach them how to slie; semblablie the nightingales instruct their yoong birds in song, insomuch as those which be taken unfledge out of the nest, and are nourished by mans hand, never afterwards sing so well, because they be had away before their time from schoole, and want their master of musick. For mine owne part after that I was entred into this bodie, I marvelled much at those reasons and discourses of sophisters. who mainteined and perswaded me before time, that all living creatures besides man were without reason and understanding.

You are indeed Gryllus now much changed, and you can flew unto us by found demonstrations, that a sheepe is reasonable, and an affe hath wir, can you not?

Yes iwis, good ulysses, for even by these very arguments, a man may principally collect and gather, that the nature of beasts is not altogether void of the use of reason and intelligence: Like as therefore among trees, there is not one more or lesse destitute of soule, (I meanethat which is sensitive) than another, but they be all indifferently & equally void thereof, and not one of them is one jot endued therewith; even so in sensible beasts, there would not be one sound more flow and unapt to learne things of wit and understanding than another, if they were not 30 all partakers of reason and intelligence, although some have the same in more or lesse measure than others; and say there be some very blockith and exceeding dull of conceit, consider withall, how the wily sleights and crastic conceits of others may be put in balance against the same, namely, when you shall compare the fox, the woolfe, or the bees with the sheepe and the asset it is all one as if you should set Polyphemus to your selfe; or that Homer of Corinth to your grandstather Autoseus: And yet I thinke verily, that there is not so great difference and distance between beast and beast, as there is ods in the matter of wisedome, discourse of reason, and use of memorie between man and man.

IILYSSES

But take heed of one thing *Gryllus*, that it be not a strange and absurd position, sounding of 40 no probabilitie at all, to attribute any use of reason unto those who have no sense or knowledge at all of God.

GRYLLUS.

VVhat ulysses, shall we not say that you being so wise and excellent as you are, were descended from the race of Sisyphus, &c.



WHETHER

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WHETHER IT BE

LAWFULL TO EAT

FLESH OR NO.

The former Oration or Treatife.

The Summarie.

Loquence was highly esteemed in times past among Greeks and Romans, and therefore their children were trained and framed betimes in the schooles to discourse well, in good tearmes, and proper phrases, yea, and with pregnant and sound reasons of divers matters; to the end that when they were come to more yeeres, they might make proofe I of their sufficiencie in courts and publike assemblies of cities, in private consultations and familiar conferences, as it appeareth very plainly by the histories of all ages: Now after that young children had learned of their schoole-masters the rules and precept snamed Progymnalimata, or the first exercises, they were brought into the auditorie of some great prosessor in Rhetoricke; where there were proposed unto them certaine themes, gathered out of poets, historians, or philosophers, upon which they exercised their stile to write pro & contra, in the defence or consutation of this or that opinion, according to the measure of their spirit and capacitie, more or lesse: Those who were more forward, and farther proceeded than the rele, cond by heart that which they had penned, and pronounced 30 the same afterward in the presence of those that came to heare them: Some of them who were growen to a greater measure of knowledge, and as it were in the highest forme of such exercises, were woont to stand foorth and answer to all questions propounded, disputing and discoursing in the praise or dispraise of one and the same thing, as Gorgias, Carneades, and an infinit number of others, are able tomake good and verifie. This maner of exercise, named Declamations, was practised in Plutarchs time, as may be collected out of divers places of his works: and as these two treatises immediatly sollowing do sufficiently declare, the which are maimed and imperfect at the very beginning, in the mids and toward the end, especially the second: for it may be easily seene that they are stagments of certaine declamations which he wrote for his owne exercife when he was a young man. Now albeit they be fo corrupt and defective in maner all thorowout, yet the remnant which is left unto us, doth sufficiently 40 discover the honest occupation and emploiment of learned men in those daies, and the carefull industrie that they had to examine & discusse all things thorowly, to the end that by a diligent conference thereof, the trueth might the better appeare and be knowen. And if other whiles they mainteined certeine paradoxes and strange opinions, it was not upon any crosse and livigious spirit to defend obstinately all that came into their fantasticall braine, but for to augment and encrease in themselves an earnest defire to apprehend and understand things better: And how foever our author seemeth to be of minde for to defend the opinion of Pythagoras, as touching the transmigration of soules, and the prohibition to eate flesh; yet by other treatises written with more deliberate, mature and staid judgement, he giveth us to understand, that he is of a contrarte opinion; but his principall scope that he skootes hat seemeth to be a cutting off and abridging of the great excesse and superfluitie in purveying, buying, and 50 spending of viands, which in his time began to grow out of all measure; a disorder and inormitie which afterwards encreased much more. For to gaine and compasse this point, hee would seeme to perswade men to the opinion of Pythagoras, which mightly cutteth the wings of all riot and wastfull dissolution. Moreover, this ought not so be taken fo, as if it favoured and seconded the errour of certeine fautasticall persons, who have condemned the use of Gods good creatures : for in the schoole of Christ wee are taught good lessons, which refute sufficiently the dreames of the Pythagoreans, and resolve assuredly the good conscience of all those that make use of all exeasures (meet for the sustentation of this life) soberly and with thank serving, as knowing them to be good, and their use cleane and pure unto those

whom the first of regeneration hath sanctified, for to make them partakers of that realme which is not feut up and inclosed in meats and drinks. As touching this present tract for the maintenance of Pythagoras his paradox, he alledgeth five reasons : to wit, That the eating of flesh, is a testimonic and figne of inhumanitie; That we ought to forbeare it, considering we are not driven upon necessitie to feed there upon; That it is an unnaturall thing; That it hurseth soule and body: and for a conclusion That men will never come themselves and converse modestly together, if they learne not first to be pitifull and kinde even to the very dumbe beafts.

WHETHER IT BE LAW. full to eat flesh or no.

The former Oration or Treatise.



Ut you demand of mee, for what cause Pythagoras absteined from eating fleth? And I againe do marvell, what affection, what maner of courage, or what motive and reason had that man, who sistanproched with his mouth unto a flaine creature, who durft withhis 20 lips once touch the flesh of a beast either killed or dead; or howhe could finde in his heart to be ferved at his table with dead bodies, and as a man may fay, very idols, to make his food and nourish. ment of those parts and members which a little before did blea, low, bellow, walke and fee. How could his eies endure to beholde fuch murder and flaughter, whiles the poore beafts were either flic-

Io

Erom

ked or had the throats cut, were flaied and difmembred? how could his no seabide the smell and fent that came from them? how came it that his tafte was not cleane marred and overthrowen with horrour, when he came to handle those uncouth fores and ulcers; or receive the bloud and humours, issuing out of the deadly wounds.

The skinnes now flated, upon the ground did spraule, The flesh on shits did bellow still and low: Roaft, fod and raw, did crie aswell as craule, And yeeld a voice of living oxe or cow.

But this, you will fay, is a loud lie, and a meere poeticall fiction; howbeit, this was certeinly a itrange and monstrous supper, that any man should hunger after those beasts, and defire to eat them whiles they still kept a lowing; to prescribe also, and teach men how they should feed of those creatures which live and criestill; to ordeine likewise, how they ought to be dressed, boi-

led, roafted, and ferved up to the boord. But he who first invented these monstruosities, ought to be inquired after, and not hee who 40 last gave over and rejected the same. Or a man may well say, that those who at the first began to eat flesh, had all just causes so to do, in regard of their want and necessitie: for surely, it was not by reason of disordinate and enormious appetite which they used a long time, nor upon plentie and abundance of necessarie things, that they grew to this insolencie, to seeke after strange pleasures, & those contrarie to nature. But verily, if they could recover their senses and speech againe, they might well fay now, Oh how happie and well beloved of the gods are you, who live in these daies! in what a world and age are you borne! what assure of all forts of good things do you enjoy! what harvests, what store of fruits yeeldeth the earth unto you! how commodious are the vintages! and what riches do the fields bring unto you! what a number of trees and plants do furnish you with delights and pleasures, which you may gather and receive, when you so thinke good ! you may live (if you lift) in all maner of delicacie, without once fouling your hands for the matter; whereas our hap was to be borne in the hardest time and most terrible age of the world, when as we could not chuse but incur (by reason of the new creation of all things) a great want and streight indigence of many necessaries: the face of the heaven and skie was still covered with the aire; the starres were dusked with troubled and instable humors, together with fire and tempestuous windes: the sunne was not yet setled and established, having a constant and certeine race to holde his course in.

From East to West, to make both even and morne Dinstinct, nor by returne from Tropiques twaine; The seasons chang'd from those that were beforne, Bedight with leaves, with flowers, with fruits and graine.

The earth fuffered wrong by the inordinate ftreames and inundations of rivers, which had neither certeine chanels nor banks: much of it lay waste and deformed, with loughs, marishes, and deepe bogges; much also remained favage, being over-spred with wild woods and fruitlesse sorefls: it brought forth no fruits ripe and pleasant; neither were there any tooles and instruments belonging to any arte; nor so much as any invention of a witty head. Hunger never gave us case no ortime of repose; neither was there any expectation or waiting for the yearely scalons of seednesse, for there was no sowing at all. No marvell therefore, if we did eat the shesh of beasts and living creatures even contrary to nature, confidering that then the very mosse and barke of trees ferved for food; & well was he who could find any greene graffe or quicke coich, or fo much as the root of the herbe * Phleos : but when soever men could meet with a cornes and mast to taste * 42 as not theroot of meneroe Thirds I but with most interference and in their run stores, which and feed upon, they would dance and hop for joy about an oake or beech tree; and in their run stores, which and feed upon, they would dance and hop for joy about an oake or beach tree; and in their run stores in the banks, flicall fongs call the earth their bountifull mother, and their kinde nourse: and such a day as & who would that onely, they accounted festivall: all their life besides was full of vexation, forrow and hea-say, the root vinesse. But now, what rage, what furie and madnesse inciteth you to commit such murders photos as Theand carnage ? feeing you have fuch flore and plentie of all things necessarie for your life ? ophraftus reand carnage receing you have been note and pietrie of all times because not futteine and portreth, is an 20 why belie youthe earth, and most unthankfully dishonour her, as it shee could not futteine and herbe grownourish you? why doe you violate the divine power of Ceres the inventresse of facred lawes, and ing plentconfframe fweet and gracious Bacchus, as if the fetwo deities gave you not fufficient whereupon you for the lake might live? what! are you not abashed to mingle at your tables pleasant frutes with bloudie Pastia, and murder? You call lions and libards favage beatls; meane while your felves are stained with therefore well bloudshed, giving no place to them in crueltie, for where as they doe worie and kill other enough knows ento Platarch. beafts, it is for verie necessitie and need of food; but you doe it for daintie fare, for when wee Indee it to be have flaine either lions or wolves in defence of our felves, we eat them not but let them lie: But Red-mace or they be the innocent, the harmeleffe, the gentle and tame creatures, which have neither teeth tobite, nor pricke to fting withall, which we take and kill, although nature feemeth to have 30 created them, onely for beautie and delight: [Much like as if a man feeing Nilus overflowing I fee not his banks, and filling all the countrey about with running water, which is generative and frute-is included full, would not praise with admiration the propertie of that river, causing to spring and grow so within these many faire and goodly fruits, and the fame fo necessaries for mans life; but if he chance to espie marks [] a crocodill swimming, or an aspick creeping and gliding downe, or some venemous slie, hurt-thisplace, or full and noisome bealts all, blameth the said river upon that occasion, and saith that they be cau-matter in fes sufficient, that of necessitie he must complaine of the thing: Or verily, when one seeing this hand: Huppose therefore land and champian countrey overspred with good and beautifull frutes, charged also and re-insintered plenished with eares of corne, should perceive casting his eie over those pleasant corne fields, here without here & there are not a real challenger in the state of the state here & there an eare of darnel, choke-crvil, or fome fuch unhappie weed among, should there-taken out of 40 upon forbeare to reape and carie in the faid corne, and forgoe the benefit of a plentifull harvest, forme other & find fault therewith: Semblably flandeth the case when one seeth the plea of an oratour in anie booke. cause or action, who with a full and forcible streame of eloquence, endevoureth to save his client out of the danger of death, or otherwise to proove and verifie the charges and imputations of certaine crimes; this oration (I fay) or eloquent speech of his, running not simplie and nakedly, but carrying with it many and fundrie affections of all forts, which he imprinteth in the minds and hearts of the hearers or judges, which being many also, and those divers and different, he is to turne, to bend and change, or otherwife, to dulce, appeale and staie; if he I say should anon passe over and not consider the principall issue, and maine point of the cause, and busic himselfe in gathering out some by speeches besides the purpose, or haply some phrases impro-50 per and impertinent, which the oration of some advocate with the flowing course thereof, hath caried downe with it, lighting thereupon, and falling with the rest of his speech.] But we are nothing mooved either with the faire and beautifull colour, or the sweet and tunable voice, or the quicknesse and subtilitie of spirit, or the near and cleane life, or the vivacitie of wit and understanding, of these poore seelly creatures; and for a little peece of slesh we take away their life, we bereave them of the funne and of light, cutting fhort that race of life which nature had limited and prefixed for them; and more than fo, those lamentable and trembling voices which they utter for feare, we suppose to be inarticulate or unfignificant founds, and nothing leffe than piti-

full praiers, supplications, pleas & justifications of these poore innocent creatures, who in their language, everie one of them crie in this manner : If thou be forced upon necessitie, I beseech thee not to fave my life: but if difordinate lust moove thee thereto, spare me: in case thou hast a mind simply to cat on my flesh, kill me; but if it be for that thou wouldest feed more delicate. ly, hold thy hand and let me live. O monstrous cruekie! It is an horrible fight to see the table of rich men onely, stand served and furnished with viands, set out by cooks and victuallers than dreffe the flesh of dead bodies; but most horrible it is to see the same taken up, for that the reliques and broken meats remaining, befarre more than that which is eaten: To what purpose then were those filly beasts slaine? Now there be others, who making spare of the viands served to the table, will in no hand that they should be cut or fliced; sparing them when as they be nothing els but bare flesh; whereas they spared them not whiles they were living beasts: But forafmuch as we have heard that the fame men hold and fay: That nature hath directed them to the eating of flesh; it is plaine and evident, that this cannot accord with mans nature: And first and formost this appeareth by the very fabrick and composition of his bodie; for it resembleth none of those creatures whom nature hath made for to feed on flesh, considering they have neither hooked bil, no hauke-pointed tallans, they have no sharpe and rough teeth, nor stomack fo ftrong, or fo hot breath and spirit, as to be able to concoct and digest the heavy masse of raw fleth: And if there were naught elfe to be alledged, nature her-felfe by the broadnesse and united equallity of our teeth, by our fmall mouth, our foft toong, the imbecillitie of naturall hear. and spirits serving for concoction, sheweth sufficiently that the approoveth not of mans usage 20 to eat flesh, but dissavoreth and disclaimeth the same: And if you obstinately maintaine and defend, that nature hath made you for to eat fuch viands; then, that which you minde to eat first kill your felfe, even your owne felfe (I fay) without using any blade, knife, bat, club, axe, or hatchet: And even as beares, lions, and woolves, flay a beatt according as they meane to eat it; even fo kill thou a beefe, by the bit of thy teeth; flay me a fwine with the helpe of thy mouth and lawes; teare in peeces a lambe or an hare with thy nailes; and when thou hast so done, eat it up while it is alive, like as beafts doe; but if thou staiest untill they be dead ere thou eate them, and art abashed to chase with thy teeth the life that presently is in the slesh which thou eatest; why doeft thou against nature eat that which had life? and yet, when it is deprived of life, and fully dead, there is no man hath the heart to eat the fame as it is; but they cause it to be boiled, & to be 30 rofted; they alter it with fire, and many drogues and spices, changing, disguising, and quenching (as it were) the horror of the murder, with a thousand devices of seasoning; to the end that the fenfe of talking being beguiled and deceived by a number of fweet fauces and pleafant conditure, might admit and receive that which it abhorreth, and is contrary unto it. Certes it was a pretie conceit which was reported by a Laconian, who having bought in his Inne or hostelie, a little fish, gave it, as it should seeme, to the Inkeeper for to be dressed; but when hee called unto him for vineger, cheefe, and oyle to doe it withall: If (quoth the Laconian) I had that which thou demandest of me, I would never have bought this fish. But we contratiwife, for to please our delicate tooth, are so delighted in flaughter and carnage, that flesh we call our viand; and yet then we have need of other viands for the very dreffing of flesh it selfe, mix-40 ing and adding thereto, oile, wine, honie, the prickle or fauce garum and vineger, embalming (as it were) and burying a dead corps with Syriake spices and Arabicke sauces. And verily, when our flesh meats after this maner be mortified, made tender, and in some fort purified, our naturall heat hath much adoe to concoct the fame, and being not able in deed to digeft them perfitly, it ingendereth in us dangerous heavinesse and crudities apt to breed diseases. Diogenes upon a time was forash, that he durst eat a polype or pour cuttle fish all raw, because he would have taken away the use and helpe of fire in dreffing such meats: and there being certeine priests and many other men standing about him, when he covered his head with his cloake, and put the flesh of the said poulpe to his mouth, he said unto them all; For your sake it is that I hazard my felfe thus as I doe, and adventure this jeopardie. Now by Jupiter, this was a proper pe- 50 rill in deed, and a doutie danger, was it not? for this Philosopher heere exposed not himselfe to any perillous hazard, as Pelopidas did, for recovery of the Thebans libertie; nor as Armodius and Aristogiton, for the freedome of Athens: who thus wrestled with a raw poulpe fish in his stomacke, and all to make the life of man more beastlike and savage. Well then, plaine it is that the eating of flesh is not onely unnaturall in regard of the bodie, but also by repletion, fulnesse and fatietie, it maketh the foule fat and groffe: for the drinking of wine and feeding upon flesh meats to the full, howfoever it may feeme to cause the bodie to be more able and strong, yet

furely the minde it doth enfeeble and weaken. And left I should be thought a profession entitle to those who practise the exercise of the bodie named Athletica, I will use the domestical examples of mine owne countrey: for the inhabitants of Atties do tearme us of Baotis, fat-backs, grosse and lenselsse, and blockish fots, principally for our ranke and large feeding; like as one said:

Oftrueth these men, in judgement mine, Be nothing els but franked swine.

And as Menander wrote in one place:
With fat their cheeks be puft and swolne:
See, see sheir chaps how they be bolue.

Asalso Findarus:

They plie their jawes, they feed amaine, That even their cheeks do shine againe.

But according to Heraelinus, the drie foule feemeth to be the wifeft: for know thus much moreover; that emptie, tunnes, pipes, or barrels, refound when they be knocked upons where as if they be full, they answer not againe to the knocks or stroaks given them: brasse pannes or coppers which be thin & slender; render founds, and ring all about untill such time as one come and with his hand seeme to flop and dull the stroke that otherwise went round about: The eie filled with superstuous humiditie, becommeth dim and darke, neither hath it the full strength and power to performe his office. When we behold the sume through a moist aire, and a number of thick mists, and grosse undigested vapors, we see him not in his owne nature pure, cleere, and bright; but as it were in the bottome of a cloud, all duskish, and casting footh thicke wandring and dispersed beames: And even so through a bodic troubled with vapors, full fedde overcharged with nutriments, of unkind and strange viands, it cannot chuse but all the light and shining brightnesse of the soule which is naturall, should become dusked and troubled, having no radiant settled splendour, able to pierce throughly to the ends and externities of subtile and fine objects, hardly to be discerned, but the same is wandering, unsteadie and dispersed. But setting all these matters asset in the surfers as the sur

But fetting all these matters aside, is it not, thinke you, a right commendable thing to be acquainted and accustomed to humanitie? for who would ever finde in his heart to abuse & wrong 30 a man, who is affectionate, gentle, and milde, to the very beafts which are of a strange kind from us, and have no communication of reason with us? Three daies agoe, I alledged and cited in my disputation a testimonie of Xenocrates to this purpose; and namely: How the Athenians condemned him to pay a round fine, who had flaied a quick ramme: And in very truth, he that tormenteth and putteth to paine one that is living, is not in my conceit woorfe than he that taketh the life away and killeth him: Howbeit, as farre as I can fee, more fenfe and feeling we have of fuch things as be unufuall and against custome, than unnaturall and contrarie unto kinde: But those reasons which I then delivered, smell haply of some groffenesse, and were too triviall; for I feare and am loth to touch and fet abroch in these my discourses, that great and high principle, that deepe and mysticall cause of this our position: That we ought not to cat flesh; for that 40 I say the hidden secret and original thereof is so incredible to base and timorous persons, as Plato faith, and to fuch as favour of nothing but of earthly and mortall matters; and heerein I fare much like unto the pilot and master of the ship, who in a tempest is afraid to put his ship to sea; or unto a poet, who dareth not set up his fabrick or engin in the theater, all while the stage or pageant is turned and caried round about: And yet peradventure it were not amiffe in this place to refound and pronounce aloud those verses of Empedacles, * * * For under covert tearmes he doth allegorize and give us to understand; that the soules heere, are tied and sastened to mortall bodies, by way of punishment, for that they have beene murderers, have eaten flesh, devoured one another, and beene fed by mutuall flaughter and carnage: And yet this feemeth to be an opinion more ancient than Empedocles: for those fictions of Poets as tou-50 ching the diffnembring of Bacchus, and the outragious attempts of the Tyrans against him, and how they tasted of slesh murdred, as also of their punishment, and how they were smitten with lightning, they be meere fables: the hidden mythologie whereof, tendeth to that renovation

of birth or refurrection: for furely that brutish and reasonlesse part of our soule which is violent, disordered, and not divine, but divelish and dæmoniack, the auncient philosophers called Titans; and this is that which

is tormented, and fuffereth judiciall punishment.



EATING FLESH.

The fecond Declamation.

The Summarie.



Vr author pursuing in this second Treatise his matter and proposition, which he breched and began in the former declamation; and acknowledging how gourmandife. glustony, and evill custome be dangerous counsellers; yet granteth and agreeth in the end, that a man may eat flesh, upon certaine conditions which he doth specifie, condomning withall, the cruell excesse and riot of many in their fare. After this, he

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wing then eaby the example of Lycurgus, that we ought to cut off the first occasions of all superfuities, he conferreth the opinions of Pythagoras and Empedocles, with those of other philosophers, and therewith setteth downe his owne concest and advice. Afterwards when he had in one word touched, from whence, and whereupon men become so bold and hardie to eat flesh; he declareth a fresh and proporth, that this manner of feeding doth woonderfully prejudice both bodie and foule. And in conclusion, he confuteth the Stoicks, opposite enemies to the doctrine of Pythagoras; leaving thurefut otion unperfect, were it that himselfe never finished it, or that the malice and iniquitie of the time hash deprived us thereof: Like as many other fragments missing in these works.

OF EATING FLESH.

The second Declamation.



Eason would, that we should be fresh disposed, and readie in will, in mind and thought, to heare the discourse against this mustie and unfavorie cultome of cating flesh: For hard it is, as Cate was woont to fay, to preach unto the belly that hath no eares; and besides wee have all drunke of the cup of custome, resembling that of Circe

Compounded is of dolors griefes and paines, Of forrowes, woes, and of deceitfull traines? Neither is it an easie matter for them to cast up againe the hooke of

the appetite to eat flesh, who have swallowed it downe into their

entrals, and are transported and full of the love of pleasures and delights: But well and happie it were for us, if, as the manner is of the Aegyptians, fo foone as men are dead, to paunch them, and when their belly and bowels be taken foorth, to mangle, cut and flice the fame against the funne, and then to fling them away, as being the cause of all finnes that they have committed: fowe would first cut away from our selves all our gourmandise, gluttonie, and murdering of innocent creatures, that we might afterwards lead the rest of our life pure and holy; considering 50 that it is not the belly it selfe that by murder defileth us; but polluted it is by our intemperance. But fay, it is not in our power to effect thus much, or be it, that upon an inveterate cultome, we are as hamed in this point to be innocent and faultlesse; yet let us at leastwife commit sinne in measure, and transgresse with reason: Let us I say eat flesh, but so, as we be driven thereto for veric hunger, and not drawen to it by a licorous tooth, to fatisfie our necessitie, and not to feedour greedie and delicate humour: kill we a beaft, howbeit with fome griefe of heart, with fome commisferation and pitty; and not of a proud and infolent spirit, ne yet of a murderous mindes

asmendoe now adaies, after many and divers forts: For some in killing of swine or porkets. thrust them in with red-hot spits; to the end that the bloud being shed and quenched as it were by the tineture of the fire iron, running through the body, might cause the flesh for sooth to bemore tender and delicate: ye shall have others leape upon the udders and paps of the poore fower ready to farrow, and trample upon their bellies and teats with their feet, that the bloud, the milke, and the congealed bag of the yoong pigges, knit within the dammes wombe, being all jumbled, confused and blended together, even amidde the painfull pangs of farrowing (O Jupiter Piacularis) they might make (I would not els) a most deintie dish of meat, and devoire the most corrupt and putrified part of the poore beast: many there are who have a device to flitch and fowe up the eies of cranes and fwannes, and when they have fo done, to mew them up in adarke place, and so feed them, cramming them with strange compositions and pastes made of dried figges; but wor you why? because their flesh should be more deintie and pleafant: whereby it appeareth evidently, that it is not for need of nourithment, nor for want and necessitie; but even for facietie, wantonnesse, sumptuous curiositie, and superstuous excesse, that of horrible injuffice and wickedneffe, they make their pleafure and delight; and like as the filthy lecherous person, who is unfatiable in the pleasure of women, after he hath affaied many, runneth on headlong still, roving and ranging every way, and yet his unbrideled and untamed lust is not yet satisfied, but hee falleth to perpetrate such horrible villanies as are not once to be named; even so intemperance in meats, when it hath passed once the bounds of nature, and li-20 mits of necessitic, proceedeth to outrage and crueltie, fearthing all meanes how to varie and change the difordinate appetite; for the organs and inffruments of our fenfes, by a fellow-feeling and contagion of maladies, are affected one by another, yea, and runne into diforder and finne together, through intemperance, when they reft not contented with the measure affigued them by nature: Thus the hearing being out of frame and ficke, or not guided by reafon, marrethmuficke; the feeling when it is degenerate into an efferminate delicacie, feeketh filthily after wanton ticklings, touchings, and frictious handling of women: the fame vice of intemperance hath taught the eiefight not to be contented with beholding morisks, pyrthick, or warlike dances, nor other law dable and decent geftures, ne yet to fee and view faire pictures and goodly flatues, but to effceme the death and murder of men, their mortall wounds, bloudie fights, 30 and deadly combats, to be the best fights and spectacles that can be devised. And hereupon it is, that upon fuch excessive fare & superfluity at the table, there ensue ordinarily wanton loves; upon lecherie and filthy venerie, there followeth beaftly talke; these bandie ballads and stinking tales, be accompanied commonly with hideous fights, & monitrous thewes: laftly, these hornblespectacles have attending upon them, crueltie and inhumane impaffibilitie, cuen in the cases of verie mankind. Heereupon it was that Lyeurgus the divine law-giver, in those three ordinances of his which he called Rhetra, commanded that the dores, roufes & finials of houses, should be made with the saw & the ax onely, & no other instrument besides thereto emploied; which he did not, I affure you, for any hatred at all that he conceived against augers, wimbles, twibils, or other tooles for joyners or carvers worke; but he knew well inough, that a man would 40 neverbring among such simple frames a gilded bedstead, nor venture to carrie into an house soplainly built, filver tables, hangings, carpets and coverings of rich tapestrie died with purple, or any precious stones; and he wist full well, that with such an house, with such bedsteads, tables and cups, a frugall supper and a simple dinner would agree and sort best. For to say a truth, upon the beginning and foundation of a difordinate diet, and superfluous kind of life; all maner of delcacie and cottly curiofitie ufeth to follow

Like as the fucking foale, alway Runnes with the damme, and doth not flay.

What supper then, is not to be counted sumptious, for which there is evermore killed some living creature or other: for doe we thinke little of the dispense of a soule? and suppose we, that 50 the loffe of life is not costly? I do not now say, that it was peradventure the soule of a mother, a father, some friend, or a sonne, as Empedocles gave it out; but surely a soule endued with sense, with feeing, hearing, apprehension, understanding, witte and discretion, such as nature hath given to each living creature, fufficient to feeke and get that which is good for it, and likewife to avoid and shun whatsoever is hurtfull and contrary unto it. Consider now a little, whether those philosophers that teach and will us to eat our children, our friends, our fathers and wives when they are dead, doe make us more gentle and fuller of humanitie, than Pythagoras and Empedocles, who accustome and acquaint us to be kind and just, even to other creatures. Well, you mock and laugh at him that maketh confeience to eat of a mutton; and shall not we (fay they) laugh a good and make sport when we see one cutting and chopping pieces of his father or mother being dead, and fending away some thereof to his friends who are absent, and inviting fuch as be prefent and necre at hand, to come and make merrie with the rest, causing fuch joints and pieces of flesh to be served up to the table, without any spare at all ? But it may be, that we offend now, and commit some fault in handling these books, having not before. hand clenfed our hands, mundified our eies, purified our feet, and purged our cares; unlesse perhaps this be their clenfing and expiation, to devile & discourse of such things with sweet & pleafant words, which as Plato faith, wash away all falt & brackish hearing: but if a man should 10 fet these books & arguments in parallell opposition or comparison one with another; he would judge that fome of them were the Philosophie of the Scythians, Tartarians, Sagidians, and Me. lanchlamians, of whom when Herodotus writeth, he is taken for a liar; and as for the sentences and opinions of Pythagoras and Empedocles, they were the very lawes, ordinances, statutes. and judgements of the auncient Greeks, according to which they framed their lives, towit: That there were betweene us and brute beafts certeine common rights: who were they then, that afterwards otherwise ordeined?

Even they who first of iron and steele, mischievous swords didsorge: And of poore labouring ox at plough,

began to cut the gorge. For even thus also began tyrants to commit murders; like as at the first in old time, they killed at Athens one notorious and most wicked sycophant, named Episedeius; so they did by a second, and likewise a third: now the Athenians being thus acquainted to see men put to death; faw afterwards Niceratus the founc of Nicias murdred; Theramenes also the great commander and captaine generall; yea and Polemarchus the philosopher. Semblably, men began at fiist to cat the flesh of some savage and hurtfull beast, then some sowles and fish were snared and caught with nets, and confequently, crueltie (being fleshed as it were, exercised and inured in thefe and fuch like flaughters) proceeded even to the poore labouring ox, to the filly theepe that doth clad and trimme our bodies, yea, and to the house-cocke; and thus men by little 20 and little augmenting their infatiable greedinesse, never stated untill they came to manflaughter, to murder, yea, and to bloudie battels. But if a man can not proove nor makedemonstration by found reasons, that soules in their resurrections and new nativities meet with common bodies; so as that which now is reasonable, becommeth afterwards reasonlesse, and likewife that which at this prefent is wild and favage, commeth to be by another birth and regeneration, tame and gentle againe; and that nature transmuteth and translateth all bodies, diflodging and replacing the foule of one in another,

And cladding them with robes unknowen, Of other flesh, as with their owne.

Are not these reasons yet at least wise sufficient to reclaime and divert men from this unbride 40 led intemperance of murdring dumb beafts? namely, that it breedeth maladies, crudities, heavineffe and indigeftion in the bodie, that it marreth and corrupteth the foule, which naturally is given to the contemplation of high and heavenly things? to wit, when we have taken up a woont and custome, not to feast a friend or stranger who commeth to visit us, unlesse we shed bloud; and cannot celebrate a marriage dinner, or make merric with our neighbours and friends without committing murder? And albeit the faid proofe and argument of the transmigration of foules into fundrie bodies, be not fufficiently declared, fo as it may deferve to be credited and beleeved; yet furely the conceit and opinion thereof, ought to work fome fcruple and feare in our harts, and in fome fort hold us in & flay our hands. For like as when two armies encounter one another in a night battell; if one chaunce to light upon a man fallen upon the ground, 50 whose bodie is all covered and hidden with armour, and present his sword to cut his throat, or runne him through, and therewith heare another crying unto him, that he knoweth not certeinly, but thinketh and supposeth that the partie lying along is his brother, his sonne, his sather, or tent-fellow; whether were it better, that he giving eare and credit to this conjecture and fuspicion(falsethough it be) should space and forbeare an enemie for a friend, or rejecting that which had no fire and evident proofe, kill one of his friends in flead of an enemie? I suppose

there is not one of you all but will fay, that the later of these were a most grosse and leud part, Behold moreover Merope in the tragedy when she lifteth up her ax for to strike her own sonne, taking him to be the murderer of her sonne, and saying withall:

Have at thy head, for now I trow, Is hall thee give a deadly blow.

what a stirre and trouble she maketh over all the theater? how she causeth the haire to stand upright upon the heads of the spectators, for feare lest the should prevent the old man who was about to take hold of her arme, and so wound the guilt lefte yoong man her sonne? But if peradabout to take venture in this case there should have stood another aged man fast by, crying unto her : Strike To hardly, for it is your enemie, and a third contrariwife, faying: Strike not in any wife, it is your owne fonne; whether had beene the greater and more grievous finne, to let goe the revengement of her enemie for doubt that he was her fonne, or to commit filicide and murder her fonne indeed, for the anger the bare unto her enemie? When as therefore there is neither hatred nor anger that driveth us to doe a murder; when neither revenge, nor feare of our owne fafetic and life mooveth us, but even for our pleafure we have a poore sheepelying under our hand with the throat turned upward, a philosopher of the one fide should say: Cut the throat, for it is a brute beast, and another admonish us on the other side, saying: Stay your hand and take heed what you doe; for what know you to the contrarie, whether in that theepe be the foule lodged of some kinsman of yours, or peradventure of some God? Is the danger (before God) all 20 one and the fame, whether I refuse to eat of the flesh, or believe not that I kill my child or some one of my kinsfolke?

Butfurely the Stoicks are not equally matched in this fight for the defence of eating flesh: For what is the reason that they so band themselves, and be so open mouthed in the maintenance of the belly and the kitchin? what is the cause that condemning pleasure as they doe, for an effeminate thing, and not to be held either good or indifferent, no nor fo much as familiar and agreeable to nature, they fland fo much in the patronage of those things that make to the pleafure and delight of feeding? And yet by all confequence, reason would, that confidering they chase and banish from the table, all sweet perfumes and odoriferous ointments, yea, and al patric worke, and banketting junkets, they should be rather offended at the sight of bloud and 36 flesh, But now, as if by their precise philosophicall rules, they would controlle our day books and journals of our ordinarie expences, they cut off all the cost bestowed upon our table in things needleffe and superfluous; meane while they finde no fault with that which savoureth of bloudfhed and crueltie in this superfluitie of table furniture: We doe not indeed, (fay they)because there is no communication of rights betweene beasts and us; but a man might answer themagaine verie well : No more is there betweene us and perfumes or other forraine and exoticall fauces, and yet you would have us to abfleine from them, rejecting and blaming on all fides, that which in any pleasure is neither profitable nor needfull. But let us I pray you

confider upon this point a little neerer, to wit, whether there be any communitie in right and juffice, betweene us and unreafonable creatures or no? and let us doe it not fubtilly and artificially, as the captious manner is of these sophisters in their disputations;

but rather after a gentle and familiar fort, having an eie unto our owne passions and affections, let us reason and decide the matter with

our felves.



Aaa

THAT



THAT A MAN CANNOT LIVE PLEASANTLY ACCOR-

DING TO THE DOCTRINE OF EPICURUS.

The Summarie.

Reat dispurations there have beene holden among the Philosophers and Sages of the world, as souching the sovereigne good of man, as it may appeere even at this day by the books that are extant among us 3 and yet neither one nor other, have hit the true marke whereat they shot, to wit: The right knowledge of God: Howbeit, some of them are a great deale farther out of the way than others 3 and namely the Epicurean.

whom our author doth perstringe in many places, as holding a doctrine cleane contrary unto theirs. according as his writings doe testifie. And for asmuch as Epicurus and his disciples placed and ettablilhed this fovereigne good, in pleasure of the bodie: this their opinion is heere examined and confuted at large : for in forme of a dialogue Plutarch rehearleth the communication or conference which he had with Aristodemus, Zeuxippus, and Theon, as they walked together immediately after one lecture of his upon this matter, who having shewed in generall tearmes the absurdities of this Epicurian doctrine, mainteineth in one word: That it is no life at all for to live according to the same. Then he explaneth and sheweth what the Epicureans meane by this word To live: and from thence proceedeth forward to refute their imagination, and what soever dependent thereupon, and that by sound 30 and weighty arguments, intermingling many pretie conceits and pleafant jests, together with certaine proper similitudes for the purpose: After he had prooved that they were deceived themselves, and seduced their disciples; he holderh moreover this point: That even they deprive themselves of the true good, which confisteth in the repose and contentment of the mind, rejecting (as they doe) all Histories, Mathematicall arts and liberall sciences, and among the rest, Poetrie and Musicke; shewing throughout all this discourse that such persons are deprived of common sense. Passing forward, he holdeth and mainteinesh that the foule taketh joyen a conteniment proper to it selfe: and afterwards in discoursing of the pleasure that active life doth bring; he refuteth more and more his adversarie, addressing to this purpose, a certeine conference and comparison betweene the pleasures of bodie and soule; whereby a man may fee the miserie of the one, and the excellencie of the other. I his point he enricheth with diversex-40 amples; the end whereof sheweth: That there is nothing at all to be counted great or profitable in the schoole of Epicurus, whose scholars never dur stapproove his opinion, especially in death: also: That vertuous men have without all comparison much more pleasure in this world, than the Epicureans, who in their afflictions know not how to receive any joy or comfort by remembrance of their pleafures past. And this is the very summe of the dialogue during the time that the above named persons did walke; who after they were set, began the disputation a fresh, and spake in the first place of Gods providence, condemning by divers reasons the atheisme of the Epicureans, who are altogether inexcusable, even in comparison of the common sort given to superstition: continuing and holding on this discourse, he depainteth very lively the nature of the Epicureans, and commeth to represent and set down the contentment that men of honor have in their religion; where also he holdeth thu point: That 50 God is not the author of evill; and that the Epicureans are sufficiently punished for their impletie, in depriving themselves of that pleasure which commesh unto us by meditation of the divine wisedome in the conduct and management of all things. Confequently he sheweth that this their prophane philosophie overthroweth and consoundeth all persons, as well intheir death, as during their life: Whereupon he proceedeth toweat of the immortality of the soule, and of the life to come; describing at large the milery of the Epicureans: and for a finall conclusion, he comprise th in fower or five lines the Summary of all their error, and so shutteth up and concludeth the whole disputation. THAT

THAT A MAN CANNOT

live pleasantly according to the docarine of Epicurus.



Olores one of the difciples, and familiar followers of Epicurus, wrote and published a booke, wherein he endevoured to proove and declate: That there was no life at all to speake of, according to the opinions and fentences of other Philosophers. Now as touching that which readily came into my minde for the answere of his challenge and the discourse against his reasons in the defence of other Philosophers, I have before time put downe in writing: but forasmuch as after the less one and disputation of this matter ended, there passed many speeches in our walke against that sect; I thought it good to collect and gither the same, yea, and to reduce them into

a written treatife; if for nothing els, yet for this caule, to give them at leastwife to understand who are fo ready to note, cenfure and correct others, that a man ought to have heard and read 20 with great heed and diligence (and not fuperficially) the works and writings of those whom he takethupon him to reprove and refute, and not to sicke out one word here & another there, or to take hold of his words delivered by way of talke & conference, and not couched and fer down precifely in writing, thereby to repell and drive away the ignorant and fuch as have no knowledge of those things. For when as we walked forth, after the lecture (as our manekwas) out of the schoole into the common place of exercife, Zeuxippus mooving speech, began in this wife: Methinks (quoth he) that this diffcourse hath beene delivered much more mildly and gently, than becommeth frankneffe and libertie of speech betweening the schooles; which is the reason that Heraclides and his followers be departed from us, as discontented and displeased, yea, and much more bitterly nipping and checking us (without any coufe given on our part) than either 30 Epicurus or Metrodorus. Then Theon: Why faid you not (quoth he) that Colotes (in comparifon of them) is the most modest and fairest spoken man in the world ? For the most soule and reprochfull tearmes that can be devifed for to raile and flander withall, to wit, of facrileges, fourrilities, vanities of foeech, talkative, bubbling, glorious and vanting arrogancie, who remonging, murders, counterfeit hypocrites, confiners, curfed creatures, heavie headed, brainficke, tedious and making their braines ake who reade them: thefe(I fay) they have raked up together, and difcharged as it were haile-thot upon Aristotle, Socrates, Pythagoras, Protagoras, Theophrastes, Heracides, Hipparchies, and whom not of all the most renowned and principall Philosophers? in fuch fort, that how well and wifely foever they have carried themselves otherwise, yet in regard of their foule mouthes, flanderous speeches, and beaftly backbitings, they deferve to be seque-40 stred farre off, and put out of the range and number of wife men and Philosophers : for envie, emulation and jealousie ought not to enter into this divine dance and heavenly quire, being so weake and impotent, that they can not diffemble and hide their griefe and discontent. Heereat Aristodemus: Herachdes (quoth hee) who by profession is a Grammarian, in the behalfe of all the poeticall rabble (for fo it pleafeth the Epicureans to blason them) and for all the soolish and fabulous vanities of Homer, hath well requited Epicurus; or because Metrodorus in so many places of his writings hath reviled and abused that prince of poets: but as for them (ô Zeuxippus) let them goe as they are: and whereas it was objected in the beginning of the speech against those men: That there was no living at all after their precepts and rules, why doe not we our felves, alone by our felves, taking unto us Theon for our affociat (because this man here is wea-50 rie) go in hand to profecute the fame thorowly? Then Theon made him this answere:

This combat hath before us, beene Perform d by others, well I weene.

And therefore propounding to our felves (if it pleafe you) another marke and fcope to aime at, let us (for to be revenged of the injurie done unto other philosophers) proceed after this forme of process, and assay to proove and thew (if it be possible) that according to the doctrine even of these Epicureans, men cannot live in joy and pleasure. Say you so? (quoth I then, and laughed heartily withall) now surely, me thinks you are leapt upon their bellies, and be readie to

trample them with both your feet: certes, you will enforce these men to fight for their verie owne flesh if you bereave them of pleasure, who doe nothing els but crie out and sing this

We are in deed no champions brave,

In fight with fifts no grace we have, neither are we eloquent oratours, wife magistrates or prudent governours and rulers of cities or

But for to feast andmake good cheere,

To eat and drinke, we have no peere. We love (I fay) to banquet alwaies and make merie, to give our felves contentment and all the 10 delightfull motions and pricks of the flesh, if haply any pleature and joy thereby may betranfmitted and fent into the foule: fo as you feeme to me not to deprive these men of joy and solace onely, but also of their very life, in case you doe not leave them a pleasant and jocundlife. How then? (quoth Theon) if you thinke fo well of this subject matter, why do not you set in hand to it at this present. For mine owne part (said he again) content I will be to heare you, and answer againe, if you request fo much; but begin you first to set us in the traine thereof, for I will yeeld unto you the superioritie and presidence of this disputation. Now when Theon seemed to pretend some small excuse; Aristodemus: O what a compendious, ready, faire & plaine way (quoth he) have you cut us of, for to come unto this point, in not permitting us first to make inquisition unto this Epicurean feet, and to put them to their triall as touching vertue and honellie! 20 for it is no easie matter, nay it is impossible to drive these men from a pleasant and voluptuous life, fo long as they suppose and set downe this: That the supreame end of all humane felicitie lieth in pleasure; wheras, if we could once have brought this about: That they lived not honest ly; presently and withall, they had bene put by their pleasant life; for they themselves confesse, and fay: That a man can not live in joy, unleffe he be honeft; for that the one may not fland without the other. As touching that point (quoth Theon) we will not flicke in the progressed our discourse, to handle it, but for the present, we will take that which they grant, and make our use of it; this therefore they holde: That the sovereigne good whereof we speake, confisher in the bellie and the parts thereabout, as also in those other passages and conduits of the bodie, thorow which, pleasure entreth into it; & no pain at all; and they are of opinion that all the fine 30 devices, fubtill and wittie inventions in the world were put in triall and practifed, for to please and content the bellie, or at least wife, for the good hope that the should enjoy contentment, according as the wife Philosopher Metrodorus hath faid and written. And verily, by this their first supposition, without going any farther, it is easie to be knowen and scene (my good friend) what a flender, poore, rotten and unfteadie foundation they have laied, to ground upon it their fovereigne good; confidering that even those pores & conduits above said (by which they bring in their pleasures) lie aswell open to admit grievous paines; or to say more truely, there be very few wates in the bodie of man, by which, pleasure entreth; whereas there is no part or member thereof, but receive th dolor and paine. For beit granted, that all pleasures have their feat in the naturall parts, about joints, finewes, feet and hands; why, even in these very places are bedded 40 and feated also the most cruell and grievous passions that be; to wit, of goutie fluxes and rhewmaticke ulcers, of gangrenes, tettars, wolves, cancerous fores, which corrode, eat, mortificand putrifiethe parts that they possesse. If you present unto the bodie the sweetest odours and the most pleasant savours that be, you shall finde but few places therein (and seeke thorowout) affected therewith mildly and gently to their contentment; whereas all the rest often times are grieved and offended thereby: nay there is no part at all of the body, but subject it is to feele and fuffer the finant dolors inflicted by fire, by fword, by fling, biting, fcourging and whipping; the ardour of heat, the rigor of colde entereth and pierceth into all parts, like also as doth the lever: but pleasures verily are much like unto pretie puffes and gentle gales of winde, blowing after 2 finding maner, fome upon one extremitie that beareth out of the bodie, and fome upon other, 50 as if it were upon the tocks lying forth in the fea, they passe away, blow over and vanish incontinently, their time and continuance is so short: much like unto those meteors or fire-lights in the night, which represent the shooting of starts as if they fell from heaven, or traversed the skie from one fide to the otherstoone are the pleasures on a light fire, and as soone againe gone out and quenched at one instant in our sless, but contrariwise, how long paines and dolors do endure, we cannot alledge a better teilimony than that of PhiloEteres in Aefchylus, who speaking of the paine of his ulcer, faith thus: That

That dragon fell, doth never leave his holde, By day or night, since fir st my foot he caught: The flinging mart goes to my beart full colde, By poisoned tooth which from his moush it raught.

Neither doth the anguish of paine lightly runne over and glide, after a tickling maner, upon other superficiall parts and externities of the bodie; but contrariwise, like as the graine or feed of the Sea-claver or Trefoile Medica, is writhen and full of points and angles, whereby it taketh hold of the earth and flicketh fast, and there (by reason of those points so rough and rugged) continueth a long time; even fo dolor and paine, having many crotchets and hooked fournes of roots, which it putteth foorth and spreadeth here and there, inserteth and interlaceth it selfe within the flesh, and there abideth, not onely for a night and a day, but also for certeine scasons of whole yeeres, yea, and fome revolutions of Olympiades, fo that hardly and with much adoc at the laft departeth, being thrust out by other paines, like as one naile is driven forth by another ftronger than it. For what man was ever knowen to have drunke or eaten fo long a time, as they endure thirst who are ficke of an ague, or abide hunger who are befreged? and where is that solace and pleasure in the companie and conversation of friends, that lasteth so long as tyrants capfe them to abide torture and punishment, who fall into their hands? and all this proceedeth from nought els but the inability and untowardnesse of the body, to leade a voluptuous life; for that in trueth, made it is more apt to abide paine and travell, than to joy in delights and pleafures; to endure laborious dolors, it hath ftrength and power fufficient; whereas to enjoy pleanures and delights, it sheweth presently how feeble and impotent it is, in that so soone it hath enough and is wearie thereof: by occasion whereof, when they see that wee are minded to discourie much as touching a voluptuous life, they interrupt and breake incontinently our purpose, confessing themselves; that bodily and stethly pleasure is very small and seeble, or (to say a trueth) transitorie, and such as passeth away in a moment; unlesse haply they are disposed to lie and speake otherwise than they thinke; like as Metrodorus did, when he faid: That often times wefpit against the pleasures of the bodie; and Epicurus, when he writeth: That a wise man being ficke and difeated, laugheth and rejoiceth in the middes of the greatest and most excessive paines of his corporall malady. How is it possible then, that they who so lightly and easily beare 30 the anguish of bodily paines, should make any account of pleasures? for admit that they give no place to paines, either in greatnesse or continuance of time, yet they have at leastwife some reference and correspondence unto them, in that Epicurus hath given this general limitation and common definition to them all; to wit, Indolence or a fubtraction of all that which might cause and move paine; as if nature extended joy to the easement onely of dolor, and suffered it notto proceed further in augmentation of pleafure; but when it came once to this point, namely, to feele no more paine, it admitted onely certeine needlefle varieties. But the way to come with an appetite and defire to this effate, being indeed the full measure of joy and pleasure, is exceeding briefe and short; whereupon these Epicureans perceiving well, that this place is verice leane and hard, do translate and remove their fovereigne good, which is the pleasure of the bo-40 die, as it were out of a barren foile, into a more fruitfull and fertill ground, and namely, to the foule, as if therein we should have alwaics orchards, gardens and meddowes covered over with pleasures and delights, whereas according to the saying of Telemachus in Homer:

In Ithaca there is no facious place,

Affour ding plaines as large to runne a race. And even fo in this poore fleshly body of ours, there is no fruition of pleasure united, plaine and smooth, but altogether rugged and rough, intermingled and delaied for the most part, with many agitations that be feverous and contrary to nature. Hereat Zeuxippus taking occasion to fpeake: Thinke you not then (quoth he) that these men doe very wel in this, that they begin with the body; wherein it feemeth that pleafure engendreth first, & afterwards end in the soule, as in 50 that which is more conftant & firme, repofing therein all absolute perfection? Yes I wis (quoth I) and my thinks I affure you that they doe paffing well, and according to the direction of nature, in case they still search after and find that which is more perfect, and accomplished like as those persons do, who give themselves to contemplation and politicke life; but if afterwards you heare them protest and crie with open mouth, that the soule joieth in no worldly thing, nor findeth content and repose, but onely in corporall pleasure, either present and actuall, or els in meere expectation thereof, and that therein alone confilteth their fovereigne good : thinke you not that they use the soule as a receptorie for the bodie, and in thus translating the pleasure

of the body into it, they doe as those who powre and fill wine out of one veffell that leaketh and is naught, into another that is more compact and will hold better, for to preferve and keepe it longer, as supposing thereby, to make the thing farre better, and more honourable; and rerily time doth keepe well and mend the wine that is thus powred out of one veffell into another But of pleafure, the foule receiving the remembrance onely, as the odour and finell thereof, teteineth nothing elfe ; for that fo foone as pleafure hath wrought or boiled as it were one walme in the flesh, it is soone quenched and extinguished, and that remembrance remaining thereof paffeth foone away as a shadow, smoke, or furning vapour; much like as if a man should gather and heape together a number of fanfies and cogitations of whatfoever he had eat or drunke before time, and so make his repast and food thereof, for default of other wines and viands fresh to and present in place: yet see how much more modestly the Cyrenaick philosophers are affected, although they have drunke out of the same bottle with Epicurus; for they are of opinion; that the wanton sports of Venus should not be exercised openly, and in the day light, but would have the fame to be hidden and covered with the darkneffe of the night; for feare left our cogitation receiving cleerely by the cie-fight the reprefentations of this faid act, might eftfoones inflame and stirre up the lust and appetite thereto: whereas these men contrariwise doe hold, that heerin confifteth the perfection of a wife mans felicitie, for that he remembreth certeinly, and reteineth furely all the evident figures, geftures, and motions of pleafures paft. Now whether fuch precepts and rules as these, be unwoorthy the name of those who make profession of wiledome, namely thus to fuffer fuch feourings and filthy ordures of their pleafures to remain in the 20 foule, as it were in the finke and draught of the bodie, I purpose not to discourse at this time, But furely that unpossible it is for fuch matters to make a man happic, or to live a joious life, may heereby appeare most evidently: For the pleasure of remembring delights past, cannot be very great unto those, who had but a small fruition thereof when they were present; and unto those likewise, who find it expedient for them, to have the same presented in a measure, & some to retire & withdraw themselves from them, it cannot be profitable to think therupon long after, coffidering that even with those persons who of all other be most sensual & given to fleshly pleafures, the joy & contentment abideth not at al after they have once performed the action; only there remained with them a certeine shadow, and the illusion (as it were in a dreame) of the pleafure that is flowen away, continueth a while in their minde, for to mainteine and kindle still 30 the fire of their concupifcence: much like unto those who in their sleepe dreame that they are drinking, or enjoying their loves; and verily fuch imperfect pleafures and imaginarie joies doe nothing els but more egerly whet and provoke lascivious life: neither (I assure you) is theremembrance of those pleasures which these men have enjoied in times past, delectable; but only out of the small reliques remaining of their pleasure, which are but weake, slender and seeble, the fame remembrance doth renew and stirre up againe a furious appetite, which prickethand provoketh them evidently, and giveth them no rest. Againe, no likelihood there is, that even those who otherwise be sober, honest, and continently given, doe amuse themselves and busie their heads in calling to minde fuch matters, and to reade and count them out of a journall regitter or day-booke and Kalender, according as the ridiculous jeaft goes of one Carneades who 40 was wont to do fo, namely: How often have I lien with Hedia or with Leonium? In what and how many places have I drunke Thafian wine ? At how many fet feafts at three weeks or twentie daies end, have I bene merie and made great and fumptuous cheere? For this paffionate affection of the minde, and difordinate forwardnesse, thus to call to remembrance and represent delights past, doth argue and bewray most evidently an outragious appetite and beastly surious heat after pleasures either present, or expected and looked for: and therefore my concer is this: That even these men themselves perceiving what abfurdities doe follow hereupon, have had recourse to indolencie and the good state and disposition of the body; as if to live in joy and happinesse, were to thinke and imagine upon such a complexion, that either shall be or hath beene in some persons. For this firme habit and compact constitution of the flesh (say they) and the 50 affured hope that it will continue, bringeth an exceeding contentment, and a most found permanent joy unto as many as can discourse and thinke thereupon in their minds : For the better proofe hereof, confider first and formost their behaviour, and what they do, namely, how they remove, toffe and transport up and downe this pleasure, indolency, or firme disposition of the fleth, (call it what you will) transferring it out of the bodie into the foule, and againe from the foule to the bodie, for that they cannot holde and flay it, being apt to flide and run from them; whereupon they are forced to tie and fasten it to some chiefe head and principle; and thus they

do ftay and fusteine the pleasure of the bodie with the joy of the minde, and reciprocally determine and accomplish the joy of the minde in the hope and expectation of bodily pleasure. But how is it possible, that the foundation being thus moveable and inconstant, the rest of the building upon it, should not likewise be unstedfast? or how can the hope be fast, and the joy affured, being founded upon a ground-worke exposed fo much unto wavering and to so many mutations as these be, which compasse and environ ordinarily the bodie, subject to a number of necesfaricinjuries, hurts and wounds from without, and having within the very bowels thereof, the fources and fprings of many evils and maladies, which the discourse of reason is not able to avertand turne away? For otherwise it could not be, that these men (prudent and wise as they to are) should have bene afflicted and tormented with the diseases of painfull strangurie or pissing drop-meale, the suppression and difficultie of urine, bloudy-flixes, dysenteries and dolourous wrings in the guts, phthificks, and confumptions of the lungs or dropfies; of which maladies Epicurus himselfe was plagued with some, Polyenus with others, Nicocles also and Azathobulus had their part and were much troubled therewith, which I speake not by way of reproch unto them; for I know very well, that Pherecides and Heraclitus, two fingular personages, were likewise incumbred with grievous maladies: but wee would gladly require and request of them (if they will acknowledge their owne passions and accidents which they endure, and not, upon a vaine bravery of words, to win a popular favour and applause of the people, incurre the crime of insolent arrogance, and be convict of leafing) either not to admit the firme and ftrong conflituti-20 on of the flesh, for the element and principle of all joy; or els not to be are us in hand and affirm, that those who be fallen into painfull anguish and dolourous disease, doe laugh, disport, and be wantonly merie: for well it may be, that the body and flesh may be many times in good plight and in a firme disposition; but that the hope should be assured and certeine that the same will so continue, never yet could enter into a man of stated minde and found judgement. But like as in thesea, according to the Poet Aeschylus,

For why? who knowes what will ensue? and future time is ever uncertaine. Impossible it is there30 fore, that a soule which placeth and reposeth her sovereigne good in the sound disposition of
the bodie, and in the hope of continuance therein, should hold long without seare and trouble;
for that the bodie is not onely subject to stormes and tempests without, as the sea is; but the
greatest part of troublesome passions, and those which are most violent, sho breedeth in herselfs;
and more reason there is for a man to hope for faire weather in Winter, than to promise him
selfe a constitution of bodie exempt from paine and harme, to persever and remaine so, long:
for whatels hath given Poets occasion and induced them to call the life of man a day-flower,
unstable, unconstant and uncerteine; or to compare it unto the leaves of trees, which put out in
the Spring season, sade and fall againe in Autumne; but the imbecillitie and seeblenesse of the
flesh, subject to infinit infirmities, casualties, hurts and dangers? The best plight whereof, and
40 highest point of persection, physicians themselves are wont to admonish us for to suspect, seare,
diminish, and take downe. For according to the Aphorisme of Hippoerates: The good constitution of a body when it is at the height, is dangerous and slipperie: and as Euripides the poet
faid verie well:

Whole body strong, whole fast and brawny slesh, Did shew erewhile acolour gate and fresh, Soone gone he was, and extinct sodainly, As starre that seemes to shoot and fall from sky.

Nay, that which more is; a common received opinion it is, that those persons who are most faire and in the flowre of their beautie, if they be eie-bitten, or looked willy upon by a witch50 ing or envious eie, sustaine much hurt and damage thereby; because the perfection and highest degree of vigour in the bodie, is most subject to a sudden alteration, by reason of very weakenesse and that there is small or no affurance at all that a man should leade his limited without paine and forrow, may evidently appeare by that which they themselves doe faie unto others; for they affirme: That whosoever commit wickednesse and transgresse the lawes, live all their daies in miserie and seare; for howsoever they may perhaps live undetected, yet impossible it is that they should promise themselves assured securitie, never to be discovered; insomuch as the doubt and seare of stuture punishment, will not give them leave to take joy, or assured by to

use the benefit of present impunitie; in delivering these speeches to other, they perceivenor how they speake against themselves: For semblably well it may be, that oftentimes they may have their health, and carrie able bodies about them; but to be affored that they shall continue fo alwaies, or a long time, is a thing that cannot be performed; for needs they must evermore fland in doubt and diffrust of their bodie for the time to come; like as women great with child. are ever gruntling and groning against the time of their travell: otherwise, let them say, why they attend still a fure and confident hope of that which hetherto they never could attain unto. Moreover, it is not fufficient to worke affured confidence, for a man to forbeare finne and wrong-doing, or not at all to offend the lawes, confidering that to be afflicted juftly, and for defert, is not the thing to be feared, but fimply to endure paine, is fearefull and terrible. For if it to be a griefe and trouble to be touched and vexed with a mans owne finnes and trespasses; he cannot chuse but be molested and disquieted also with the enormities and transgressions of others: And verily if the outragious violence and crueltie of Lachares was not more offensive and troublefome to the Athenians; and likewife the tyrannie of Dionysius to the Syracusanes; yet I am fure at least wife it was full as much as to their owne selves; for whiles they vexed them, tormented they were and molested themselves, and they looked to suffer punishment one time or other for their wrongs and outrages, for that they offered the same before unto their citizens and subjects who fell into their hands. What should a man alledge to this purpose, the furious rage of the multitude, the horrible and bloudie crueltie of theeves and rovers, the mischievous pranks of proud and prefumptuous inheritors, plague and pestilence by contagion and comp. 20 tion of the aire, as also the fell outrage of the angry sea, in a ghust whereof Epicurus himselfe writeth, he had like to have beene swallowed up as he failed to the citie Lampsacus? It may suffice to relate in this place the nature onely of our body and fraile flesh, which hath within it selfe the matter of all maladies, cutting (as we fay merrily in the common proverb) out of the verie ox, leather thongs; that is to fay, taking paines and torments from it felfe, thereby to make life full of anguith, fearefull, and dangerous, as well to good persons as to bad; in case they have learned to rejoice, and to found the confidence and furety of their joy upon nothing elfebut the flesh and the hope thereof, according as Epicurus himselfe hath left written, as in many other of his books, fo in those especially which hecentituled, Of the fovereigne end of all good rhings. We may therefore directly conclude, that these mendoe hold for the foundation of a joy full & pleasant life, not a principle that is not onely unsteadie, tottering, and not to be trusted to upon, but also base, vile, and every way contemptible; if so be that to avoid evils, be their onely joy and the foveraigne felicitie that they feeke for; and in case they say: That they respect and regard naught elfe; and in one word: That nature herfelfe knoweth not where elfe to lodge and bestow the faid happinesse, but onely there, from whence is chased and driven away, that which might annoy and offend her; and thus hath Metrodorus written in his treatife against fophisters: fo that according to their doctrine, we are to make this definition of fovereigne good, even the avoidance of evill; for how can one lodge any joy, or place the faid good, but onely there, from whence paine and evil hath beene diflodged & remooved: To the fame effect writeth Epicurus alfosto wit: That the nature of a good thing is ingendred and arifeth from the eschuing & 40 shunning of cvill; as also that it proceedeth from the remembrance, cogitation, and joy which one conceiveth, in that fuch a thing happed unto him. For furely it is an ineftimable and incomparable pleafure (by his faying) to wit, the knowledge alone that one hath escaped some notable hurt or great danger: And this (quoth he) is certainly the nature and effence of the foveraigne good, if thou wilt directly apply thy selfe thereto, as it is meet, and then anon rest and flay therein, without wandering to and fro, heere and there, prating and babling I wot not what concerning the definition of the faid fovereigne good. O the great felicitie and goodly pleafure which there men enjoy, rejoicing as they doe in this, that they endure none evill, feeleno paine, nor fuffer forow! Have they not (thinke you) great cause to glorifie, & to say as they doe, calling themselves immortal, and gods fellowes? Have they not reason for these their grandeurs, and 50 exceeding fublimites of their bleffings, to cry out with open mouth, & as if they were possessed with the frantike furie of Bacchus priests, to breake foorth into lowd exclamation for joy, that furpassing all other men in wisedome and quicknesse of wit, they onely have found out the sovereigne, celestiall, and divine good, and that which hath no mixture at all of evill? So that now their beatitude and felicitie is nothing inferior to that of fwine and sheepe, in that they repose true happinesse in the good and sufficient estate of the slesh principally, and of the soule likewife in regard of the fleth; of hogges I fay and sheepe; for to speake of other beasts which are

of a more civill, gentle, and gallant nature; the height and perfection of their good, thandeth not upon the avoiding of evil, confidering that when they are full, and have thored their crawes, fome fall to finging and crowing, others to fwimming; fome give themselves to flie, others to counterfeit all kinds of notes and founds, disporting for joy of heart and the pleasure that they take; they ale to plaie together, they make pastime, they hoppe, leape, skippe, and dannee one with another, the wing thereby, that after they have escaped some evill, nature inciteth and stirreth them to feeke forward, and looke after that which is good, or rather indeed that they reject and caft from them, all that which is dolorous and contrary to their nature, as if it flood in their way, and hindred them in the purfute of that which is better, more proper & natural unto them: To forthat which is necessarie is not straight waies simplie good; but surely the thing that in truth is desirable and woorthie to be chosen above the reth, is situate farther, and reacheth beyond the avoidance of evill; I meane that which is indeed pleasant, and familiar to nature, as Plato said; who forbad expresly to call or once to esteeme the deliverance of paine and forrow, either pleafure or joy, but to take them as it were for the rude Sciographic or first draught of a painter, or a mixture of that which is proper and strange, familiar and unnaturall, like as of blacke and white. But some there be, who mounting from the bottom to the mids, for want of knowledge, what is the lowest and the middest, take the middle for the top and the highest pitch, as Epicurus & Metrodorus have done, who defined the effential nature and substance of the soveraigne good, tobe the deliverance and riddance from evill, contenting themselves with the joy of flaves and 20 captives, who are enlarged and delivered out of prison, or eased of their irons, who take it to be a great pleafured one unto them in case they be gently washed, bathed, and annointed after their whipping-cheere, and when their flesh hath beene torne with scourges; meane-while they have no tafte at all or knowledge of pure, true, and liberal joyes indeed, fuch as be fincere, cleane and not blemished with any fearres or cicatrices, for those they never saw, nor came where they grew; for fay that the fourfe, feable, and mangineffe of the flesh, fay that the bleereducifie or gummy watering of theumatike cies, be troublefome infirmities, and fuch as nature cannot away withall, it followeth not heereupon that the fcraping and fcratching of the skinne, or the rubbing and clenfing of the cies should bee such woonderfull matters, as to bee counted felicities: neither if we admit, that the superstitious seare of the gods, and the grievous 30 anguith and trouble arifing from that which is reported of the divels in hell be evill; we are not to inferre by and by that to be exempt and delivered there fro, is happinesse, felicitie, and that which is to be fo greatly withed and defired : certes, the affigne a very straight roome and narrowplace for their joy, wherein to turne, to walke, too rome and tumble at case, so farre foorthonely, as not to be terrified or difinated with the apprehension of the paines and torments described in hell, the onely thing that they desire. Lo, how their opinion which so farre passeth the common fort of people, setteth downe for the finall end of their singular wisedome, athing, which it feemeth the very brute beafts hate even of the felves: for as touching that firme constitution and indolence of the body, it makes no matter, whether of it selfe or by nature, it be void of paine and ficknesse; no more in the tranquillitie and repose of the soule, skilleth it 40 much, whether by the owne industrie or benefit of nature, it be delivered from feare and terror: and yet verily a man may well fay, and with great reason, that the disposition is more firme and ftrong, which naturally admitteth nothing to trouble and tormeneit; than that which with judgement and by the light and guidance of learning doth avoid it: But fet the case, that the one were as effectuall and powerfull as the other; then verily it will appeare at least wife, that in this behalfe, they have no advantage and preeminence above brute beafts; to wit, in that they feele no anguish nor trouble of spirit, for those things which are reported either of the divels in hel, or the gods in heaven; nor feare at all paines and torments, expecting when they shall have an end. That this is true, Epicurus verily himselfe hath put downe in writing: If (quoth he) the fuspicions and imaginations of the meteores and impressions which both are and doe appeare 50 in the aire and skie above, did not trouble us; nor yet those of death and the pangs thereof; we should have no need at all to have recourse unto the natural causes of all those things, no more than those dumbe beasts who enterteine no evill suspicions or surmises of the gods, nor any opinions to torment them, as touching that which shall befall unto them after death: for they neither believe and know, nor fo much as once think of any harme at all in fuch things. Furthermore, if in the opinion that they holde of the gods, they had referved and left a place for divine providence, believing that thereby the world was governed, they might have beene

thought wife men as they are, to have gone beyond brute beafts for the atteinting of a pleafant and joifull life, in regard of their good hopes; but feeing all their doctrine as touching the gods tendeth to this end, namely, to feare no god, and otherwise to be fearelesse and carelesse altogether, I am perswaded verily, that this is more firmely settled in those, having no sense and know, ledge at all of God, than in these who say they know God, but have not learned to acknowledge him for a punithing God, and one that can punish and doe harme: for those are not delivered from superstation; and why? they never fell into it, neither have they laied away that featefull conceit and opinion of the gods; and no marvell, for they never had any fuch: the same may be faid as touching hell and the infernall spirits; for neither the one nor the other have any hope to receive good from thence; marie, suspect, seare and doubt what shall betide them after death those must needs, lesse, who have no fore-conceit at all of death, than they in whom this persua. fion is imprinted beforehand, that death concerneth us not : and yet thus farre forth it toucheth them, in that they diffeourle, difforte, and confider thereupon; whereas brute beafts are altogether freed from the thought and care of fuch things as doe nothing perteine unto them: true it is, that they thunne ftroaks, wounds and flaughter; and thus much (I fay) of death they feare, which also even to these men is dreadfull and terrible. Thus you see what good things wildome (by their owne faying) hath furnished them withall : but let us now take a fight and survey of those which they exclude themselves fro and are deprived of. As touching those diffusions of the foule, when it dilateth and spreadeth it selfe over the slesh, and for the pleasure that the slesh feeleth, if the fame be finall or meane, there is no great matter therein, nor that which is of any 20 confequence to speake of; but if they passe mediocritic, then (besides that they be vame, deceitfull and uncerteine) they are found to be comberfome and odious, fuch as a man ought rather to tearme, not spiritual joies and delights of the soule, but rather sensual and groffe pleasures of the bodie, fawning, flattering and finding upon the foule, to draw and entice her to the participation of fuch vanities: as for fuch contentments of the minde which deferve indeed and are woorthy to be called joies and delights, they be purified cleane from the contrarie, they haveno mixture at all of troublefome motions, no fting that pricketh them, nor repentance that followeth them, but their pleafure is spirituall, proper and naturall to the soule; neither is the good therein borowed abroad, and brought in from without, nor abfurd and void of reason, but most agreeable and forting thereto, proceeding from that part of the mind which is given unto con-30 templation of the trueth, and defirous of knowledge, or at leaftwife from that, which applieth it felfe to doe and execute great and honourable things: now the delights and joies as well of the one as the other, hee that went about to number, and would straine and force himselfe to difcourfe how great and excellent they be, he were never able to make an end: but in briefe and fewwords, to helpe our memorie a little as touching this point: Histories minister an infinit number of goodly and notable examples, which yeeld unto us a fingular delight and recreation to passe the time away, never breeding in us a tedious satietie, but leaving alwaies the appetite that our foule hath to the trueth, infatiable and defirous still of more pleasure and contentment; in regard whereof, untrueths and very lies therein delivered, are not without their grace; for even in fables and thetions poeticall, although we give no credit unto them, there is some effe-40 ctuall force to delight and perswade: for thinke (I pray you) with your selfe, with what heat of delight and affection we reade the booke of Plato entituled Atlanticus, or the last books of Homers that? confideralfo with what griefe of heart wee miffe and want the refidue of the talebehinde, as if we were kept out of some beautifull temples, or faire theaters, shut fast against us? for furely the knowledge of tructh in all things, is followely and amiable, that it feemeth, our life and very being, dependeth most upon knowledge and learning; whereas the most unpleasant, odious and horrible things in death, be oblivion, ignorance and darkneffe; which is the reason (I affure you) that all men in a maner fight and watre against those who would be eave the dead of all fenfe, giving us thereby to understand, that they do measure the whole life, the being allo, and joy of man, by the fenfe onely and knowledge of his minde; in fuch fort, that even those ve- 50 ry things that are odious and offenfive otherwife, we heare otherwhiles with pleasure; and often times it falleth out, that though men be troubled with the thing they heare, fo as the water standeth in their cies, and they be readie to weepe and crie out for griefe, yet they defire those that relate the fame to fay on and speake all : as for example, Oedipus in Sophocles.

THE MESSENGER.
Alas, my lord, I fee that now I shall

Relate

Relate the thing which is the worst of all.

OEDIPUS.

Woe is me likewise: to heare st I amprest, There is no helpe 3 say on, and tell the rest.

But peradventure this may be a current and streame of intemperat pleasure and delight, proceeding from a curiofitie of the minde and will, too forward to heare and know all things, yea, and to offer violence unto the judgement and discourse of reason: howbeit, when as a narration or historie conteining in it no hurtfull and offensive matter, besides the subject argument, which confifteth of brave adventures and worthy exploits, is penned and couched in a fweet fule, with to agrace and powerfull force of eloquence; fuch as is the historie of Herodotus as touching the Greeke affaires, or of Xenophon concerning the Perfian acts, as also that which Homer with an heavenly spirit hath endited and delivered in his verses, or Endoxus in his peregrinations and defeription of the world, or Aristotle in his treatise of the founding of cities and governments of State, or Arifloxense who hath left in writing, the lives of famous and renowmed persons; in fuch (I fay) there is not onely much delight and contentment, but also there ensueth thereupon no displeasure nor repentance. And what man ishe, who being hungry, would more willingly eat the good and delicate meats? or athirst, defire and chuse to drinke the daintie and pleasant wines of the Phocacians, rather than reade that fiction and discourse of the voiage and pilgrimage of tilyffes? and who would take more pleafure to lie with a most faire and beautifull woman, than to fit up all night, reading either that which Xenophon hath written of ladie Panthea, or Arifobulus of dame Timoclea, or Theopompus of faire Thisbe? These be the pleasures and joies indeed of the minde: but our Epicureans reject likewife, all those delights which proceed from the fine inventions of the Mathematicall sciences: and to say a trueth, a historic runneth plaine, even, fimple and uniforme; whereas the delectation that we have in Geometric, Aftronomie and Musicke, have besides (I wot not what) forcible bait of varietie so attractive, that it feemeth men are charmed and enchanted by them; fo forcibly they allure, and fo mightily they holde men with their delineations and descriptions, as if they were to many forceries, spels and incantations: fo that who foever hath once talted thereof, so he be practifed and exercised therein, he may go all about well enough, chanting these verses of Sophocles:

The furious love of Muses nine Hath heart and minde possessed in the Thus ravished, fast time hie To creef and cape of mountaine hie: Melodious songs, and sound with all

Of pleasant harpe, me forth doth call. Certes, Thampras exercised his poeticall head about nothing els; no more verily did Eudoxus, Aristarchus and Archimides. For seeing that studious and industrious painters tooke so great pleafure in the excellency of their works, that Nicias when he was painting Homer's Necyta (that is to fay, the calling foorth and raising the ghosts of folke departed) being so affectionate to it, 40 forgathimfelfe and asked his fervitours eftfoones about him, whether he had dined or no: and when Ptolomeus king of Aegypt fent unto him threefcore talents for the faid picture after it was finished, he refused the same, and would never fell, or part with his handy-worke. What pleafure reaped (thinke you) and how great delight tooke Enclides in Geometrie and Aftrologie, when he wrote the propositions of Perspective; and Philip when he composed the demonstrations of the divers formes and shapes appearing in the Moone? Archimedes also, when by the angle called Gonia, he found out, that the Diameter of the Sun is just so bigge a part of the greatest circle, as the angle is of four eright lines; Apollonius likewife and Aristarchus, who were the inventours of the like propositions; the contemplation and knowledge whereof, even at this day, bringeth exceeding pleasure and woonderfull generositie & magnanimity unto those who 50 can intend to study upon them. And verily those base and abject pleasures of the kitchin and brothell-house, we ought not so much as to compare with these, and thereby to contaminate and difgrace the facred Muses and their mountaine Helicon,

Where shepheard none durst tend his stocke, On hill above or vale below: Nor edged toole was knowen to shocke Or cut one tree that there did grow.

But these pleasures are indeed the intemperate & undefiled pastures of the gentle bees; whereas

Ddd

rhofe

those other resemble properly, the itching lusts of swine and goats, which over and besides the bodie, fill with their filthie ordure the sensual part of the soule, subject to all passions and perturbations. True it is, that lust and desire to enjoy pleasures, is a passion adventurous and hardie enough to enterprise many and fundrie matters; yet was there never any man found so annorous, who for joy that he had embraced his paramour, facrificed a beete; nor ever was there knowen so notorious a glutton, who wished in his heart and desired, so he might first fill his belie with delicate viands and princely banketting dishes, to die presently: and yet Endonus made this praier, that he might stand nere unto the lunne, for to learne the forme, the magnitude and the beauty of that planet, upon condition to be burnt presently, as Phieron was, with the beames thereof. Pythagorus for the proofe of one proposition or figure which he had invented, sacrifi-10 ced an ox, as Apollodorus hath recorded in this Dysticon:

No fooner had Pythagoras this noble figure found, But folemaly he facrifie d an ox, evenin that flound.

Whether it were that flope line in Geometrie, called Hypotimufa, which answering directly to the right angle of a triangle, is as much in effect as the other two that comprehend and make the faid angle; or rather that linearie demonstration or proposition, whereby he measured the plotin a parabolicke fection of a Cone or round pyramidall figure. As for Archimedes, he was fo intentive and buffe in drawing his Geometricall figures, that his fervants were faine by force to pull him away to be washed and anointed; and even then he would with the strigill or bath. combe (which ferved to currie and rub his skin) draw figures even upon his very bellie: and one 20 day above the reft, having found out whiles he was a bathing, the way to know, how much golde the gold-fmith had robbed in the fashion of that crowne which king Hiero had put forth to ma. king, he ran foorth fuddenly out of the baine, as if he had beene frantike, or infpired with fome fanaticall spirit, crying out; Heureca, Heureca, that is to say, I have found it, I have found it, iterating the fame many times all the way as he went. But we never heard of any glutton fo given to gourmandife & belly cheere, who went up and downe crying Bebroca, that is to fay, I have eaten, I have caten; nor of a wanton & amorous person, who having enjoied his love, would set up this note, Ephilesa, that is to say, I have kist, I have kist. Notwithstanding there have beene & areat this day, a thousand millions, even an infinit number of lascivious & loose persons: But contrariwife, we detelt and abhorre those, who upon an affection, braverie and pride, make rehearfull to what feafts they have beene at, as persons who highly account of so base and unwoorthy pleafures, which men ought indeed to have in contempt. Whereas in reading the works of Eudoxus, Archimides, and Hipparchus, we are ravished and transported as it were with some heavenly and divine delight; belowing that faying of Plato to be true, who writeth: That the Mathematicall arts, howfoever they be contemned, by those that be ignorant, and for default of knowledge and understanding neglected; yet for the grace and delight that they yeeld be more and more in request, even in despight of those blind and blockish persons: All which pleasures so great and fo many in number, running alwaies as a river; thefe men heere doe turne and derive another way, for to empeach and hinder those who approch unto them, and give eare unto their doctrine, that they should not once taste thereof, but command them to set up and spred 40 all their maine failes, and flie away as fast as they can. Yea, and that which more is, all those of this feet, both men and women, pray and request Pythocles (for Epicurus sake) not to make any account of those arts which we name liberall: And in praising our Apelles, among other lingular qualities, that they attribute unto him, they fet downe this for one: That from his first beginning he had forborne the studie of the Mathematicks, and by that meanes kept himselfe unspotted and undefiled: As for hiltories (to fay nothing, how of all other sciences they have neither heard nor feene any) I will cite onely the words of Metradorm writing of Poets: Tulh(quoth he) be not abashed nor thinke it a shame to confesse that thou knowest not, of whether side Hector was, of the Greeks part or of the Trojans neither thinke it a great matter if thoube ignorant what were the first verses of Homers Poeme, and regard thou as little those in the mids.

Now for a finite his vertex will well inough, that the pleafures of the body (like unto the aniverfaire Etefian minds) doe blow over and paffe away, yea and after the flower of mans age is once gone, decay fenfibly, and cease altogether; therefore he moovet ha question: Whether a wise man, being now farre stept in yeeres, and not able any more to keepe company with a woman, taketh pleasure still in wanton touching, seeling or handling of faire and beautiful perfons: Whether verify he is farre from the minde and opinion of sophocles; who rejoiced and thanked God, thathee had escaped from this voluptuous and steffly love, as from the yoke,

chaine, or clogge of fome violent and furious mafter. Yet rather ought these sensual and voluptuous persons, seeing that manie delights and pleasures corporall, doe sade and decaie in old age,

And that with aged folk in this, Dame Venus much offended is.

(as faith Euripides) to make provision then most all, of other spiritual pleasures, and to be stored before hand, as it were against some long siege, with such drie victuals as are not subject to purrefaction and corruption: Then I fay should they hold their solomne feasts of Venus, & goodly morrow-minds, to passe the time away by reading some pleasant histories, delectable poemes, or pretie speculations of mustick or geometric: And verily they would not so much as thinke any more of those blind feelings and bootlesse handlings (as I may tearme them) which indeed are no more but the pricks and provocations of dead wantonnesse, if they had learned no more but as Aristotle, Heraclides, and Dicaarchus did, to write of Homer and Euripides: But they being never carefull and provident to purvey fuch victuals, and feeing all the reft of their life otherwise to be unpleasant, and as drie as a kex, (as themselves are woont to say of vertue) yet willing to enjoy still their pleasures continually, but finding their bodies to fay may, and not able to performe the fame to their contentment, they bewray their corruption in committing foule and dishonest acts out of season, enforcing themselves (even by their owne confessions) to awaken, flirre up, and renew the memorie of their former pleafures in times past, and for want 20 offresh and new delights, making a shift to serve their turne with the old & stale, as if they had beenelong kept in falt-pickle, or compatt, untill their goodnesse and life were gone; desirous they are to stirre, kindle, and quicken others that lie extinct in their sless, as it were raked up in dead and cold after long before, cleane against the course of nature; and all for default that they were not provided before of fome fweet thing laid up in their foule, proper unto her, and delightsome according to her worthinesse: As for other spirituall pleasures wee have spoken of them already, as they came into our minde: but as touching musick, which bringing with it so many cotentments, & fo great delights, men yet reject & flie fro, no man I trow would willingly passe it over in filence, considering the absurd and importment speeches that Epicurus giveth out:for in his questions he maintaineth. That a wife man is a great lover of shews & spectacles, 30 delighting above all others to heare and fee the pastimes, sports, & sights, exhibited in theatres during the feaft of Bacches; yet wil not he admit any mufical problemes, any disputation or witty discourses of Criticks in points of humanitie & learning, so much as at the very table, in dinner and supper time; but giveth counsell unto kings and princes that be lovers & favorers of literature, to abide rather the reading & hearing of military narrations & stratagemes at their feasts & banquets, yea, and fcurrill talke of buffons, pleafants, and iefters, than any queftions propounded or discussed, as touching musicke or poetrie: for thus much hath he delivered in his booke entituled: Of Royaltie: as if hee had written the fame to Sardanapalus or Naratus, who was in timespalt a great potentate and lord of Babylon. Certes, neither Hiero nor Attalus, ne yet Archelaus, would ever have bene perswaded to remove and displace from their tables such as Erus-40 pides, Simonides, Melanippides, Crates or Diodorus, forto fet in their roomes Cardax, Ariances and Callias, knowen jesters and notorious ribauds; or some parasitical Thrasonides and Thrasyleons, who could skill of nothing els but how to make folke laugh, in counterfaiting lamentable yellings, groanes, howlings, and all to move applause and clapping of hands. If king Ptolomeus the first of that name, who also first erected a librarie, and founded a colledge of learned men, had light upon these goodly rules and royall precepts of his putting downe, would not he have exclamed and faid unto the Samians:

O Muses faire, bladies deere, What envie, and what spight is heere!

For, befeeming it is not any Athenian thus maliciously to be bent unto the Muses, and be at 50 warre with them: but according to Pindarus;

Whom Jupicer doth not vouch lafe His love and favour for to have. Amaz'd they stand and guake for feare, When they the voice of Muses beare.

What say you, Epicurus? you goe early in the morning by breake of day unto the Theater, to heater musicians playing upon the harpe and lute, or founding snawmes and hautboies: if then it fortune at the table, in time of a banquet, that Theophrass will counsel to Symphonics and Ddd 2.

musicall accords? or Aristoxenes, of changes and alteration of tunes? or Aristophanes of Ho.

mers works, will you stop your eares with both hands because you would not heare, for that you
fo abhorre and detest them? Surely, there was more civillity yet and honestie (by report) in that
barbarous king of Septhia, Ateas, who when that excellent minstrell Ismenias, being his cap.

tive, taken prisoner in the warres, plaied upon the stute before him as hee stat dinner, swate
great oath, that he tooke more pleasure to heare his horseneigh. Doe not these men (thinke
you) confessed and grant (when they be well charged) that they have given dessance to vertue
and honestie, proclaming mortall and irreconcilable warre, without all hope of truce, patle,
composition and peace? for surely, setting pleasure onely aside, what other thing is there in the
world (be it never so pure, holy and venerable) that they embrace and love? Had it not beene
nore reason, for the leading of a joystill life, to be offended with sweet persumes, and to reject
odoriferous oiles and ointments, as bettles, jeires and vultures doe, than to abhorre, detest and
shun the talke and discourses of Humanitians, Criticks, Grammarians and Musicians? sor,
what maner of flute or hautboies, what harpe or lute how well sover set, tuned, and fitted for
some

Whas guire refounding loud and shrill From pleasant mouth and brest so swees, A song in parts, set with great skill, When cunning men in musicke meet?

fo greatly delighted Epicurus and Metrodorus, as the discourses, the rules and precepts of quites 20 and carols, the questions and propositions concerning flutes and hautboies, touching proportions, confonances & harmonical accords would affect Aristotle, Theophrastus, Hieronymus and Dicearchus? as for example, what is the reason, that of two pipes or flutes (otherwise even and equall) that which hath the straighter and narrower mouth, yeeldeth the bigger and more base found? also, what might be the cause, that the same pipe when it is lifted and set upward, becommeth loud in all the tones that it maketh; but holde it downward once, it foundeth as low? fo doth one pipe also when it is set close unto another, give a base found; but contrariwise, if it be disjoined and put afunder, it foundeth higher and more shrill. As also, how it comments to passe that if a man fow chaffe or cast dust thicke upon the stage or scaffold in a Theater, the people there affembled be deafe and cannot heare the plaiers or minftrels? Semblably, when king Ale-10 xander the Great was minded to have made in the citie of Pella the forepart of the stage in the Theater, all of braffe; what mooved his workman or Architect not to permit him so to doe, for feare it would drowne and dull the voice of the plaiers? Finally, why among fundry kindsof Musicke, that which is called Chromaticall, delighteth, enlargeth and joieth the heart, whereas the Harmonicall contracteth and draweth it in, making it fad and dumpish? Moreover, the maners and natures of men which Poets represent in their writings, their wittie fictions, the difference and varietie of their stile, the solution of darke doubts and quaint questions, which (besides a delightfome grace and beautifull elegance) carie with them a familiar and perswasive power, whereoutech one may reape profit; infomuch as they are able (as Xenophon faith) to make a man forget even love it felfe, so effectuall is this pleasure and delight. Howbeit, the Epicurcans 40 here have no feeling and experience; nay, which is woorle, they defire to have none, as they fay themselves; but imploying the whole contemplative part of the soule, in thinking upon nothing els but the bodie, and plucking it downward together with sensual and carnall lusts, as fishers nets with little rols and plummets of lead, they differ nothing at all from horsekeepers or shepherds and other herdmen, who lay before their beasts, hay, straw, or some kinde of grasle and herbs, as the proper fodder & forage for the cattell which they have in charge: for do they not even so intend to feed the soule fat (as men franke up swine) with bodily pleasures; in that they would have her to be glad for the hope shee hath that the body shall shortly enjoy some pleasure, or els in the remembrance of those which it hath enjoied in times past? as for any proper delight or particular pleasure of her owne, they suffer her to receive none from herselfe, nor 50 fo much as to feeke thereafter.

And verily, can there be any thing more abfurd & befide all apparance and shew of reason, than (whereas there be two parts whereof man is compounded, to wit, soule and body, of which the soule is more woorth, and placed in the higher degree) to say and affirme, that there is in the bodie some good thing, proper, peculiar, familiar, and naturall unto it, and none in the soule; but that she fits still tending the bodie, and looking onely to it? that she smileth upon the passions and affections thereof, joying and taking contentment with it onely; having of here

felfe originally no motion, no election, no choife, no defire nor pleasure at all ? Now furely they should either by putting off their maske and discovering themselves, have gone roundly to worke, making man flesh, and nothing else but flesh; as some there be who flatly denie, that there is any spirituall substance in him; or else leaving in us two different natures, they ought to have let either of them alone by it felfe, with their feverall good and evill; that I fav which is familiar or contrarie unto it: like as among the five fenfes, everie one is destined & appropriat to one object fensible, although all of them by accrtaine woonderfull sympathy be affected one to the other. Now the proper fenfative organ or instrument of the foule is, the understanding; and to fay that the fame hath no peculiar subject to worke upon, no proper spectacle to no behold, no familiar motion, no naturall and inbred passion or affection, in the fruition whereof it should take pleasure and delight, is the greatest absurdation of all others : And verily this is the faying of these men; unlesse haply some there be, who ere they be aware, charge upon them fome flanderous and false imputations. Heereat began I to speake and say unto him: Not so fir, if we may be judges; but I pray you let be, all action of inquirie, and proceed hardly to finish and make an end of your difcourfe. And why (quoth he) should not Aristodemus succeed after me, if you haply refuse flatly, or be loth to speake? You say true indeed, (quoth Aristodemus) but that shall not be untill you be wearie of speech, as this man is; and for the present, since you are yet fresh and in heart, I befeech you my good friend, spare not your selfe, but use your facultie, left you be thought for very floth and idleneffe to draw back and goe out of the lifts, 20 Certes (quoth Theon then) it is but a finall matter, and the fame very easie which is behind; for there remaineth no more but to sheward recount how many joics and pleasures there be in active life, and that part of the foule which is given to action? First and formost, even they themselves in some place graunt and confesse; that it is a greater pleasure to doe good, and to benefit others, than to receive a benefit from another; as for good turnes, a man I confesse may doe them in bare words and fayings; but furely the most and greatest are performed by acts and deeds, and thus much doth the verie word of benefit or weldoing import; and even they themselves testifie no lesse: For but a while since, wee heard this man report, what words and speeches Epicurus delivered; what letters he wrot and sent unto his friends, in extolling, praifing, and magnifying Metrodorus; how bravely and valiantly he went downe from the citie of Athens to the port Pyreaum, for to aid and fuccour Mythris the Syrian, albeit Metrodorus 30 did no fervice at all in that fally: What manner of pleasures then, and how great ought wee to effective those which Plate enjoied, when Dien a scholar of his & one of his bringing up, rose up to put downe the tyrant Diony sur, & to deliver the state of Sicily from servitude? what contentment might Aristotle find, when he caused the citie of his nativitie which was ruinate and rafed to the ground to be reedified, and his countrimen & fellow-citizens to be called home who were banished? what delights and joies were those of Theophrastus and Phidias, who deposed and overthrew those tyrants who usurped the lordly dominion of their countrey? and for private perfons in particular, how many they relieved, not in fending unto them a strike or a bushell of come and meale, as Epicurus fent unto fome; but in working and effecting, that those who were 40 exiled out of their native countrey, driven from their owne houses, and turned out of all their goods, might returne home againe and reenter upon all; that fuch as had beene prifoners and lien in irons, might be delivered and fet at large; as many also as were put from their wives and children, might recover and enjoy them againe: What need I make rehearfall unto you, who know all this well enough? But furely the impudence and abfurditie of this man, I cannot (though I would) passe over with silence, who debasing and casting under soorthe acts of Themistocles and Militades as he did, wrot of himselfe to certaine of his friends in this fort: Right nobly, valiantly, and magnificently, have you shewed your endevour and care of us, in provision of corne to furnish us withall; and againe you have declared by notorious fignes, which mount up into heaven, the fingular love and good will which you beare unto me. And if a man ob-30 serve the manner of this stile and writing, he shall find, that if he take out of the misteries of this great philosopher, that which concerneth a little corne, all the words besides are so curiously couched and penned, as if the epiftle had beene written purpofedly as a thankefgiving for the fafety of all Greece, or at leastwife, for delivering, setting free, and preserving the whole citie and people of Athens.

What should I bussemy head to shew unto you, that for the delights of the bodie, nature had need to be at great cost and expences; neither doth the chiefe pleasure which they seeke after, consist in course bisket-bread; in pease pottage; or lentile broth; but the appetites

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of these voluptuous persons, call for exquisit and daintie viands, for sweete and delicate wines, such as those be of Thasos, for sweet odours, pleasant persumes, and precious oinrments, for curious junkets and banketting diffies, for tarts, cake-bread, marchpanes, and other pastrie works, well wrought, beaten and tempered with the sweet liquor gathered by the yellow winged Bee: over and besides all this, their mind stands also to faire and beautiful yoone damosels, they must have some pretie Leontium, some fine Boichon, some sweet Hedid, or daintie A icedion, whom they keepe and nourish of purpose within their gardens of pleasure. to be ready at hand. As for the delights and joics of the mind, there is no man but will confelle and fay: That founded they ought to be upon the greatnesse of some noble actions, and the beautie of worthy and memorable works, if we would have them to be not vaine, base and chil. 10 dish; but contrariwise, reputed grave, generous, magnificent and manlike; whereas to vaunt and glory of being let loofe to a diffolute course of life and the fruition of pleasures and delights. after the maner of failers and mariners when they celebrate the feaft of Venus; to boast also and please himselse in this: That being desperally sicke of that kinde of dropsie which the Physici. ans call Afeites, he forbare not to feast his friends still, and keepe good companie, neither spated to adde and gather more moisture and waterish humours still unto his dropsic: and remembring the last words that his brother Neocles spake upon his death-bed, melted and consumed with a speciall joy and pleasure of his owne, tempered with teares; there is no man (I trow) of found judgement and in his right wits, who would tearme these souths follies, either sound joies or perfect delights; but furely, if there be any Sardonian laughter (as they call it) belonging also 20 to the foule, it is feated (in my conceit) even in fuch joics and mirths mingled with teares as these, which do violence unto nature: but if any man shall say, that these be solaces, let him compare them with others, and see how farre these excell and go beyond them which are expressed by these verses:

By lage advice I have effected this. That Spartacs martiall fame eclipsed is. This man, o friend and stranger both, was while he lived heere, The great and glorious starre of Rome, his native citie decre. Likewise:

I wot not what I (bould you call, An heavenly God and man mortall.

And when I fet before mine cies the noble and worthy acts of Thrashulus and Pelopidas; orbehold the victories either of Ariflides in that journey of Platea, or of Militades at the battell of Marathon, I am even ravished and transported besides my selfe, and forced to say with Herodotus, and deliver this sentence: That in this active life, there is more sweetnesse and delectation, than glorie and honour : and that this is fo, Epaminondas will beare me witnesse, who (by report) gave out this speech, that the greatest contentment which ever he had during his life, was this: That 40 his father and mother were both alive to fee that noble Trophee of his, for the victorie that he wan at Leuctres, being generall of the Thebans against the Lacedæmonians. Compare we now with this mother of Epaninondas, Epicurus his mother, who tooke fo great joy to fee her sonne keeping close in a daintie garden and orchard of pleasure, where he and his familiar friend Polyenus gat children in common, upon a trull and courtifan of Cyzicum: for, that both mother and fister of Metrodorus were exceeding glad of his marriage, may appeare by his letters missive written unto his brother, which are extant in his books; and yet they goe up and downe everie where crying with open mouth: That they have lived in joy, doing nought els but extolland magnific their delicate life, faring much like unto flaves when they folenmize the feast of Saturne, supping and making good cheere together, or celebrate the Bacchanales, running about 50 the fields; so as a man may hardly abide to heare the utas and yelling noise they make, when upon the infolent joy of their hearts, they breake out into many fooleries, and utter they care not unto whom, as vaine and fond speeches, in this maner:

Why fat' A thou fill, thou wretched lout, Come let us drinke and quaffe about : The meats upon the boord set are, Be meric man, and make no spare :

No sooner are these words let flie, But all at once they hour and crie; The pots then walke, one filles out wine, Another brings a garland fine Of flowers full fresh, bis head to crowne, And decks the cup, whiles wine goes downe: And then the minstrell, Phoebus knight, With faire greene branch of Laurell dight, Sets out his rude and rust tethrote, And sings a filthie tunelesse note: With that one thrusts the pipe him fro, And founds his wench and bedfello.

Do not (thinke you) the letters of Metrodorus resemble these vanities, which he wrote unto his brother in these tearmes? There is no need at all, Timocrates, neither ought a man to expose 32 himselfe into danger for the safetic of Greece, or to straine and busic his head to winne a coronet ,, among them, in testimonic of his wisedome; but he isto eat, and drinke wine merily, so as the ,, bodiemay enjoy all pleasure, and susteine no harme. And againe in another place of the same ,, letters he hath these words : Oh how joifull was I, and glad at heart ! ôh what contentment of ,, fpirit found I, when I had learned once of Epicurus, to make much of my bellie, and to gratifie it ,, 20 as I ought! For to fay atrueth to you, ô Timocrates, that art a Naturalist: The sovereigne good 3,

of a man lieth about the bellie.

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Infumme, these men doe limit, set out and circumscribe the greatnesse of humane pleasure within the compasse of the bellie, as it were within center and circumference; but furely imposfible it is, that they should ever have their part of any great, roial and magnificall joy, such as indeed causeth magnanimitie and hautinesse of courage, bringeth glorious honour abroad, or tranquillitie of spirit at home, who have made choise of a close and private life within doores, never shewing themselves in the world, nor medling with the publicke affaires of common weale; a life (I say) sequestred from all offices of humanitie, farre removed from any instinct of honour, or defire to gratific others, thereby to deferve thanks, or winne favour : for the foule (I 30 may tell you) is no base and small thing, it is not vile and illiberall, extending her desires onely to that which is good to bee eaten, as doe these poulps or pourcuttle fifnes which stretch their cleies as farre as to their meat and no farther; for fuch appetites as these, are most quickly cutoff with fatietie, and filled in a moment; but when the motions and defires of the minde tending to vertue and honestie, to honour also and contentment of conscience, upon vertuous deeds and well doing, are once growen to their vigor and perfection, they have not for their limit, the length and tearme onely of mans life: but furely, the defire of honor, and the affection to profit the focietic of men, comprehending all atternitie, striveth still to goe forward in such actions and beneficiall deeds as yeeld infinit pleasures that cannot be expressed; which joies, great personages and men of woorth can not shake off and avoid though they would: for flic 40 they from them what they can, yet they environ them about on every fide, they are readie to meet them wherfoever they goe, when as by their beneficence and good deeds they have once refreshed and cheered many other: for of such persons may well this verse be verified:

To towne when that he comes, or there doth walk: Men him behold as God, and so doe talk.

For when a man hath so affected and disposed others, that they are glad and leape for joy to see him, that they have a longing defire to touch, salute, & speak unto him; who seeth not (though otherwise he were blinde) that he findeth great joies in himselse, and enjoieth most sweet contentment: this is the cause that such men are never wearie of well dooing, nor thinke it a trouble to be emploied to the good of others; for we shall evermore heare from their mouths these 50 and fuch like speeches:

Thy father thee begat and brought to light, That thou one day might it profu many a wight. Againe,

Let us not cease, but shew aminde, Of doing good to all mankind.

Whatneed I to speake heere of those that bee excellent men, and good in the highest degree? for if to any one of those who are not extremely wicked, at the very point and instant of dead;

he in whose hands lieth his life, be he a god or someking, should graunt one howres respit, and permit him to employ himselfe at his owne choise, either to execute some memorable act. or elfe to take his pleafure for the while, fo that immediately after that howre pall, he should goe to his death: How many thinke you would chuse rather during this small time, to lie with that courtifane and famous strumpet Law, or drink liberally of good Ariusian wine, than to kill the tyrant Archias, for to deliver the citic of Thebes, from tyrannicall fervitude? for mine owne part verily, I suppose, that there is not one: for this I observe in those sword-sencers, who fight at sharpe a combat to the uttrance, such I meane as are not altogether brutish and savage, but of the Greekish nation, when they are to enter in place for to performe their devoir, not with standing there be presented unto them many deintie dishes, and costly cates, chuse rather at this 10 very time to recommend unto their friends, their wives and children, to manumife and enfranchife their flaves, than to ferve their bellies and content their fenfuall appetites: But admit that these bodily pleasures be great matters, and highly to be accounted of, the same are common also even to those that leade an active life, and manage affaires of State: For as the Poetsaith:

Wine muscadell they drinke, and likewise eat Fine manchet bread, made of the whitest wheat.

They banket also, and feast with their friends, yea and much more merily (in my conceit, after they be returned from bloudie battels or other great exploits and important fervices; like as Alexander & Agesilaus, Phocion also and Epaminondas were woont to do) than these who areannointed against the fire, or carried easily in their litters: and yet such as they, mocke and scome 20 those, who indeed have the fruition of other greater and more deintie pleasures: for what should a man speake of Epaminondas, who being invited to a supper unto his friends house, when he saw that the provision was greater and more sumptuous than his state might well beare, would not stay and suppe with him, but faid thus unto his friend: I thought you would have facrificed unthe gods, and not have beene a wastefull and prodigall spender: and no marvell; forking Alexander the Great refused to entertaine the exquisit cooks of Ada Queene of Caria; saying: Thathe had better about him of his owne to dreffe his meat, to wit, for his dinner or breakfalt, early rifing and travelling before day-light; and for his supper, a light and hungry dinner. As for Philoxenus who wrot unto him concerning two most faire and beautiful boies, to this effect, whether he should buy them for to fend unto him or no? he had like to have lost the place of go- 30 vernment under him, for his labour: and yet to fay a trueth, who might have better done it than Alexander ? But like as of two paines & griefs (as Hippocrates faith) the leffe is dulled and dimmed (as it were) by the greater; even so, the pleasures proceeding from vertuous and honourable actions, do darken and extinguish (by reason of the minds joies, and in regard of their exceeding greatnesse) those delights which arise from the bodie. And if it be so as these Epicureans fay, that the remembrance of former pleasures and good things, be materiall and make much for a joifull life; which of us all will beleeve Epicurus himselfe, that dying (as hedid) in most grievous paines and dolorous maladies, he eased his torments or asswaged his anguish by calling to minde those delights which beforetime he had enjoied ? For furely, it were an easier matter to beholde the refemblance of ones face in the bottome of a troubled water, or amid the 40 waves during a tempest, than to conceive and apprehend the smiling and laughing remembrance of a pleasure past, in so great a disquietnesse and bitter vexation of the body; whereas the memorie of vertuous and praise-worthy actions, a man can not (would he never so faine) chase and drive out of his minde. For how is it possible, that Alexander the Great, should ever forget the battell at Arbela ? or Pelopidas, the defaiture of the tyrant Leoniades? or Themistocles, the noble field fought before Salamis? for as touching the victorie at Marathon, the memorial thereof the Athenians doe folemnize with feafts even to this day; like as the Thebans celebrate the remembrance of the famous fight at Leuttres: and weeverily (as you know well enough) make feasts for the victorie of Daiphantus before the citie Hyampolis; and not onely we, keepe yeerely holiday then, but also the whole country of Phoeis (upon that anniversarie day) is full of 50 facrifices and due honours; neither is there one of us that taketh fo great contenument of all that hee eateth or drinketh at fuch a festivall time, as he doth in regard of the remembrance of those noble acts which those brave men performed : we may well gesse and consider therefore, what joy, what mirth, what gladnesse and solace of heart accompanied them all their life time after, who executed these noble seats of armes, considering that after five hundred yeeres and above, the memorie of them is fresh, and the same attended with so great cheere and rejoicing. And yet Epicar so hunselfedoth acknowledge, that of glorie there doe arise certeine joies and

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pleasures; for how could he doe leffe, seeing that himselfe is so desirous thereof, that he is even mad withall, and fareth after a furious maner to atteine thereto; infomuch, as not onely he difawoweth his owne mafters and teachers, contesteth against * Democrates (whose opinions and *Or rather doctrines he stealeth word for word) upon certeine fyllables and nice points, mainteining that Domacolon there never was any wife man nor learned clearke, fetting himfelfe and his disciples aside: but alfo, which more is, he hath bene fo impudent, as to fay and write; that Colotes adored him as a god, touching his knees full devoudy, when he heard him discourse of naturall causes; and that his brother Neocles affirmed and gave out even from his infancie; that Epicurus had never his slike or fellow, for wildome and knowledge; as also, that his mother was happie and bleffed for bearing in her womb fuch a number of Atomes, that is to fay, indivisible small bodies, who concutting all together, framed and formed fo skilfull a personage. Is not this all one with that which Callier at teles formetime faid of Conon : That he committed adulterie with the fea; even fo a man may fay that Epicurus (fecretly by ftealth and fhamefully) made love unto Glory, and went about to folicit, yea, force her by violence, not being able to win and enjoy her openly; whereupon he became paffionate and love-ficke: for like as a mans bodie in time of famine, for that it bath no food and nourishment otherwise, is conftreined even against nature, to feed upon the ownefubstance; even so ambition and thirst after glorie, doth the like hurt unto the soules of ambitious persons: for being readie to die for thirst of glorie, and seeing they can not have it otherwise, enforced they are to praise themselves. But they that be thus passionatly affected 20 with defire of praife and honour, confesse nor they manifestly, that they reject, forgo and negleft great pleafures and delights; when through their feeble, lazie and base minds, they flie from publicke offices of State, forbeare the management of affaires, and regard not the favours of kings and following of great persons; from whence Democritus faith; there accrue unto man many ornaments to grace and commend this life? For Epicurus shall never be able to make the worldbeleeve, that (esteeming so much as he did and making so great account of Neocles his brothers testimonie or the adoration of colotes) he would not have bene ready to have leapt our of his skin, and gone befides himfelfe for joy, if he had beene received by the Greeks at the folemnitie of the Olympian games, with joious acclamations and clapping of hands: nay, hee would no doubt have shewed that gladnesse and contentment of heart with open mouth; hee 30 would have bene aloft and flowen abroad, as the Poet Sophocles faith:

Like to the Downe, which being light and loft From thiftle olde, the winde doth mount aloft.

And if it be a gracious and acceptable thing, for a man to brute that he hath a good name; it followeth confequently, that grievous it is to be in an ill name: and what is more infamous and odious, than to be friendlesse, to want emploiment, to be infected with Atheisme and impietie, to live loofely and abandoned to lufts and pleasures; finally, to be neglected and contemned? and verily (fetting themselves aside) there is no man living, but he thinkethal these qualities and attributes to agree fitly unto this feet of theirs. True(will fome man fay)but they have the greater wrong. Well, the question now, is not, what is the trueth, but what is the common opinion 40 that the world hath of them: and to this purpose I meane not to cite the publicke decrees and acts of Citres, nor to alledge the defamatorie books written against them; for that were too odious: but if the oracles, if divination, if the præfeience and providence of the gods, if the naturall love and affectionate kindneffe of parents to their children, if the managing of politike affaires, if the conduct of armies, if magiffracie and rule in common-wealth, be matters honourable and glorious, then it must needs be, that they who affirme: That no travell ought to be made for the fafetie of Greece, but that we are to eat and drinke, so as the bellie may be pleased, and receive no harme and discontentment, should be infamous, and reputed for wicked persons; and such as are to taken, must needs be odious and in great difgrace, if to be they hold, honour, good name and reputation, to be things pleafant and delectable.

When Theon had made an end of this speech, thought good it was to give over walking; and when (as our custome and manner was) we were set downe upon the seats, we rested a pretie while in filence, ruminating(as it were) and pondering that which had beene delivered, but long this was not; for Zeuxippus thinking upon that which had beene faid: And who (quoth he) shall goethrough with that which remaineth behind, confidering that me thinks we are not as yet come to a full point and finall conclusion? for feeing that crewhile he hath made mention by the way of Divination, and likewife put us in minde of Divine providence two maine points, I may tell you whereupon these men doe greatly stand, and which by their saying yeeld them not * To wit, in Jenying hot the one and the other. the least pleasure, contentment, repose of spirit, and assurance in this life; * therefore I hold in necessarie that somewhat were said as touching the same. Then Aristodemus taking the matter in hand: As for the pleasure (quoth he) which they pretend in this case, me thinks (by all in maner that hath beene spoken) that if their reasons should goe for currant, and bring that about which they purpose & intend, well may they free and deliver their spirit of (I wot not what) seare of the gods, and a certaine superstition; butfurely they imprint no joy, nor minister any comfort and contentment to their minds at all, in any regard of the gods: for to be troubled with no dread of the gods, nor comforted by any hope from them, worketh this effect, and maketh them fo affected towards the gods, as we are to the fithes of the Hyrcan fea, expecting neither goods neffe nor harme from them. But if we must adde fomewhat more to that which hath beene said to alreadie; thus much I take it wee may be bold to fet downe, as received and granted by them: First and formost, that they impugne them mightily, who condemne and take away all heavineffe, forrow, weeping, fighes, and lamentations for the death of friends: and they affirme, that this indolence tending to a kinde of impaffibilitie, proceedeth from another evill, greater and woorse than it, to wit, cruell inhumanitie, or else an outragious and surious desire of vaingloric and oftentation; and therefore they hold it better to fuffer a little forrow, and to grieve moderately, so a man runne not all to teares and marre his eies with weeping, nor shewallmaner of passions as some doe by their deeds and writings, because they would be thought affectionate and heartie lovers of their friends, and withall of a gentle and tender nature: For thus much hath Epicarus delivered in many of his books, and namely in his letters where he maketh 20 mention of the death of Hegefanax, writing unto Dofaheus the father, and Pyrfos the brother of the man departed: For long it is not fince by fortune those letters of his came to my hands, which I perufed, and in imitating their maner of arguing, I fay: That Atheifme and impietie is no leffe finne, than the crueltie or vaine and arrogant oftentation abovefaid; unto which impictiethey would induce us with their perswasions, who take from God both favor and also anger: For, better it were, that to the opinion and beliefe which we have of the gods, therewere adjoined and engraffed an affection mixed and compaffed of reverence and feare, than in flying therefro, to leave unto our felves neither hope nor pleasure, no affurance in prospenie, neyet recourse unto the goodnesse of the gods in time of adversitie: True it is, that we ought to ridde away from the opinion that we have of the gods, all superstition, if it be possible, as well 30 as from our cies all gummic and glutinous matter, offending the fight; but if this may not be, we are not therefore to cut away quite, or to put out the cies cleane of that faith and beliefe, which men for the most part have of the gods; and this is not a severe, seareful and austere conceit as these imagine, who traduce and slander divine providence, to make it odious and terrible, as folke doe by little children, whom they use to scarre with the fantasticall illusion, Empula, as if it were some infernall furie, or tragicall vengeance seizing upon them: but some sew men there be, who in that fort doe feare God, as that it is better and more expedient for them fo to doe, than otherwise not to stand in awe of him: for in dreading him as a gracious and propitious lord unto the good, and an enemie unto the wicked, by this one kinde of feare which maketh them that they have no need at all of many others, they are delivered from those baits 40 which many times allure and entice men to evill; and thus keeping vice short, and not giving it head, but holding it necre unto them, and within their reach, that it cannot escape and get from them, they be leffe tormented than those who be so hardie as to emploie the same, and dare put it in practife, but soone after, fall into fearefull fits, and repent themselves : But as touching the disposition toward God in the common fort of men, who are ignorant, unlettered, and of a groffe conceit for the most part; howbeit not very wicked, nor starke naught: true it is, that as together with the reverence and honour that they beare to the gods, there is intermingled certaine trembling feare, which properly is called superstition; so likewise there is an infinit deale more of good hope and true joy, which caufeth them to praie unto the gods continually for their owne good estate, and for happie successe in their affaires, and they receive all prospe-50 ritie as sent unto them from heaven above; which appeareth evidently by most notable and significant arguments: for furely no exercises recreat us more, than those of religion and devotion in the temples of the gods; no times and feafons are more joious, than folemne feafs in their honour, no actions, no fights, more delight and joy our hearts, than those which we doe and see our felves, either finging and dauncing folernnly in the presence of the gods, or being affiliant at their facrifices, or the ceremonious mysteries of divine service; for at such times our soule is nothing fadde, cast downe, or melancholike, as if the had to deale with some terrible tyrants, or

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bloudie butchers; where good reafon were, that she should bee heavie and dejected; but looke where she thinketh and is perswaded most that God is present, in that place especially, the castest behinde her all anguishes, agonies, forrowes, seares and anxieties; there I say she give the hersels to all manner of joy, even to drinke wine most liberally, to play, disport, laugh and be merie: As the poet said in love and wanton matters:

Both grey-beard, old and aged trot when they the foots remember, Of lovely Venus, leape for joy, no cares their heart encomber.

To So verily in these solutions pompes, processions and factifices, not onely the aged husband and the old wife, the poore man that liveth in low and private estate, but also

The far legd wench well under laid Which to the mill bestirs full yerne, Her good round flumpes, and well appaid To grunde her griest, doth turne the guerne.

the houshold hines and tervants, and the mercenarie day-labourers, who get their living by the fiveat of their browes, doe altogether leape for mirth and joy of heart: Kings and princes keepe great cheere in their roiall courts, and make certeine roiall and publike feafts for all commers; but those which they hold in the facred temples, at facrifices and folemnities of the gods, 20 performed with fragrant perfumes and odoriforous incense; where it feemeth that men approchneerest unto the majestic of the gods, & thinke they even touch them, and be conversant with them in all honour and reverence: fuch feafts (I fay) yeeld a more rare joy and fingular delectation, than any other; whereof he hath no part at all who denieth the providence of God: for it is not the abundance and plentie of wine there drunke, nor the store of roast & sodden meat there eaten, which yeeldeth joy and contentment at such solemne seasts; but the affored hope and full perswasion that God is there present, propitious, favourable and gracious; and that he accepteth in good part the honour and service done unto him. For some feaths and facrifices there be, where there is no mulicke at all of flutes and hauthoics, ne yet any chaplets and garlands of flowers used at all; but a facrifice, where no god is present, like as a temple without a fa-30 cred feast or holy banquet, is * profane, unfestivall, impious, irreligious, and without divine in - * 25 cred fpiration and devotion; and to fpeake better, wholly difpleafant and odious to himfelfe that offerethit; for that he counterfeiteth by hypocrifie, praices and adorations, onely in a fliew and otherwise than he meaneth, for feare of the muluitude, and pronounceth words cleane contrary unto the opinions which he holdeth in Philosophie: when he facrificeth, he standeth by the priest as he would by a cooke or butcher, who cutteth the throat of a sheepe; and after he hath sacrificed, he goes his way home, faying thus to himfelie. I have facrificed a sheepe as menordinatily do unto the gods, who have no care and regard of me. For foit is that Epicurus teacheth his scholars, to fer a good countenance of the matter, and neither to envie nor incurre the hatred of the common fort, when they are disposed to be merie, but seeming others in practise, and 40 themselves inwardly in being displeased with things done : for according as Euenus faith:

What things are done perforce by us, Displeasant be and odious.

Hereupon it is, that they themselves do say and holde: That superstitious persons are present at sacrifices and religious ceremonies, not for any joy or pleasure they take there, but upon a scare that they have: and verily, herein no difference is betweene them and superstitious solke, in case it be so, that they doe the same things for scare of the world, which the other do for scare of the gods; nay rather they be in a worse condition than those, in that they have not so much hope of good as they, but onely stand alwaies in dread and be troubled in mind, lest they should be detected and discovered, for abusing and deceiving the world by their counterseit hypocrisie; in regard of which seare, they have themselves written books and treatises of the gods and of dettie, so composed, that they be full of ambiguities; and nothing is therein foundly or cleerely delial vered, they do so maske, difguise and cover themselves; and all to cloake and hide the opinions which in deed they hold, doubting the surie of the people. Thus much concerning two forts of men, to wit, the wicked and the simple or common multitude: now therefore let us consider of a thirdkinde, such as be of the best marke, men of worth and honour, most devout and religious in deed; namely, what sincere and pure pleasures they have, by reason of the perswasion that they hold of God; beleeving sitmly, that he is the ruler and director of all good persons, the au-

hour

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thour and father from whom proceed all things good and honest; and that it is not lawfull to fay or beleeve, that he doth evill, no more than to be perswaded that he suffereth evill: for good he is by nature; and looke whatfoever is good, conceiveth no envie to any, is fearefull of none. neither is it moved with anger or hatred of ought: for like as heat can not coole a thing, but alwaies naturally, maketh it hot; fo that which is good can not hurt or doill. Now, anger and fayour be farre remote one from the other; fo is choler and bitter gall much different from mildnesse and benevolence; as also malice and frowardnesse are opposite unto bountie, meeknesse, and humanitie; for that the one fort arifeth from vertue and puissance; the other from weake. neffe and vice. Now are we not to thinke that the divine power is given to be wrathfull and graneffe and vice. cious alike; but to beleeve rather, that the proper nature of God is alwaies to be helpfull and beneficiall; whereas to be angry and to doc harme, is not so naturall; but that mightie Jupiter in heaven, he descendeth from thence first downe to the earth, to dispose and ordeine all things: after him, other gods, of whom the one is furnamed, The Giver, another, Mild and Bounteous a third, Protectour or Defender: as for Apollo, as Pindarus faith:

Who doth in winged chariot flie, Amid the starres in azure skie, To every man in his affaire, Reputed is most debonaire.

Now as Diegenes was wont to fay, all things are Gods, and likewife among friends, all things are common, and good men are Gods friends; even fo, impossible it is, that either he who is de 20 vout and a lover of God, should not be withall happie; or that a vertuous, temperate, and just man should not likewise be devout and religious. Thinke ye then, that these who denie the government of Godsprovidence, need other punishment, or be not punished sufficiently for their implette, in that they cut themselves from so great joy and pleasure as we finde in our selves, we (I fay) who are thus well given and religiously affected toward God ? The greatest joy that Epicurus floodupon and bare himselse so boldly, were Metrodorus, Polyanus, Aristobulus and such; and those he was alwaies emploied about, either in curing and tending them when they were ficke, or in bewailing them after they were dead : whereas Lyeurgus was honoured even by the prophetesse Pythia in these tearmes:

Aman whom Jupiter did love, And all the heavenly faints above.

As for Socrates, who had a familiar spirit about him, whom he imagined to speake and reason friendly with him, even of kindneffe and good will: and Pindarus likewife, who heard god Pan chant one of those canticles which himselfe had composed, thinke wee that they tooke small pleasure and contenument of heart thereby? Or what may we judge of Phormio, when he lodged in his house, Caster and Pollux; or of Sophoeles, for enterteining of Aefeulapius, as both himselfe was perswaded, and as others believed, for the manifest apparitions presented unto them? It were not amisse and beside the purpose, to rehearse in this place, what a faith and beleefe in the gods, Heromogenes had, and that in those very words and tearmes which he setteth downe him-selfe. The gods (quoth he) who know all things, and likewise can doe all, are so friendly unto 40 me, that for the care they have of my person and my affaires, are never ignorant day or night, either of that action which I purpose to doe, or of that way which I entend to goe : and sor that they forfee the iffue and event of what soever I enterprise and undertake; they advertise me thereof before hand, by prefage of offes, voices, dreames, auguries and bird flights, which they fend as meffengers to me of purpose. Moreover, meet it is, that we should have this opinion of the gods, that whatfoever proceedeth from them is good; but when we are perswaded that the goods which we receive from them, be fent unto us, upon special lavor and grace, this is a woonderfull contentment to the minde, this worketh much confidence, breedeth a marvellous courage, and inward joy, which feemeth as it were to fmile upon good men: whereas, they who are otherwise minded and disposed, hinder themselves of that which is most sweet 50 in prosperitie, and leave no refuge or retiring place in time of adversitie; for when any mistortune lighteth upon them, no other haven or retrait have they than the diffolution or separation ofbody and foule; nothing I say but the depriving of all sense: as if in a storme or tempest at fea, a man should come and say for the better comfort and assurance of the passengers, that neither the ship had a pilot, nor the luckie fire-lights (Castor and Pollux) appeared to all ay the furging waves, or ftill the boifterous and violent winds, and yet for all that, there was no harme toward, because forsooth the shippe should soone finke and bee swallowed up of the sea; or

that the would quickly turne fide, or runne upon fome rock for to be fplit and broken in pieces: for these be the proper reasons which Epicarus useth in grievous maladies and extreme perils: Hopeft thou for any good at Gods hand with all thy religion? thou art much deceived: for the effence and nature of God being happie & immortall; is neither given to anger, nor yet inclined to pitie: Dost thou imagine a better state or condition after thy death, than thou hast in thy life? furely thou dotest, and art mightily beguiled; for that which is once dissolved, loseth presently all maner of sense; & if it be senselesse, what is that to us? it toucheth not us, whether it be good or ill. But heare you (my good friend:) How is it that you exhort me to eat, to drink, and make good cheere? Marie because the tempest is so bigge, that of necessitie shipwracke nulf foone enfue, and the extreme perill at hand will quickly bring thee to thy death: and yet the poore paffenger (after that the shippe is broken all to pieces, or that hee is flung or fallen out of it) bearethhimselfe upon some little hope, that he shall (by one good fortune or other)

reach unto the shore and swimme to land; whereas by these mens philosophic, there is no

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evalion for the foule: To any place without the sea With frothing fome all hoare and grey.

For that immediatly the is diffolved, peritheth and dieth before the bodie; infomuch as the feeleth excessive joy, by having learned and received this most wife and divine doctrine: That the end of all her adversities and miseries, is to perish for ever, to corrupt and come to nothing. But it were (quoth he, casting his cie upon me) a great follie to speake any more of this matter, (confidering that long fince we have heard you discourse in ample manner) against those who hold; that the reasons and arguments of Epicurus make us better disposed and ready to die, than all that Plato hath written in his treatife concerning the foule. What of that? (quoth Zenxippus) shall this present discourse be left unperfect and unfinished because of it? and feare we to alledge the oracle of the gods, when we dispute against the Epicureans? No (quoth I againe) in any wife, for according to the fentence of Empedoeles:

A good tale twife a man may tell, And beare it told as oft full well.

And therefore we must intreat Theon againe; for I suppose he was present at the faid disputati-20 on, and being (as he is) a yoong man, he need not feare that yoong men will charge him for oblivion, or default of memorie. Then Theon feeming as if he had beene forced and overcome by conftreint : Well (quoth he) fince there is no other remedie, I will not do as you Aristademus did; you were afraid to repeat that which this man had delivered; but I will not flicke to make use of that which you have said: for in mine opinion you have done very well, in dividing men into three forts; the first, of those, who are leud and wicked; the second of them that bee fimple, ignorant, and the common people; the third, of fuch as be wife, honeft, and of good worth. As for those who be wicked & naughtic persons (in searing the pains and punishments proposed in general unto all)they will be afraid to commit any more sinne, and by this meanes not breaking out, but restraining themselves, they shal live in more joy, & with lesse trouble and 40 disquietnesse. For Epicurus thinketh, that there is no other meanes to divert men from evill doing, than, feare of punishment; & therefore he thinketh it good pollicie, to imprint in them the frights occasioned by superstition, to masker them with the terrors of heaven & earth, together with fearfull earthquakes, deepe chinks, and openings of the ground, and generally all forts of feares and suspicions; that being terrified thereby, they might live in better order, and carie themselves more modestly; for more expedient it is for them, not to commit any hainous sact for feare of torments which they were to fuffer after their death, than to transgresse & break the lawes, and thereby, live all their life time in danger, and exceeding perplexitie and distrust: As touching the meane people and ignorant multitude (to fay nothing of the feare of that which fuch men beleeve to be in hell) the hope of eternitie, whereof the poets make fo great promifes, 50 and the defire to live alwaies (which of all other defires is the most auncient and greatest) surpasseth in pleasure and sweet contentment, all childish feare of hell; insomuch as forgoing and losing their children, their wives and friends, yet they with rather they should still bee somewhere, and continue (though they indured otherwife all maner of paines and calamities) than wholy to bee taken out of the univerfall world, and brought to nothing: yea, and willing they are, and take pleasure to heare this spoken of one that is dead: How he is departed out of this world into another, or gone to God; with other fuch like manner of speeches, importing, that 602

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death is no more but onely a change or alteration, but not a totall and entire abolition of the foule. And thus they use to speake:

Thenshall I call even there to mind, The sweet acquaint ance of my friend. Also:

What shall I say from you to Hector bold? Or husband yours, right deere, who liv'd so old?

And herof proceeded and prevailed this errour: that men supposed they are well eased of their forrow, and better appaied when they have interred with the dead, the armes, weapons, instructions and garments which they were wont to use ordinarily in their life time; like as Minos 10 buried together with Glaucus:

His Candios pipes, made of the long-shanke bones

Of dapple doe or hinde, that lived once.

And if they be perfivaded, that the dead either defire or demand any thing, glad they are and willing to fend or bestow the same upon them. And thus did Periander, who burnt in the sunerall five together with his wise, her apparell, habilitiments, and jewels, for that he thought she called for them, and complained that she lay a cold. And such as these are not greatly affraid of any judge Aeaeus, of Ascalaphus, or of the river Acheron; considering that they attribute unto them daunces, the attricall plaies, and all kinde of musicke, as if they tooke delight and pleasure there in and yet there is not one of them all, but is readie to quake for seare, to see that face of death, 20 fo terrible, so unpleasant, so glum and grizly, deprived of all sense, and growen to oblivion and ignorance of all things; they tremble for very horrour, when they heare any of these words: He is dead, he is perished, he is gone, and no more to be seene: grievously displeased and offended they be, when these and such like speeches are given out:

30

Within the earth as deepe as trees do stand, His hap shall be to rot and turne to sand: No feasts he shall frequent nor hearethe lute And harpe, ne yet the sound of pleasant slute. Againc:

When once the ghost of man from corps is sled, And pass'd the ranks of teeth set thicke in head; All meanes to catch and setch her are but vaine,

No hope there is of her returne againe.
But they kill them frome dead, who fay thus unto them:

We mortall men have bene once borne for all, No feeond birth we are for to expect, We muft not looke for life that is eternall,

Such thoughts, as dreames, we ought for to reject.

For, casting and considering with themselves, that this present life is a small matter, or rather indeed a thing of nought, in comparison of eternities they regard it not, nor make any account to 40 enjoy the benefit thereof; whereupon they neglect all vertue and the honourable exploits of action, as being utterly discouraged and discontented in themselves, for the shortnesse of either in the of uncerteine and without atturance; and in one word, because they take themselves unsit and unworthy to performe any great thing. For, to say that a dead man is deprived of all sense, because (having bene before compounded) that composition is now broken and dissolved; to give out also, that a thing once dissolved, hath no Being at all; and in that regard toucheth us not; howsever they seeme to be goodly reasons, yet they rid us not from the seare of death, but contrativise, they doe more confirme and enforce the same; for this is it in deed which nature abhoriteth, when it shall be faid, according to the Poet Homers words:

But as for you, both all and some,

Soone may you earth and water become.

meaning thereby, the refolution of the foule into a thing that hath neither intelligence nor any fense at all; which Epicurus holding to be a diffipation thereof into (I wot not what) emptinesse, or voidnesse & simal indivisible bodies, which he termeth Atoms, by that meanes cutteth off (so much the rather) all hope of immortalitie: for which (I dare well say) that all folke living, men and women both, would willingly be bitten quite thorow and gnawen by the hel-dog Cerberus,

or cary water away in veffels full of holes in the bottome, like as the Danaides did, fo they might onely have a Being, and not perish utterly for ever, and be reduced to nothing. And yet verily, there be not many men who feare these matters, taking them to be poeticall sictions and tales devised for pleasure, or rather bug-beates that mothers and nouries use to fright their children with; and even they also who stand in seare of them, are provided of certeine ceremonies and expiratoric purgations, to helpe themselves withall: by which (if they be once cleansed and pursified) they are of opinion, that they shall goe into another world to places of pleasure, where there is nothing but playing and dauncing continually among those who have the aire elected, the winde milde and pure, the light gracious, and their voice intelligible: whereas the privation of life troubleth both yoong and old: for we all (even every one of us) are sicke for love, and exceeding desirous

To fee the beautie of funnes light,
Which on the earth dorh skine fo bright,
as Euripides saith: neither willing are we, but much displeased to heare this:

And as he spake, thus great immortall eie

Ana as ne pake, that great immortal cie
Which giveth light thorowout the fabricke wide
Of this round world, made hafte and faft did hie
With chariot (wift, cleane out of fight to ride.

Thus together with the perswasion and opinion of immortallity, they bereave the common 20 people of the greatest and sweetest hopes they have. What thinks wee then of those men who are of the better fort, and fuch as have lived justly and devoutly in this life? Surely, they looke for no evill at all in another world, but hope and expect there the greatest and most heavenly bleffings that be: for first and formost, champions or runners in a race, are never crowned so long as they be in combat or in their course, but after the combat ended and the victory atchieved; even so, when these persons are personaded that the proofe of the victoric in this world is due unto them after the course of this life, wonderfull it is, and it can not be spoken, how great contentment they finde in their hearts for the privitie and conscience of their vertue, and for those hopes which affure them, that they one day shall see those (who now abuse their good gifts infolently, who commit outrage by the meanes of their might, riches and authoritie, and who feorne and foolifhly mocke fuch as are better than themfelves) paie for their deferts, and suffer woorthily for their pride and infolencie. And for as mever any of them who are enamored of learning, could fatisfic (to the full) his defire as touching the knowledge of the truth, and the contemplation of the univerfall nature of this world; for that indeed they fee as itwere through a darke cloud and a thick mist; to wit, by the organes and instruments of this body, and have no other use of reason, but as it is charged with the humors of the flesh, weake alfo and troubled, yea, and woonderfully hindered; therefore having an eie and regard alwaies upward, & endevoring to flie forth of the bodie (as a bird that taketh her flight and mounteth up aloft, that the may get into another lightfome place of greater capacitie) they labour to make their foulelight, and to discharge her of all grosse passions and earthly affections, such as be 40 base and transitorie, and that by the meanes of their studie in philosophic, which they use for an exercise and meditation of death. And verily for my part, I esteeme death a good thing, so perfect and confirmate in regard of the foule which then shall live a life indeed, found and certaine, that I suppose the life heere is not a subsistent and assured thing of it selfe, but resembleth rather the vaine illusions of some dreames. And if it be so (as Epicurus faith:) That the remembrance and renewing acquaintance of a friend departed out of this life is every way a pleafant thing; aman may even now confider and know sufficiently, of what joie these Epicureans deprive themselves, who imagine otherwhiles in their dreames; that they receive and enterteine, yea and follow after to embrace, the very shadowes, visions, apparitions, and ghosts of their triends who are dead, and yet they have neither understanding nor sense at all; and meane 50 while they disappoint themselves of the expectation to converse one day indeed with their decre father and tender mother, and to fee their beloved and honest wives; and are destitute of all fuch hope of fo amiable company and fweet focietie, as they have, who are of the fame opinion, that Pythagor as, Plato, and Homer were, as touching the nature of the foule. Certes I am verily perswaded, that Homer (covertly and as it were by the way) shewed, what maner of affection theirs is in this point, when he casteth and projecteth amidde the presse of those that were fighting, the image of Aeneas, as if he were dead indeed; but presently after, hee exhibiteth him marching alive, fafe and found:

And when his friends faw him fo vigorous And whole of limbs, andwith heart generous, To battel prest, whom earst they tooke for dead, They least for joy, and banished all dread.

leaving therefore the forefaid image and shew of him, they raunged all about him. Let us likewife (feeing that reason prooveth & sheweth unto us; that a man may in very truth converse with those that are departed; that lovers and friends may touch, handle, and keepe companie one with another, having their perfect fenses) be of good cheere and shunne those, who can not beleeve so much, nor reject and cast behind, all such fantasticall images and outward barks and rinds onely, in which they do all their life time nothing elfe but grieve and lament in vaine. Moreover, they that thinke the end of this life to be the beginning of another that is better; if they lived pleafantly in this world, better contented they are to die, for that they looke for to enjoy a better eflate in another; and if things went not to their mind heere, yet are they not much discontented, in regard of the hopes which they have of the future delights and pleasures behind: and these worke in them such incredible joies and expectances, that they put out and abolith all defects and offences whatfoever; thefe drowne (I fay) and overcome all discontentments otherwise of the minde, which by that meanes beareth gently, and endureth with patience what accidents foever befal in the way, or rather in a fhort diverticle or turning of the way: whereas contrariwife (to those who believe, that our life heere is ended and diffolved in a certaine deprivation of all fense) death (because it bringeth no alteration of miseries) is dolorous as 20 well to them of the one fortune as the other; but much more unto those who are happie in this present life, than unto such as are miserable; for that as it cutteth these short of all hope of better estate; so from those it taketh away a certeintie of good, which was their present joyfull life: And like as many medicinable and purgative drougs (which are neither good nor pleasant to the stomacke, howbeit in some respect necessarie, howsoever they ease and cure the sicke) doe greathurt, and offend the bodies of fuch as be in health; even so the doctrine of Epicurus unto those who are infortunate and live miserably in this world, promiseth an issue out of their miferies, and the fame nothing happie, to wit; a finall end, and totall diffolution of their foule: And as for those who are prudent, wise, and live in abundance of al good things, it impeacheth and hindreth altogether their alacritic & contentment of spirit, in bringing and turning them 30 from an happie life to no life at all, from a bleffed estate to no estate or being whatsoever. For first & formost this is certaine: That the very apprehension of the losse of goods, afflicteth and vexetha man as much, as either an affured expectance, or a present enjoying and fruition thereof rejoiceth his heart: yet would they beare us in hand, that the cogitation of this finall diffolution and perdition into nothing, leaveth unto men a most affured and pleasant good, to wit, the refutation or putting by of a certaine fearefull doubt and suspicion of infinit and endlesse miferies: and this fay they, doth the doctrine of Epicurus effect, in abolithing the feare of death, and teaching that the foule is utterly diffolved. Now if this be a fingular and most sweet conrent (as they Tay it is) to be delivered from the feare and expectation of calamities and miseries without end, how can it otherwise be but irksome and grievous, to be deprived of the hope of 40 joies sempiternall, and to lose that supreame and sovereigne selicitie? Thus you see it is good neither for the one nor the other, but this, Not-being, is naturally an enemie, and quite contrarie unto all that have Being: And as for those whom the miserie of death seemeth to deliver from the miseries of life, a poore and cold comfort they have (God wor) of that insensibility, as if they had an evasion and escaped thereby; and on the other side, those who lived in all prosperitie, and afterwards came of a sudden to change that state into nothing: me thinks I see very plainly, that these tarrie for a searcfull and terrible end of their race, which thus shall cause their felicitie to cease; for nature abhorreth not privation of sense, as the beginning of another estate and being, but is afraid of it because it is the privation of those good things which are present. For to say: That the thing which costeth us the losse of all that we have, toucheth us 50 not, is a very abfurd speech, confidering, that this very cogitation and apprehension thereof concerneth us much already: for this intensibilitie doth not afflict and trouble those who have no more Being, but fuch as yet are, namely, when they come to cast their account, what detriment and losse they receive by being no more, and that by death they shall be reduced to nothing: for it is not the three-headed-helhound Cerberus, nor the river of teares and weeping. Coeytus, which cause the seare of death to be infinit and interminable; but it is that menacing intimation of Nullity or Not being, & of the impossibility to returne againe into a state of Being,

after men once are gone and departed out of this life; for there is no fecond nativitie nor regeneration, but that Not-being must of necessitie remaine for ever, according to the doctrine of Epicarus: for if there be no end at all of Non-effence, but the same continue infinit and immutable, there will be found likewise an eternall and endlesse miserie in that privation of all good things, by a certeine insensibilitie, which never shall have end. In which point Herodotus seemethyet to have dealt more wisely, when he saith: That God having given a taste of sweet eternitie, seemeth envious in that behalfe, especially to those who are reputed happie in this world; unto whom that pleafure was nothing els but a bait to procure dolor, namely, when they have a tafte of those things which they must forgoe: for what joy, what contentment and fruition of pleafure is there fo great, but this conceit and imagination of the foule (falling continually as it it were into a vast sea of this infinition) is not able to quell and chase away, especially in those who repose all goodnesse and beatitude in pleasure ? And if it be true as Epicurus faith: That to die in paine, is a thing incident to most men; then surely there is no meane at all to mitigate or allay the feare of death, feeing it haleth us even by griefe and anguish to the losse of a fovereigne good and yet his fecturies would feeme to urge and enforce this point mainly, to wit, in making men beleeve that it is a good thing to escape and avoid evill; and yet for footh, that they should not thinke it evill, to be deprived of good. They confesse plainly, that in death there is no joy nor hope at all, but what pleasure and sweetnesse soever we had, is thereby and then cut off; whereas contrariwife, even in that time, those who believe their soules to be immortall and 20 incorruptible, looke to have and enjoy the greatest and most divine bleffings; and for certeine great revolutions of yeeres, to converse in all happinesse and felicity, sometime upon the earth, otherwhiles in heaven, untill in that generall resolution of the universall world they come to burne together with Sun and Moone, in a spirituall and intellectuall fire.

This spacious place of so many and so great joies, Epicurus cutteth off and abolisheth cleane, in that he anulleth all hopes that we ought to have in the aide and savour of the gods; whereby both in contemplative life he existinguisheth the love of knowledge and learning; and also in the active, the desire of valourous acts of winning honour and glory; restraining, driving and thrusting nature into a narrow roome, of a joy which is very strait, short and unpure, to wit, from the soules delight to a sless hyperbeasure; as if she were not capable of a greater good, than the a-

20 voiding of evill.



WHETHER THIS COM-

MON MOT, BE WELL SAID:

LIVE HIDDEN: OR, SO LIVE, AS
NO MAN MAY KNOW
THOV LIVEST.

The Summarie.



His precept was first given by Noocles the brother of Epicurus, as saith Suidas: and as if it had bene some golden sentence it wem currant or amarily in the mouthes of all the Epicureans, who advised a man that would live happily, not to intermedale in any publike assaires of State: but Plutarch considering well how ill this Emprese sounded, being taken in that sense and construction which they give unto it, and sore seeing

the abfurd and dangerous confequences enfuing upon such an opinion, doth now confute the same by seven arguments or sound reasons, to wit: That therein such soolish Philosophers discover mightily their excessive ambition: That it is a thing dishonest and perillous for a man to retire himselfe apare from others; for that if a man be vicious, be ought to seeke abroad for remedie of humaladie: if a lover of goodnesse and versue, he is likewise to make other men love the same. Item: That the Epicurcans

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life being defamed with all ordure and wickednesse, it were great reason in deed, that such men should remaine hidden and buried in perpetuall darknesse. After this, he sheweth that the good proceeding from the life of vertuous men, is a sufficient encouragement for every one to be emploied in assisting for that there is nothing more miserable than an idle life, and that which is unprofitable to our neighbors: That life, birth, generation, mans soule, yea, and man himselfe wholly as he is, teach us by their definitions and properties: That we are not fet in this world, for to be directed by such a precept as this and in conclusion: That the estate of our soules, after they be separate from the bodie, condemneth and overthroweth this doctrine of the Epicureans, and prooveth evidently, that they be extreame mise, rable, both during and after this life. All these premises well marked and considered, instruct and teach them that be of good valling in the world, and in higher place, to endevor and straine themselves to in their severall vocations, to site and life, so farressorthat they take heed with all, they be not over curious, pragmaticall, busic and stirring, nor sooready and forwards meddle in those matters which ought to be let alone as they be; for seve less whiles they weene to rasse and advance themselves, they fall backe, and become lower than they would.

WHETHER THIS COMMON

Mot, be well faid: Live hidden: or, So live,

as no man may know thou liveft.



Oe how even himfelfe, who was the authout of this fentence, would not be unknowne, but that all the world (hould understand, that he it was who faid it; for expresly he uttered this very speech, to the end that it might not remain, unknowen that he had some more understanding than others, defirous to winne a glorie undeserved and not due unto him, by diverting others from glory, and exhorting them to obscurity of life. I like the man well verily, for this is just according to the old verse:

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I have him who of wisdome beares the name, And to himselfe cannot performe the same.

We reade that Philoxenus the fonne of Eryxis, and Gnatho the Sicilian, (two notorious gluttons given to bellie-cheere, and to love their tooth) when they were at a feaft, used to snite their notes into the very diffies and platters with meat before them; thereby to drive those in their messe, and who were set at the table, from eating with them, and by that meanes to engorge themselves, and fill their bellies alone with the best viands served up: Semblably, they who are excessively and out of all measure ambitious, before others as their concurrents and corrivals, blame and dispraise glorie and honour, to the end that they alone without any competitours might enjoy the fame: And heerein they doe like unto mariners fitting at the oare in a bote or gally; for howfoever their eie is toward the poupe, yet they labour to 40 fet the prow forward, in that the flowing of the water by reciprocation, caused by the stroke of the oares, comming forcibly backe upon the poupe, might helpe to drive forward the veffell; even fo, they that deliver fuch rules and precepts, whiles they make femblant to flie from glory, purfue it as fast as they can; for otherwise if it were not so: what need had he (who so ever he was) to give out such a speech? what meant he else to write it, and when he had written it, to publish the fame unto posteritie? If I say he meant to be unknowne to men living in his time, who desired to be knowne unto those that came after him? But let us come to the thing it selfe : How can it chuse but be simply naught? Live so hidden (quoth he) that no man may perceive that ever you lived; as if he had faid. Take heed you be not knowne for a digger up of sepulchres, & a defacer of the tombs & monuments of the dead: But contrariwife, a foule & dishonest thing it is to 50 live in fuch fort, as that you should be willing that we al, know not the maner thereof. Yet would I for my part fay cleane contrary: Hide not thy life, how ever thou do, and if thou hast lived badly, make thy felfe knowne; bewifer, repent & amend: if thou be endued with vertue, hide it not, neither be thou an unprofitable member; if vicious, continue not obstinate there, but yeeld to correction, & admit the cure of thy vice; or rather at (leaftwife fir) make a diffinction, & define who it is, to whom you give this precept? If he be ignorant, unlearned, wicked, or foolish, then it is as much as if you faid thus: Hide thy feaver; cloke & cover thy phrefie; let not the phylician

take notice of thee; goe and put thy felfe into fome darke corner, where no performay have a fight of thee, or of thy maladies and passions; go thy way aside with all thy naughtinesse, sieke as thou art of an incurable and mortall disease; cover thy spight and envic; hide thy superstinon; suppresse and conceale (as it were) the disorderly beatings of thine arteries; take heed & be afraid how you let your pulse be felt, or bewray your selfe to those who have the meanes, & are able to admonify, correct, and heale you. But long ago, & in the old world, our ancestors were wont to take in hand and cure openly in publike place, those that were diseased in body: in those daies, everie one (who had met with any good medicine, or knowne a remedie, whereof he had theproofe, either in himfelfe being ficke, or in another cured thereby) would reveale and comto municate the same unto another that stood in need thereof: and thus they say: The skil of Phyfick arifing first, and growing by experience, became in time, anoble and excellent science. And even fo, requifit it is and necessarie, to discover and lay open unto all men, lives that be diseased, and the infirmities of the soule, to touch and handle them, and by considering the inclinations of every man, to fay thus unto one: Subject thou art to anger, take heed thereof; unto another: Thou art given to jealousie and emulation, beware of it, doe thus and thus; to a third : Art thou amorous and full of love? I have beene fo my felfe otherwhiles, but I repent me thereof. But now a daies it is cleane contrarie; in denying, in cloaking, covering, and hiding, men thrust and drive their vices inwardly, and more deepely still into their secret bowels. Now if they be men of woorth and vertuous, whom thou counfellest to hide themselves, that 20 the world may take no knowledge of them, it is all one as to fay unto Epaminondus: Take no charge of the conduct of an army: or to Lyeurgus: Amuse not your head about making lawes: and to Thrasibulus: Kill no tyrants: to Pythagoras: Keepe no schoole, nor teach in any wife: to Socrates: See you dispute not, nor hold any discourses of philosophic: and to your selfe Epicurus first of all: Write not to your friends in Asia; enroll and gather no soldiors out of Argypt; have no commerce nor negotiate with them; do not protect and defend as it were with a guard from villanie and violence, the yoong gentlemen of Lampfacum; fend not your books abroad to all men and women alike, thereby to thew your learning; finally, ordeine nothing about your sepulture. To what tended your publicke tables ? what meant those affemblies that you made of your familiar friends and faire young boics; to what purpose were there so many thou-20 lands of verses written and composed so painfully by you in the honour of Metrodorus, Ariflobulus, & Charedemus, to the end that after death they should not be forgotten? Was all this because you would ratifie and establish vertue by oblivion; arts by doing nothing, philosophy by filence; and felicitie by forgetfulneffer Will you needs bereave mans life of knowledge, as if youwould take away light from a feast, to the end that me might not know that you & your followers do all for pleafure, & upon pleafure? then good reason you have to give counsell, & saie unto your felfe: Live unknowne. Certes, if I had a minde to leade my life with Hedia the harlot, or to keepe ordinarily about me, the strumpet Leontium; to detest all honestie; to repose all my delight and joy in the tickling pleasures of the slesh, and in wanton lusts: these ends verilie would require to be hidden in darkneffe, and covered with the shadow of the night; these be the 40 things that would be forgotten, and not once knowne: But if a man in the science of naturall philosophie, delight in hymnes and canticles to praise God, his justice and providence; or in morallknowledge, to fet out and commend the law, humane focietic, and the politike government of common-weale; and therein regard honour and honeftie, not profit and commodity; what reason have you to advise him for to live obscurely? Is it because he should teach none by good precept? is it for that no man should have a zealous love to vertue, or affect honestie by his example? If Themistocles had never beneknowne to the Athenians, Greece had not given Xerxes the foile and repulse; likewise if Camillus had beene unknowne to the Romanes, peradventure by this time Rome had been eno city at all; had not Dion knowne Plato, Sicilie thould not have been edelivered from tyrannie. But this is my conceit; that like as light effecteth thus 50 much, that we not onely know one another, but also are profitable one unto another; even so in my judgement, to be knowne abroad, bringeth not onely honor and glorie, but also meanes of emploiment in vertue: Thus Epaminondas unknowne unto the Thebanes, untill he was fortie yeeres old, stood them in no stead at all; but after that they tooke knowledge of him once, and had committed unto him the leading of their armie, he faved the citic of Thebes, which had like to have been loft, and delivered Greece, being in danger of fervitude; shewing in renowne and glorie (no leffe than in some cleere light) vertue producing her effects in due time : For according to the poet Sophoeles . By use it shineth

* en lis.

Not well said: Live hidden.

Like iron or braffe, that is both faire and bright So long as men doe handle it aright. In time alfo, an boufe goes to decay, And falleth downe if dweller be away.

whereas the very maners & natural conditions of a man be matted & corrupted, gathering as it were a mosse, & growing to age in doing nothing, through ignorance & obscurity. And verily a mute silence, a sedentaric life, retired a part in idlenesse, causeth not onely the bodie, but the mind also of man to languish & grow feeble: & like as dornant, or close & standing waters, for that they be covered, overshadowed, & not running, grow to putrific; even so, they that never stirre, nor be emploied, what good parts soever they have in them, if they put them not foorth, so nor exercise their natural and inbred faculties, corrupt quickly, and become old. See you not how when the night commeth on & approcheth neere, our bodies become more heavie, lumpish, and unsitt for any worke, our spirits more dull and lazie to all actions, and the discourse of our reason and understanding more drowsse and contracted within it selfe? like unto fire that is ready to goe out; and how the same by reason of an idlenesse and unwillingnesse commiting upon it, is somewhat troubled and disquieted with divers santastical imaginations; which observation advertiseth us daily after a secret and filent manner, how short the life of man is:

But when the funne with light some beames Dispatched hath these cloudy dreames,

after he is once rifen (and by mingling together the actions and cogitations of men with his 20 light; awakeneth and raifeth them up (as Democritus faith) in the morning, they make hafte jointly one with another upon a forren desire, as if they were compounded and knit with a certaine mutuall bond, some one way, and some another, rising to their serverall works and businesse. Certes, I am of advice, that even our life, our very nativity, yea & the participation of mankind is given us of God to this end: That we should know him; for unknowne he is and hidden in this great fabricke and univerfall frame of the world, all the while that hee goeth too and fro therein by small parcels and piece-meale: but when hee is gathered in himselfe, and growen to his greatnesse; then thineth hee and appeareth abroad, where before he lay covered; then is he manifest and apparent, where before he was obscure and unknowen; for knowledge is not the way to his effence, as fome would have it; but contrariwife, his effence is the way to knowledge; for that knowledge maketh not each thing, but onely fleweth it when it is done; like as 30 the corruption of any thing that is, may not be thought a transporting to that which is not, but rather a bringing of that which is diffolved to this paffe, that it appeareth no more: Which is the reason that according to the auncient lawes and traditions of our countrey, they that take the funne to be Apollo, give him the names of Delius and Pythius; and him that is the lord of the other world beneath, whether he be a god or a divell, they call Ades; for that when we are dead and dissolved, we goe to a certeine * obscuritie, where nothing is to be seene:

> Even to the prince of darknesse and of night The lord of idle dreames deceiving sight.

And I suppose that our auncestors in old time called man Phos, of light, for that there is in 40 every one of us, a vehement defire and love to know and be known one of another, by reason of the confanguinitie betweene us. And some philosophers there be, who thinke verily, that even the foule in her fubstance is a very light, whereunto they are ledde as welby other fignes & arguments, as by this, that there is nothing in the world that the foule hateth fo much as ignorance, rejecting all that is obscure and unlightsome; troubled also when she is entred into dark places, for that they fill her full of feare and fuspicion: but contrariwise, the light is so sweet and delectable unto her, that the taketh no joy and delight in any thing; otherwise lovely and defireable by nature, without light or in darkneffe; for that is it which caufeth all pleafures, sports, pastimes, & recreations to be more jocund, amiable, & to mans nature agreeable; like as a common fauce that seasoneth and commendeth al viands wherewith it is mingled: whereas he that 50 hath cast himselfe into ignorance, and is enwrapped within the clouds of mistie blindnesse, making his life a representation of death, and burying it as it were in darknesse, seemeth that he is weatie even of being, and thinketh life a very trouble unto him: and yet they are of opinion that the nature of glorie and effence, is the place affigned for the foules of godly, religious, and vertuous folke:

> To whom the funne shin's alwaies bright When heere with sust is darke night:

Not well said: Live hidden.

The medowes there, both faire and wide, With rofes red are beautified:
The fields all round about them dight With verdure, yeeld a pleafant fight:
All sapiffed with flowers full gay,
Of fruitfull trees, that bloffome ay:
Amid this place the rivers cleere
Runne foft and still, some there, some beere.

Wherein they paffethe time away, in calling to remembraunce and recounting that which is 10 paff, in difcourfing alfo of things prefent, accompanying one another, and converfing together. Now there is a third way, of those who have lived ill, and be wicked persons, the which sendeth their soules headlong into a darke gulfe and bottomlesse pit:

Where, from the dorman rivers bleak Of shadie night, thick mists doereak, As blacke as picch continually And those all round about doe slie.

enfolding, whelming, and covering those in ignorance and forgetfulnesse, who are tormented there and punished: for they be not greedy geters or vultures, that evermore eat and gnaw the liver of wicked persons said in the earth; and why? the same already is either burned or rotted:

20 neither be there certeine heavie sardels, or weightic burdens that pressed downe and overcharge the bodies of such as be punished:

For such thin ghosts and fibres small, Have neither slesh nor bone at all.

Ne yet are the reliques of their bodies who be departed, such as be capable of punishment, for that belongeth properly to a bodie that is solid and able to resist; but the onely way and true manner of chastising and punishing those, who have lived badly in this world, is infamie, ignorance, an entire abolition, and totall reducement to nothing, which bringeth them from the river Lethe, that is to say, Oblivion, into another mournfull river, where there is no mirth, no joy, nor cheerefulnesse, & from thence plungeth them into a vast sea, which hath neither shore 30 not bottom, even idlenesse and unaptuesse to all good, which can doe nought else but draw after it a generall forgetfulnesse and buriall (as it were) in all ignorance and infamous obscuritie.



RVLES AND PRECEPTS OF HEALTH IN MANER OF A DIALOGUE.

The Summarie.



He conjunction of the foule with the bodie being so straight, as every man knowes it is, I can not see how it is possible that the one should commit any disorder or excesse, but the other must needs be grieved therewith immediatly: And if there be anything that ought to be deplored and lamented, it is the losse of time, especially and above all, when the same is occasioned by our own intemperance; for that at such a time when as

we should attend upon our dutie, we become and continue unprofitable, hurting many times both our selves and many others. Now for that the study of good literature requireth a soule well composed and governed in a sound, healthfull, and vigorous bodie; it is not without good cause, that Plutarch interminglesh among philosophicall discourses certeine rules & precepts as touching health. For in truth a vaine endevor & enterprise this were, and hardly could a man have his mind disposed to good things, in oise the bodie be ill assessment and missourced: But searing less it would be thought, that he who

made profession of philosophic onely, proceeded farther than in reason hee ought, and brake the limits and bounds of sciences, in medling with physick heere : Before that he entreth into the Dialogue, when be had touched the occasion of this conference and talke; he shewerh: that the studie of physick is agree. able to philosophie : which done, herepresenteth certeine questions proposed by athird person, which fervein stead of a preface to those precepts and lessons, by him fet downe afterwards; not following heerein any exact or exquisit method, but making choise of that which he thought to be most meet for the time, and luting best to those persons, for whose sake this Dialogue was written. He speaketh first therefore of the use of meats, especially such as are sweet and pleasing to the tooth: also what aman is to take heed of in this behalfe: Then he treateth of the pleasures of the bodie, declaring what measure therein we ought to keepe, and discovering by a certaine similitude, the permitious indiscretion of those 10 who love to keepe good cheere and mainteine dainty fare. Consequently heereupon, he forbiddeth us to use bodily pleasures unlesse we be in good and perfect health; condemneth fulnesse and overmuch repletion, which is the cause of most diseases that are incident tomans body, and this he carichethand amplifieth by another proper similitude. He is desirous also that maladies were foreseene and prevented, letting downe a speciall remedie therefore, and prooving, that the body cannot enjoy any delight what forver, either in eating or drinking, in case it be not healthy. From this he proceedeth to make mention of diet, and of the prognostikes of diseases breeding and soward. Icm, how, and wherewith the maladies of our friends ought to ferve and stead us; adding thus much moreover; that for the better maintenance and preservation of health, a man is not to feed to satietie; that he ought to trawell and not spare himselfer, also that he is to save his naturall seed: upon this he discourseth of the ex- 20 ercife and nounfhment of students and scholars, desciphring particularly what soever in this point is most woorth the noting and observation, and so cleereth this question, namely; Whether it be hollome for the body to dispute either at the table, or presently upon meat: After all this, he treateth of walking. of fleepe, of vomiting, of purgations of the belly, of diets over exquisit and precise; condemning expresly idlenesse, as a thing contrary to the good disposition of the body. Furthermore, he seweth when a manough: to be at quiet and rest; as also the time that he may give himselfe to pleasure: but above all be requireth of every man; that he learne to know his owne nature and inclination, as also the meats and drinks that be agreeable unto his stomack: exhorting in the end all students to spare their bodies, to looke unto them, and make much of them, that they may have the better meanes to proceed and goe forward in the knowledge of good letters, whereby they might another day be profitable members of ze the common-wealth, and doe more good to the focietie of men.

RULES AND PRECEPTS OF health in maner of a dialogue.

The personages speaking in this dialogue: Moschion and Zeuxippus.

Moschion,



Nd did you then indeed (my friend Zexippus) turne away Glaucus the physician yesterday, who was desirous to conferre with us in philosophie?

40

ZEUXIPPUS.

No iwis, (good Moschion) neither did I put him away; desirous was he to doc as you fay: But this was it that I avoided and feared, namely: To give him any advantage or occasion to fastenupon 50 me, and take hold on me, knowing him as I doe to be litigious and quarrelfome: for in physick, if I may use the words of Homer:

He may well stand for many a one,

Although he be but one alone. As for philosophie, he is not wel affected thereto, but alwaies provided of some shrewd & bitter tearmes against her in all his disputations, and as then especially; for I observed how he came directly against us, crying out upon us a farre off with a loud voice, & charging us; that we had

to enterprise a great matter, and the same not very civill & honest, and in that we had broken the bounds, and pluckt up (as a man would fay) the very limit-marks of fciences, laying alleonion, and making a confusion of them, in disputing as we did of holfome diet, and of the maner how tolive in good health. For the confines and frontiers (quoth he) of Physicians and Philotophers, are (as we use to fay in the vulgar proverbe, as touching Mysians and Phrygians) fare different, and remooved a funder: Moreover, he had readily in his mouth certaine speeches and fentences of ours, which we delivered by way of pastime onely, and yet for all that, were not impertinent or unprofitable, and those he would feeme to controule, reproove, and scome.

Мовсніом.

But I for my part (ô Zeuxippus) could be very well content, yea, and most desirous to heare, even those speeches that he mocked, as others beside, which yee had concerning this matter, if to be it might stand with your pleasure to rehearse the same.

ZEU.XIPPUS.

I thinke no leffe (ô Moschion) for that you are enclined naturally to philosophie, and thinke not well of that philosopher who is not well affected to physicke, but are displeased and offended with him; in case (I say) he suppose it more meet and beseeming for him to be seene studying Geometrie, Logicke, or Musicke, than willing to enquire and learne

What rule at home in house, what worke there is,

How things doe stand, what goes well, what amis? 30 When I say, athome, I meane in his owne body; and yet a man shall see ordinarily, what a number more there be of spectators at Theaters, where there is some publick dole or free distribution of money to those that are affembled to see the games and pastimes, as the manner is at Athens, than otherwise. Now of all the liberall sciences, Physicke is one, which as it giveth place to none whatfoever, in beautie, in outward fliew, and in pleafure or delight; fo it alloweth agreat reward and falarie unto those that love it, even as much as their life and health comes to; and therefore we are not to accuse and charge Philosophers, who discourse and dispute of matters concerning like regiment of health, for paffing beyond their bounds and confines: but rather we ought to blame them, if they thinke that they thould plucke up altogether, and take away those land-marks, to labor (asit were) in some common field betweene them and Physici-30 ans, in the fludy & contemplation of things good and honeft, aiming & feeking in al their difputations and discourses, after that which is both pleasant to know & necessarie to understand.

Moschion. But let us I pray you (ô Zeuxippu) leave Glaucus to himfelfe, who for the gravity which he carieth, would be accounted a man in all points accomplished without anie need at all of Philofophies helpe; and recount unto me (if you please) all those speeches which you had, especially atfirst, those I meane which you said were not spoken in earnest, and yet were scorned and reprooved by Glaucus.

Zeuxippus. I will, and that right willingly. This friend of ours therefore delivered thus much; how 40 he heard one fay: That to have ones hands alwaies warme, and never fuffer them to be cold, was no small meanes to the preservation of health: but contrariwife, to have ordinarily the extreme parts of the body cold, drove heat inwardly into the center of the body, and brought us to a certeine familiaritie and acquaintance with a feaver; as also, to turne and drive with out foorth together with heat the matter thereof, and to distribute the same equally throughout the whole bodie, was an holfome thing; as we fee by experience, that if we occupie our hands, and doe fomeworke with them, the verie motion exciteth and flirreth up, yea, and maintaineth naturall heat: but if we have no fuch bufineffe or imployment for them, but hold them fill and idle, yet for all that we are not to admit or enterteine cold in those extreme parts of the bodie: This (I fay) was one of the points that Glances laughed at. The fecond (as I take it) was touch-50 ing the means that yee use to give unto sicke persons: For that hee counselled men (in time of health) to tafte the same by little and little; so as they might bee acquainted therewith, to the end that they should not abhorre and lothe them (as little children use to doe) nor hate such a kind of diet; but make the same in some fortafter a gentle manner, familiar unto their appetite; that (when foever it hapned they were ficke) fuch viands might not go against their stomacks, as if they were Phylicke drougues or medicines, out of the apothecaries shoppe: also, that we should not be offended and discontent, otherwhiles to feed upon one single dish and no more, and the same without any sauce to draw it on, or fine dressing and handling by cooks crast, to

commend

commendit. For which cause he would not have men thinke it strange, to come now and then to the table, without being at the baine or hot-house before; nor to drinke sheere water, when wine is upon the bourd, nor to forbeare to drinke our drinke hot in summer time, although there be fnow fet before us to coole it. Provided alwaies, that this abstinence proceed not from any ambitious oftentation and vain-glory, or because we would vaunt and make our boast thereof afterward; but that we doe it apart by our felves, making no words thereof, and accustome by little and little our appetite to obey reason willingly, and to be ruled by that which is good and profitable, by weaning our mindes(long before) from that ferupulous curiofitie, daintie niceneffe, and waiward complaints, about these matters in time of sicknesse; when common-Iv we are ready to whine and lament, for that wee miffe those our former pleasures, and great to delights, which we were woont to enjoy, and see our selves brought to a more base kinde of diet, and a straighter rule of life. For a good faying it was: Chuse the best life simply that is; use and custome will make it pleasing and agreeable unto thee: the which by good proofe and experience hath beene found profitable in all things, but principally in the regard and care of our bodies (as touching diet,) which in time of best health ought to be ordered so by use and cuflome, that the fame may become kinde, familiar, and agreeable to our nature; and namely by calling to minde that which others are woont to doe and fay in their ficknesse, how they sume and chafe, how they fare and goe to worke when hot water is brought unto them for to drinke, or warme brothes to be supped, or drie-bread to be caten; how they call these, untoward, naugh. tie, and unfavorie victuals, yea and name those, cursed and odious persons, who would seeme 20 to force the fame upon them for to eat or drinke. Manie there have beene, who had their bane by baines, fuch as ailed not much at the first, and were not very ficke at the beginning; onely they had brought themselves to this passe, that they could neither cat nor drinke, unlesse they were first bathed, or had sweat in a stouph: among whom, Titus the emperour of Rome was one, as they were able to tellifie who had the cure of him when he lay ficke. It was faid more. ver: That alwaies viands most simple, and such as cost least, were hollomest for the bodie; also that above all things, men ought to beware of repletion, of drunkennesse and voluptuous life; especially, when there is some festivall day toward, wherein they use to make exceeding cheere; or when they purpose to invite their friends to a great dinner, or otherwise looke to be bidden themselves to some roiall feast of a king or lord generall, or else to a banket, where they shall be 30 put to quaffe and carrouse in their turne, which they may not refuse to do: against such times(I fay) they ought to prepare their bodies beforehand, as it were whiles the weather is calme and faire, and make it more fresh and lightsome, yea, and better able to abide the storme and tempest toward: for a very hard matter it is in such assemblies, and seasts of great lords or deere friends, for aman to flay himfelfe in a meane, and mainteine his accustomed sobrietie; but he shall be thought uncivill, unmanerly, infociable, too austere and odious to all the company. To the end therefore that we should not put fire to fire (as they say) lay gorge upon gorge, surfet upon surfet, and wine upon wine, good it were to imitate and follow in good earnest that which was formetime merily done by king Philip, and that was this: A certaine man invited him upon a time to a supper, into the countrey, thinking that hee would come with a small compa-40 ny about him; but feeing that he brought a great traine and retinue with him, and knowing wel that he had prepared no more then would ferve for a few guests; he was woonderfully troubled; Philip perceiving it, sent underhand to every one of his friends that came with him, this word: That they should keepe a roome in their stomacks for a deintie tart or cate that was comming: they beleeving this meffage in good fadnesse, made spare of other viands that stood before them, looking evermore when this deintie should be served up, in such fort, as that the meat provided was fufficient for the whole companie; even fo we ought before-hand to be prepared against the time that we are to be at such great feasts and meetings aforesaid, where we shall be put to it perforce, to drinke round in our turne, and to answer every ones chalenge, to referue(1 fay) a place in our bodies, both for meats and also for fine cates, and junketting dishes: yearand 50 beleeve me, if need be, for drunkennesse, and thither to bring an appetite fresh and readie for fuch things. But if peradventure fuch constraints and compulsions surprise us upon a sudden, when we are either full and heavie, or ill at ease, for that we have a little before over-eaten and drunk our felves; in case (I say) some great lords be come to us, or in place unexpected, or haply a friend or stranger take us at unawares, and unprovided, so that we be forced for shame to keepe others company, who are well enough disposed in body, and prepared for to drinke and make merry; then must we be especially well armed against soolish bashfulnesse, and to meet with

fuch bad shamefastnesse is the cause of so many evils among men; and namely, by alledging and saying these verses of king Creen in a tragedie of Euripides:

Better it were for me, you to displease My friend, than at this time, for your content, To give my selfe to pleasure and mine ease, But after, with great sorrow to repent.

For to cast a mans selfe into a pleurisie or phrensie, for feare to be held and reputed rustical and uncivill, is the part of a rude clowne in deed, and of one who hath neither wit nor judgement, no vet any skill or speech to enterteine and keepe companie with men, unlesse they may be drunto ken and engorge themselves like gluttons for the very refusall it selfe of eating and drinking, if it be handled with dexteritie and a good grace, will be no leffe acceptable to the companie, than drinking square and carrowfing round. And if the man who maketh a feast, ablteine himfelfe, though he fit at the table (as the maner is at a factifice whereof he tafteth not) enterteining his guests with a cheerefull countenance and a friendly welcome, and whiles the cups and trenchers walke about him, be disposed to mirth and cast out some pretie jests of himselie, he shall no leffe content and please his guests, than he that will seeme to be drunken for companie, and cram his bellie with them, till it be readie to cracke. To this purpose he made mention of certeine ancient examples; and namely (among other) of Alexander the Great, who after he had drunke well and liberally, was abathed and athamed to denie the challenge of Medius, one 20 of his captaines, who had invited him to supper; and thereupon (falling againe to drinke wine afresh) died thereof. And of those who lived in our daies, he spake of one Riglis, a notable Pancratiaft or champion at all feats of activitie, whom Titus Cafar the emperour, fent for one day betimes in the morning to come and bathe with him, who came indeed, and after he had bathed and had drunke a great draught, was (by report) furprifed with an Apoplexic, whereupon he diedimmediatly. All these matters, our Physician Glaucymocked and reprooved, calling them discourses of schoolemasters to children their scholars: and as he was not very willing to heate more, so were not we greatly desirotis to relate and discourse farther unto him; for that he had no mind to confider ech thing accordingly that was delivered. Socrates verily, who was the first that debarred us from eating those meats which drew us on to eat more still when we were not 20 hungry nor had a stomacke thereto; and from drinking such drinks which caused us to drinke, although we were not drie and thirftie; forbad us not fimply to use meats and drinks, but taught us rather to use them onely when we had need of them, joining the pleasure of them with their necessitie; like as they do, who employ the publicke money of cities (which before was wont to bespent at Theaters, in exhibiting plaies and showes) about the charges of mainteining souldiers for the warres: for that which is fweet, so long as it is a part of our nourishment, we hold to be proper and familiar to nature; and we ought all the whiles that we be hungry, to use and enjoy neceffarie nourishment, as sweet and pleasant; but otherwise not to stirre and provoke other new and extraordinarie appetites apart, after that we are delivered from those that be common and ordinarie: for like as unto Socrates himselfe, dancing was no unpleasant exercise; even so 40 he who maketh his whole supper or meale of junkets and banketting dishes, catcheth lesse harme thereby: but when a man hath taken alreadic as much as is sufficient to content nature, and wherewith he is well fatisfied, he ought to beware as much as in any thing els, how he putteth forth his hands to any fuch dainties. And we are to flie and avoid in these things, follie and ambition, no lesse than friandise or gluttonie : for these two vices induce us likewise often times to cat fome thing when we are not hungrie, and to drinke also when we be not athirst; yea, and they fuggest and minister unto us certeine base and extravagant imaginations, to wit, that it were great simplicitie, and a very absurd thing, not to feed liberally of a rare, deere and gealon dith, if it may be had; as for example: That which is made of a fowespappes when the is newly farrowed, Italian mushroomes, Samian cakes, or snow out of Aegypt; for these toics and imagi-50 nations finelling formewhat of vain-glorie as the fent of meat comming out of a kitchin, manie times fet our teeth a watering and our stomacke on edge to use them, forcing the bodie (which otherwise would not seeke after them) to participate thereof, onely because they be much spoken of and hard to come by; to the end that we make our report and recount unto others, what wee have done, and be reputed by them right happic and fortunate; for that wee have enjoied things, so decre, so singular and so gcason. The like affection they cary to women also of great name and reputation: for it falleth out, that having their owne wives in bedde with them, and thosefaire and beautifull dames, such also as love them deerely, they lie still and stirre not; but

if they meet with any courtifan, fuch as Phryne or Lais was, unto whom they have paied good filver out of their purfe, though otherwise their bodies be unable, dull and heavie in performing the worke of Venus, yet doing they will be, what they can, and fraine themselves upon a vaineglorious ambition, to provoke and stirre up their lascivious lust unto sleshly pleasure: whereupon Phryneherselfe, being now old and decaied, was woont to say: That she sold her lees and

dregs the deerer, by reason of her reputation.

A great thing it is and wonderfull, that if we receive into our bodies as many pleafures as nature doth require or can well beare; or rather, if upon divers occasions and businesses, we result her appetites, and put her off unto another time, and that we be loth and hardly brought to yeeld unto her necessities, or (according as Plato faith) give place, after that she hath by fine force pricked and urged us thereto, we should not suffer for all that, any harme thereby, but goe away freely without any loffe or detriment: but on the other fide, if we abandon our felves to the defires that descend from the soule to the bodie, so farre foorth as they force us to minister unto the paffions thereof, and rife up together with them, impossible it is, but that they should leave behinde them exceeding great losses and damages, in stead of a few pleasures, and those feeble and fmall in appearance, which they have given unto us: and this above all things would be confidered, that we take heed how we provoke the body to pleasures, by the lusts of the minde; for the beginning thereof is against nature. For like as the tickling under the arme-holes, pro. cureth unto the foule a laughter, which is not proper, milde and gentle, but rather troublesome and refembling some spasme or convulsion; even so all the pleasures which the bodie receiveth 20 when it is pricked and provoked by the foule, be violent, forced, turbulent, furious and unnaturall. Whenfoever therefore any occasion shall present it selfe to enjoy such rare and notable delights, it were better for us to take a glorie in the abilinence, rather than in the fruition there. of, calling to minde that which Simonides was woont to fay: That he never repented any filence of his, but often times he beshrewed himselfe for his speech; and even so we never repent that we have refused any viands, or drunke water in flead of good Falerne wine. And therefore we ought not onely, not to force nature, but if other-whiles we be ferved with fuch cates and meats as the craveth, we are to divert our appetite from the fame, and to reduce it to the use of simple and ordinary things many times, even for custome and exercise:

If right and law may broken be, for any earthly thing, . The best pretense is for to win a crowne, and be a king.

So faid Ereceles the Thebane, though untruely: but we may better fay: If we must be ambitious and defirous of glorie in fuch things as thefe, it were most honest and commendable to use continence and temperance for the preservation of health. Howbeit, some there be, who upon an illiberall pinching and mechanicall sparing, can restraine and keepe downe their appetites when they be at home in their owne houses; but if it chance they be bidden foorth to others, they gorge and fill their bellies with these exquisit and costly viands; much like to those, who in time of warre and hostilitie, raise booties, and prey upon the lands of their enemies what they can; 40 and when they have so done, they goe from thence illat case, carrying away with them for the morrow (upon this their fulneffe and unfatiable repletion) crudity of fromacke and indigeffion. Crates therefore, the philosopher thinking; that civill warres and tyrannies arise and grow up in cities, as well by reason of superfluity and excesse in dainty fare, as upon any other cause whatfoever, was woont by way of mirth, to give admonition in these tearmes: Take heed you bring us not into a civill sedition, by augmenting the platter alwaies before the Lentil: that is to say, by dispending more than your revenues will beare. But in deed, every man ought to have this command and rule of himselse, as to say: Augment not evermore the platter before the Lentil, nor at any time passe beyond the Cresses and the Olive, even to fine tarts and delicate fishes, lest you bring your bodie into a domesticall diffention afterwards with it felfe; namely, to painfull 50 colickes, lasks, and fluxes of the bellie, by over-much fulneffe and exceffe of feeding: for fimple viands and ordinarie, conteine the appetite within the bounds and compaffe of nature; but the artificiall devices of cooks and cunning fellowes in pastry, with their curious cates of all forts, with their exquisit fances and pickles (as the comicall Poet faith) set out and extend alwaies the limits of pleature, encroching still beyond the bounds of utilitie and profit. And I wot not verily, how it comes about, that confidering we so much detest and abhorre those women, who give love-drinks, and can skill of charmes and forceries to be witch and enchant men with, we be-

take thus as wedo, unto mercenarie hirelings or flaves, our meats and viands, to be medicined (asitwere) and no better than poisoned for to enchant and bewitch us. And admir, that the faying of Arcefilate the Philosopher, against adulterers and other lascivious persons, may seeme fomewhat with the bittereft; namely: that it made no great matter, which way one went about that beaftly worke, whether before or behinde, for that the one was as bad as the other; yet impertinent it is not, nor befide the subject matter which we have in hand. For to fay a true th, what difference is there betweene eating of Ragwort, Rogker, and fuch hot herbs, for to furre up the luft of the flesh, and to provoke the talte and appetite to meat by smelles and sauces ? like as mangie and itching places have alwaies need of rubbing and feratching. But peradventure it no would be better, to referve unto another place, our difeourte against dishonest fleship pleasures, and to flew how honest and venerable a thing in it selfe, is continence: for our purpose at this present, is to debarre many great pleasures, otherwise in their owne nature honest; for I assure you, our difeases doe not put us by so many actions, so many hopes, voiages or patlimes, as they deprive us of our pleafures, yea, and marre them quite; and therefore they who love their delights and pleasures most, had least need of any men in the world, to neglect their health. For many there be, who for all they be ficke, have meanes to studie philosophy, and discourse thereof : neither doth their ficknesse greatly hinder them, but that they may be generals in the field

to leade armies, yea, and kings (beleeve me) to governe whole realines.

But of bodily pleasures and flethly delights, some there be which during a maladie will never nobreed; and fuch as are bred already, yeeld but a finall joy, and fhort contentment, which is proper and naturall unto them, and the fame not pure and fincere, but confused, depraved and corrupted with much ftrange ftuffe, yea and difguifed and blemished as it were, with some forme and tempest: for the act of Venus is not to any purpose performed upon gourmandise and a full belly, but rather when the bodie is calme, and the fleth in great tranquillity; for that the end of Venus is pleasure, like as of eating also and of drinking; and health unto pleasures, is as much as their faire weather and kinde feafon, which giveth them fecure and gentle breeding, much like as the calme time in winter affoords the fea-fowles called Aleyones, a fafe cooving, fitting and hatching of their egges. Producus is commended for this pretie speech: That fire was the belt fauce; and a man may most truely fay: That health is of all fauces must divine, heavenly and pleasant: for our viands how delicate soever they be, boiled, rosted, baked or stewed, 30 doeno pleasure at all unto us, so long as wee are diseased, drunken, full of surfet, or queasie stomacked, as they be who are fea-ficke; whereas a pure and cleane appetite caufeth all things to befiveer, pleafant, and agreeable unto found bodies, yea, and fuch as they, will be ready to fnatch at, as Homer faith. But like as Demades the oratour, feeing the Athenians without all reason, delitous of armes and warre, faid unto them: That they never treated and agreed of peace, but in their blacke robes, after the losse of kinsfolke and friends; even so wee never remember to keepe a spary and sober diet, but when we come to be cauterized, or to have cataplasmes and plasters about us: we are no sooner fallen to those extremities, but then we are ready to condemneour faults, calling to minde what errours we have committed in times past; for untill 40 then, we blame one while the aire, as most men doe; another while the region or countrey, as unfound and unholfome; we finde fault that we are out of our native foile, and are woonderfull loth to accuse our owne intemperance and disordinate appetites. And as king Lisymachus being conftreined and enforced within the country of the Getes for very thirst to yeeld himselfe prisoner, and all his armie captivate unto his enemies; after he had taken a draught of cold water, faid: Good God, what a great felicitie have I forgone and loft, for a momentarie and transitory pleafure! even fo we may make use thereof, and apply the same unto our selves when wee are licke, faying thus: How many delights have we marred quite? how many good actions have we fore-let? what honest pastimes have we lost? and all by our drinking of cold water, or bathing unicasonably, or else for that we have over drunke our selves for good fellowship; for the bite &50 fling of fuch thoughts as thefe, toucheth our remebrance to the quicke, in fuch fort as the fearre remaineth still behind, after that we are recovered, and maketh us in time of our health more flaied, circumspect, and sober in our diet: for a bodie that is exceeding found and healthy, never bringeth foorth vehement defires, and difordinate appetites, hardly to be tamed or with flood; but we ought to make head againft them, when they beginne to breake foorth and fling out for to enjoy the pleasures which they are affected unto; for such lusts, some complaine, pule, and crie for a little, as wanton children doe, and no sooner is the table taken awaie, but they be quiet and still; neither finde they fault and make complaint of any wrong or injurie Fff 3

offred unto them: but contrariwife, they be pure, jocund, and lightfome, not continuing heavic, nor readic to heave and cast, the next day to an end: like as by report, captaine Timotheres (having upon a time beene at a fober and frugall scholars supper, in the academie with Plato) faid: That they who supped with Plato were merry and well appaied the next day after. It is teported also, that king Alexander the Great when he turned backe those cooks which queene Addent unto him, faid: That he had about him all the yeere long better of his owne, namely. for his breakfast or dinner, rifing betimes, and marching before day light; and for his supper, cating liede at dinner. I am not ignorant that men otherwhiles are very apt to fall into an ague upon extreme travell, upon excellive heats also and colds; but like as the odors and fents of thowers be weak & feeble of themselves; whereas if they be mixed with some oile, they take force to and vigor; even to fulneffe and repletion is the ground, which giveth(as a man would fay)bodie and buttance unto the outward cautes, and occasions of maladies; and of a great quantity of suparalhous humours there is no danger, because all fuch indispositions and crudities are some orientical, diffipated, and diffolved, when fome fine or fubtill bloud, when fome pure fairly (1) to prescive the their motion: but where there is a great repletion indeed, and abundance of firsocialistics, (as it were a deepe and miric puddle all troubled and flirred) then there arise from stance many maligne accidents, fuch as be dangerous and hard to cure: and therefore we are test to doe like fome good mafters of fhips who never thinke their veffels beefully fraught and charged throughly; and when they have taken in all that ever they can, doe nothing elfe but worke at the pumpe, void the finke, and cast out the sea water which is gotten in; even so 20 when we have well filled and fluffed our bodies, fall to purge and cleanfe them with medicines analelitiers: but we ought rather to keepe the bodie alwaies neat, nimble, and light, to the end, that if it channed otherwise at any time to be pressed and held downe, it might be seene above for lightneffelike unto a piece of corke floting aloft upon the water: but principally we are to beware of the very precedent indispositions, which are forerunners of maladies: for all diseates walke not (as Hefedus faith) in filence and fay nothing when they come,

As whom wife Jupiter hath bereft

Of voice, and toong to them none left. But the most part of the have their vant-curreurs as it were, their messengers, & trumpets; namethe crudities of fromack, wearinesse and heavinesse over all the bodie. According to the Apho- 20 The of Hypecrates; laffitudes and laborious heavinesse of the bodie, comming of themselves with outany evident cause, prognosticate and fore-figniste diseases; for that as it should seeme, the parits that should passe unto the nerves and sinewes, are obstructed, stopped, and excluded, by the great repletion of humors: and albeit the bodie it felfe tendeth as it were to the contrarie, and pulleth us to our bedde and repose, yet some there be, who for very gluttony and disordinate luft, put themselves into baines & hot-houses, making haste from thence, to drinking fquare with good fellowes, as if they would make provision before-hand of victuals against fome long fiege of a citie, or feare that the feaver should surprise them falling, or before they had taken their full dinner:others formwhat more honest, yea & civill than they, are not this way Lankie, but being a finamed (fooles as they are) to confesse that they have eaten or drunke over-40 much, that they feele any heavineffe in head or cruditie in flomacke, loth also to be known for to keepe their chamber all the day long in their night gownes, whiles their companions goe to tennis and other bodily exercises abroad in publicke place, and call them foorth to beare them companie, rile up and make them ready to goe with them, cast off their clothes to their naked skunne, with others, and put themselves to doeall that men in perfect health are to performe. But the most part of these (induced and drawen on, by hope perswaded) are bold to arise, and to doe hardly after their wonted maner, affifted by a certaine hope, grounded upon a proverbe; as an advocate to defend gourmandife, and wanton life, which advifeth them that they should expell wine with wine; drive or digeft one furfeit with another. Howbeit, against all such hope, searc to oppose the warie and confiderat caution, that Cato speaketh of (which as that wise 50 with faith) doth diminish and lessen great things; and as for small matters it reduces them to nothing: also that it were better to endure want of meat, and to keepe the bodie emptie and in quiet, than fo to hazard it, by entring into a baine, or runne to an high ordinarie to dine and top: for if there be fome disposition to sicknesse, hurtfull it will be that we have not taken heed, nor conteined our felves, but been efecure: if none, dangerous it will not be that we have held in and restrained our selves, and by that restraint made our body so much more pure and cleare. Burthar childith foole who soever he be, that is a fraid to let his friends and those of his owne

house know that he is amisse or ill at ease, for that he hath eaten overmuch, or surfeited with flrong drinke, as being afhamed to confesse this day his indigestion, shall be forced to morrow even against his will, to bewray either an inordinate catarth and fluxe, or an ague, or else some wrings and torments of the belly: thou takest it for a great shame to be known that thou didst want or were hungry; but farre greater shame it is to avow crudity and rawnesse, to bewray heavinesse, proceeding from full diet, and upon repletion of the bodie to be drawen neverthelesse into a baine, as if some rotten vessell or leaking shippe, that would not keepe out water, should be shot into the sea. Certes such persons as these, resemble some failers or sea-faring men, who in the tempessuous time of winter, be ashamed to be seene upon the shore doing nothing: but when they have once weighed anker, fpred faile, and launched into the deepe, and open fea, they are very illappaied, crying out pitcoully, and ready to cast up their gorge: even so, they that doubt some ficknesse, or finde a disposition of the bodie ready to fall into it, thinke it a great shame and discredit, to stand upon their guard, one day to keepe their beds and forbeare their ordinarie table and accustomed diet: but afterwards with more shame, they are saine to lie by it many daies together, whiles they be driven to take purgations, to applie many cataplafmes, to speake the physicians faire, and fawne upon them, when they would have leave of them to drinke wine or cold water; being so base minded, as to doe abfurdly, and to speake many words impertinently, feeling their hearts to faile, and be ready to faint, for the paine they endure alreadie, and the feare they are in to abide more. Howbeit, very good it were to teach and 20 admonith fuch persons (as otherwise cannot rule and conteine themselves, but either yeeld, or be transported and carried away by their lusts) that their pleasures take the most and best part of thebodie for their share. And like as the Lacedæmonians after that they had given vinegar and falt to the cooke, willed him to feeke for the relt in the beaft facrificed; even fo in a bodie which one would nourifh, the best fauces for the meat are these, which are presented unto it, when it is found in health and cleane. For that a dish of meat is sweet or deere, is a thing by it felfe, without the bodie of him who taketh it, and eateth thereof: but for the pleafantneffe or contentment thereof, we ought to have regard unto the body that receiveth it; also for to delight therein, it should be so disposed as nature doth require; for otherwise, if the body be troubled, ill affected, or overcharged with wine; the best devices and sauces in the world will lose 20 their grace, and all their goodnesse whatsoever: and therefore it would not be so much looked unto, whether the fifth be new taken, the bread made of pure and fine flowre, the bathe hot, or the harlot faire and beautifull; as confidered precifely, whether the man himfelfe have not a lothing flomacke, apt to heave and vomit, be not full of crudities, error, vanity, and trouble: elicit will come to paffe, that the shall incurre the same fault and absurditie that they doe, who after they are drunken, will needs goe in a maske, to plaie and daunce in an house, where they all mourne for the death of the mafter thereof lately deceafed: for in flead of making sport and mirth, this were enough to fet all the house upon weeping, and piteous wailing. For even fo, the sports of love or Venus, exquisit ulands, pleasant baines, and good wines, in a bodie ill disposed and not according to nature, doe no other good, but stirre, trouble sleame and 40 and choler in them, who have no fetled and compact constitution, and yet be not altogether corrput; as also they trouble the body, and put it out of tune more than any thing else, yeelding no joy that we may make any reckoning of, nor that contentment which wee hoped and expected. True it is, that an exquifit dict observed streightly and precisely according to rule, and miffing not one jot, canfeth not onely the bodie to be thinne, hollow, and in danger to fall into many difeates; but also dulleth all the vigor, and daunteth the cheerefulnesse of the verie mind, in fuch fort, as that the fulpecteth all things, and feareth continually to flay long as well in delights and pleasures, as in travels and paines; yea, and generally in every action enterprising nothing affiredly and with confidence: whereas we ought to deale by our body, as with the faile of aships (that is to fay) neither to draw it in & keepe it down too straight in time of calme & faire 50 meather, nor to spred and let it out over flacke and negligently, when there is presented some supicion of a tempest; but as occasion shall require, to spare it, and give some ease and remission, that afterwards it may be fresh and lightsome, as hath beene faid already, and not to slacke the time, and ftay untill we fenfibly feele, crudities, laskes, inflamations; or contrariwife, ftupidities and mortifications of members, by which fignes (being as it were meffengers, and uthers going before a feaver, which is hard at the dore) hardly wil fome be fo much moved, as to keepe in, and restraine themselves, (no not when the very accesse and fit is readie to surprise them) but rather long before to be provident, and to prevent a tempest:

So soone as from some rocke we finde The puffing gales of northern winde.

For abfurd it is, and to no purpose, to give such carefull heed unto the crying wide throates of crowes, or to the craing and cackling of hennes, or to fwine, when in a rage they toffe and fling strawabout them (as Democritus faith) thereby to gather prefages, & prognostications of wind raine, and stormes; and in the meane time not to observe the motions, troubles, and fiering indispositions of our bodie, nor prevent the same, ne yet to gather undoubted signes of a tempeft ready to rise and grow even out thereof. And therefore we ought, not onely to have an cie unto the bodie, for meat and drinke, and for bodily exercises, in observing whether we fall unto them more lazily and unwillingly than our manner was before time; or contrariwife whe. 10 ther our hunger and thirst be more than ordinary; but also wee are to suspect and feare, if our fleeps be not milde, and continued, but broken & interrupted : we must besides, regard our very dreames; namely, whether they be strange and unusuall: for if there be represented extraordi. narie fansies and imaginations, they testifie and shew a repletion of groffe, viscuous or slimy humours, and a great perturbation of the spirits within. Otherwhiles also it hapneth, that the motions of the foule it felfe, doe fore fignific unto us, that the body is in some neere danger of disease: for many times men are surprised with timorous fittes of melancholy, and heartlesse distrusts without any reason or evident cause, the which suddenly extinguish all their hopes: you shall have some upon every small occasion apt to fa linto cholerick passions of anger; they become eager and hastie, troubled, pensive and offended with a little thing, infomuch as they 20 will be ready to weepe and runne all to teares, yea and languish for griefe and sorrow: And all this commeth, when evill vapours, fowre and bitter fumes ingendred within, doe arise and fleeme up, and so (as Plato faith) be intermingled in the waies and passages of the soule. Those persons therefore who are subject to such things, ought to thinke and consider with themfelves; that if there be no spirituall cause thereof, it cannot chuse but some corporall matter had need either of evacuation, alteration, or suppression.

Expedient also it is and very profitable for us, when we visit our friends that be sicke, to enquire diligently the causes of their maladies, not upon a cavilling curiofity or vaine oftentation, (to dispute sophistically, and discourse thereof only, or to make a shew of our eloquence, in talking of the inflances, the infults, the intercidences, communities of difeases, and all to shew 30 what books we have read, & that we know the words & tearmes of physick;) but to make fearch and enquirie in good earnest, and not slightly or by the way, as touching these slight common and vulgar points, namely, whether the ficke partie be full or emptie? whether he overtravelled himselfe before, or no? and whether heslept well or ill? but principally, what diet he kept? and what order of life he followed, when he fell (for examples fake) into the ague: then (according as Plate was woont to fay unto himselfe, whensoever he returned from hearing and seeing the faults that other men committed:) Am not I also such an one ? so you must compose and frame your selfe to learne by the harmes and errours of neighbours about you, for to looke well unto your owne health, and by calling them to mind, to be fo wary & provident, that you fall not into the same inconveniences, and forced to keepe your bed, and there extol & commend health, 40 withing & defiring (when it is too late) for to enjoy fo pretious a treasure; but rather (seeing another to have caught a discase) to marke and consider well, yea, and to enterteine this deepe impression in your heart; how deere the said health ought to be unto us, how carefull we should be to preserve, and chary to spare the same. Moreover, it would not be amisse for a man, afterwards to compare his owne life with that of the foresaid patient: for if it fall out so, that (notwithstanding we have used over-liberall diet both in drinks and meats, or laboured extreamly, or otherwile committed errour in any excesse and disorder) our bodies minister unto nature no suspition, nor threaten any figne of ficknesse toward; yet ought we neverthelesse, to take heed and prevent the harme that may enfue; namely; if we have committed any diforder in the pleafures of Venus and love delights; or otherwise bene over-travelled, to repose our selves and take our qui-50 et rest; after drunkennesse or carrowsing wine round for good fellowship, to make amends and recompense with drinking as much colde water for a time; but especially, upon a surfeit taken with eating heavie and groffe meats, and namely, of flesh, or els feeding upon fundry and divers dishes, to fast or use a sparie diet, so as there be left no superfluitie in the bodie: for even these things, as of themselves alone (if there were no more) be enough to breed diseases; so unto other causes they adde matter and minister more strength. Full wisely therefore was it said by our ancients in old time, that for to mainteine our health, these three points were most expedient : To feed without satisfie: To labour with alacritie : and To preserve and make space of naturall feed. For furely lascivious intemperance in venerie of all things, most decate thand enseebleth the strength of that naturall heat, whereby our meat and food which we receive is concocted, and so consequently is the cause of many excrements and superfluities engendred, whereupon corrupt humours are engendered and gathered within the body.

Precepts of health.

To begin therefore to speake againe of every of these points; let us consider first the exercifes meet and agreeable to students or men of learning : for like as he who first faid: That he wrot nothing of Teeth to those that inhabited the sea coasts, taught them (in so saying) the use of them; even so a man may fay unto scholars and men of learning: That he writeth nothing unto to them as touching bodily exercises; for that the daily practise of the voice by speech and pronumiation, is an exercife woonderfull effectuall, not onely for health, but also for (trength, I meane not fuch as is procured to wreftlers and champions by art, which breedeth brawnic carnolitie, and caufeth the skin to be firme and fast without forth (like unto an house which to the outward thew is rough-cast or thick coated with lime or plaster;) but that which maketh a tough constitution and a vigorous firmitude and strength indeed, in the noblest parts within, and the principall inftruments of our life. Now, that the spirits augment & confirme the powers of our bodie, the anointers of mens bodies in the place of publicke exercise knowfull well, when they give order and command the wreftlers and fuch like, when their limmes are rubbed, to with-Hand fuch frictions in some fort, in holding their winde, observing precisely, and having an eie 20 to ech part of the body that is handled or rubbed. The voice therefore (being a motion of the fpirit (fortified, not superficially and by starts, but even in the proper fountaines and springs which are about the vitall bowels) encreaseth naturall heat) doth subtiliat the blood, cleanseth the veines, openeth all the arcteries, not fuffering any obstruction, oppilation or stopping by superfluous humours to grow upon us or remaine behinde (like unto dregs or grounds) in the bottome of those vessels which receive and concoct those viands whereof we are nourished; by reason whereof, they have need to use ordinarily this exercise, and make it familiar unto them, by speaking in publicke place and discoursing continually. But it haply they doubt that their bodies be but weake, and not able to support and endure so much travell, yet at least wife they are to reade with a loud voice; for looke what proportion there is betweene gestation or carriage of 30 the body, and the exercise thereof upon the very ground, the same is between estimple reading and discoursing or open disputation: for this reading doth gently stirre and mildly carrie the voice by the chariot (as it were) and litter of another mans speech; but disputation addeth therto a certeine heat and forcible vehemence; for that the minde and the bodie confpire and concurre together in that action: howbeit, in this exercise we must beware of over-loud vociferation. ons and clamours; for fuch violent strainings of the voice, and unequal extensions and intenfions of the winde, many times cause some rupture of veines, or inward spasmes and convulsions. Now when a student hath either read or discoursed in this maner, good it is for him before he walke abroad, to use some uncteous, warme and gentle frictions, to handle and rub the skinne and flesh after a fost and milde maner; yea, and as much as he can, to reach into the very 40 bowels within, that the spirits may be spread and distributed equally thorowout, even to the veric extremities of the bodie. In these rubbings and frictions, this gage & measure would be obferved; that he continue them to long and to often, as he findeth them to agree fenfibly with his bodie, and bring no offence with them. He that in this wife hath appealed & fettled the trouble or tenfion of the foirits in the center of the bodie, if haply there should remaine some superstuitie behinde, it would do him no great harme : for fay, that he should forbeare walking, for want of leafure or by occasion of sudden businesse, it is all one, and it maketh no matter; for why, nature hath had already that which is fufficient, and flandeth fatisfied therewith. And therefore a man is not to pretend colourably for to excuse his silence, or forbearance of reading either navigation, when he is accompanied with other paffengers at fea in one ship, or his abode and sojourning in an hostelrie or common inne, although all the companie there should mocke him for it: for as it was no shame nor dishonest thing, to eat before them all; no more unseemly is it to exercise himselse in their presence by reading. But rather more undecent it were, to be astraid or fland in awe of mariners, muliters or inne-keepers, when they laugh at you, not for playing at ball alone, or fighting with your own shadow, but for speaking before the in your speech, either teaching, or discourting, or els learning by roat and rehearfing some good thing for your exercife. Socrates was woont to fay: That for him who would moove and stirre his bodie by way of dancing, a littleroome (that would receive feven fettles or feats) was sufficient & big enough;

but him that mindeth to exercise his body either by singing or saying, every place wil serve, when ther he stand, lie or fit. Only this must we take heed of that we straine not our voice nor fet out an open throat, when we are privie to our felves that we have eaten or drunke liberally, ne yet prefently after the company of a woman, or any other wearisome travel whatsoevers as many of our orators & great masters of rhetoricke use to do; who enforce and give themselves to declaime and pronounce their orations too loud, even about the strength of their bodie; some for valueglory and ambition, because they would put forth themselves; others for reward and to get a fee, or els upon emulation to their concurrents. Thus did Niger, (afriend of ours) who professed rhetoricke in Galatia: this man having swallowed downe a fish bone which stucke stilling his throat (when another rhetorician travelling that way, chanced to make a publike oration; for that he was afhamed to be thought his inferior, and yet durft not deale with him in that facultie) would needs thew himselfe in open place, and declaime, whiles the faid bone remained still in his throat : but by this meanes there enfued a dangerous and painfull inflamation; and being no longer able to endure the dolorous anguish thereof, he suffered himselfe to be launced without forth, and to have a deepe incision and a wide orifice made, whereby the bone indeed was plucked out, but the wound was fo grievous, and oppressed besides with a descent and dessuxion of thewmaticke humours thither, that he died thereof. But haply, better to the purpose it were, to speake of this hereafter. Well, after exercise to go presently into the bath, & to wash in colde water, were the part of a lufty wild-braine and a giddy-headed youth, who will needs in a bravery thew what he can do, rather than holfome any way: for all the good that fuch cold baths bring, 20 is this, that they feeme to harden the body, and confirme it fo, as it is leffe subject to take offence by the qualities of the aire without; but firely they do more harme within, by a great deale; for that they enclose and shut up the porce of the body, causing the humors and sumosities which would evaporate and breathe foorth continually, to become thicke and groffe. Furthermore, needfull it is for them that love to bathe thus in colde water, to fall into the fubjection of that over-firaight and exquifit diet (which we would avoid) having evermore an cie upon this, notto breake the fame in any point whatfoever, for that the least fault and smallest errour in the world, is prefently fore chafficed and coffeth full deere: whereas contrariwife to enter into the baine, and wash in hote water, pardoneth us, and holdeth us excused for many things; for it doth not fo much diminish the strength and force of the bodie, as it bringeth profit another way for the 30 health thereof; framing and applying most gently and kindly the humors to concoction: and in case there be some which cannot well and perfitly be digested, (so they be not altogether cruide and raw, nor float aloft in the mouth of the flomacke) it caufeth them to diffolve and exhale without any fenfe of paine; yea, and withall, it doth mitigate and cause to vanish and passe away the fecret laffitudes of the mufculous members. And yet as good as banes be, if we perceive the bodie to be in the naturall flate and disposition, firme and strong enough, better it were to intermit and for-let the use of baths; and in stead thereof, I holde it holsomer to anoint and rub the bodie before a good fire, namely, if it have need to be chafed and fet in an heat; for by this meanes there is differred into it as much heat as is requifit, and no more; which cannot be against the sunne; for of his heat a man can not take more or lesse at his owne discretion, 40 but according as he affecteth or tempereth the aire, fo he affourdeth his use. And thus much may ferve for the exercise of students.

To come now unto their food and nouriture: if the reasons and instructions before delivered, by which we learne to restraine, represse and mitigate our appetites, have done any good, time it were to proceed forward to other advertisements; but in case they be so violent, so unruly and untained, as if they were newly broken out of prison, that it is an hard piece of worke to range them within the compaffe of reason; and if it be a difficult piece of worke to wrestle with the bellie, which (as Cato was wont to fay) hath no eares; we must worke another feat and device with it; namely, by observing the quality of the viands, to make the quantity more light and leffe offensive : and it they be such as be solid and nourish much; as for example, grosse slesh meats, 50 cheefe, drie figges, and hard egges, they must feed of them as little as they can; for to refuse and forbeate them altogether were very hard; but they may be more bold to eate heartily of those that be thinne and light, such as are the most part of worts, or pot-herbes, birdes, and fifnes, that be not fatte & oilcous: for in eating of fuch meats, a man may at once both gratific his appetite, and also never overcharge his bodie: but above all, take heed they must of crudities and furfeits, proceeding from liberall eating of flesh-meats; for besides that they lode the stomacke presently as they are taken, there remaine afterwards behind naughtie reliques: and

therefore

therefore it were verie well, that they accustomed their bodies never to call for sleth, considering that the earth it felfe bringeth foorth other kinds of food, fufficiently not onely for the necessitic of nourithment, but also for pleasure and the contenument of the appetite; for some of them are ready to be eaten without any dreffing, or the helpe of mans hand, others be mingled and compounded after divers forts to make them more favoric and toothfome. But for afmuch as cultome (after a fort) is a fecond nature, or at least wife not contrarie to nature; we must not accultome our selves to feed on flesh, for to fulfill our appetites, after the maner of wolves, & lions, but use it onely as the foundation and ground of other viands; which being once laid, we are to make our principall nourifhment of other cates and diffies, which as they are more apto propriate to our bodies, and futable to nature, fo they doe incraffate and dull leffe the vigor and subtilitie of the spirit, and the discoursing reasonable part of the soule, which is kindled, mainteined, and fetto burne cleere, by a more delicate and light matter. As touching liquid things, they must use milke, not as an ordinarie drinke, but as a strong meatthat nourisheth exceeding much: but for wine, we are to fay to it, as Euripides did to Penus:

Welcome to me in measure and in meane, Too much is naught : yet doe not leave me cleane.

for of all drinks it is most profitable, of medicines most pleasant, and of daintic viands most harmeleffe; provided alwaies that it be well delaied and tempered with opportunity of the time, rather than with water. And verily water (not that onely wherewith wine is mingled, but also 20 which is drunke betweene whiles, apart by it felfe) caufeth the wine tempered therewith to doe theleffe harme: in regard whereof, a fludent ought to use himselfe to drinke twice or thuice every day a draught of theere water, for that it will enfeeble the headineffe of the wine, & make the ulual drinking of pure water, more familiar to the flomacke: and this I would have to be done, to this end, that if they be driven perforce to drinke faire water, they might not thinke it firange, nor be ready to refule it. For many there be, who oftentimes have recourse to wine, when iwis, they had more need to runne to the water; and namely, when they be over-heat with the funne: yea, and contrariwife, when they be stiffe frozen with cold, or have streined themfelves to speake much, or studied and sitten hard at their booke; and generally, after that they have travelled fore, till they be wearie, or have performed fome vehement exploit, or violent 30 exercise; then (Isay) they thinke, that they ought to drinke wine; as if nature herselfe required and called for some contentment and refreshing of the bodie, and some change and alteration after travels: but nature verily is not defirous to have any good done to her in this fort, if you call fuch pleasure a doing of good; but she demaundeth onely a reducement to a meane betweene labour and rest: and therefore such persons as these, are to be cut short and abridged of their victuals, and either to be debarred quite of all wine, or else enjoined to drinke it well delaied with water: for wine being of it felfe of a violent and stirring nature, augmenteth and maketh more unquiet the stormic perturbations arising within the body, it doth irritate and diftemper more and more the parts therein already offended and troubled; the which had much more need to be appeased and dulced; to which purpose water serveth passing well: for if we 40 otherwise being not a thirst, drinke hot water after we have laboured, or done some painfull exercife, in the exceeding heats of the fummer; we finde a notable cooling, refreshing, and casement in our inward bowels; the reason is; because the humiditie of water is kinde and milde, procuring no debate or disquietnesseat all; whereas the moisture of wine hath a vehement force, which never is at quiet and repose, but maketh a deepe impression, nothing agreeablenor fit to appeale the indispositions that are a breeding. Now if one doe seare the source and thatpe acrimonies, and the bitter taftes which (by the faying of some) hunger and want of food engender in our bodies, or as little children use to do, thinketh much not to fit at the table fortocat, a little before the fit of an ague, or when he suspecteth it comming: the drinking of water is as it were a confine and frontier betweene both, very fit to remedie the one and the 50 other: and many times we offer unto Bacchus himselfe certeine facrifices called Nephalia, for that there is no wine used therein; accustoming our selves wisely thereby not to be alwaies defirous for to drinke wine. Minos tooke away from facrifices, the flute, and the chaplets used to be worne on mensheads, in regard of griefe and forrow: and vetwe know full well, that the heavie and forrowfull minde, is neither by flutes nor flowers, paffionate; whereas there is nor the bodie of a man, (how firong and flour foever he be) but if it be flirred, troubled, and enflamed, will take more harme and offence by wine if it be taken or powred into it. It is recorded in the Chronicles; that the Lydians in time of a great dearth and famine, did eat but once in

two daies, and spent the time betweene, at dice-play, and other such games and pastimes; and even to it were well befeeming a student and lover of the Muses and his booke, at such a time as he had need to make a late and thort supper, to have before him, the figure ferving for some Geometricall proposition, or some little booke, some harpe or lute; this will not suffer him to be ledde as prisoner to his owne belly, but by diverting and turning ordinarily his mind from the boord, to these honest pastimes and recreations; will chase away from the Muses the greedy appetite of eating and drinking, as if they were to many ravenous fowles and harpies: For a shame it were that a Scythian whileshee is drinking, should estsoones take his bow in hand readic bent, and twang the string, and by the found thereof, awaken and quicken his courage, which otherwise would become drowfie, loose, and dull by wine: and that a Grecian to thould be afhamed or afraid of a flout or mocke, in affaying gently to refraine and bridle an unreasonable, violent, and greedic appetite, by the meanes of bookes and writings: for much after the fame manner in a comedie of Menander, when there was a band, who for to tempt certeineyoong men fitting at fupper together, brought in amongst them certeine pretie young wenches, very faire, & richly arraid, every one of the faid yoong men (because they were afraid & unwilling to looke those beautifull damosels in the face) made no more adoe, but as he faith.

Moreover, men that are addicted to their fludie, and to learning, have many other proper and

Cast downe the head, and like good merrie mates, Fall to their junkets hard, and deinty cates.

pleatant meanes to turne away their eies, and divert their minds, if otherwife they be not able to looke off; and to ftay or hold in, this violent and dogge-like greedy appetite, when the meat 20 flanderh before them upon the bourd. For as touching the speeches of some masters of wrestlers, or the words of certeine schoole-masters, who goe up and downe, saying: That to reason, argue, and discourse at the table upon points of learning; causeth the meat to corrupt within the flomacke, and breedeth head-ach, or heavinesse of the braine: we may indeed seare somewhat; if we will needs (while we be at our repatt) fall to refolve such a sophistical argument, as the Logicians call Indos: or if wee be disposed to reason and dispute about the masterfull sophiline named Kyritton: It is faid, that the crowne or upmost tust growing upon the date tree. manipretate called the braine thereof, is exceeding fweet and pleafant to the taffe, howbeit, hurtfull to the brames of the head: howbeit, these prickie and intricate disputations in Logicke at supportine; are no 30 for the way: but this bird pleasant banketting dishes, but offensive to the braine, tedious, and irksome, nothing more. But being forme, if those men will not permit us to discourse, to heare, reade, or talke of other matters in supper time, which together with honestie and profit, have an attractive pleasure and sweetnesse joined therewith: we will defire them to let us alone, & not trouble us, but to arife from the table, and goe their waies into their galleries and hals for wreftling, and there to hold and maintaine fuch politions among their scholars and champions, whom they withdraw and turne away tained hould hook from the study of good letters; and accustoming them to spend their time all theday long in feoffes and feurrile speeches, they make them in the end (as gentle Ariston faid) as witleffe, and without fenfe (yet glib and well greafed) as the stone pillers which support those galleries, and places of exercife where they use to converse and keepe schoole. But we contrariwise being 40 ruled by the physicians, who advise us alwaies to interpose some competent time between supper and fleepe, are not prefently to go unto it, after we have filled our bellies with viands, and stuffed our spirits, even whiles the morsels of meat bee all raw, or beginning now to be concocted, thereby to hinder and state digestion; but give some space and breathing time betweene, untill the meat bee well fetled in the ftomacke. And as they who give us counfell to moove and stirre the bodie after meales, will us, not to runne our selves out of breath, nor to exercife our felves fo, as that we put all the parts of our bodie to the triall, after the manner of the Pancratiasts; but either to walke faire and softly, or to daunce after a gentle and easie manner; femblably, we are to thinke, that we ought to exercise our wits and minds after a dinner or supper, not about any affaires of deepe studie, and profound meditation, nor in sophistical disputes, 50 tending to the offentation of a quicke and lively spirit, or which bee litigious, and breed contention; but there be many questions besides of naturall philosophie, pleasant to be discussed, and eafie to be decided; many pretie tales and narrations there are, out of which a man may draw good confiderations and wife inftructions, for to traine and frame our manners; and thefe conteine that grace & facilitie in them, which the poet Homer calleth Menoeikes, that is to fay,

yeelding to anger, and in no wife croffe and refiftant: Heereupon it is, that fome doe pleafant-

ly teame this exercise of moovoing, propounding & resolving historicall or poetical questi-

ons; the second course or the service of banketting dishes, for students and learned men. Moreover, there be other forts of pleasant talke besides these, and namely; to heare and recite fables, devited for mirth and pleasure; discourses of playing upon the flute, harpe, or lute, which many times give more contentment and delight, than to heare the flute, harpe, or lute it felfe plaint edupon. Now the very precise time measured as it were and marked out to be most proper and meet for fuch recreations; is when we feele that our meat is gently gone downe, and feeled quietly in the bottome of the stomacke, shewing some signe of concoction, and that naturall heat is flrong, and hath gotten the upper hand.

Now forasmuch as Aristotle is of opinion, that walking after supper doth stirre up and kin-10 dle (as one would fay) our naturall heat: and to fleepe immediately after a man hath supped, doth dull and quench it: confidering also, that others be of a contrary minde, and hold; that rest and repose, is better for concoction; that motion so some after, troubleth and impeacheth the digettion and distribution of the meats, which is the cause that some use to walke after supper, others sit still and take their ease: me thinks a man may reconcile and satisfie veric well after a fort these two opinions; who cherishing and keeping his bodie close and still after fupper, settethhis mind a walking, awakeneth it, suffering it not to be heavie & idle at once by and by; but tharpneth and quickneth his spirits, as is before faid, by little and little, in discourfing, or hearing discourses of pleasant matters and delectable, such as be not biting in any wife, nor offenfive and odious.

Moreover, as touching vomits or purgations of the bellie by laxative medicines, which are the curfed and detestable easements and remedies of fulnesse and repletion; surely they would neverbe used but upon right great and urgent necessitie: a contrary course to many men, who fill their gorges and bodies with an intent to void them foone after; or otherwise, who purge and emptie the same for to fill them againe, even against nature; who are no lesse troubled, nay much more offended ordinarily, by being fedde and full, than falting and emptie: infomuch as fuch repletion is an hinderance to the contentment and fatisfying of their appetites and lufts; by occasion whereof, they take order alwaies, that their bodie may be evermore emptied; as if this voidance were the proper place and feat of their pleasures. But the hurt and dammage that may grow upon these ordinary purgations and vomits, is very evident; for that both the one 30 and the other, put the body to exceeding great straines and violent disturbances. As for vomiting, it bringeth with it one inconvenience by it felfe, more than the former, in that it procure th & augmenteth an unfatiable greedinesse to meat: for ingendered there is by that meanes a violent & turbulent hunger (like as when the course or stream of a river, hath bene for a while stopped & staid) snatching or greedy at meat, which is evermore offensive, & not a kind appetite indeed, when as nature hath need of meat; but refembling rather the inflammations occasioned by medicines or cataplasmes. Hereupon it is that the pleasures proceeding from thence, patle and flippe away incontinently, as abortive and unperfect, accompanied with inordinate pantings and beatings of the pulse, great wrings in the enjoying of them, and afterwards enfue dolorous tenfions, violent oppressions or stoppings of the conduits & pores, & the reliques or 40 retentions of ventofities; which staie not for naturall ejections and evacuations, but runne up and downe all over our bodies, like as if they were shippes surcharged, having more need to bee cased of their burden, than still to be loden with more excrements. As for the troublesome motions of the belly and guts, occasioned by purgative drougues, they corrupt, spill and resolve the natural strength of the solide parts, so that they engender more superfluties within than they thrust out and expel. And this is for althe world, like as if a man, being discontented to see within his native citie a multitude of naturall Greekes inhabitants, should for to drive them out, fill the same with Scythians or Arabian strangers. For even so, some there be, who (greatly miscounting and deceiving themselves) for to send foorth of their bodies the superfluous humors which are in some fort domesticall and familiar unto them, put into them I wot not what, Gui-50 dian graines, Scammoni and other strange drougues fet from farre countries, such as have no familiar reference to the bodie, but are meere wilde and favage, and in truth have more need to be purged and chaced out of the body themselves, than power and vertue to void away and expell that wherewith nature is choked and overcharged. The best way therefore is, by sobrietie and regular diet, to keepe the bodie alwaies in that moderate measure of evacuation and repletion, that it may be able by proportionable temperature, to maintaine it felfe, without any outwardhelpe. But if it fall out other whiles, that there be some necessitie of the one or the other;

vomits would be provoked without the helpe of strange physicall drogues, and not with much

as that it is thon, at for a fabulous

Which forme

adoo and curiofitie, that they disquiet & trouble no parts within, but onely for to avoid cruditie and indigestion, reject and cast up that gentlie which is too much, and cannot be prepared and made meet for concoction. For like as linnen clothes that bee fcoured and made cleane with sopes, ashes, lees and other absterfive matters, weare more and fret out sooner than such as be washed simply in faire water; even so, vomites provoked by medicines, offend the body much more, and marre the complexion. But fay, the belly bee bound and coffive, there is not a drougher that eafeth it fo mildly, or provoketh it to the flege fo eafily, as doe certaine means. whereof the experience is familiar unto us, and the use nothing dolorous and offensive. Now in case the body be so heard, that such kinde viands will not worke and cause it to be sollible. then a man ought for many daies together, to drinke thinne and cold water, or use to fast, or else take some clister, rather than purgative medicines, such as disquiet the body, and overthrow the temperature thereof. And yet many there be, who ever and anon are ready to run unto them; much like unto those lewd and light wanton women, who use certeine medicines to cause abortion, or to send away the fruit which they have newly conceived; to the end that they might conceive foone againe, and have more pleafure in that fleshly action. Now is it time to fay no more, but to let them goe that perfwade fuch evacuations.

As for those on the contratic side, who interject certaine exact, precise, and criticall fastings, observed too straightly according to just periods and circuits of daies: surely they teach nature. (wherein they doe not well) to use aftriction before it have need; and acquaint her with a neceffarie abstinence of food, which in it selfe is not necessarie, even at a prefixed time, which 20 calleth for that then, whereto it is accustomed. Better yet it were, for a man to use these cha-Aicements of his body, freely and at his owne liberty, without any foreknowledge of furbition: and as for other diet, (as hath beene faid before) to order it fo, that it may frame and be obsequent to all manner of occurrences & changes that shall come betweene, and not to be tied and bound to one forme and manner of life, exactly to keepe certaine daies, just numbers, and fet circuits, without failing or miffing in any jot. For this course is neither sure, nor easie; it is not civill nor yet agreeable to humanitie: it resembleth rather the life of an oister, or some stocke of a tree; to captivate himselfe, and be so subject and thrall, that he cannot change or alter his viands; he may not once varie in his faltings and abstinencies, in his motions or repose, but continue alwaies close and covert in a thadie kinde of life, idle, private to himselfe, without 20 conversing with stiends, without participation of honors, farre remote from the administration of weale publicke, which were to thut himfelfe up as it were a close prisoner; a life I affure you which I cannot like nor allow: for wee cannot built our health with idleneffe and doing naught, which two are the principall inconveniences incident unto difeases: and all one this were, as if a man would thinke to preferve his eies, by not employing them to fee; or his voice, by speaking not at all; thus to be perswaded, that for the preservation of health it were necessarie to have continuall repose, without doing ought: for a man in health, cannot doe better for to mainteine the fame, than to be emploied in many good duties, and commendable offices of humanitie. An abfurd error therefore it is, to thinke idlenesse to be either healthy or holsome, confidering that it destroicth the very end of health, which is emploiment: neither is it true, 40 that the leffe men doe, the more healthfull they be. For Xenocrates had not his health better than Phocion; nor Theophrastus than Demetrius: and as for Epicurus and all the crew of his fecturies, they had no benefit at all for the atteining of that contentment and tranquillitie of the bodie which they make fo great reckoning of, and praife to highly; by flying and avoiding all State affaires, and medling in no publicke and honorable office. Other meanes therefore and provision would be made, to enterteine and keepe that disposion and habitude of the bodie, which is according to nature: for this is certeine; that all forts of life be capable, as well of fickneffe as of health. Howbeit, polititians (quoth he) and States-men are to be admonished to doe cleane contrarie unto that which Plato advertised his young scholars to doe. For Plato ever ashe went out of the schoole, was woont thus to say unto them: Goe to my sonnes, see 50 you employ that leafure which you have, in some honest sports and passines. But we may exhort and put in minde those who deale in the administration of common-wealth, to bestow their labour and travell in honest and necessarie things, and not to overtoile and spend their bodies in small matters of little or no consequence; as the manner is of most men, who trouble and torment themselves about just nothing, overwatching, running to and fro, heere and there, up and downe about things which many times are neither good nor honest; but onely because they would difgrace and shame others, either upon enviethat they beare unto them,

or upon obstinate and wilfull selfe-conceit, or else to pursue and maintaine some vaine and soolish opinions that they have taken. For I thinke verily it was in regard of fuch persons especially, that Democritus faid: If the body should call the foule judicially into question upon an action of injurie or wrong done, and for to make fatisfaction of loffe and damage; the were not able to answer it , but must needs confesse the action , and be condemned. And Theophrastus peradventure faid well and truely; when speaking by a metaphor or allegorie; he affirmed, that the foule paid a deere rent for her dwelling within the body. For (I affure you) the bodie may thanke the foule for many harmes that it fulfaineth; when as the ufeth it not with reason, nor intreateth it according as it is meet and convenient; and looke when the hath any proper and peculiar passions of her owne, or some enterprises and actions to be performed, she maketh no fpare of the poore bodie. As for the tyrant Jalon, hee was wont (I wornot upon what reason or ground) to fay: That he ought to deale unjuftly in small matters, who would be just in the greatest affaires; and even so, wee may well advise a man of State and government, to make no reckoning of trifling things, but disport, play, and folace himselse in repose with them; if he would not have his bodie over-spent, dull, or lazie, against the time that he should emploie it in great and important causes: much like to an old shippe which hath beene drawen up to land, forto be newly calked and trimmed, after it hath rested a time, is fit to doe new service at sea; for even so, the bodie upon repose and case, when soever the soule shall put it to any affaires, will be ready to follow

And runne with her, as fucking fole doth go Hard by the damme, and never parts her fro.

And therefore when occasions will permit and give leave, wee are to refresh and recreat our selves, not envying the bodies naturall sleepe, or usuall repose and refection of dinner, ne yet easement and recreation, which is of a middle nature betweene pleasure and paine, nor observing aftrict rule; which many men doc keepe, and in keeping it, spill and spend the bodie by fudden mutations; like as iron that is often made hot and quenched againe: for when foever the body is foiled and tired with travels, then they will even melt and diffolve it in exceffive and unmeasurable pleasures: and all upon the sudden againe, when it is weakned & enseebled with the delights of Venus, or by drinking out of courfe, they will draw and drive it prefently to the feri-20 ous travels of the common hall or the court, to the folliciting and following of fome affaires of great importance, which requireth earnest attendance and hot pursute. Heraclitus the philosopher, being fallen into a dropfie, willed his physician to make drought of great raine. But most men ordinarily doe fault heerein exceeding much: now when they be wearied, toiled, and foiled with painfull labours and wants, yeeld their bodies to be melted and spent quite with voluptuous pleasures; and afterwards againe, wrest and straine them as it were upon the teinters, immediately upon the fruition of some pleasures. For nature verily neither liketh nor requireth these alterations and sudden changes by turnes: but it is the incontinencie and illiberall lasciviousnesse of the foule, and nothing else, that abandoneth her-selse inordinately unto pleasures and delights, so soone as it is out of laborious exercises; like as mariners and failers doe at sea. 40 And contrariwife, immediately after fports & pleafures, betaketh it felfe to the eager purfute of gaine, & to the management of great affaires; giving no time and space of rest to nature, to enjoy repose and quiet tranquillitie, wherof it hath need, but setteth it out of frame, and distempereth it mightily, by reason of this inequalitie. But wise and discreet persons are verie wary and carefull in this behalfe; never prefenting fuch pleafures to their bodies when they be out-wearied with labour and travell, for need thereof they have none at all; and befides, they doe not regard nor thinke upon them, having their mindes continually intentive upon the honeftic and decency of the action or thing whereabout they are; dulling or dimming as well the joy, as the earnest solicitude and care of their minde, by the meanes of other desires and appetites; as it is written of Epaminondas, that he should say in game and meriment, of a certaine valiant man, 50 who about the time of the Leuctrique warre, died of ficknesse in his bedde: O Hercules, how had this man any leafure to die, amidde fo many important affaires! even so it may be said truly and in good earnest of a great personage, who hath in his hand the managing of some weightie affaires in matter of government, or treatife of philosophie: How should such a man as he have time either to be drunken, or to furfeit with gluttonie, or given himselse to stelly pleafures of the body? But wife men indeed, when they be freed from important matters of action, can finde a time to rest and repose their bodies, discharging them of needlesse and unprofitable travels, but much more of fuperfluous and unnecessarie pleasures, flying and shunning them as enemies and contrarie to nature.

I remember that upon a time I heard, how Tibertus Cefar was wont to fay: That a man being once above three-fcore yeres of age deferveth to be mocked and derided, if he put forth his hand unto the physician for to have his pulse felt. For mine owne part, I take this speech of his to bee somewhat too proud and insolent; but me thinks this should be true: That every man ought to know the particularities and properties of his owne pulse, for there bee many diversities and differences in each one of us: also that it behoovet no man to be ignorant in the severall complexion of his owne bodie, as well in heat as in drinesse: also to be skilfull what things be good for him, and what be hurtfull, when he useth them: for he that would learne these partition cularities of any other than of himselfe, or goeth to a physician to know of him, whether he be better in health in summer time than in winter; or whether hee stand better affected intaking dry things rather than moist; also whether naturally he have a strong pulse or a weake, a quicke or a slow; surely hath no sense or feeling of himselfe, but is as it were deaste and blinde, a sitanger he is dwelling in a borrowed body, and none of his owne: for such points as those, are good to be knowen and easie to be learned; for that we may make proofe thereof every hower, as having the body with us continually.

Also meet it is, among meats and drinks, to know those rather which be good and holsome for the ftomack, than fuch as be pleafant to the tooth; and to have experience of that which doth the stomacke good, more than of that which is offensive thereto; as also of those things that do 20 not trouble and hinder concoction, than which content and tickle the tafte. For to demand of a phyfician, what is cafe of digeftion, and what not; what doth loofe, and what bindeth the belly; me thinks is no leffe shamefull than to aske him, what is sweet; what bitter; what sowre, tart or austere. But now we shall have many folke, that know well how to find fault with their cooks and dreffers of meat, for feafoning their broths, or making fauce to their viands, being able to difeerne which is fweeter than it ought to be; which is over-tart or too much falted: and yet they themselves are not able to say, whether that which is put into the bodie and united therewith, be light or no; and whether it be harmleffe, not offenfive, or profitable. Hereupon it is, that their pottage misseth not often, the right seasoning; whereas contrariwise, for want of well seasoning their owne felves, but daily faulting therein, they make much worke for physicians: for theye- 30 fleeme not that pottage best, which is the sweetest, but they mingle therewith many sharpe juices and fowre herbs, to make it fomewhat tart withall; but contrariwife, they fend into the bodie all maner of fweet and pleafant things, even untill itery, Ho; partly being ignorant, and in part not calling to minde and remembrance, that nature adjoineth alwaies unto things that be good and holfome, a pleafure not mingled with displeafure and repentance. Moreover, we are likewife to remember and beare in minde, all those things that be fit and agreeable to the bodie; or contrariwife, in the changes of the seasons in the yere, in the qualities and properties of the aire, and other circumstances, to know how to accommodat and apply our diet accordingly: for as touching all the offences proceeding from nigardife, avarice and pinching, which the common fort doe incurre about the painfull inning and laborious bestowing or laying up of their 40 come and fruits; who by their long watchings, by their running and trudging to and fro, discover and bewray what is within the bodie, rotten, faulty & ulcerous: we are not to feare, that fuch accidents will befall to learned persons or students, ne yet to States-men and polititians, unto whom principally I have addressed this discourse; but they ought to beware and eschue another kinde of more eager covetousnesse and illiberall nigardise in matter of studie and literature, forcing them to neglect and not regard their owne poore bodies, which often times being fo travelled and outwearied, that they can doe them no more fervice, yet they foare them never the more, nor give them leave to be refreshed and gather up their crummes againe; but force that which is fraile and mortall, to labour a vie with the foule, which is immortall; that (Ifay) which is earthly, to hold out with the spirit, that is heavenly. Well, the ox said unto the carnell 50 his fellow-fervant, who would not ease him a little of his burden: Thou wilt not helpe me now to beare somewhat of my charge; but shortly thou shalt carie all that I carie, and mebesides: which fell out so indeed, when the ox died under his burden; semblably it hapnesh to the soule, which will not allow the fillie bodie (wearied and tired) fome little time of rest and repose : for foone after comes a fever, head-ach, dizzineffe of the braine, with a dimneffe of the fight, which will compell her to lay afide all books, to abandon all good letters, disputations and studie; and

in the end is driven to languish and lie sicke in bed together with it for company. And therfore Plato wisely admonishes us, not to move and exercise the body without the soule, nor the soule without the body, but to drive them both together equally, as if they were two steeds drawing at one spire of a chariot; and especially at such a time, when as the body is bussed with the soule, and laboureth together with her, we ought to have the most care of it, and to allow it that attendance & cheristiment, which is meet and requisit, to the end, that thereby we may requite it with good and desireable health; esteeming this to be the greatest benefit and most singular gift that proceedeth thereupon, in that neither the one nor the other (for default of good disposition) is impeached or hindered in the knowledge of vertue and the practise thereof, as swell in literature to as in the actions of mans life.



OF THE ROMANS FORTUNE.

The Summarie.

Fever therewere any Statepolitike, in the rifing growth and declination whereof, we are to see & acknowledge the admirable providese of God, together with the strength and wishdome of man, certes the Romane empire ought to be set in the sormost range. The cause of the foundation and advancement of this great Monarchie, are otherwise considered by those whom the heavenly trueth (revealed in the holy Scripture) doth illuminate, than by the Pagans and Sages of this world, guided onely by the discourse of their reason, corrupted with sinne and ignorance of the true God. For when the question is, as touching the government of the universal world, although the sovereigne Lord thereof, use often times, the spirituall and corporal wigor both of mortall men, for to execuse his will, yet we may be hold above it, and beginning the considerated with the source of the corrections.

exploit of visible instruments, this great and incomprehensible wisdome of his; who having decreed in himselfe all things, executeth every moment his deliberations; so that in regard of him, there is nothing cafuall, but all keepe a course according to his determinate and resolute will: but in respect of us, munthings be accidentall; for that the counsels of that eternall and immutable wisedome are hidden from us, and appeare not but by little and little. Infidels and milereants, who are not able to comprehend this scores, have imagined and set downe for governesses of mans life, Fortune and Vertue; meaning by Fortune, that which the common saying comprises him these sew words: In this world there is nothing els but good lucke and bad; but so, as if any man could skill how to manage his owne fortune, 40 hemight make it of bad, good and commodious: and this they meant by the word Vertue, which is an habitude or disposition of the mind and body; by the meanes whereof, he that uindued therewith, malis prevent and overthrow quite all the affaults of Fortune. Some there be, who abuse the word Fortune, for to abolish the providence of God; and others have attributed so much unto Vertue, that they have fet man out of those limits, in which his owne proper nature, and above all the divine trueth, placed him. Others againe, have aftribed some thing unto Fortune, and yet they neither under stand nor declare what it importet h, but have given out (although very irrefolutely) that Fortune cannot give the check to a vertuous man. If we had this treatife following entire and perfect, all the ancient philosophic and learning, autouching this question, had bene manifestly discovered unto us. But the principall part of this discourse is lost, in such fort, as Plutarch (having brought in Fortune and Versue disputing upon 50 this point: Whether of them (kould have the honour of the foundation and maintenance of the Romane empire?) hath left unto us nothing but the plea of Fortune; who by divers reasons and proofs holdeth that the wisdome & valour of the people of Rome, was not the cause of their grandence; but Fortune, that is to fay (as he express shewesh in one place) the guidance and helpe of God, who hat he or affects his estate for many others, and for to hold one good part of the world jointly mone body, under such a chiefe and sovereigne. As concerning the reasons alledged in the favor and maintenance of Fortune, they be marked in order, and drawen out well at large: whereas those of Vertue are omitted, or peradventure

reserved to the judgement and discretion of the reader, for to mount, devise, and apply them by him-

selfe, and of them all to collect and gather one conclusion, tending to this, for to show the great wonders of Gods providence in susteining the Romane empire, and the notable aid of an infinit number of instruments, which the said divine providence emploied in planting, raising up, and pulling downe so mighty and renowmed a dominion.

OF THE ROMANS FORTUNE.



Ertue and Fortune have fought many great combats, and those oftentimes one against the other: but that which presenteth it selfe unto us at this time, is the greatest of all the rest; to wit: the debate and plea which they had together as touching the empire of Rome, namely; whether of them twaine wrought that worke? and which of them brought foorth so mightie a puissance? For this will be no sinall testimonie on her side who shall gaine the victorie, or rather a great apologie, against the imputation charged upon the one and the other. For Vertue is accused, in that the is honest, but unprositable: and fortune, that the is uncerteine, but yet good: and

it is commonly faid, that as the former is fruitleffe for all her paines; fo the other is faithleffe and untruftic in all her gifts. For who will not fay, if the greatnesse of Rome be adjudged and awarded to one of them, that either Vertue is most profitable, in case she could doe so much for good and honest men. or Fortune most firme and constant, if the have preserved and kept so 20 long, that which she once bath given? I'm the poet in those works of his which he composed without verse, and in prose, saith: That Fortune and Wisedome (two most different things, and farre unlike one to the other) produce neverthelesse most like and semblable essects: both the one and the other indifferently make men great and honorable; they advance them in dignitie, puissance, estate and authoritie. And what need I (for to draw out this matter at length)rehearfe and reckon up a number of those whom they have preferred, considering that even nature herselfe who hath borne us, and brought foorthall things; some take to be Fortune, and others Wifedome. This prefent discourse therefore, addeth unto the citie of Rome a great and admirable dignitie, in case we dispute of her as our manner is of the earth, the sea, the heaven and the starres, namely, whether it were by Fortune or by providence, that she was first founded 30 and had her being? For mine owne part, I am of this opinion, that howfoever Fortune and Vertue have alwaies had many quarrels and debates otherwife, yet to the framing and composition of so great an empire and puissance, it is very like they had made truce and were at accord; that by one joint-confent alfo, they wrought both together, and finished the goodliest piece of work that ever was in the world. Neither think I that I am deceived in this conjecture of mine; but am perswaded, that like as (according to the saying of Plato) the whole world was not made at first, of fire and earth, as the two principall and necessarie elements, to the end that it might be visible and palpable, confidering that as the earth gave massinesse, poise and firmitude; so fire conferred thereunto, colour, forme, and motion. Belides, the other two natures and elements which are betweene these two extremes (to wir, aire and water, by softning, melting, tempering and quenching (as it were) the great diffociation and diffimilitude of the faid extremes) have drawen together, incorporate and united by the meanes of them, the first matter; even so, time and God together, intending fuch a stately piece of worke as Rome, tooke Vertue and Fortune, and those they tempered and coupled in one, as yoke-fellowes; to the end, that of the thing which is proper both to the one and the other, they might found, build, and reare a facred temple indeed, an edifice beneficiall and profitable unto all, a strong castle seated upon a firme ground-worke, and an eternall element, which might ferve in flead of a maine pillar, to fuffeine the decaying state of the world, readie to reele and finke downward; and finally, as a fure ankerhold against turbulent tempests, and wandering waves of the surging seas, (as Democritus 50 was woont to fay.) For like as some of the naturall philosophers hold: That the world at the first was not the world, and that the bodies would not joine and mingle themselves together, for to give unto nature a common forme, composed of them all: but when the said bodies, (such as yet were small and scattered heere and and there,) slid away, made meanes to escape and flie for feare they should be caught and interlaced with others; such also as were more strong, firme, and compact, even then strove mainly one against another, and kept a foule coile and stirre together, in such manner, as there arose a violent tempest, a dangerous ghust and troublesome agitation,

agitation, filling all with ruine, error, and thipwracke, untill fuch time as the earth arofe to greatnesse by the tumultuarie concourse of those bodies that grew together, whereby she herielfe began first to gather a firme consistence; and afterwards yeelded in her-felfe, and all about her a fine feat and refting place for all other. Semblably, when the greatest empires and potentacies among men, were driven and caried to and fro, according to their fortunes, and ranne one against another, by reason that there was not one of that grandence and puissance as might command all the reft, and yet they all defired that fovereignty: there was a woonderfull confufion, a generall destruction, a strange hurliburly, a tumultuary wandering, and an universall mutation and change throughout the world, untill such time as Rome grew to some strength 10 and bigneffe, partly by laying and uniting to her-felfe the neighbour nations and cities neere abouther; and in part, by conquering the feignories, realmes, and dominions of princes fare of, and ftrangers beyond fea: by which meanes the greatest and principall things in the world began to reft, and be fetled as it were a firme foundation and fure feat, by reason that a generall peace was brought into the world, and the maine empire thereof reduced to one round circle, To firme as it could not be checked or impeached: for that indeed all vertues were feated in those who were the founders and builders of this mightie State; and besides, Fortune also was ready with her favour to fecond and accompany them; as it shall (more plainly) appeere and be shewed in this discourse ensuing. And now me thinks I see from this project, as it were from fome high rocke and watch tower; Vertue and Fortune marching toward the pleading of their 20 cause, and to the judgement and decision of the foresaid question propounded: but vertue in her part and maner of going, seemeth to be milde & gentle, in the carriage also of her ete, stated and composed; the earnest care likewise and desire she hash to mainteine and defend her honor in this contention, maketh her colour a little to rife in her face, albeit the be farre behinde Fortune, who commeth apace, and maketh all the hafte she can: now there conduct her, and attend upon her round about in manner of a guard, a goodly traine and troupe

Of worthies brave, who martiall captaines were, In bloudy warres, and bloudy armours beare.

All wounded in the fore-part of their bodies, dropping with bloud and fwet mingled together, leaning upon the truncheons of the launces & pikes halfe broken, which they hud won from their enemies. But would you have us to demand and aske who they might be? They fay, that they be the Fabricii, the Camilli, the Lucii furnamed Cincimnatt, the Fabii Maximi, the Claim Marcelli, and the two Scipioss: I fee alfo C. Marius all angry, and chafing at Fortune. Music Scevola likewife is amongft them, who fheweth the flump of his burnt hand, crying aloud withall: And will you afcribe this hand. alfo to Fortune? And Marcus Horatius Coeles that valliant knight, who fought fo bravely upon the bridge, covered all over with the fhot of Tuskan darts, and fhewing his lame thigh feemeth to fpeake (from out of the deep whitle-pit of the river into which he leapt) these words: And was it by chance & Fortune that my legge became broken, & I lame upon it? Loe, what a company came with vertue to the triall of this controverse and matter in question!

All warriours flout in complet armour dight:

Expert in feates of armes, and prest to fight. But on the other fide, the gate and going of Fortune feemes quicke and faft, her spirit great, and courage proud, her hopes high and haughtie: the over-goeth vertue, and approcheth nere at hand already; not mounting and lifting up her felfe now, with her light and flight wings, nor flanding a tiptoe upon a round ball or boole, commeth the wavering and doubtfull; and then goeth her way afterwards in discontentment and displeasure: but like as the Spartiates describe Venus, saying; That after the had passed the river Euroras, the layd by her mirrors and looking glaffesscaft afide her daintie jewels , and other wanton ornaments , and threw away that tiffue and lovely girdle of hers; and taking speare and shield in hand, sheweth her selfe thus pre-50 Pared and fet out, unto Lycurgus; cuen to Fortune having abandoned the Perfians and Affyrians, flew quicklie over Macedonia, and soone shooke off Alexander the great: then travailed fhea while through Aegipt and Siria, carying after her kingdomes as the went; and to having ruined and ouerthrowen the Carthaginians state, which with much variety and change she had oftentimes upheld; the approched in the end to mount Palatine, and when the had paffed over the river Tiber, even there (as it flould feeme) she cast off her wings, then she put off her flying patins; her boule to inconstant turning and rolling to and fro the forsooke, and so entred Rome as to make her stay and abode there: and in this guise and maner sheweth she her selfe now, and maketh her apparance for to heare justice, & have this quarrell decided: Not as a base. unknowne, and obscure person (as Pindarus faith) nor guiding and resting with her hand two helmes; but rather as the fifter of Eunomia, that is to fay Acquitie; and of Peitho, that is to fav Persivasion; and the daughter of Promethia, that is to say Providence, according as Alcinus the poet deriveth her genealogie and pedigree. Moreover she holdeth betweene her hands that plentifull Horne of all aboundance, so much celebrated and renowmed, and the same filled, not with store of frutes alwaies fresh and verdant which Autumue yeeldeth, but brim full of all those pretious and exquisite commodites

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Which any land or fea doth breed, or out of rivers [pring: Which in deepe mines by delfe are found, or havens by veffels bring.

And those powreth the foorth aboundantly, and giveth abroad in great largesse. There are about her also to be seene in her traine, a number of most noble and right excellent personages, to wit: N uma Pompilius descended from the Sabines; Tarquinius Priscus from the citie Tarquinit; whom being aliens and meere strangers the enstalled kings, and enthronized in the roje all feat of Romulus. Also Paulus Aemilius, who brought backe his armie fafe and found from the defaiture of Perfeus and the Macedonians, where he atchived fo fortunate a victorie, that there was not seene one Romane with a weeping eye, for the losse of any friend in that warre: and when he returned in triumph magnified Fortune . Even fo did that good olde knight, C4- 20 cilius Metellus, furnamed Macedonieus, aswell in regard of his brave victories, as of this rarefelicitie of his, that he was caried unto his sepulture by soure of his owne sonnes, who had beneall confuls; namely, Quintus Balearius, Lucius Diadematus, Marcus Metellus, and Caius Caprarius; there attended also upon his corps, two sonnes in law of his, that married his daughters, both confular men, and as many nephewes, his daughters children; men of marke and name all, both for great proweffe in feats of armes, and also for their high place which they held in government of State, and commonweale. Aemilius Scaurus likewife (who being of a low degree and condition of life, yet came from a stocke more base than it, a new upstart and of the first head) was raifed and advanced by her, and by the meanes of her favour, made a great lord and prince of that high court and honourable counfell, called the Senate, Cornelius Sylla likewife, whom 30 the tooke out of the lap & bosome of Nicopolis a courtisan, for to exalt him above all the Cunbrické Trophees and Laureat Triumphs; yea, and the seven consulships of Marino, to raisehim to that high pitch and fovereigne degree of an absolute monarch in the world, and a dictatour; he (I fay) openly and directly gave himselfe (as it were) by way of adoption unto Fortune, and attributed his whole estate and all his actions to her favour, crying with a loud voice with Oedipus in Sophocles:

To Fortunes court I owe all sures, And her good sonne my selfe reputes.

Infomuch as in the Romane language he furnamed himfele Felix, that is to fay, Happie: and unto the Greeks, he wrote thus in their tongue : Λέκιος Κορνήλι & Εύλαιας Επαφεί Απε. that is to fay: 40 Lucius Cornelius Sylla, beloved of Venus and the Graces. And verily those trophees of his, which are to be seene in our countrey of Charonea, in regard of those noble victories which he gained against the lieutenants generall of king Mithridates, have the like inscription, and that right worthily. For it is not the night (as Menander faith) but Fortune, that is best acquainted and in greatest favour with Venue. Should not be therefore (who is desirous to plead the cause of Fortune) doe very well to lay this for a good ground of his plea, and in the forefront and Exordium of his oration, bring in very fitly and properly for his witnesses to depose, the Romans themselves, who have ascribed more unto Fortune than to Vertue? Certes, late it was among them, & after many ages, ere Scipio N umantinus builded a temple to Vertue: & after him, Marcellus caused to be built that chapel bearing the name, Virturis & Honoris, that is to say, Of Ver- 50 and Honour: like as Aemilus Scaurus gave order for another to be reared by the name of Mentis, that is to fay, of understanding; even about the time of the Cunbricke warre :in which age, (when literature, and professors of learning & eloquence, flocked thicke, as it were, and resorted to the citie of Rome) they beganne to have in price and reputation, such matters: and yet to this very day there is not one chapell of Wildome, Temperance, Patience & Magnanimitie, ne yet of Continence; whereas of Fortune there be temples fo stately, fo glorious, and so ancient withall, that a man would take them to have bene edified even in maner when the first foundati-

ons of the citie were laid. For first and formost, Anew Martin the nephew or daughters sonne ofking Numa, and the fourth king of Rome after Romulus, founded one in the honour of Fortune. And peradventure he it was that furnamed Fortune, Virilia, and derived it of Fortia; for that Virility, that is to fay, Manhood, and Fortitude, that is to fay Proweffe and Valour, have most helpe by Fortune, to the archieving of victorie. As for that temple of Feminine Fortune, named otherwise Muliebris, they built it also before the daies of Camillus, at what time as Mariiu Coriolanus (who led under banners difplaied, against the city of Rome, a puissant power of the Volscians) was turned backe and retired, by the meanes and intercession of certeine noble dames that encountered him: for those ladies went in a solemne ambassage toward him, accom-10 panied with his wife and mother, and fo earneftly intreated and effectually perfwaded with him, that in the end they prevailed, infomuch, as for their fakes he pardoned and spared the citic, and fo withdrew the forces of that barbarous nation: and then it was (by folks fayings) that the statue or image of Fortune at the dedication thereof, pronounced these words: You have (good Romane dames) according to the ordinance of the citic, confecrated me right devoutly. And verily Furius Camillus (at what time as he had quenched the flaming fire of the Gaules, and recovered the city of Rome out of the very fcoles of the balance where it was to bee weighed in counterpoise against a certeine quantitie of golde) erected a temple, neither to Good counsell nor to Valour, but unto * Fame and Rumour, even in that very place by the new freet, where * To Mas Le-(by report) Marcus Ceditius as hee went by the way, heard in the night a voice, that gave wat- suition as form thinke; to the range and advertised, that shortly after they should looke for the Gaules to warre upon them. As for that temple (upon the banke of the river Tyber) of Fortune furnamed Fortis, that is to and, 350fay, Strong, Martiall, Valiant, and Magnanimons, for that to her belonged generofitie and the others. forcible power to tame and overcome all things, they built a temple to the honour of her, within the orchards and gardens that Cafar (by his last will and testament) bequeathed unto the people of Rome; as being perfwaded that himselfe (by the gracious favour of Fortune) became the greatest man of all the Romans, as himselse doth testifie. As concerning Julius Cafar, I would have bene abashed and ashamed to say, that through the savour of Fortune he was listed up to that rare greatnesse, but that his owne selfe beareth witnesse thereof: for being departed from Brindon the fourth day of Ianuary, and imbarked for to purfue Pompeius, even at the verie 30 height and in the heart of Winter, he croffed the feas most fafely, as if Fortune had held in the tempeltuous weather of that feafon; and when he found Pompeius strong and puissant aswell by sea as land, as having all his forces affembled together about him in a fet and standing campe, being himselse but weake and accompanied with a small power; for that the companies which Antonius and Sabinus should have brought, lingered and staied behinde, he adventured to take feaagaine; and putting himfelfeinto a fmall frigat, failed away unknowen both to the mafter, and also to the pilot of the said barke, in simple habit, as if he had bene some meane and ordinary fervitor : but by occasion of a violent returne of the tide, ful against the current of the river, & withall, of a great tempest that arose, seeing that the pilot was readie to alter his course, and turne abaft backe, he plucked away his garment from his head wherewith he fat hoodwinked, and dif-40 covered his face, faying unto the pilot : Holde the helme hard (good fellow) and be not afraid to fet forward : be bolde (I fay) hoife failes, fpred them open to the winde at aventure, and feare not, for thou haft aboord, Cafar and his Fortune. So much perfivaded was he, and confidently affured, that Fortune failed with him, accompanied him in all his marches and voiages, affifled him in the campe, aided him in battell, conducted and directed him in all his warres : whose worke indeed it was, and could proceed from nothing els but her, to command a calme at fea, to procure faire weather and a Summer feason in Winter; to make them swift and numble, who otherwise were most slow and heavie; to cause them to be couragious, who were greatest cowards and most heartlesse; and that which is more incredible than all the rest, to force Pompeyto flic, and Ptolemeus to kill his owne gueft, to the end that Pompey might die, and yet Cafar be not 50 flained with his bloudshed. What should I alledge the testimonic of his sonne, the first emperour furnamed Augustus, who for the space of fittie yeeres and foure, was absolute commander both by sea and land of the whole world? who when he sent his nephew or sisters some to the warres, praied and wished at Gods hands for no more, but that he might prove as valiant as Seipio, and as well beloved as Pompey, and as fortunate as himselfe; ascribing the making of himselfe as great as he was, unto Fortune; as if a man should intitle some singular piece of worke with the name of the workeman or artificer: which Fortune of his, was the cause that he got the start and vantage of Cicero, Lepidus, Paufa, Hirtim, and Marcus Antonius, by whose counsels, brave

exploits and proweffes, expeditions, victories, voiages, armadocs, legions, campes, and in one word, by these warres, as well by sea as by land, she made him ever chiefe and principall, lifting him on high still, and putting them downe by whom hee was mounted and advanced; untill in the end . hee remained alone, and had no peere nor fecond. For it was for his fake that Gieera gave counfell: Lepidus ledde an armie; Panfa vanquished the enimie; Hirtius lost his life in the field; and Antonius lived riotoully in drunkennesse, gluttonie, and lecherie: for' I reckon Cleopatra among the favors that Fortune did to Angustus, against whom, as against some rock, Antonius fo great a commaunder, so absolute a prince, and mightie triumvir, should runne himfelfe, besplit, and finke; to the end that Cafar Angustus might survive and remaine alone. And to this purpose reported it is of him; that there being so inward acquaintance and familia-10 rity, as there was among them, that they used often to passe the time away together in playing at tennis, or at dice, or feeing some prety sport of cocks and quailes of the game, which were kept for the nonce to fight: when Antonius went evermore away with the worst, and on the loofing hand; one of his familiar friends, (a man well feene in the art of divination) would manie times frankly fay unto him by way of remonstrance and admonition: Sir, what meane you to meddle or have any dealing with this young gentleman, (meaning Augustus) Fly and avoid his company, I advise you; more renowmed and better reputed you are than he; his elder you are, you have a greater commaund and feignoric than he, more expert in feats of armes, and of better experience and practife by farre: but good fir, your Genius or familiar spirit is afraid of his, your Fortune, which by it felfe apart is great, flattereth and courteth his, and unleffe 20 you remoove your selfe farre from him, it will for sake you quite and goe unto him.

Thus you see what evidences and proofes Fortune may alledge for herselfe, by way of testimonic. But we are befides to bring foorth those which are more reall, and drawen from the things themselves, beginning our discourse at the very foundation and nativitie as it were of Rome city. In the first place therefore, who will not say and confesse, that for the birth, the prefervation, the nouriture, rearing, and education of Romulus, well might the excellencies of Vertue be the hidden ground-worke, and first foundation; but furely it was Fortune alone that raifed the fame above ground, and built all up? For to beginne at the verie generation and procreation, even of those, who first founded and planted the citie of Rome, they seeme both to proceed from a woonderfull favour of rare Fortune: for it is faid, that their mother lay with 30 god Mars, and was by him conceived: and like as the report goeth, that Hereules was begotten in a long night, by reason that the day extraordinarily, and besides the course of nature was held backe, and the funne stated in his race and rifing; even so we finde it recorded in histories, that when Romulus was gotten, and conceived, the funne became ecclipfed, by reason of his ful conjunction indeed with the moone, like as Mars being a very god, medled with Sylvia a mortall woman: also that the same hapned againe unto Romulus, just upon the very same day when hee was translated out of this life: for they fay, that even at the very instant when the funne entred into the ecclipfe, he also departed out of fight, and was no more seene; which fell out to be upon the day called Nona Capratina: upon which day, the Romans doe still at this present celebrate a solemne feast. Now when these first founders were in this manner bred and 40 borne; after that the tyrant fought to make them away, by good fortune it happed, that the minister to take them and execute the deed, was neither a barbarous nor a mercilesse cruell slave, but a gracious and pitifull fervitour, who would in no wife murder the filly babes: but finding a convenient place, upon the banke by the river fide, adjoyning hard to a faire greene meddow, and shadowed with pretietrees growing low by the ground; there he bestowed the infants, neere unto a wilde figge tree, which they called afterwards Ruminalis; for that a teat or pappe in Latin is called Ruma; which done, it chaunced that a bitch-woolfe having newly whelped her litter, and feeling her pappes bestruct with milke, and so stiffe by reason that her young ones were dead, that they aked againe, and were ready to burft, feeking to be eafed and to difcharge her-felfe thereof; came gently to these babes, stooped downe, and seemed to windea- 50 bout them, put unto them her teats, defirous & labouring to be delivered of her milk, as if it had beene a second litter: And then (see the fortune of it) a certeine bird (consecrated to Mars, which thereupon men name in Latine Picus Martius, that is to fay, a Speght or Wood-pecker) chaunced to approch neere, and having alighted gently upon the tips of her toes fast by them, & loftly opened with one of her clees the mouthes of these infants, one after another, the conveied into them certeine morfels, minced finall, even of her owne food & provision. That this is true, the faid wilde fig tree at this day is named Rumnalis of the woolves teat, called in Latine

Ruma, which she held unto the babes for to suckle them, doth testific. And long time after, the inhabitants about that place have observed this custome; not to expose and call foorth any thing that is bred and borne amongst them; but to reare and nourish all, in a venerable memoriall of this happe and refemblance of the accident which befell unto Romulus and his brother Remus. Now that these two fondlings were nourished and brought up afterward in the citie of Gabii, unknowen to all the world that they were the children of Sylvia, and the nephewes or daughters children of Numitor the king; may feeme to be acraftic theevith calt, and deceitfull sophistrie, proceeding from Fortune 3 to the end that they should not perish before they haddone some woorthy exploit, by reason of their noble birth, but be discovered by their ve-10 ry deeds and effects; ficwing their vertue as a marke of their nobilitie. And heere I call to minde a certeine speech which Themistocles (a brave and wife captaine) upon a time gave to fome other captaines, who after him, and in a fecond place, were in great name at Athens, and much effected, howbeit pretending to deserve more honour than he: The morrow-mind (quoth he) quarrelled and contended upon a time with the feast or holi-day, which went before it flaying. That she was * full of labour and businesse, and never had any rest; whereas in het *xama.6< not there was nothing but eating and drinking that, which before hand had beene prepared and especially. provided with great paine and travell; unto whom the feast made this answer: Certes, true it is, that thou faiest; but if I had not bene, where hadst thou bene? Even so (quoth Themistoeles) if I had not conducted the Medians warre, what good would you have done now? and where 20 had your imploiment bene? Semblably, methinks that Fortune faith the fame unto the Vertue of Romulus: Thy acts are famous, and thy deeds renowmed; thou half shewed by them indeed, that descended thou art from divine bloud and some heavenly race; but thou seeft againe, how farreshort thou art of me, how long after me it was, ere thou didst come in place; for if I had not (when time was) shewed my selfekinde, gracious and courteous unto those poore infants, but had forfaken and abandoned them filly wretches, how could you have had any being, and by what meanes should you have bene so gloriously seene in the world? in case (I fay) a female wilde beaft, even a free wolfe, had not come in the way, having her bigs swollen, enflamed and aking with the plentie of milke, flowing (as it were) aftreame unto them, feeking rather whom to feed, than by who she should be fed? or if the had bene alrogether favage indeed & hunger-30 bitten; these roiall houses, these stately temples, these magnificent theaters, these saire galleries, these goodly halles, palaces and counsell chambers, had they not bene at this day, the lodges, cottages and stalles of shepherds and herdmen, serving (as slaves) some lords of Alba and Tascan, or els some masters of the Latine nation? The beginning, in all things, is chiefe and principall, but especially in the foundation and building of a city; and Fortune is the who is the authour of this beginning and foundation, in faving and preferving the founder himselfe: for well may Vertue make Romulus great, but Fortune kept him untill he became great.

It is for certeine knowen and confessed, that the reigne also of Numa Pompilius, which continued long, was guided and conducted by the favour of a marvellous Fortune: for to fay that the nymph Aegeria, one of the Wood-Fairies, called Dryades, a wife and prudent goddeffe, was ena-40 moured of him, and that lying ordinarily by his fide, taught him how to establish, governe and rule the weale-publicke, peradventure is a meere fabulous tale; confidering that other persons, who are recorded to have bene loved by goddeffes (and to have enjoied them in mariage; as for example, Peleus, Anchifes, Orion & Emathion) had not for all that (thorowout their life) contentment and prosperitie, without some trouble and adversitie: but surely it seemeth that Numa in very trueth had good Fortune for his domesticall and familiar companion, and to reigne jointly with him; which Fortune of his (receiving the citic of Rome, as in a boilterous and troublefome tempelt, or in a turbulent fea, to wit, in the enmittie, envie and malice of all the neighbor-cities and nations bordering upon it; and befides disquieted within it selfe, and troubled with an infinit number of calamities and feditious factions) quenched all those flames of anger, and alaied 50 all spightfull and malicious grudges, as some boilterous and contrary windes. And like as men fay, that the fea, even in mid-winter receiveth the yong brood of the birds Halcyones, after they benewly hatched, and giveth them leave to be nourifhed and fed in great calme and tranquilitie; even so Fortune (spreading and drawing round about this people newly planted, and as yet ready towag and shake every way, such a quiet and still season, void of all busie affaires, without warres, without mortalitie, without danger or feare of danger) gave good meanes unto the citie of Rome to take root and fet fure footing, growing still in repose with all securitie, and without any hinderance and impeachment whatfoever. Much like therefore, as a great carraque, hulke

or gallie, is framed, wrought and fet together by many a knocke and ftroke, and that with great violence; whiles it feeleth the blowes of fledges and hammers, is pierced with spikes and great nailes, cut with fawes, axes and hatchets; and when it is once made and finished by the shipwright, ought to rest quiet and in repose, for a competent time, untill the braces be well selled and fastened, and the joints firmly knit and compact : for otherwise, he that should stirre it, and shoot it into the sea, whiles yet the junctures and commissiones be yet greene, fresh, loose, and not well confolidate, all would chinke, cleave and open, when it came to be never fo little shaken and toffed by the boifterous billowes of the fea, fo that the would leake & take in water thorowout: even fo, the first prince, authour and founder of the city of Rome, having composed it of rufficall peifants and herdmen, as it were, of rough-hewen planks and pofts of rough and flubburne oake, had much adoe, and tooke no finall paines, but engaged himfelfe farre into fundry warres, and exposed his person and estate to manifold and great dangers, being of necessity enforced to encounter and fight with those who opposed themselves, and withstood the nativitie (as it were) and foundation thereof, before he could bring his worke to an end; but the fecond king receiving the fame at his hands, gave it good time and leafure to gather ftrength, and to confirme the growth and augmentation thereof by the favour of happie Fortune, who affoorded him the meanes to enjoy great peace and long repose. But if at that time, some such as king Porfenna, had come against it, pitching his campe before it, and leading a strong armic of Tuskans to give affault thereto, whiles the walles were yet greene, foft, and ready to shake with every finall thing; or if fome puffant prince and potentate, or woorthy warriour from among 20 the Marsians, upon apostasse and revolt; or els some Lucan, for envie or upon a troublesome ipirit and defire of contention, a bufi-headed person, factious and quaressome, such an one as afterwards Mutius or from Silon was, furnamed the Bolde; or last of all, Telesinus, with whom Sylla fcuffled, an found himselfe somewhat to do; him I meane, who (as it were) with one signal could make all Italie rife and take armes: if one of these (I say) had come and given the alarme, environing and affailing with found of trumpets this Sage-like prince and philosopher Numa, whiles he was at facrifice, or in his devotions and praires to the gods; furely the citie in that infancy of hers and first beginnings, had never beneable to have held out and withstood so great aftorme and tempest, neither had it growen up as it did, to so goodly a number of lustic and ferviceable men: whereas, it feemeth that the long peace which continued under this king, ferved in stead of a provision of furniture and all forts of munition for innumerable warreson. fining; and the people of Rome, much like unto a champion who hath to fight a combat, having bene exercifed and enured at leafure, in a peaceable time, for the space of three and forty yeeres after the warres which they had fought under Romalus, became ftrong enough, and fufficient to make head against those that afterwards assailed them : for it is for certeine recorded, that during all that time, there was neither peftilence nor famine, no unkinde barrenneffe of the earth, nor unscasonable diffemperature of Winter or Summer, to afflict or trouble the city of Rome, as if there had beene no humane providence, but onely a divine Fortune which tooke the care and government of all those yeeres. In those daies likewise it was, that the two-leaved doores of the temple of Janus were thut up and locked fast, those (I meane) which they call the gates of 40 warre, for that they were fet open in the time of warre, and kept shut when it was peace. No sooner was king Numa dead, but these gates were opened for the Albane watre, which brake out suddenly and with great violence, and so stood open still, during an infinit number of other warres ensuing continually one after another thereupon: but in processe of time, namely, about source hundred and foure score yeres after, they were shut againe, when the first Punicke warre was ended, and peace concluded with the Carthaginians, even that yeere, wherein C. Attilius and Titus Manlius were confuls. After this, they were fet open by occasion of new warres, which lasted untill the very time that Cafar Augustus wan that noble victoric under the Promontory Actium. Then had the Romans a ceffation or furcease of armes, but the same continued not long; for that the tumultuous stirres of the Biscains, the Galatians and Germains comming all together, 50 troubled the peace. And thus much may serve out of histories, for testimonies in behalfe of the felicity and good Fortune of king Numa.

But the Kiugs also that raigned in Rome after him, highlie honoured Fortune, as the chiefe patronesse, and the prop or piller, as Pindarus saith, which supported and upheld the citie of Rome; as we may judge by the reasons and arguments following. There is at Rome, I wot well, the temple of Vertue highlie honored: but founded it was and built of late daies, even by Marcellus, who forced and won the citie of Syraeusa. There was another also in the honor of

reason, understanding, or good advice, which they called by the name of Mentis: but Aemilius Seawus was the man who dedicated it; about the time of the Cimbricke warres . For that by this, the learning, the artes and pleafant eloquence of the Greekes were crept already into the citie: but, to wildome there is not yet to this day fo much as one temple or chappell; neither to temperance, nor patience; ne yet to magnanimitie, wheras of Fortune there be many churches and temples verie auncient, and those much frequented; and to speake in one word, celebrated with all kinds of honor; as being founded and erected amid the nobleft parts, and most conspicuous places of the citie. For there is the temple of Masculine Fortune called Fortuna virilis, which was built by Martius Ancus the fourth king of Rome, and by him fo called; for that he to thought that Fortune availed as much as Fortitude to the obtaining of victoric. As for the other, entituled by the name of Fortune Feminine; otherwise called Fortuna Muliebris, everic man knoweth that they were the dames of the citie, who dedicated it, after they had averted and turned backe Martius Coriolanus, who was come with a puisant power of enemies, and prefented himselfe before the citie. And Servius Tullius who augmented the puissance of the people of Rome, and brought it unto a goodlie and beautifull maner of government, no prince fo much, having set downe and established a good order for the giving of suffrages and voices at the elections of magistrates, and enacting of lawes: and besides instituted the order of millitarie discipline; having been himselfe the first censour of mens maners, and the controller or overfeer of every mans life and behaviour; who feemed also to have been a right valiant 20 prince, and most prudent withall: this man I say, whollie avowed himselfe the vassaile of Fortune, and did homage to her, acknowledging all principalitie to depend upon her; in such fort asmen fay Fortune her selfe used to come & lie with him, descending downe by a window into his chamber; which now the call the gate Feneftella. He founded therefore within the Capitoll one temple to the honor of Fortune, called Primigenia, which a man may interpret, first begotten and another to Fortune obsequens, which some take to be as much as obeisant; others, gratious and fauourable. But not to stand any longer upon the Romaine names and appellations; I will leave them, & endevour to reckon up and interpret in Greekeahe meaning and fignification of all these temples, founded and dedicated in the honor of Fortune. For in the mount Palatine there flandeth one chappell of private Fortune; and another of gluing Fortune: 30 which tearme may haplie feeme to be ridiculous; howbeit, by way of a metaphor it carieth a fignification verie important, as if we were to understand thus much by it: That it draweth unto it, and catcheth those things which be farre off, and holdeth fast what loever sticketh and cleawith to it. Moreouer, neere unto the fountaine called Muscofa, that is to fay, mossie; there is another chappell of Fortune the virgin: as also in the mount Efquilius, another of Aduerse Fortune; upon the streete called the Long Way, an altar there is erected to Fortune Goodhope; or, as it were Hope: and neere adjoining unto the altar of Venus Epi-talaria, that is istofay, Foote-winged Venus, a chappell and image of Fortune Malculine: befides a thoufand honors and denominations more of Fortune, which Servius for the most part instituted and ordeined; as knowing full well, that in the regiment of all humane things, Fortune is of 40 great importance, or rather can doe all in all. And good reason he had therefore, considering that himselfe by the beneficiall favor of Fortune, being descended as he was by birth from a captive, and that of an enemie nation, was raifed and advaunced to royall dignitic. For when the citie of the Corniculanes was won forciblie by the Romanes, a certaine young damfell named Oerisia, being taken prisoner (who notwithstanding her infortunate captivitie; was neither for beauty of face, nor comely behaviour blemished or stained) was given unto queene Tanaquil, the wife of king Tarquin, to serve her, and afterwards bestowed in marriage upon one of the reteiners or dependants to the king; such as the Romans call Chentes: and from these two came this forefaid Servine. Others fay, that it was nothing fo; but that this maiden Oerifia taking ordinarily certaine first frutes or affaics as it were, both of viands and wine from the kings 50 table, carried the same to the hearth of the domesticall altar; and when one day above the rest the cast these primicies or libaments aforesaid (as her usuall manner was) into the fire upon the hearth; behold all on the fudden when the flame went out; there arose out of the said hearth, the genitall member of a man; whereat the yoong damofell being affrighted, reported what a strange fight she had seene, unto queene Tanaquil alone: who being a wise and wittie ladie, appparelled and adorned the maiden like a bride in every respect, and shut her up with the forefaid apparition; taking it for a divine thing, prefaging fome great matter. Some fay, that this was the domesticall or ture larged of the house, whom they call Lar; others Vulcane, who was enamored of this yoong virgine: but whatfoever it was, Oerifa was thereupon with childe, and fo was Servius borne. Now whiles he was but an infant, there was feene a thining light, much like unto the flash of lightning, to blaze out of his head round about. But Valerius Antica recordeth this narration otherwife: faying, that Servius had a wife named Gegania, who happed to die; by occasion of whose death, hee grew into a great agonie and passion of forrow, in the presence of his mother, untill in the end for very heavinesse and melancholy, hee fell a sleepe, and as he flept, the woman of the house might perceive his head shining out in a light fire; a fufficient argument and testimonie; that engendred he was of fire; yea, and an affored presage of a kingdome unlooked for; which he attained unto after the decease of Tarquinius, by meanes of the port and favour that Tanaquil graced him with . For otherwife, of all the kings that were 10 of Rome, he seemed to bee the man that was unlikest to reach unto a monarchie, and least intended, or minded to aspire thereunto: considering that when he was king, he determined to refigne up the crowne; though hee was empeached and staied for so doing: because Tanaquil upon her death-bed conjured and bound him by an oath to continue in his roiall efface and dignitie, and in no case to give over the politike government of the Romans, wherein hee was borne. Lo, how the regall power & kingdome of Servius may be wholly afcribed unto Fortune. feeing that as hee came unto it beyond all hope and expectation, so hee held it even against

But to the end it may not be thought, that we withdraw our felves and retire, flying unto antiquitie, as it were into a place obfeure and darke, for want of more cleere and evident proofes, let us leave the historic of the kings, and turne our speech unto the most glorious acts of the Romans, and their warres, which were of greatest name and renowne: wherein I will not deny; and who is there but must confesse? there did concurre

> Both boldnesse stone and fortisude, with martiall discipline, In warrewhich sie cooperant with vertue doth combine.

according as Timothem the poetwriteth? but the prosperous traine and happy course of their affaires, the violent fireame also, & current of their progresse into such puffance & growth of greatnesse, sheweth evidently unto those who are able to discourse with reason, and to judge aright, that this was a thing conducted neither by the hands nor counsels, ne yet by the affection ons of men, but by some heavenly guidance and divine direction, even by a fore-winde and gale of Fortune blowing at the poupe, and haltening them forward. Trophees upon trophees by them were erected, one triumph met with another continually; the former bloud upon the weapons not yet cooled, but still warme was washed away by new bloudshed comming upon it: they reckoned and numbered their victories, not by the multitude of enemies flaine and heapes of spoiles, but counted them by realmes subdued, by nations conquered and brought to subjection, by isles and firme lands of the continent reduced into servitude and bondage, and all to augment the greatnesse of their empire. In one battell king Philip was chased out of Macedonia: one blow and one conflict caused Antiochus to abandon and forgoe Mis: by 40 one defaiture the Carthaginians lost Lybia: one man alone in one expedition, and by the power * All this is to of one armie, * conquered unto them Armenia, the kingdome of Pontus, the fea Euximus, bounderflood Syria, Arabia, the Albanians, the Iberians, all the nations even as fatre as the mountaine Cancasus, and the Hircanians, yea and the very ocean sea which environeth the world round about; faw the fame man thrife victor and conquerour: the Nomades in Affricke he repreffed and vanquished, even to the coasts of the fouth sea: he subdued Spaine which revolted and rebelled with Sertorius, as far as to the atlantike fea: the kings of the Albanians he purfued, & never left the chase until he had driven them to the Caspian sea. Al these brave exploits and glorious conquelts he atchieved, so long as he used the publique Fortune of the citie, but afterwards he was overthrowen and came to ruine by his owne private defires. Now that great *Demon* and tute-lar god of the Romans, did not fecond them for a day as it were and no more; neither in a fhort time did his best and came to the height and vigor of his gracious favour, as that of the Macedonians; nor gave them his affiftance upon the land onely, as he who was the patron of the Lacedemonians; or at sea alone, as the Athenians god; ne yet was long ere he would stirre, as he whom the Colophonians trufted upon; no, nor gave over quickly, as the Perfians patrondid: but even from the very nativitie and foundation of the citie; it began, it grow up, waxed, and went forward as it did, it managed the government of it, it continued firme and fure with it, by

land, by fea, in warre, in peace, against Barbarians, and against the Greeks: He it was that when Anniball the Carthaginian overspred all Italy, in manner of a land floud, or violent brooke, wrought it fo, that partly through envie, and in part through the malice of his fpightfull fellow-citizens, no fuccours and fupplies were fent to feed and mainteine him; and fo by that meanes walted, fpent, and confumed him to nothing in the end : he it was that dispersed and kept the armies and forces of the Cimbrians, & Teutonians a great way, and a long time afunder, fo as they could not meet; to the end that Marius might be furnished and provided fufficiently to fight with them, and to defait them both, one after another: hee empeached the joining together of three hundred thouland fighting men at one time; all invincible foldiers, 10 and appointed with armes insuperable, that they might not invade and over-runne all Haly. For this cause, and by the meanes of this protector, Amiochus sas still, and stirred not to aid Phil. p, all the whiles that the Romans made tharpe warre upon him: likewife, when Anisochus was in diftreffe and danger of his whole estate, Philip being discomfitted before, durst not hold up his head, and died the while: he, and none but he procured, that whiles the Marsians warre fer all Rome and Italy on a light fire, the Sarmatian, and Bastarnianwarre held king Mithridates occupied. Finally, through his procurement, king Tigranes, when Mithridates flourished, and was in his ruffe most puissant, upon suspition, envie, and distrust, would not joine with him; and afterwards when the faid Mithridates had an overthrow, combined and banded with him, that in the end he might also lose his life and perish with him for company.

Romans Fortune.

What! in the greatest distresses and calamities that lay heavie upon the citie; was it not the Romane Fortune that redreffed all, and fet it upright againe? As for example: When as the Gaules were encamped round about the mount Capitoll, and held the castle befreged:

A plague she sent, the souldiers soone fell suke, Throughout their host, whereof they died thicke.

Forume also it was, & meere chance, that revealed their comming in the night, & gave advertifement thereof, when no man in the world either knew or doubted thereof: and peradventure it would not be impertinent and befides the purpose, in this place to discourse of it more at large. After the great discomfiture and overthrow that the Romans received neare the river as many as could fave themselves by good foot-manship, when they were come to Rome, filled the whole citie with a fright and trouble; infomuch, as the people woonderfully amazed with this fearefull newes, fledde feattering heere and there, excepting onely a few, who putthemselves within the castle of the Capitoll, resolved to keepe that piece, and abide the extremitie of the flege: others who escaped after that unfortunate battell and defeiture, affembledthemselves immediately in the citie Veii; and chose for their dictator Furius Camillus, a man, who the people (proud & infolent upon their long prosperitie) had before time rejected, and fent away into banifliment, condemning him for robbing the common treature; but then being humbled by his affliction, and brought to a low ebbe; called him backe againe, after that discomfiture; committing and putting into his hands, the absolute power and soveraigne authoritie; but to the end it might not be thought, that it was by the occasion of the iniquitie and 40 infortunity of the time, and not according to order of law, that the man excepted of this high magistracie, and that in a desperare state of the citie, without all hope that ever it should rife againe, he was elected by the tumultuary fuffrages of a broken armie, differfed and wandring heere and there: his will was, that the fenators of Rome who had retired themselves within the Capitoll aforefaid, should be made acquainted and advertised thereof, and that by their uniforme confent, they might approove and confirme that election of him, which the fouldiors and men of watre had decreed. Now among the others, there was one named Caius Pontius, a valiant and hardy man, who undertooke, and promifed in his owne person to goe and carry the newes of that which had beene determined, unto those who abode within the Capitol; and verily he enterprized athing exceeding dangerous, for that hee was to paffe through the middes 50 of the enernies, who then invested the Capitoll with trenches, and a strong corps-de-guard: when he was come to the river fide by night, he fastened just under his brest certaine broad pieces of plates of corke, and to committing his body to the lightnesse of such a barge, hee bare himselfe thereupon, and hulled with the course of the water, which was so good and favourable unto him, that it carried him over, and fet him gently upon the banke on the other fide of the river, without any danger at all; where he was no fooner landed, but hee went directly toward that place which he faw was without all light, conjecturing by the darkneffe and filence withall, that he should not light upon any of the watch or ward there: thus he began to climbe Hhh

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up the steepe rocke, whereas he could find any way to set sure footing upon the stones that stuck out, or wherefoever he found a place to yeeld better accesse and ascent than another; so fetching a compatte, and catching hold with his hand upon the rough cragges, and bearing himfelfe as well as possibly he could, he made such shift, that in the end he crawled up to the toppe thereof; and there those Romans that kept watch and ward, and were foremost of the corps deguard, having efficid him, helped to pull him up: then declared lice unto those within the place, what had beene fet downe and agreed upon by them who were without, from whom hee had no fooner received their affent and approbation of the forefaid ordinance concluded, but the veric fame night he made his returne the way that he came, unto Camillus: the next morning, one of the barbarous enemies, as hee walked about that place, thinking of no fuch thing, perceiving by very chaunce, partly the print of a mans tiptoes, together with the marks of uniteady footing, and partly the graffe and weeds crushed and broken, which grew heere and there in fuch places, where they had fome little earth to mainteine them; as also the tracts and traces where he had leaned and wreftled with his bodie, either in clambring up, or ftriving overthwart; went straight waies and related unto his fellow-souldiors what he had seene; who taking it thus, that the enemies themselves thewed them the way, and trode it out before them, affaied prefently to doe the like, and to gaine the toppe of the rocke. In the night time therefore having observed where the place was most folitary, and void of watchmen, they mounted up, without being descried and discovered, not onely by the men who were in guard and sentinell, but not fo much as by the dogges, which were fet a front before, for to affift the watch, 20 to fleepie they were all, both the one and the other. Howbeit, the good Fortune of Rome wanted no voice to bewray fo imminent a danger, and to give warning thereof; for there were within the Capitoff certeine geefe confectated into the goddesse Juno, kept at the cities charges, in the honour of her, close under her temple: now is this creature of all others by nature very timorous, and at every little noise that is made, ready to be affrighted; and at that time especially, by reason that there was within the place great scarcitic of victuals, they were neglected, and for that they were kept formewhat hungry, flept not fo foundly as they were wont to doe; by reafon whereof, at the first, being aware of the enemies comming, even so soone as they had gotten over the battlements of the wals, they came ful but upon them, & being affrighted besides to fee their bright armour, fet up fuch a gagling note after their manner, that all the court of the 20 caltle rung with their violent and disconant noise: whereat the Romans were awakened, and suffice ting deepely what the matter was, ranne incontinently to the wall, gave the enemies the repulfe, and turned them downe with their heads forward: in memoriall of which accidents and occurrents, Fortune goeth as it were in triumph even at this day. For at Rome they are woont upon a certeine fet day of the yeere in a folemne procession, to have a dogge carried in a thew, crucified; and a goofe borne in a gorgeous litter upon a rich cushion, most sumptuous ly dight and fet out: which spectacle representeth and sheweth unto us the puissance of Fortune, and the great meanes that the hath to effect all those things with ease and facilitie, which in mans reason seeme unpossible; considering that she giveth a kinde of wittie perceivance and understanding, to brute beasts, otherwise foolish and voide of reason; yea and infuseth 40 bold courage and thrength to those which by nature are fearefull, weake, and cowardly. For what man is there, unlesse he be altogether deprived of natural sense and affection, who would not be aftonied and ravithed againe with a woonderfull admiration, to confider and discourse after a fort with himselfe, comparing the heavie cheere and mourneful condition of this citie in those daies, with the selicitie and statelieport thereof at this present; to looke up (I faie) to the Capitoll, and behold the riches there, the sumptuositie and magnificence of the monuments and oblations there to bee feene; the excellent pieces of worke, wrought by most cunning artificers, striving who might doe best; the presents of cities, contending who thould bee most bounteous and liberall; the crownes sent by kings and princes, and what precious things foever the earth, the fea, the illands, the firme lands of the continent, 50 the rivers, trees, beafts, champain fields, mountaines and metall-mines doe affoord; and in one word, the first fruits and choise parcels of all things in the world, which seeme all to strive one with another, to embelifh, grace, adorne, enrich and beautifie this onely place? and withall, to looke backe unto those times past, and consider how it went within a very little, that all this thould never have beene, or at least wife not extant at this day; feeing that all being within the power of mercileffe fire, fearefull darkneffe of the mirke night, cruell and barbarous fwords, and most bloudy minds and inhumane hearts of these Gaules; the poore contemptible beasts, foo-

lift, reasons less and timorous, made the overture to save all, and were the principall instruments of prefervation; also, how those brave gallants, valourous knights, and great captaines and commanders, the Mantii, the Servii, the Posthumii and Papyrii, the ancestours and progenitours of so many noble houses afterwards, were very neere and at the point to have beene undone for ever, and come to nothing; had not these filly geese awakened and started up to fight for their countrey, and to defend the god, patron, and protection of the city. And if it be true that Polybins writeth in the fecond booke of his historie, as touching those Gaules, who at that time surprifed the city, and were lords of Rome: That when newes came fuddenly unto them, how certeine of their barbarous neighbous neere at hand, were entred in armes within their owner to countrey, and won all before them as they went; they had returned in half backe, and made peace with Camillus, certes, without all doubt, Fortune even then had bene the cause also of the cities fafetie, in distracting the enemies, or rather in withdrawing them another way contrary to all hope and expectation of man. But what need we to fland thus upon these old histories, wherein there is no certeintie to build upon delivered; confidering that the state of Rome was then ruinate, and all their annales, records, registers and memorials either perished or confounded, according as Livie himselfe hath left in writing; feeing that the affaires of the Romans which happened afterward, and cary more light and perspicultie with them, declare and testific sufficiently the love and indulgence of Fortune? For mine owne part, I count this for one fingular favor of hers, to wit, the death of Alexander the Great, a prince of incomparable courage, and 20 spirit invincible, who being lifted up by many great prosperities, glorious conquests and happy victories, lanced himselse in maner of a starre volant in the aire, leaping out of the East into the Well, and beginning not to shoot the slaming beames and slathing raies of his armour as farre as into Italie; having for a pretenfe and colourable cause of this enterprise and expedition of his, the death of his kinfman Alexander the Miloffian, who together with his army, was by the Brutians and Lucanians (necre unto the citie Pandassa) put to the sword and cut in pieces: although (in trueth) that which caried him thus against all nations, was nothing els but a desire of glory and fovereignty, having proposed this unto himselse upon a spirit of zeale and emulation, to surpasse the acts of Baschus and Hercules, and to go with his armic beyond the bounds of their voiages and expeditions. Moreover, he had heard fay, that he should find the force and yalour of the Romans, to be as it were a gad of steele, to give edge unto the sword of Italie; and he knew well enough (by the generall voice and report abroad in the world, which was brought unto him) that famous warriours they were, and of greatest renowne, as being exercised and hardened like frout champions in warres and combats innumerable,

And werily, as I do weene.

A bloudy fight there would have beene,
if the undanted and unconquered hearts of the Romans, had encountred in the field with the invincible armies of the Macedonians: for furely the citizens of Rome were no fewer at that time innumber, by just computation, than a hundred and thirty thousand fighting men, able all to beare armes, and hardy withall:

Who expert were on horfebacke for to fight, And when they faw their time, on foot to light.

The rest of this discourse is lost, wherein we misse the reasons and arguments that Vertue alledgeth for herselse in herplea.

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THE MORALS OR

MISCELLANE WORKS OF PLUTARCH.

The second Tome.

THE SYMPOSIAQVES

R

TABLE QUESTIONS.

The first Booke.

The Summarie.

Hether we may discourse of learning or philosophie at the table.

Whether the master of the feast ought himselfe to place his guests, or suffer them to

the thin it and take their places at their owne discretion.

What is the cause that the place at the boord, called Consular, is held to be most honourable.

4 What maner of person the Symposiarch or master of the feast ought to be.

5 What is meant by this usuall speech : Love teacheth us poetric or musicke.

6 Whether Alexander the Great were a great drinker.

7 How it is, that old folke commonly love to drinke meere wine undelaied. 8 What is the cause, that elder persons reade better asarre-off than hard-by.

9 What might the reason be, that clothes are washed better in fresh of potable water than in sea water. 10 Why at Athens, the dance of the tribe or linage Acantis, is never adjudged to the last place.

THE SYMPOSIAQUES OR Table-questions.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

Whether we may discourse of learning and philosophie at the table.

Ome there be (fir Sossim Senerio) who fay that this ancient proverbe in Greeke, Music must make an entire.

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At banquet, wine, or any fest, I hate a well remembring guest. Tas meant of * hosteliers or rulers at seasts

was meant of * hofteliers or rulers at feafts, who ordinarily are odi- * Some were was meant of * hofteliers or rulers at feafts, who ordinarily are odi- * called m Laous, republic meant of the first property of the same was the table. For the time, representation who in old time inhabited thate (as it should seeme) were designated wont to call such an one weathern of the same proverse admonishes that the specific proverse admonishes and teaches us to forget all that hath beene done and said at the boord, and among our cuppes, when we

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have beene mery together. Hecreupon it is, that in our countrey, men commonly fay: That both oblivion and also the palmar, or the plant Ferula, that is to say, Fenel-giant, be confecrated unto Bacchus; which giveth us to understand, that the errours and faults which passe at the table, are either not to be remembred at all, or els deserve to be chasticed gently as children are. But seeing you also are of the same minde that Euripides was, namely: That howsoever

Bad things and filthie to forget, Indeed, is counted wildome great,

yet the oblivion generally of all that is spoken at the boord and when we drinke wine, is not only repugnant to this vulgar saying: That the table makes many a striend; but also hath divers of the most renowmed and excellent philosophers to be are winted to the contrary, to wit, Plato, to Xenophon, Aristotle, Speusppp, Epicurus, Prytanis, Hieronymus and Dion the Academique, who all have thought and reputed it a thing woorth their travell, to put downe in writing, the talke that had bene held at meat & drinke in their presence. And for that you have thought it meet, that I also should collect and gather together the principall and most memorable points of learned discourses, which have passed fundry times and in divers places, both here and there; I meane asswell at Rome among you, as also with us in Greece, when we were eating and drinking together among our friends; I settled my selfe unto it willingly; and having sent unto youthree books heretofore, conteining every one of them ten questions, I will shortly send you theref; if I may perceive that these which you have already, were not altogether thought unlearned, importinent, and without good grace.

The first question then, which I have set abroad, is this: Whether it be a feemly and decent thing, to philosophize, that is to say: To speake and treat of matters of learning at the table? for you may remember very well, that this question being moved upon a time at Athens after supper: Whether it were besitting those who are come to make good cheere, for to enter into fpeech, or mainteine discourse, as touching philosophicall matters or no? and if it were: How far-forth it might be allowed, and within what bounds it ought to be limited? \artifon, one of the company there prefent: What (quoth he) and are there any persons indeed (tell me for the love of God) who denie philosophers and learned men a roome at the boord? Yea mary are there (my good friend, quoth I againe) who not onely doe fo, but also in good earnest and great gravitie (after their ironicall maner) give out and fay: That philosophie, which is (as it 30 were) the miffresse of the house, ought not to be heard speaking at the boord, where men are met to make merry; who commend also the maner of the Persians for good and wise, who never would feeme to drinke wine merily, and untill they were drunke, nor yet to daunce with their wedded wives, but in the company of their concubines; for femblably, they would have us at our feafts and banquets, to bring in muficke, dances, plaies, masks and counterfeit pleafures, but in no wife meddle with philosophie; as if the were never meet for mirth and play, nor weat frich a time fit and disposed for serious study. For even so the oratour Hocrates (say they) could never be brought to make any other answere to those that earnestly intreated him, and were very urgent, that he should make some good speech before them, when he and they were drinking wine, but this: The time fitteth not now for those matters which I professe, and have skillin; 40 and of fuch things as this prefent time requireth, I am altogether unskilfull. Then Cratocrying out with a loud voice : Now fo god Bacchus helpe me (quoth he) I con the man thanke, and commend him highly, for refusing and (as it were) for swearing talke at table, in case he meant those long clauses and tedious traines or periods of sentences of his, wherewith he should have driven away all the Graces from the feaft. But, in my conceit, it is not all one, to banish from the boord an affected speech or rhetorical language; & to chase away a philosophical discourse; for certainly, philosophic is a farre different thing, which being the arte professing to teach us how we are to live, there is no reason to thut the doores against her, at any game, sport, or pleafant paltime for our recreation whatfoever: for the ought to fland by, and be prefent at all, for to instruct us what time, what measure and meane we should observe : unlesse by the same rule, 50 we will fay, that we must not admit to our feasts, either Justice or Temperance, or other vertues, as scorning and scoffing (for sooth) their venerable gravitie. Now, if we were to eat and drinke fome where in a folemne judiciall hall or publike place of justice, as the maner is of those who feathed Orestes, and enterteined him with all silence; somewhat it were, and peradventure it might ferve for some pretense or excuse (though the same were but an untoward and unhappie precedent) to colour and cloake our ignorance and incivilitie: but in case, Bacchus be by right furnamed Lysus or Lydius, that is to say, the Deliverer and Setter-free of all things, and principally of the tongue, from which it taketh away the bit and bridle, giving all libertie to the voice; I suppose it were meere folly and sortishnesses indeed, to deprive that time (which commonly is most talkative and tullest of words) of the best speeches and most fruitfull discourses: It were absented (I say) to dispute in schoole, what duties are to be observed at a feast; what is the office of a guest; how a man should be have himselfe at the table; & in what for the ought to drinke wine; and then afterwards wholly bereave all banquets and feasts of philosophy, as if she were not able to confirme that by deed, which she prescribeth and teacheth in word. And when thereupon, you inferred and said: That it was unmeet and bootlesse to goe about for to contradict Crass in these points, but it behooved rather to studie what limits to appoint, and what prescript forme to steet downe of philosophicall discourses at the table, to avoid that jest (which usually and not unpleasantly is cast foorth at them, who are given litigiously to cavill, argue and dispute, when they should eat) taken out of this verse of Homer:

For this time now to supper goeyee, That soone twixt us a combat may bee.

and with all exhorted and animated me to speake mine advice, I entred into speech and faid. That first and formost I thought it a point especially to be considered, what manner of persons are meet at a feaft, and what the company is ? for if there be more in number of learned men than of others at the boord, fuch as the table was of Agathon, of Socrates, of Phedrus, Paulanias, Eryximachus, Calbias Charmidas, Amisthenes, Hermogenes and others like unto them, 20 fuffer them we will to have philosophicall talke, tempering and mixing Bacchus, (that is to fair wine) no leffe with the muses than with the Nymphes, (that is to saywaters;) for that, as these makehim to enter and goe downe into the bodie milde and gentle; fo the other may cause him to be as kinde, curteous, and acceptable to the minde. For if so bee there are some few ignorant and unlettered persons, among many learned and skilfull clearks, yet will they like unto mute letters, and confonants betweene vowels, participate with them in a kinde of voice, not altogether inarticulate and unfignificant, yea, and learne fomewhat by those meanes, of their skill and knowledge: but fay there be a fort of rude guests, such as can abide to heare either the crowing and finging of any bird whatfoever, or the found of any string or piece of wood, it skils not what it be, rather than the toong of a philosopher: then were it good to practise that 30 which Pififtratus did; who being at fome debate and difference with his owne children, and perceiving that his enemies were well enough contented therewith, and laughed thereat in their fleeves; called a folemue affemblie, wherein hee delivered this speech unto the people: That defirous he had beene indeed to have drawen his children to his owne opinion, but fince it would not be, and seeing how obstinate they were bent, he meant to be ruled by them, and to follow their minde; even so a learned man and a philosopher being matched with other guests, that have no lift at all to give eare unto his fage fawes and wife words, will raunge himfelfe to their fide, and change his owne conceit, he will I fay, daunce after their pipe, and take pleafure in their pastimes, folong as they exceed not the bounds of honestie and civilities as knowing thus much: That men cannot flew and exercise their eloquence but in speaking, but 40 they may declare and practife their philophie even in filence and faying nothing; yea, and indisporting themselves with others, giving and taking pretic scoffes interchangeably. For it is not onely a point (as Plato faith,) of extreme injustice, when a man is unjust, to make a femblance and thew of justice, but also a kind of soveraigne &principal wisdome to philosophic, & yet to feemeno philosopher, & by way of game & mirth, to doe the ferious offices of those that are in good earnest, studious: for like as the frantike women in Euripides called Baccha, without armes or any weapon of iron and steele, onely smiting with their little javelits or ferula-stems, wounded those that set upon them; even so the pleasant words of true philosophers indeed, call out by way of jeft, yea, and the very laughters of wife men are able to moove and correct in some fort, such as are not altogether incorrigible, nor so hard as nothing will pierce and en-50 ter into them. Moreover, I suppose there be certeine narrations fit to be related at a feast where men are affembled, whereof fome be drawen out of written histories, others, prefent occasions and occurrences do daily yeeld, and those conteine examples to incite and provoke men partly to the study of philosophie, and in part to pietie, religion & devotion toward the gods: some induce us to imitate generous & magnanimous acts, others ingender a fervent zeale to performe the works of bountie and humanitie: which precedents, he that can closely and with dexterity use as documents and instructions to those that be drinking with them, so as they perceive him not, shall discharge the time which they drinke, of many vices, and those not the least, which

are imputed unto it: some there be, who put leaves of burrage into their wine, others besprinkle the sloores and pavements of parlours and dining-chambers with water, wherein they have infused or steeped the herbes vervain & maiden-haire; having an opinion, that these devices procure some joy and mirth in the hearts of those who are at a feast; and all to imitate ladie Helene, who, as Homer reporteth, with certaine spices and drougues that she had medicined and charmed (as it were) the wine that her guests should drinke; but they doe not perceive, that this tale being fetched from as farreas Aegypt, after a great way and and long circuit. endeth at the last in honest discourses, fitted and accommodated to time and place: for that the faid Helene recounteth unto them as they drunke with her at the table, the travels of noble uly Tes, and namely,

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What things this valiant knight had done, and what he had indured; What wrongs also he wrought himselfe, to which he was inured;

For this was that Nepenthes (if I be not deceived) a medicine which discusseth and charmethal forrow and paine, even a discreet speech, framed aprly and in season to the affections and occafions which are prefented: but men confiderate, well advifed, and of good judgement, howfoever they may feeme to deale in philosophie, yet they carrie their words, and place them so. that they are effectuall, rather by a gentle way of perswasion, than by force and violence of demonstration. For thus you see how Plate also (in the treatise called, His banquet; where hee dif- 20 courfeth of the finall end of humane actions, of the foveraigne good of man, and in one word, treateth of God and heavenly matters, like a divine and theologian) doth not enforceand thretch the proofe of his demonstration, nor bestreward powder as it were with dust his adverfarie, according to his wonted manner, otherwife to take furer hold, that hee might not pollibly struggle out of his hands; but induceth and draweth on the hearers his guests, by a weaker kinde of arguments and suppositions, by preticexamples, and pleasant sictions. Moreover, the very questions and matters at such a time and place propounded, & not only their reasons, ought to be somewhat easie, the problemes and propsitions plaine and familiar; the interrogations also and demaunds probable, and carying a resemblance of truth, and nothing darke or intricate; lest they doe perstringe and dazzle their eies, who are not quicke fighted, suffo- 30 cate fuch as are but weake spirited, and in one word, turne them cleane away, who are but shallow witted and of a meane conceit. For like as there is a custome allowable, to remoove and stirre (when a man will) the guests at a feast, by urging them either to daunce alone, or in a ring; but he that should force them to rife from the table, for to put on armour and fight in complet harneis, or to fling the barre, or cast a sledge, doth not onely make the feast unpleafant and nothing acceptable to his guests, but also hurtfull unto them; even so, easie and light questions, exercise mens spirits handsomly, and with great fruite and commoditie; but we must reject and banish all disputations of matters litigious, intricate, and snarled (as Democrifaith) to wit, knottie questions & hard to be undone, such as both busie themselves, who propose them, and trouble those that heare them. For thus it ought to be, that as the wine is all one 40 and common throughout the table; so the questions propounded at a feast or banquet, to be talked of, should be intelligible unto all, for otherwife, they who broch matters so darke and myfficall, were as unreasonable, and should have as little regard of the common benefit of their company, as the crane, and fox in Aelops fables, had one of the others good. For the fox having invited the crane to dinner, fet before her a good messe of fattie broth, of beanes and peafe, which he had powred upon a broad shallow stone vessell, in such fort, as the poore crane was made a foole and laughing-flocke by this meanes, for that with her long and fmall bill fle could get none of it up, but it went still besides, it was so thinne and glibbe withall: the crane againe, because she would be quit and meet with the fox, bad him to dinner, and presented unto him good victuals within a bottle, that had a long and narrow necke, at which the her-felfe could 50 eafily convey & thrust her bill to the very bottome; but Reinardwas not able to take out his part with her; even fo, when learned men at a table plunge and drowne themselves (asit were) in fubtile problemes and questions interlaced with logicke, which the vulgar fort are not able for their lives to comprehend and conceive; whiles they also againe for their part come in with their foolish fongs, and vaine ballads, of Robin-bood and little John, telling tales of a tubbe, or of a roasted horse and such like; enter into talke of their trafficke and merchandise, of their markets and fuch mechanicall matters; certes all the fruite and end of fuch an affemblie at a

cast is utterly lost, and were injurie done to god Bacchus: for like as when Phrynicus & Aeschy-Lu first brought a tragedie (which at the beginning was a folemne fong, in the honour of Bacchus) to fables and narrations patheticall, arose this proverbe: And what is all this I pray you to Bacchus? even so it comes many times into my minde to say thus unto one that drawet h by head and shoulders into a feast, that sophisticall and masterfull syllogisme called Kuensay. My good friend, what is this to Bacchus? Haply there is some one who singeth certain of these ordinatic fongs at feafts, called * Scotta, as a man would fay oblique or crooked, when the great than - * Some thinks ding cuppe of wine is fet in the middes of the table before all the company, and the chaplets they were to ding cuppe of white Section among the guells, which that god Bacchus puneth upon our heads, called, x of flowers divided & dealt among the guells, which that god Bacchus puneth upon our heads, 10 to fignific, that hee giveth us all liberty: but furely this is neither good nor honest, ne yet is to tay, by beforming that freedome which should bee at feastes, howsoever some say, that those the country? fonnets are not darkly composed, as the word Seotia seemeth to implie, which significan crooked; but that they tooke the name, because in old time the guests, at first sung altogether and cane, with one voice and accord, one fong in the praise of Bacchus, and afterwards every one in his turne chanted another apart; giving one to another in order from hand to hand, a branch or garland of a myrtle tree; which I suppose they called * Asaron; for that he who tooke the said garland of a myrtie tree; which I inploit they called "Ajalon; for that he wild toke the had branch was to fing in his courfe; and to the fame purpose, a lute there was, or an harpe that went "Ajadan." roundabout the table; and looke who could skill to play upon it, tooke it in hand and fung die and the thereto in measures; but those who had no knowledge at all in musicke, and refused the faid in the 20 strument, gave occasion of the name Section, because such maner of singing was not common or easie unto all: others there be who say: That the said branch of myrtle went not round about to all the guests in order, but passed from table to table, or from bedde to bedde; for when he that fat formost at the first table, had fung, he sent it to the principals or first man of the second, and he to the chiefe person of the third; and so consequently, the second did by the second; by reason whereof, and in regard of this crosseand overthwart varietie in the oblique revolution thereof, the fong was called Scotion.

THE SECOND QUESTION.

Whether themaster of the feast ought himselfe to assign unto every guest his place, or suffer them to (it as they will them selves?

MY brother *Timon* having upon a time invited many persons to a feast, willed every one of them as he entred in, to take his place, and sit where he thought good himselse, for that there were among them, strangers, citizens, neighbours, familiars, friends, and kinssolke, and in one word, all that were bidden were not one mans children, but a medley and mixt number of all forts and conditions. Now, when as they were for the most part, come already, and had takentheir places, a certeine stranger well appointed, like an amourous gallant in some comedie, all in his purple, excessive otherwise in curious and costly apparrel, attended beside, with a traine 40 of lacquies and pages following at his heeles; and in one word, better guarded than regarded, came to the doore of the hall or dining-chamber, who after he had cast his eie round about, and viewed all the companie how they fat at the table, would not enter in , but flung away immediatly, and flayed not. Many there were who ranne after him, requelting him to returne and beare them company; but in no wife would hee, faying. That he faw never a place left, woorthy his person: which when they who were set already, understood, (and many of them had taken their drinke well, and had in maner their full load) they being right glad, tooke up a great laughter, and with this note:

Now farewell he, since needs he will be gone, Better his roome, than company (quoth ech one.)

50 but after that supper was done, my father addressing his speech unto me who sat a great way off: Timon and I (quoth he) have chosen thee for a judge, to decide a matter of some question and difference betweene us: for I blamed and reprooved him a pretie while fince, about this itranger; for if at the first, he had ordered the matter well, according as I would have had him, and bestowed every man in his owne place, we should not have bene condemned for our oversight and diforder in this behalfe, especially by such a person who hath the skill

Horsemento range in comely battell ray, And targatiers on foot, to leade the way.

For it is reported that Paulus Aemilius (him I meane, that defaited Perfeus king of Macedonie. after that glorious victory)made many great and magnificent fealts; wherein (befides the wonderfull furniture and provision that he ordeined) he observed in all points a singular order & dispofe, faying: That to one & the fame man belonged the knowledge, aswel how to fet out a most friendly and merry feast, as to range a most terrible battell; for both the one and the other required great discretion and good order: which was the reason that Homer the poet was wont (when he spake of right valiant warrious and most roial personages, deserving best the highest place of command) to tearme them x09 uni 12695 Native that is to fay, the disposers and setters of the people in order, Yea, and you that are philosophers, doubt not to say and affirme: That the great God of heaven (in making and creating the world) did nothing but change diforder into good order, 10 without putting to or taking away ought that was before, by disposing and setting every thing in place, meet and convenient; and fo, by giving a most beautifull forme to that confused maste or Chaos in nature, which had no forme at all, wrought this admirable piece of worke, which we call the World. As for these great & high points indeed of doctrine, we learn them of you; but we our felvesare able to fee and observe thus much; that how sumptuous foever a feast be otherwife, yet if it want good order, there is no grace or pleasure at all in it. A very ridiculous thing it is therefore, and a meere mockerie, that cooks, clearks of the kitchin, and fewers, should be fo carefull what diffies ought to be ferved first, second, in the middle, or in the last place; yea, and (believe me) to looke unto it very diligently, that there be a convenient place ordeined for perfumes and fweet odours, when they are to be brought in; for chaplets alfo, and garlands, that are 20 to be distributed & dealt about; and last of all, for a minstrell wench (if any be there) to sing & play, where the may be belt heard; & in the mean while the mafter of the feaft, fuffer those who are bidden to all this, for to fit pell-mell at the table at a venture, as if they came onely to fill and cram their bellies, without giving (either to age, or to dignity, or to any matter of like qualitie) that ranke and order which is fit, decent, & meet for every one : in the keeping of which discretion, the best man in the place hath his due honor in sitting highest; he that is second & inserior, is by use and custome acquainted and well contented to fit accordingly; and the huisher, who hath the ordering of the matter, is well exercised, to distinguish and judge that, which is besitting every one according to his estate and degree. For it can not stand with any reason, that in the Counsell-house there should be a place knowen, either of fitting or standing, more or lesse honourable, according to the quality and dignity of the person; and that for setting men at the table, there should be the like order observed. And is it meet, that the host or master of the feast thould drinke to one before another, and yet have no regard at the first, in placing of his guests? putting no difference nor observing any distinction at all? making of a feast, even in the verie beginning, one myconos (as they fay in the common proverbe) which is as much as a mith-math and confused mingle-mangle of all. And thus much of the reasons and allegations of my father, for his plea. But Timon my brother, on the contrary side, answered: That he was not wifer than fage Blus; and confidering, that he refused alwaies to be arbitratour or umpire betweene two of his owne friends, though they requested him; why should himselfe become a judge at once, among fo many kinfefolke and friends, yea, and other persons besides? especially, where 40 the question is not about money and goods, but as touching preeminence and superiority; as if he had fent for them all, not to be merry and make good cheere, but to disquiet them, and set them out one with another, who were good friends before? For if (quoth he) Menelaus in olde time, committed one great abfurdity, infomuch as there grew upon it, a proverbe and by-word, in that he intruded himselfe unsent for, into the counsell of Agamemnon? far greater reason there is, that he should be thought more absurd, who constitute th and maketh himselfe, of a courteous boil and civill malter of a feast, an austere judge and precise censurer of those that require no fuch matter, nor willingly defire, that one should determine and judge of them, who is the better man or the worfe; seeing they are not cited peremptorily to a judicial court for triall of a controversie, but invited friendly to a good supper, for to mak merry? Over and besides, no 50 easie matter it is, to make distinction aright; for that some go before in age, others, in degree of kinted and linage; and therefore, he that should take such a taske or charge in hand, ought evermore to be studying upon the degrees of comparison, or els of the argument in logicke, A comparatis, that is to fay, drawen from comparison; and to have alwaies in his hand, either the Topiques of Aristotle, or els the Precedences of Thrasmachus, a booke which he entituleth Hy perbollontes, wherein a man should doe no good at all; but contratiwise much harme, by transferring the vain-glorie about higher place, from judiciall courts, common halles and thea-

ters, to fitting at feafts; and when he hath endevored to abate and repreffe other pattions of the foule by good fellow thip and company keeping, now firre up and fet on foot, pride and arrogance; of which in mine advice, we ought to fludie more for to cleanfe our foules, than to wall and scoure away the dirt and filth from our feet: to the end that wee may converte familiarly and fellowlike at the table, with all mirth and finglenesse of heart. But now, when we goe about and do what we can with one hand, to take away from our guetts all rancor and enmitte, bred cither upon anger, or fome worldly affaires that they have had together, in making them eat at one table, and drinke one to another, wee doe as much as lies in us, with the other hand to fret an old fore, and kindle a new fire of grudge and malice by ambition, in debafing one, and 10 exalting another: but if withall, according to the preference which wee have made in the placing of them, we take the cuppe also and drinke oftner, or set better meat and daintier diffus to fome than to others; if I fay we make more of this man than of that, cheere one up, and tpeake unto him after a more familiar manner than to another; furely, in flead of a feast of friends and familiars, it will be a stately affembly altogether of lords and potentates. But if in all things else we are carefull and precife in our feafts, to observe and maintaine equalitie of persons; why beginne we not at the first, in the placing of our guests, to accustome and acquaint them for to range themselves, and take their seats simply and familiarly one with another? considering at the first entrance into the hall or great chamber, they fee that they were nor summoned aristocratically to a fenate house of lords and great States, but invited democratically and after a popular manner to supper, where the poorest may take his place with the richest, like as in the flate of a citie and common-wealth, called Democratie. After these opposite reasons were alledged, and that all the company there present demaunded my sentence, Isaid: That taking my felfe chosen as an arbitrator, and not as a judge, I would deale indifferently, and with an coual hand in the middle betweene both: As for those (quoth I) who feast young men their equals, all friends and of familiar acquaintance, they ought to accustome them (as Timon faith) to carie themselves so void of pride and arrogance, that they may take contentment in any place what foever that falleth out unto them; and to think this facilitie & fingleneffe of heart, to be a fingular meanes and provision for the feeding and nourishing of amity: but in case the question be of enterteining strangers, or worshipfull personages of high calling & great place in common-weale, or of elder persons, I feare me, that as wee shut out at one dore in the forefront pride and arrogance, so we let it in at another backe-gate behinde, by our indifference and making no distinction. Heerein therefore we ought to give somewhat unto use and custome, or else we must altogether forbeare all manner of cheeting up, drinking to, and faluting of our guests, which fashions we use not without judgement and discretion hand over head, to such as we meet with orfee first; but with as great regard and respect as we can, honoring them according to their woorth and qualitie:

With highest place, with wiands of the best, with most cups full, and those not of the lest.

asfaid Agamemnon that great king of the Grecks, putting as you fee the feat in the first and to cheefe place of honor. We commend also king Aleinous, for that he placed the stranger who came in, next unto himselfe,

And cauf d his some Laodama, a gallant, for that guest To rife, who close to father sat, and whom he loved best.

For to displace a best beloved sonne, and in his roome to set an humble suppliant, was a singugular example of rare courtesse, and humanitie. And verily the gods themselves doe observe this distinction of place, and of sixing: for *Neptune* although he came last into the assemble of the gods in counsell,

Tet sooke his owne place for all that, And in the mids of them he fat.

as being the feat which of right appetteined unto him. And *Minerva* feemeth alwaics to chalenge as proper and peculiar to her above all others, the very next place to *Jupiter*: which the poet *Homer* doth after a fort covertly infinuate unto us, speaking of dame *Thet is* in this maner:

By Jupiter fre fat, of speciall grace

And favour; For Minerva gave her place.

But Pindarus fignifieth as much in expresse tearines when he saith:

To lightning next that flasheth fire Sat Pallas, close unto her fire.

Howbeit, Timen faid: That we ought not to take from others, for to gratifie and pleasure one; and take he doth away, who maketh that vulgar and common, which by right is proper; & proper there is nothing, more than that which is meet and befitting the dignitic of each perton: moreover, in giving that superioritie and preeminence to running fast, and making most hatte, which is done unto vertue, kinred, magistracie, and such other qualities, in seeming to avoid the opinion of being odious or offensive, to his bidden guests, he draweth upon himself. to much more trouble and heart-burning of others; for he offendeth them in depriving everie one of that honour which he deserveth, or is woont to have. For mine owne part, I doe not 10 thinke it fo hard a piece of worke to make this distinction, as hee would have it to be: for first and formost, it is not ordinarie nor often seene, that many men of like degree and dignitie, are bidden to one and the fame feast; besides, being as there are, many honorable places, a man of judgement and differetion, hath good meanes to dispose of them accordingly, among manie, if there be occasion: for one of them he may content in setting him highest and above the rest; another he may pleafe with a place in the middeft; to one he may doe the favour, as to fet him next unto himfelte; another he may gratifie by placing him close to some friend or familiar of his, or else fast by his master and teacher: in this order, I fay, he may fatisfie many of them who teeme to be of better reputation, in distributing the places also which are of more respect among them; as for the reft, I leave them meanes also for their contentment; namely certaine 20 gifts, favors, curtefies, and kindneffes, which may in fome fort make amends for the want of foure honorable place. But fay, that their deferts and dignities be hard to be diffinguifbed, or the persons themselves not easie to be pleased; marke what a device I have in such a case to serve the turne: My father (if he be prefent) I take by the hand, and fet him in the most honourable place of all; if not, I do the fame by my grand-fire, my wives father, or mine uncle by the fathers fide, or my colleague and companion in office, or els my fellow-fenatour and brother-alderman, or some one of those who hath some speciall and inward prerogative above others of honour and account, with the mafter of the feast himselfe, that biddeth the guests; taking this for a rule in the cases borowed out of the books of Homer, which are presidents of ducties, and shew what is beforming every man to do; and namely, in that place where Achilles feeing Menelaus 30 and Antilochus debating the matter very hotly, about the second prize for horse-running, and doubting how farre-forth their anger and contention might proceed, would needs give the faid prize in question, to a third man; pretending in word, that he tooke pitie of Eumelus, and thathe was minded to doe him some honour; but indeed and trueth, it was to take away the ocasion of difference and quarrell betweene the other two. As I was thus speaking, Lamprias, who was set close in an odde corner of the chamber, upon a lowpallet, thundering out his words after his wonted maner, demanded of the affiftance or companie, in this wife: My mafters, pleafethit you to give me leave for to reprove and rebuke a little, this fortish judge here? and when everic one made answer, saying: Good leave have you, speake your mind freely, & spare him not: And who can (quoth he) forbeare that philosopher, who fetteth out and disposeth of the places at a 40 feast, like as he would do in some theater, namely, according to birth and parentage, wealth and riches, estate and authority in common wealth? yea, and as if he ordeined the seats and sitting places, for to opine or give voice in that folemne affembly of the States of Greece, called Amphi-Elyones? to the end, that even at the very table, where as wee are met to drinke wine and bemerrie, we should not be rid of ambition, nor shake off the foolish defire of glory: for furely, the places at a feast ought not to be distributed so, as respective to honour, but rather to the ease and pleasure of the guests that are to sit in them; neither is the dignity of ech one by himselfe in his degree to be regarded, but rather, the affection, disposition and habitude of the mindeoneto another, how they can fort and frame together; like as our maner is to doe in some other things which are to meet in one common conjunction : for a good architect or mason wil not (I trow) 50 lay his first worke or forefront of the house, with Atticke or Lacedæmonian marble, before the Barbarian flone, because the same is in some fort of a noble kinde, and comming from the worthier place; neither will a cunning painter dispose his richest and most costly colour in the principal place of hispicture; nor the carpenter or shipwright, employ before all other timber in the stem of his ship, either the pine tree wood of Pathmos in Peloponnelus, or the cypresse of Candie: but to they order and distribute, their stone, their colours and their timber, that being joined and fitted well together one with another, the common worke arifing of them all, may

bemore firme and strong, faire and beautifull, good and commodious. And thus you see, God himselfe, whom our poet *Pindarus* calleth the best workeman and principall attitan, doeth not place the fire alwaies aloft, nor the earth below, but according as the use of bodies compounded doth require; like as *Empedocles* testifieth in these verses:

The oisters. murets of the fea, and fiel-fifth every one, With masse cout, the tortoiseeke with crust as hard as slone, And coulted backe, which areh-wise he alost doth hollow reare, Shew all, that he wie earth they do

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above their bodies beare. not in that place which nature ordeined for it in the first constitution and framing of the univerfall world, but in that which the composition of a new worke requireth: for disorder and converfall world, but in that which the composition of a new worke requireth: fulion is bad enough in all things; but when it commeth among men, especially when they are drinking and eating together, it sheweth her badnesse most of all, by insolencie, outrages and other enormities that can not be numbred; which to foresee and remedie, is the part of a man industrious, well seene in policie, good order and harmonie. And that is well faid of you (anfwered we) but why envie you to this company that science of order, proportion and harmonic, 20 and doe not communicate it unto us? Surely there is no envie at all (quoth he) in the way, in case ye will beleeve me and be ruled by me, in that which I doe change and alter in the order of the feast, like as you would be directed by Epaminondus, if he should range a battell in good order, which before was in difarray. We all agreed and gave him leave to to do: then he voiding first out of hall or dining, place all the boies and lackies, cast his cie upon every one of us in the face, and faid: Hearken and give care, how I meane to range and fort you one with another; for I would advertise you of it before hand, because I am of this minde, that the Theban Paramenes, juftly and upon good reason reprooved Homer, saying that he had no skill at all in * love-mat- * # love-matters, for that he ranged together in battell those who were of one and the same nation, and min. danties. gled fuch as were of the fame race, linage and bloud; whereas he should have joined the lover, 30 and the beloved, to the end that the whole battell might be incited by one spirit, and draw in the fame line, as linked by a lively bond. Semblably, will I doe in this feaft of ours, not coupling an the table, one man with another; nor matching a yoong man with a yoong man; ne yet fetting amagistrate or a ruler just by another; no nor two friends together: for surely such an ordering as this, hath no life in it, no vigor and power at all, either to breed and imprint, or to nourish and

as this, hath no life in it, no vigor and power at all, either to breed and imprint, or to nourith and augment the heat of mutuall benevolence and affection of one to another; but framing and applying to that which hath need, the thing that is fit and proper thereto. I would have a fludent to fit next unto a learned man; a milde and gentle perfon, unto one that is hard to be pleafed; to an old prating fellow who loves to heare himfelfe fpeake, a youth who is defirous to heare, I would place a boafting and glorious bragger, with a drie childe and foothing companion; with a defice and colerike man, one who is filent or of few words: if I fee a rich or mighty perfonage, and withall, bountifull and free of gift, I will fetch out of one corner or other, some poore honest body to be his next-neighbour, to the end that from him (as out of a full cup) there might overflow some goodnesse, into another which is void and emptie: but I will be very wary and circumspect, that I doe not fort two oratours or professed thetoricians together, nor match one poet with another; for according to the proverbiall verse:

Abegger can no begger well abide, And chanter one by another is envied.

Howfoever these two heere Sossieles and Modelus, confirming in alternative course the speeches one of another:

Blow not the coles that ready are to dy, But just accord together most friendly.

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I fever also a funder busic and troublesome persons, such as take one another by the throat, injurious solke, testie and cholericke men; interposing alwaies some milde and modest nature betweene, as a emollisive of their hardnesse, for fearethey should crush and bruse one another: contratiwise, I bring together, such as love wrestling and other exercises of the bodie, hunters also, and those that protesse husbandry: for of similitudes and resemblances, two sorts there be; the one quarrellous and given to sight, as that of cocks; the other loving and amiable, as that of

jaies or dawes. Alfo thofe that be good companions, and can drinke well, I use to set and match close together; yea and amorous solke:

Not onely those who feele hot fanfies pricke To boies and of love masculine are sicke.

As Nophaeles faith, but fuch also as are pinched with the love of wives and maidens; for that being heat and enchansed with the same fire, they will catch and take hold the sooner one of another; like as pieces of iron that cleave and be united together, when they beered hot; provided alwaies, that their love doe not settle in one place, whether it be male of semale.

THE THIRD QUESTION.

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What is the reason, that the place at the table named Consular, is held honorable?

Firer this, there arose a question as touching the places of sitting at a table; for that some Are reputed honorable in one countrey, and fome in another. Among the Perfians, the middle place is accounted best; for therein fitteth the king: In Greece the first is held chiefe and principall: and the Romans make most regard of the last in the middle pallet or table; and this commonly is called the Confular place; whereas contrariwife, certeine Greeks that inhabit the country about Pontus, & namely those of Heraclea, reckon the first of the said middle pallet, the highest place of honor: but we made most doubt of the the said place called Consular: for 20 the fame was in our time also counted honorable; but not in regard, that it was either the formost or the middes; and befides, of the accidentall qualites observed therein, some were not proper and peculiar to it alone, and others feemed to be of no importance at all: howbeit, three reafons alledged there were, which feemed fomewhat to moove and induce us above the reft: the first was this: That the consuls having deposed and expelled the kings of Rome, and chaunged all into a more popular estate, withdrew themselves from the rotall place in the middes, to a lower roome, to the end, that by quitting and forgoing the place which to them apperteined, they might avoid all occasions of making their power and authoritie odious unto those that converted with them. Secondly, that feeing the two first tables or pallets being destined and appointed for the guests invited, the third, and namely the first place thereof, belonged properly 30 to him who made the feaft; for there fitteth he most commodiously, in manner of a coachman in a chariot, or pilot in a shippe; to see the whole order of the service: neither is he farre from other tables, but that he may cheere up & welcome al the company: for, of the places nere unto him, that underneath is appointed ufually for his wife or children; and that above, ordinarily and by good right, was allowed for the most honorable personage of all them that were bidden, to the end, that he might fit neere unto the master of the feast. Thirdly, this place seemed to have this propertie by it felfe, that it was thought commodious for fuch as were emploied and had any affaires in hand. For the Roman confull was nothing like unto Archias fometime the captaine generall of the Thebans; who if there had beene brought unto him any letters, newes, or advertisement of importance, in the middes of supper time; or if there fell 40 our any ferious occasions, would cry out aloud and fay: To morrow morning will we thinke of carnest matters; the pacquet of letters he laid aside, and in stead thereof, tooke a boule of wine in hand: the Roman confull (I fay) was not fuch an one, but even at these times especially he is most vigilant, and looketh circumspectly about him, for not onely according to the common proverbe in Aeschyliu:

The night alwaies even to a pilot wife Breeds wo, for feare left tempests should arise.

But also amidde all pleatures, feafts, and pastimes, it is requisite in a wife captaine, and man of government, that he alwaies stand upon his guard, and carrie a watchfull eie about him; to the end therefore that he might evermore be ready to understand all occurrents, to command also, 50 direct; signe, or subscribe is need required; this place was allotted unto him of purpose above the rest; wherein, by reason that the second table stood close joined to the first, the correct within the turning, leaveth a space open, or void distance, given from and meanes very handsomely for a secretary, a notatie, a sergeant, or apparitar, a pencioner, or one of the guardyea & to any messenger or pursevant comming from the campe, to approach neere unto the confull, to declare his message, to aske any question, or to commune & confer with him, & that without troubling any body, or being molested by any person there met at the feast or ban-

quet: for both his hand is his owne and at commaund, and also his voice at liberty, to say and doe whatsoever he would.

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

What manner of man he ought to be, who is chosen master of the feast?

Rate my fonne in law, and Theon our familiar friend, being with us at a certeine feaft, where there beganne fome miffule and diforder, upon large drinking of wine, which notto withflanding was foone appealed, tooke occasion thereby, to speake of the masteric and presidency of fuch feafts observed in old time, being of this opinion, and faying (withall to me) That Lought to weare a chaplet of flowers on my head, and not fuffer the auncient cuftome of creating a king or governour of the feaft; who is to give order in all things, and to fee there bee no mifrule, by difuse and discontinuance to be utterly neglected and abolished; but rather that Lought to bring that laudable order up againe, and put it in practife. Of the fame minde was the whole company, and liked very well of the motion; infomuch as they all with a loud voice and one accord, requested me to take the thing upon me: Seeing then (quoth I) that you be all of this minde, I am content to chuse my selfe president, and master of this feast: and heere to beginne withall, I give commaundement to all the rest, that for this present they drinke at their 20 owne differetion, and as it pleafeth themselves: as for Crato and Theon, who were the first that fer this matter on foot, I will by vertue of my office and place, enjoine them fummarily and in few words, to declare heere before us, what manner of person ought to bee chosen for the prefident, and mafter of fuch a feast, and whathe must aime at, when he is elected; as also how he is to carry himselfe towards those who have made choice of him; and this charge I laie upon them two, permitting them to divide it betweene them, and to handle it according to their good discretion. At the first, they made some semblance of refusal, praying me to hold them excufed:howbeit when they faw the whole company crying upon them for to obey the prefidents Crato began first & faid: That as the captaine of the guard or watch, ought himselfe especially to be a most diligent & vigilant warder, according to the faying of Plaroseven so should be who 30 hath the command of guests met together for to make merrie, be himselfe of all other a right good fellow, and a cheerefull companion; and fuch an one he shall be, in case hee be neither one that will quickly be cup-shotten, and overseene with wine; nor yet untoward and unwilling to drinke liberally; much like as Cyrus wrote fometime unto the Lacedamonians: That as in al other points he was more woorthy to be aking than his brother; fo in this respect especially, that he would take his wine in greater measure, and beare the same better than he: for hee that will bee soone drunke, groweth infolent, unseemely, and outragious in his drunkennesse: and he againe, who is too too fober, and abstinent altogether, becommeth unpleafant and unfociable, meeter indeed to be a schoole-master, and to have the bringing up of boies, than a president of a feast, to order guests. Pericles, so oft as he was chosen captaine generall of the A-40 thenians; no fooner put on his mantle of estate, and was ready to fet forward, but before any thing elfe, used thus to say unto himselfe, as it were to refresh his memorie by way of admonition: Looke about thee now Pericles; thou halt the commaund of free men; thou commaundest now the Greeks; nay thouart commaunder of the Athenians; even so thould our master of a feast reason thus within himselfe: Thou hast the rule now of friends; to the end that he neither permit them to doe any unfeemely or dishonest thing; nor bereave them of their delights and pleasures; for as he ought to be friendly affected unto them in their serious occasious, so he must be no enemie to their sports and pastimes, but framed indifferently, and as it were well tempered for the one and the other; & yet by his naturall disposition, he should, like good wine, be formwhat more inclined unto a kind of hardneffe or aufteritie: for by this meanes 50 the wine which he drinketh, will reduce his maners and behavior to a meane or mediocrity, by moiltning as it were and foftning it, that it may be more gentle and pliable: for as Xenephon faid: That the ladde cheere, heavy and rufticall severitie otherwise of Clearchus, seemed to be more lightfome and pleafant in battel and conflict, by reason of his resolute confidence; even so, he who is by nature not bitter nor crabbed, but onely grave and fevere, by drinking, becommeth more remiffe, and not fo firaight laced; and by that meanes more lovely and amiable also. And thus much of his owne perfon.

Moreover, he ought above all things, to know by experience, every one of the guests: what

alteration there is wrought in them by drinking? into what accidents or passions they bee ready to fall; and how they can beare strong wine? for wee are not to thinke, but if there bee a proper temperature and feverall mixture with water fit for every fort of wine; which kings tafters, and cup-bearers know well inough, and in that regard can different and diffinguith, when they are to use more or lesse water to the delaying of wines; there is more reason that there thould be a temperature likewise of man and wine, which our master or president of a feast ought to know, and when he knoweth it, to observe; that like an expert musician, by stretching as it were & fetting up one, a note higher, in making him to drinke largely, and letting downe another by cauling him as much to spare, he may bring and reduce different natures unto an uniforme equalitie & confonance, normeasuring the same by waight & measure, pintes or quarts, to nor by fo many cupsor glaffes, but going by a certeine rule of time and age, as also by the thength of the bodic, giving to each one that which is meet and convenient. Now if peradventure this feeme an hard piece of worke, namely, to know althese particularities; yet meet it is at leaflwife that he should be skilful in generalitie, as touching severall complexions & ages: as for example; that oldfolke are fooner and more eafily made drunke than yoong perfons; those that be flirring and in continual motion, rather than fuch as be in repose and rest; sadde, heavie, penfive, and melancholike men, more than those who are jocund and merry; lastly, those who are challe, or the women modefly, much more than fuch as be diffolute or exceffively gi. ven that way. He that is thus farre foorth acquainted with these circumstances, may be a meeter and fitter person a great deale to mainteine decencie, order, and agreement at a feast, than 20 he who is ignorant therein. Furthermore, what is he who knoweth not very well, that the mafter of a feast ought to be well affected, and to carrie a loving minde unto all those who are invited to a feast; to carrie neither open malice, nor fecret grudge to any one of them: for otherwife, if he commaundeth ought, it will not be well taken; if hee distribute and deale amongst them, he shall not be thought equal and indifferent; last of all, if he be disposed to mirth and jolitic, he shall hardly escape a rebuke and blame. Lo, Theon, what maner of president and mafter(quoth Cr.sto) I have framed unto you by words, as if he were wrought out of waxe, and him Ideliver into your hands. Then answered Theon: And I receive him from you so much the rather, as one thaped and fathioned indeed for a right governour of a feaft, and a good companion besides: but whether I shall ever use him or no, or whether in so doing I shall shame my 30 felfe; I wot not: howbeit, this I am affured of, that if hee be fuch an one as you have described, he will know how to order & governe a feaft, & not fuffer that one while it feeme a folemn affembly of a citie, another while a schoole of rhetoricke, now a knot of dice-plaiers or cheaters met together, and anon a scaffold forsooth for dauncers and singers, or a stage for platers and commedians: this I fay, for that you fee ordinarily fome making orations, and pleading at the table, as it were in the court, or at the barre before judges; others exercifing themselves how to speake in publike, or effe rehearling and reading certeine of their owne compositions; and others againe taking upon them like judges of dauncers and stage plaiers, who doe best for to winne the prife; and yet this is not the worst: for Alcibiades and Theodorus made of Politions feaft, a very place of divine mifteries, reprefenting there the folemne carving of torches and 40 other ceremonies, at the shewing of some facred reliques; which I would not have a good mafter and prefident of a feast to be so carelesse as to abide; but to allow place and time for such talke, fuch spectacles, fights, plaies, and pastimes onely, which tend to that end for which feaths be made; that is to fay, to breed and augment amitie betweene them that are prefent, by the meanes of the delight they take in eating together; for that in truth, a feast is nothing elle but a pleasant recreation at the table, aiming at this marke, to contract friendship by the entercourse of mutuall drinking one to the other.

But forasimuch as in all things, varietie is very pleasing, and nature joieth in nothing more than in diversirie and change; but contrariwise, a simple uniformity alwaies, one and the same, is hurtfull, and bringeth tedious field with it incontinently; whereas the mixture of divers 50 things applied in time and place with measure, taketh that away which is offensive to pleasure, and hurtfull to profit: therefore the master of a seast must devise for his guests, and exhibit unto them some mixed sport to passe away the time whiles they be drinking. I have heard many men say, that to walke by the sea side, as also to saile along the shore, is most pleasant; and even so a man must joine alwaies sport with serious affaires, and profit with pleasure, to the end that those who play, may in some fort be in good earnest; and likewise, when they be busse in serious matters, sind some recreation; like as those who are sea-sicke, and ready ever & anon to cast up

their flomacke, recover their spirits and are revived, when they see how they be necre the land; even so a man may profit in mirth and laughter; he may likewise laugh and be merry in profit, and make his serious affaires pleasant enough; for as the old proverbe goeth:

With calthrop thistles, and among the pricky rest-harrow, The violess and soft waissowers are alwaies wont to grow.

But as for all other sports & plaies, which without any profit at al, leape impudently into feafts, he shall command his guests expresly, to forbeare, lest ere they be aware, they become outragious and furious, like as those who have taken the juice of henbane: they also abuse their power, & go too far in their commandements, (for fo they be called at the wine) who enjoine flutters, 10 flammerers and mafflers to fing, or bald-pates to kembe their heads, or lame creeples to go upright on their feet without halting. Thus upon a time at a certeine merry meeting and feall, where Agamelor the Academicke philosopher was, who had a withered legge, and nothing left thereof but skin and bone, all the company (by way of mockeric) infulted upon him, and made a lawamong themselves, that they should stand all upon their right leg, and every one drinke his boule of wine, or els pay a certeine piece of money, as a forfeiture : now when it came to Agamefors turne, by right to command, he charged them all to drinke in that fort and maner, as they faw him to drinke: then called hee for an emptie earthen pitcher with a narrow mouth, to be brought into the place; into which when he had thrust his poore consumed legge aforefaid, he drunke up his cup of wine; and when all the reft had affaired, and found they could not do as he 20 did, were all forced to pay the forfeit. Heerein was Agamefor to be commended: for after his maner, the mafter of a teatt ought to be revenged, in a kinde of mirth and gentle fort; also to accultome himselfe to such commandements, astend to pleasure and profit both, charging ech one to doe those things which be proper, possible and easie for him, and yet may commend the doer : as for example, to impose upon them who have good voices, and be professed musicians, to fing; oratours and rhetoricians, to declame; philosophers, to assoile darke questions, and cleere ambiguities; and poets, to pronounce some of their verses; for every one of these, joieth and taketh pleafure, to be put to that

Wherein he knowes he can do well, And other men farre doth excell.

There was fome time a king of the Affyrians, who by voice of heralds, and found of trumper, proclamed a great prize and reward to him that could devife a new kinde of pleafure: but the king and governour of a feaft, should doe very well, to propose an honourable reward unto him, that could invent an honest game or pattime, wherein were no insolencie, some delight noin, that could invent an honest game or pattime, wherein were no insolencie, some delight noin, that could invent an honest game or pattime, wherein were no insolencie, some delight of port profitable, and procure laughter not accompanied with wanton reproofe and scornefull reproch, but sitch as earieth a grace and pleasure with it: for this is it wherein most part of feasts suffer shipwracke, namely, when they are misgoverned, or not ordered as they ought to be. But the part it is of a wise and prudent man, to know how to avoid enmity and anger in the market-place, gotten by avarice; in the publicke halles of bodily exercises, by contention and emulation; in bearing offices and suing for them, by ambition and vain-glory; and last of all, in feasts and banquets, by such plaies and passimes.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

What is meant by this common proverbe: Love teachethmusicke and poetrie.

THe question was mooved one day in Sostius Senerius house, after certaine verses of Suppho were chanted, how this saying of Euripides should be understood:

Love teacheth musicke, marke when you will,

Tough one before, thereof had no skill.

confidering that the poet Philoseems reporteth, how Cyclops Polyphemus the giant, cured his 50 love by the fiveet tongued muses? Whereupon it was alledged, that Love is of great power to moove a man for to be bold, hardy and adventurous, yea, and ministreth a readiness to attempt all novelties, according as Plato named it, the enterpriser of all things; for it maketh him talkative and full of words, who before was filent; it causeth the bashfull and modest person, to court it, and put himselse forward in all maner of service; it is the meanes that an idle carelesse lubber, and a negligent, becommeth diligent and industrious; and that which a man would most ber, and a negligent, becommeth diligent and industrious; and that which a man would most marvell at, a miching hard-head and mechanicall penisather, if he fall once to love, doth resent and waxe soft as iron in the fire, and so prooveth more liberall, courteous and kinde, than ever and waxe soft as iron in the fire, and so prooveth more liberall, courteous and kinde, than ever

before : so that this pleasant and merry proverbe, seemeth not to be altogether ridiculous & impertinent, namely that Loves purse is tied & knit up with a leeke or porret blade. Moreover is was there spoken: That Love resembled drunkennesse, for that the one aswell as the other doth fet folke in a heat; it maketh them cheerfull, merry and jocund; and when as men be come once to that, they fall foone to fing, to rime, and make verses. And it is faid, that the poet Acfehylus composed his tragedies, when he had well drunken, and was heat with wine. I had a grandfather also my selfe, named Lamprias, who seemed alwaies more learned, witty, and fuller of inventions, yea, and to furpaffe himselfe in that kinde, when he had taken his cups liberally; and he was wont to fay: That at fuch a time he was like unto incenfe, which being fet on fire, rendereth the fweet odour that it hath. Moreover, they that take exceeding great pleasure to see their loves, to are no leffe affected with joy when they do praise them, than in looking upon them : for love as it is in every thing a great pratter, and full of words; so especially and most of all, in praises in. fornuch, as lovers would willingly perswade others to that, wherein they are themselves perswaded first; namely, that they love nothing but that which is perfect in goodnesse and beautie; and others they would have to be witneffes with them of it. This was it, that induced the Lydian king Candaules, to draw and traine Giges into his bed-chamber, for to fee the beautie of his wife naked: for why? fuch are willing to have the testimonie of others. Loe, what the reason is, that if they write the praises of that which they love, they embelish and adorne the same with verses, fongs and meeter, like as images with golde; to the end that the faid praifes might be heard more willingly, and remembred better by more people: for if they bestow a fighting-cocke, an 20 horse, or any other thing whatsoever, upon those whom they love, their minde is principally, that this their present should be faire and beautifull in it selfe; afterwards, that it be most gallantly and in best maner set out; but above all, in case they be disposed to flatter them in words or writings, their chiefe care is, that the fame run roundly and pleafantly, that they be also glorious and beautified with fine figures, such as is ordinarily the stile of poets. Then Sossus approving well of these reasons, said moreover: That it were well, if some would take in hand to draw and gather arguments out of that which Theophrastus left in writing, as touching musicke: For long it is not (quoth he) fince I read over that booke; wherein he delivereth thus much aftera divine maner: That three principall causes or roots there be of musicke, to wit, paine or griefe, pleasure or joy, and the ravishment of the spirit; of which three, every one doth bend and turne 20 the voice a little out of the ordinary tune : for griefs and forrowes, usually bring with them, moanes and plaints, which quickly run into fong; which is the reason that we see oratours in the perorations or conclusions of their speeches, the actours also in tragedies, when they come to make their dolefull lamentations, bring their voices downe gently to a kinde of melodie, and by little and little tune them (asit were) thereto. Also the great and vehement joies of the minde do lift up all the body, of them especially, who are any thing lightsome by nature, yea, and provoke the fame to leape, skip, and clappe their hands, observing a kinde of motion according to number and measure, if they can not dance:

And otherwise in furious sort, Like frantike folke they do diffort; They shake, they wag, they set out throat,

And sendout many a foolish note.

according as Pindarus faith. But in case they be somewhat more grave and staied, than others, when they finde themselves moved with such a passion of joy, they let their voice onely go at liberty, speaking aloud and finging sonnets. But above all, the ravishment of the spirit, or that divine inspiration, which is called Enthusiasmus, casteth bodie, mind, voice and all, far beyond the ordinary habit; which is the cause, that the furious and raging priests of Bacchus, called Bacchas, use rime & meeter; those also, who by a propheticall spirit, give answeres by oracle, deliver the fame in verse; and few persons shall a man see starke mad, but among their raving speeches, they fing and fay fome verfes. This being so, if you would now display love, and view it well, being 50 unfolded and laied open abroad, hardly shall you meet with another passion, which hath either sharper dolours, or joies more violent or greater exstasses and ravishments of the spirit, lying (as it were) in a trance; so that a man may discover in amorous persons, a soule much like unto that city which Sophoeles describeth:

Full of fongs and incense sweet, Of sighs and groanes in every street. No marvell is it therefore, nor a strange thing; if love (conteining & comprehending in it selfe all those primitive causes of musicke, to wit, dolour, joy, and ravishment of spirit, be likewise in all other things diligent, industrious, talkative, and namely, inclined to making of verses and chanting fongs as much or rather more, than any other passion which can enter into the heart

THE SIXTH QUESTION.

Whether king Alexander of Macedonie were a great drinker.

Here was some speech upon a time, as touching king Alexander the Great, to this effect: That he dranke not fo much, as fat long at his meat, and passed the time away, in deviting and talking with his friends: but Philinus fliewed by certeine scroles, papers, and day books of the faid kings house, that they who held that opinion, knew not well what they faid; for that this particular inflance was ordinarily and ufually found in those records: That such a day the king flept all day long, upon his liberall drinking of wine; yea, and other-whiles it appeareth, that he flept the morrow after likewise; which is the reason, that hee was not so forward in venerous matters, nor given much to women, though otherwise he was haltie, quicke and couragious; great arguments of an inward heat of bodie: and it is to be seene upon record: That his fleth yeelded from it, and breathed a paffing sweet smell; infomuch as his shirts and other clothes 20 were full of an atomaticall fent and favour, as if they had bene perfumed; which feemeth alfo to bean argument and figne of heat. For we fee, that those be the hottest & driest countries, which bring foorth cynamon and frankincenfe, according as Theophrastus faith: That a sweet odour proceedeth of perfect concoction and digeftion of humours; namely, when by naturall heat, all fuperfluous mouture is quite chased and expelled. And by all likelihood, this was the principall cause, that Callist henes grew into differee, and lost the kings favour; for that he was unwilling to fup with him, in regard that he would impose upon him to drinke so much. For it is reported, that upon a time, the great boule or goblet, furnamed, Alexanders boule, having paffed roundabout the table thorowout, untill it came to Callifthenes, he refused it, and put it backe; faying withall: I will not drinke in Alexander, for to have need of Aefeulapius. And thus much 30 was faid then, concerning king Alexanders much wine bibbing.

Moreover, king Mithridates, he who warred against the Romans, among other games of prise which hee exhibited, ordeined one for those who could drinke best and eat most; and by mens faying, himselfe performed them both so well, that he won the prize in the one and the other : for he could eat and drinke more than any man living in his time: by occasion whereof, he was commonly furnamed Dieny swa, that is to say, Bacchin. But as touching the reason of this furname, wee fay it is an opinion rathly received: for when hee was a very infant lying in the cradle, the lightning caught the fwadling clothes, and fet them on fire, but never touched or hurt his body, fave onely that there remained a little marke of the fire upon his forehead, which notwithstanding the haire did cover that it was not greatly seene, so long as he was a childe: a-40 gaine, when he was a man growen, it chaunced that the lightning pierced into the bed chamber where he lay asscepe; and for his owne person it was not so much as singed therewith; but it blafted a quiver of arrowes that hung at his bed-fide, went through it, and burnt the arrowes within; which (as the foothfaiers and wife men out of their learning did intepret) figuified, that one day he should be puissant in archers and light armed men. But most men affirme, that hee gathis furname of Bacchus, or Dionyfus, in regard of the refemblance and likenesse of such acci-

dents of lightning, and blafting, as many times befall.

40

After these words passed, they entred into a speech as touching great drinkers; among whom was reckoned also one Heracides, a famous wreitler, or champion, whom the men of Alexandria in our fathers daies, pleasantly called little Hercules. This good fellow when he could not 50 meet with a companion able to fet foot to his, and drinke with him continually; used to invite some to breake their fast with him in a morning; others to beare him company at dinners some he would bidde to supper; and intreat others last of all to sit with him at his collation or banquet after supper: now when the first were gone, came in the second immediatly; then you should have the third succeed them in place; and no sooner were they departed, but in steps the fourth crew, without any interruption; and he himselfe fat it out still, and making no intermission, was able to hold out with all, and beare those fower repasts and refections, one after another. Among those who were familiarly acquainted with Drusus, sonne to the emperour Tibe-

rius, a physician there was, who in drinking would chalenge and defie all the world: but obferved it was by fome that spied and looked neere unto him: That to prevent drunkennesse, he used to take alwaies five or fixe bitter almonds before every cuppe that he drunke: and when he was once debarred of them, and not suffered so to doe, he was not able to beare his drinke nor refift the leaft headineffe and ftrength thereof. And verily fome there be who fay, that there almonds have an abstersive propertie to bite, to clense and scource the flesh, in such fort, as that they will take away the spottes and freekles of the visage; by reason of which qualitie, when they be taken afore drinke, with their bitternesse they fret the pores of the skinne, and leave the impression of a certaine biting behinde them, by meanes whereof, there ensueth a certaine revultion downward from the head of those vapours which flie up thither, and so evaporate 10 away through the faid pores. But for mine owne part, I am of this opinion rather, that their bitternesse hath a vertue to dry up and spend humors: which is the reason that of all vapours, the bitter is most unpleasant and disagreeable to the taste: for that indeed as Plate faith, consuming moisture (as it doth) by meanes of the drinesse which it hath, it doth unnaturally binde and drawin, the little veines of the toong, which of themselves be soft, and spungeous: after the fame manner men use to restraine such wounds or ulcers which be mostly, with medicines, or falves composed of bitter drougues, according as the poet Homer testifieth in these verses:

A bitter route he bruif dwith hands, and lud upon the fore, Totake the anguish cleane away, that it might ake no more: And to, applied when it was, all paines were foone allaid, The running ulcer dried anon, and flux of blond was staid.

He faid well and truly, of that which is in tafte bitter: That it hath a vertue & propertie to drie. And it should seeme also, that the powders which women strew upon their bodies for to represe diaphoneticall and extraordinarie sweets, be by nature bitter and aftringent; so forcible is their bitternesse to binde and restreine; which being so, great reason there is, (I say) that bitter almonds thould have power to withfland the strength of meere wine, considering they drie the 30 body within, and will not permit the veines to bee full, upon the tention and commotion whereof (they fay) drunkennesse doth proceed: and for evident proofe of this, there may be a good argument gathered from that which befalleth foxes; who having caten bitter almonds, if they drinke not presently upon them, die therewith, by reason that all their humors suddenly are spent and confumed.

THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

What is the cause that old folke take greater delight in pure and strong wine, than others.

Here arose a question about old persons, what the reason might be, that they loved better to drink wine without water, or arthe least used additional to the state of the stat to drink wine without water, or at the leaftwife delaied but a little? Some alledged the habit of their bodies, being cold, and hard to be fet into an heat: in regard whereof, the strength of wine was incer and agreeable to their temperature : a reason very common and ready at hand; but furely, neither sufficient for to bee the cause of such an effect, nor yet simply true; for the fame hapneth to their other fences, as being hard to be mooved and affected; yea and nothing casie to be stirred, for to apprehend the qualities thereto belonging, unlesse the same be passing flying and vehement; whereof the true cause indeed is this: that their temperature being weake, dull, and feeble, loveth to be put in minde by knocking upon; and this is the cause, that for their tafte they delight in such sapours as be biting; their smelling likewise standeth even so to odors that be strong, for affected it is with more pleasure in such as be not tempered nor delaied: as for the sense of touching, they seele no great paine of ulcers and sores; and if it happen that they be wounded, their hurt and harme is not fo great: the fame befalleth to their hearing, for their eares be in manner deafe : and heereupon it is that muficians as they grow in yeeres and waxe aged, straine and raise their voice in singing so much the higher and lowder, as if they stirred up the organs of heating by the vehement force of the found; for looke what is freele to the edge and temper of iron for cutting; the same is spirit to the bodic, for sense and

feeling: and when it beginnes once to flacke, faile, and decay, the fenfe likewife and the infituments thereof becomedull, heavie and earthly, having need of fome fuch quicke thing to pricke it in good earnest as strong wine is.

THE EIGHTH QUESTION.

How it comes to passe, that olde solke reade better asarre off than necre at hand.

Gainst those reasons which wee devised and alledged upon the subject matter and point in hand, it feemed that there might be opposed the cie-fight; for that elder persons, for to reade any thing the better, remoove the letters farther from their eies; and in trueth can not well readencere at hand: which the poet Aefehylus feemeth covertly to implie, and fnew unto us in these verses:

Know him thou canst not, if neere he stand to thee, A good olde scribe thou maist much sooner be.

And Sophocles more plainly tettifieth as much, when he writeth of old folke in this wife:

The voice to them arrives not readily, And hardly thorow their eares the way can finde,

Their eies do fee farre off confusealy,

10

But neere at hand, they all be very blinde. Ifthen it be fo, that the fenfes of aged perfons, and the instruments serving thereto, are not willingly obeifant to their proper objects, unleffe the fame be ftrong and vehicment; what should the cause be, that in reading, they can not endure the reverberation of the light from letters, if they be neere? but fetting the booke farther off from their eies, they do by that meanes enfeeble (as it were) that light, for that it is spread and dissipate in the aire, like as the strength of wine when it is tempered with water ? To this probleme, fome answered thus: That they remoove books and letters farre from their eie-fight, not because they would make the saide light more mildeor lesse radiant; but contrariwise, for that they are desirous to catch and gather more fplendor, and to fill the meane intervall (which is betweene the cie and the letter) with lightfome 30 and shining aire. Others accorded with those, who holde, that the eies do send out of them, certeineraies; for by reason that aswell from the one eie as the other, a pyramidal beame doth iffue, the point whereof is in the fight of the eie, and the basis doth comprehend the object that is feene; probable it is, that both these pyramides goe forward apart one from the other a good space and distance, but after they be a great way off, and come to encounter one another, and be confounded together, they make but one entire light: and this is the reason, that albeit the cies are twaine, yet every thing that we fee, appeareth one, and not two 3 for that (in trueth) the meeting and shining together of those two pyramides in common, do make of two sights, but one. This being presupposed and set downe, olde men approching neere to letters, comprehend the fame more feebly, in regard that the pyramidall beames of their cies are not yet joined and met 40 together, but ech of them reach to the objects apart; but if they be farther off, to that the faid pyrainides may be intermingled, they fee more perfectly; much like to them, who with both hands can claspe and hold that, which they are not able to do with one alone.

Then my brother Lamprias opposed himselfe against all this; and as one who had not read the booke of Hieronymus, but even upon the pregnancy and quickenesse of his wir, seemed to render another reason; namely: That we see by the meanes of certeine images arising from the objects or visible things, which at the first be big, and for that cause trouble the fight of old folke, when they regard them necre and hard-by, being indeed but hard and flow of motion: but when the faid images be advanced and ipread farther into the aire, and have gained fome good distance, the groffe and terrestrial parts of them breake and fall downe; but the more subtill por-50 tions reach as farre as to the eies, without any paine or offence unto them, and do infinuate and accommodate themselves equally and smoothly into their concavities: so that the cies being leffe troubled, apprehend and receive them better. And even fo it is with the odours of flowers, which are very fweet to finell unto a good way off; whereas if a man come over-neere unto them, they yeeld nothing to kinde and pleafant a fent: the reason is, because that together with the favour, there goeth from the flower, much earthly matter, groffe and thicke, which corruptethand marreth the fragrant sweetnesse of the odour, if it be smelled to very neere; but in case the same be a prety way off, that terrestriallevaparation is dispersed round about, and so faileth

away, but the pure and hor part thereof, continueth behinde, and pierceth forward ftill, by reason of the fubtilitie that it hath, untill it be presented unto the nostrils. But we, receiving and admit. ting the principle of Plato, affirme & hold. That there paffeth from the cies an illuminate spirit, which intermingleth it felfe with the electronesse and light that is about the bodies of visible ob. jects; by which meanes there arifeth an united composition from them twaine, according in every point one with another, but concorporate they be by measure and proportion; for neither the one nor the order, ought to periff, as being furmounted by his fellow, but of twaine contempered together in just proportion, there is made one puissance and meane facultie betweene. Seeing then, that the thing which passeth thorow the eie-sight of those persons who be farre stept in yeeres, be it some sluxion, lightsome spirit, or bright beame, (call it what you 10 will) is in them, weake and feeble, there can not be a mixture and composition of it, with the shining aire abroad, but rather an extinction and fuffocation, unleffe they remove the letters a pretic way off from their cies, and by that meanes temper and refolve the exceeding brightneffe of the light, so as the same hit not upon their sight, so long as it is too radiant and resplendant, but measured and proportioned to the feeblenesse of their eies. This also is the cause of that which befalleth to those living creatures which see best in the darke, and feed themselves by night; for their cie fight being naturally weake, is offuscate and darkened by the great light of the day; for that fuch weak raies proceeding from fo tender a fource or fountaine, will not well fort & agree with fo strong and forcible light; but their eies do send forth beames sufficient and proportion. able, to be mingled with a light more dim and duskish, like as the light of a starre in the night 10 feafon appeareth best: and thus being incorporate with it, it is cooperative to the performance of fenfe.

THE NINTH QUESTION.

What is the cause that clothes be better washed in fresh water than that of the sea?

Heon the grammarian, upon a time when wee were feafted by Metrius Florus, demaunded of Themistocles the philosopher, how it came to passe that Chrysopus having made mention in many places of strange positions and paradoxes, which seemed to goe to against all reason;) as for example: That salt fish, or powdred flesh, if it bee watered or washed in fea water, becommeth more sweet: also fleeces of wooll are leffe pliable, if they bee plucked forcibly, than if they be gently handled, toofed and drawen in funder. Item, that they who have fasted long, chew their meat, and eat more slowly at first, than after they have eaten a little;) rendreth no reason of the one nor the other: unto whom Themistocles answered: That Chry/ippus proposed them by the way onely, and as it were for example sake to advertise and admonth us; for that we are ever ready to believe, even without all reason, any thing that catieth with it some small likelihood and probability, and contratiwise to discredit that which at the first fight seemeth unlikely: But what reason I pray you (quoth he)my good friend have you to fearch & enquire into these matters ? For if you be so contemplative and inquisitive in find-40 ing out the caules of natural things, you need not to goe farre from that which belongeth to your profession: but tel me why Homer bringeth in Nauseaa, washing her clothes in the river,& not in the fea which was so neere unto her; notwithstanding that falt sea water being hotter, more transparent,& absterfive than fresh water of the river, seemeth by all apparance better for to wash withall? As touching this probleme (quoth Theon) long fince hath Aristotle resolved it, referring all to the terrestrity of the sea; for that in sea water there is mingled much earthlic fubflance, which causeth it to be so salt, by reason whereof, it beareth them up better who swim therein; also it carieth a greater and heavier burden than fresh water, the which yeeldeth and giveth way, as it is more fubtile, lighter, and feebler, as being more fimple and pure : in which regard it pierceth sooner, and by this penetrative facultie, it scoureth and clenseth awaie 50 all staines and spottes better than sea water: and thinke you not that this reason of Aristotle carreth great apparence of truth? Yes verily (quoth I) there is apparence and probabilitie indeed thereof, but no truth at all : for this I fee ordinarily that the maner is to incraffate fresh water with athes or gravel stones; or if there be none to be had, even with very dust, as if the roughnesse of terrestrial substaunce were more meet and apt, to clense all filthinesse, which simple and cleere water cannot doe so well, by reason of the thinne subtilitie thereof, and because it is very weake: and therefore it is not well and truely faid, that the thicknesse of the sea water him-

dreth his effect. But the true cause is, for that it is penetrant and piercing; for this acrimonie doth unbinde and o pen the small pores, and so draweth foorth the ordine outwardly; whereas contrariwife, that which is groffe and thicke, is never good and meet for to wash withall, but rather it maketh spots & steines: now is the sea fattie and oileous, which may be a principal cause why it is not good to wash withall: and, that sea water is uncteous, Aristotle himselfe beareth witnesse; for even salt it selfe hath a certeine fattinesse and unctuosity in it; by reason whereof, it causeth those lampes to burne more cleere wherein it is put: yea and sea water if it be sprinkled or dropped upon the flame, will likewife be of a light fire and burne withall; neither is there any water that burneth fo much as that of the fea; and in this regard I am of opinion, that to it is of all other water hottest: howbeir there may bee another reason yeelded: for considering that the end and confummation of washing, isto drie; those things wee hold most neat and cleane which are drieft; and therefore the moisture that doth wash, must goe away together with the ordure; like as the root of Ellebore is fent out of the body with the melancholike humour: as for the humiditie which is sweet and fresh by reason of the lightnesse thereof, the finne draweth it up very quickly; whereas the faltneffe of fea water flicketh faft to the finall pores, & by reason of the asperitie thereof is hard to be dried. Then Theon: This (that you fay quoth he) is nothing, but very falle; for Aristotle in the fame booke affirmeth, that those who wash in the sea, are sooner dry than they that wash in fresh water, if they stand in the sunne. He faith fo indeed (quoth I) but I thought that you would fooner beleeve Homer, who holdeth 20 the contrarie. For ulyffes after he had fuffred shipwracke mette with ladie Nausicaa:

All terrible and fearefull to be feene For that in fea all plunged five had beene. Yea and himfelfe faid unto her women and waiting maidens:

Retire aside and stand you farre from me,
Faire damosels, until such time you see,
That I have washt from off my shoulders twaine
The filth of sea, that now my skinne doth staine.
And when he had thus faid, he went downe into the river,

And there anon, he scowr'd cleane away, The salt sea-some, upon his head that lay.

In which place, the poet hath marvelous well observed and expressed that which ordinarilie hapneth in such a case: for that, when they who come foorth of the sea stand drying them in the sunne; his heat doth presently diffipate the most subtle and lightest substance of the humiditie, and then, that which is most soule and filthy, remaining behinde, slicketh to, is baked and felted to the skinne, in manner of a salt crust, untill it be washed off with fresh and potable water.

THE TENTH QUESTION.

What is the cause that at Athens they never judged nor pronounced the daunce of the tribe Acantisto be the last?

T the folemne feaft which Serapion made for the victory of the daunce, which the tribe or Alinage Aeantis obtained, by his leading and conduct to which feast we were bidden, as being of that tribe; for that the people had endued us with the priviledge and right of bourgeofic in the same; much talke there was occasioned by the great emulation and strife which hadbeene for the honour of that present daunce: and indeed followed it was with much zeale and heat of affection, by reason thatking Philopappus himselfe in person, was a most honourable and magnificent prefident thereof, having defraied the charges belonging to the daunces of every tribe; who being present also with us, invited guests to this stately supper (as hee was a 30 prince no leffe courteous and full of humanitie, than studious and desirous of knowledge) had both the proposing and also the hearing of many antiquities. Now there was propounded and Put to discourse, such a matter as this, by Marcus the Grammarian, namely: that N eanthes the Cyzicene wrote in his fabulous narrations of this citie, that the tribe Aeant is had by especiall honour, this speciall priviledge above the rest, that their daunce was never adjudged to the last place. That writer (quoth the king) is not fufficient to authorize an history; but supposing that this were true, let us make it the subject-matter of our discourse at this present, and search the cause thereof. But admit (quoth our friend Mile) that this were a salse tale. What then?

(quoth king Philopappus) there were no great matter in it, if the like befall unto us for love of learning, as fornetime did to the wife philosopher Democritus; who feeding one day (as it should Iceme) upon a concumber, when he perceived the juice and liquor thereof to be verie fweet, and to tafte of honie; demanded of his maid-fervant who attended upon him, where she bought it: who named a certeine garden: whereupon he rose from the boord, and would needs have her to bring him thither, and to shew him the very place where it grew : but the wench woondering at her mafter, and asking him the reason what he meant to be gone in such haste: Why (quoth he) I must needs finde out the cause of this extraordinary sweetnesse, and finde it I shall, when I have well viewed and considered the place : hereat the maiden smiling : Sit you ftill, good fir (quoth fhe) and let this thing trouble your head no farther; for the trueth is this: 10 I chanced before I was aware, to put this concumber into a veffell that had honie in it. Then Democritus feeming to be offended and displeased with her: Thou angress me to the heart with thy prittle-prattle, I will (I tell thee) go forward in this my intended purpole; and fearch into the cause hereof, as if this sweetnesse were naturall and came of the concumber it selfe; and even so we will not pretend this readinesse and facilitie of Neanthes in delivering some matters incredible, as an evasion or excuse, to avoid this present disputation : for if none other good wil come of our discourse, yet I am sure it will serve well to whet and exercise our wits the while. Then all the companie at once with one accord, fell to praise the said tribe Aeantis, relating and colle-Cting what commendable acts soever and glorious feats of armes had beene performed by that tribe. And here they failed not to rehearfe the famous battell of Marathon, which is a Statebelonging to the tribe Acantis. They forgat not to alledge likewife, how Harmedius and Arisso. 20 gnon were Acantides, borne in Aphiane, a towne of that tribe. Also Glaucias the oratour affirmed, that the right wing or point of that battell of Marathon, was affigued to them of that tribe, proving the fame by the Elegies or verses which the poet Aeschylus had composed in the praise of their good fervice, having himselfe in person fought valiantly in the said conflict. Moreover, he showed that Callimachus the high marshall of the field, being one of that linage, both bare himselse right bravely that day, and was one of the principall authors (after captaine Militades) of that fought field, gave his voice with him, and perswaded to strike this battell. Unto this allegation of Glucius, I my felse added moreover, and faid: That the decree or commission, by vertuc whereof Militia tes led foorth the Athenian armie with banner displaied, into the field, was concluded at what time as the tribe Acantis was prefident of the counfell at Athens; as also 30 that the same tribe in the battell of Platea, carried away the praise and prise for their brave service above the rest: and hecreupon it is, that this tribe of cheantis folemnizeth every yeere a flately facrifice, for that victorie, as being commanded and appointed fo to doe by the oracle Sacrificers. of Apollo, upon the mount Citheron, and the fame performed by nymphes or maidens * Sphagitides: for the celebration of which folemnity, the city furnisheth them with beasts and other things needfull for the fame facrifice. But yet you fee (quoth I) that all the rest of the tribes may as well alledge for themselves many valiant acts by them atchieved; and namely, Leontis; from which my felfe am descended, which in glorious renowme, giveth place to none whatfoever. Confider therefore my masters, whether it bee not very like and more probable, that 40 this was attributed unto it, for to appeale and comfort that woorthy person who gave the name 4 unto this tribe; I meane Ajax the sonne of Telamon, who had not the patience to endure the overthrow in judgement, and losse of Achilles armour, but was so farre inflamed with

Of Sympofiaques.

envie, emulation, and wrath, that he spared nothing, nor cared for the ruine of all: to the end therefore that he might not fall into another fit of furie, and be implacable; thought good it wasto ease him of the thing which might of all things offend and vexe him most, in that disfavour and disgrace, to wit: That the tribe which beareth his name, should never be thrust downe into the lowest and

last place.



SECOND BOOKE OF THE SYMPOSIAQUES.

The Summarie, or feverall Chapters thereof.

Hat be those things which Xenophon saith, that men are better contented to be asked of at the table, yea, and to be scoffed at for, than other wise no. What is the reason that we have better stomacks to our meat, and eat more in Auzumne, than in any other season of the yeere.

Whether the hen was before the egge, or the egge before the hen. Whether wrestling was of all the sacred exercises and games of prize, most ancient.

Why Homer among all the combats of prize, putteth evermore in the first place, the fight at buffets; next to it, wrestling; and last of all, running therace.

6 What is the cause that the pine, sapin or pitch tree, and other like, yeelding rosin, cannot be graffed by way of moculation or the scutisian.

7 Of the stay-ship fish Remora.

8 How it comment to passe, that the horses Lycospades are said to be more courageous and better spirited, than any others.

9 How is it, that the skeepe worried by wolves, needl flesh more sweet and tender, but wooll more subject to breed lice than others.

10 Whether our ancestours did better in old time, to eat every man his owne part divided by himselfe as the boord, or the men now living, who feed in common, of viands fet before them all sogether.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

the Sympofiaques.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

What be the things whereof Xenophon faith: That men love bester to be asked and to be scoffed at for, when they fit at the boord, than other wise no?



F those things (ô Soisus Senecio) which are provided to furnish The Presides. and set out feasts and banquets, some are to be raunged as altogether necessarie; namely, bread, wine, viands, meats, both flesh and fish, benches, stooles, formes, and tables; others be but accessaries and may be spared, devised onely for pleasure, and not upon any urgent necessitie; as plaies, shewes, and pastimes brought in, either to be heard or seene; some pleasant buffon also or mery jester to make folke laugh, fuch an one as Philip in Kallata his house, which disports men are delighted in otherwhiles, if they be presented, and if they be not, they are not greatly miffed, nor much cared for, nei-

ther is the feast thought defectuous for want thereof. The fame may be faid of table talke: for onekinde there is which modest and civill men doe embrace and enterteine, in regard of their proper use fitting and agreeable for meales and meat indeed; another fort they admit, and allowas conteining some gentle speculation, and the same befeemeth rather the time imploied in hearing musticke, of flute, hautboies, lute and viall. And of both these, our first booke conteined certaine miscellane examples one with another; as namely; of the first fort were these questions: Whether it be good and commendable, to treat and dispute of philosophicall mat-

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ters at the table or no? Alfo, whether it be better, that the mafter of the feast himselfe place his guests, at the boord, or permit them to fit at their owne discretion? Of the second kind be these; whereupon arose this common saying: That love teacheth musicke or poetrie? as also the queftion concerning the tribe Meanies and fuch like. For mine owne part, I would call the former Sympotica, as properly belonging to a feast; the other by the generall name Symposiaca, as befeeming rather a banquet after the feaft is done: howbeit fet downe they are by me pell-mell, and not diffinctly, but according as every one of them came into my minde and remembrance: neither must the readers marvell if I collect and gather certeine speeches for to dedicate unto you, which have beene haply held heeretofore by others, or by your owne felfe: for albeit our learning is not alwaies a calling to remembrance, yet oftentimes it falleth out, that to remem- 10 ber and to learne, concurre and meet together in one subject matter. Moreover, having digefled in every booke ten questions, the first of this second is one, that Xenophon a disciple of So. erates, hath in fome fort proposed unto us, when hee writeth: That Gobryas being upon a time at supper with Cyrus, as he praised many other fathions of the Persians, so he commended them especially in this: That they demaunded one of another such questions, wherewith they stood better pleafed, than if they had not beene asked at all; and betweene whiles, let flie fuch pleafant fcoffes and jeftes, as that the parties fo fcoffed at, liked thereof better, than otherwife if they had beene let alone. For if it be fo, that other men, even with their praifes many times offend us, why should we not greatly admire the seemely grace and wittie conceit of those, whose scoffes and jefts yeeld pleafure and contentment to those who seeme to be mocked therewith? This is the 10 reason why Sopater having one day invited us to a feast at Patra, mooved this talke and saide: Gladly would I know what kinde of questions and interrogatories they were? of what nature. and what the manner of them was? For no small part it is (quoth hee) of our entercourse and mutuall communication one with another, to have the dexteritie and skill, both to know and also to observe the decencie and congruitie in such pleasant demaunds and facete jelts. Nay, (quoth I againe) a great matter it is; but marke, if Xenophon himselfe as well in the Sympolium or banquet of Socrates, as in those of the Persians, giveth not us to understand what was the order thereof: and if you thinke good that we enter into this discourse, and that I should adde somewhat of mine owne. First and formost this is mine opinion: That men are well enough pleased to be asked those questions, to which they are able easily to answere, and 30 namely of fuch things as they have best skill and experience of: for if one should demaund of them, matters that they know not, either they be offended and grieved if they can fay nothing unto them (like as those who are called upon to pay debts which they are not able to discharge) or if they bring out crosse, impertinent, and untoward reasons, they are much troubled, dismaied, and perplexed: whereas if their answers bee not onely readie and easie, but also wittie and exquifite, fo much the more pleafant and agreeable it is to the answerers: now those I count wittie and exquisite, which carie somewhat with them, that the common multitude knoweth not, or which few men have heard of; fuch as be the points of aftrologie or logicke, especially if they be well seene therein, and have as it were the habit of them: for everie man is well pleased and appaied, not onely in practifing and spending his time, as Euripides faith: 40

Whereby he may quit him so well, That even himselfe he may excell,

but also in reasoning and discoursing of that wherein he hathbest skill and knowledge. For men take great contentment when they be asked questions of that which they have an insight in, and knowing so much by themselves as they doe, loth they bee to have their cunning hidden, and to be thought of others ignorant therein: therefore those who have beene great travellers, and failed in many voiages, cannot be better pleased, than when others enquire of them as touching farre countries, strange seas, the manners, sashions, and customes of barbarous nations; and you bring them to bedde (as they say) when you put them to discourse of such matters; as being most willing to describe and draw upon a table the coasts, places, straigths, so and gulses by which, and through which they have passed, reputing it to be no small frute of all their travels, and an easement of the paines which they have endured: in one word, looke whatloever we of our selves are woont, without the demand and intreaste of others to recount and relate willingly; the same are we desirous that men should aske us questions of, and how-soever we seeme to doe pleasure unto the company, yet indeed we have much adoe to hold, and with great paine sorbeare to utter the same. This is a very maladie incident to sailers and seamen above all other. As for those that be of a more modest and civill nature, they are desirous

to be asked those things, which they are willing enough to utter, but that they be abashed, and in reverent regard of them that be present, passe over in silence those exploits which they have performed happily and with great honour: and therefore good olde Nestor in Homer did very wisely, who knowing well the ambitious humour and desire of glory which was in ulysses, spake unto him:

ulylles, flower of noble chrushrie, Renowmed knight, and all the Greeks glorie, To tell us now, I pray (good fir) begin, How ye both twaine did thofe greas borfes win.

For unwilling men are to heare those who praise themselves or recount their owne worthy acts, is there be not one or other of the company that is urgent with them so to do, or unlesse they be in maner forced unto it; and therefore they are glad, when they be asked concerning the ambassages wherein they have been e imploied; of their acts during the time of their government of State, especially, if they have performed some great and honourable service therein; and withall, perceive that it is not for envie nor malice, that such demands be made: for otherwise, such as be envious or malicious, weepe at those reports, and be ready to put them by, not willing to give place unto any narrations, nor to minister occasion or matter of talke, that may turne to the honorand commendation of him that delivereth the same. Moreover, this is another meanes to gratifie those who are to answere; namely, to move question of such things as they wor well to cough, that their enemies and ill-willers are loth to heare. And verily, uly see faid to Aleinous in this wise:

Aminde you have, to heare me tell my wofull miferie; Thas I might fill figh, groane and waile for my hard de limie.

Even to Oedipus in Sophocles answered thus to the company of the Chorus:

Awoeit is (my friend) toraife and wake
A griefe that long hath flept and reft dath take.

But contrariwise, Europides wrote after this fort:

How sweet is no one for to remember

The paine now past, which sometime he dia suffer! True it is, but not to those who still wander, and (being to sed in troublesome seas) do yet meet with new misfortunes and calamities. But to return eagaine to our former purpose; we ought to beware how wee demand ill newes: for men are grieved at the heart, to make report either how they have bene cast & condemned in any fute, or that that they have buried their children, asalfo, how infortunate they have bene in their traffique either by fea or land : contrariwife, they are well pleased to rehearse and repeat often times (if they be asked the question) how they have had good audience given them from the publike place of making orations, and obteined whatfoever they there demanded; how they have beene faluted and honourably entreated by 40 fomeking and potentate; and how, when other paffengers and travellers with them, have beene plunged into dangers of tempest or theeves, they onely escaped the perill: and for that in the bare relation, they feeme (as it were) to enjoy the thing it felfe, they can not be fatisfied with the discourse and remembrance thereof. Also men rejoice and take delight, when they be asked as touching their friends, who are fortunate and doe prosper in the world, or of their owner children that profit well in learning and good literature, or have fped well in pleading causes, or otherwise are of credit in the court and with princes: semblably, they be very well content and pleased, to be moved for to relate, and so are more willing to make report of the loffes or shamefull difgraces of their enemies and ill-willers, whom either they have overthrowen at the barre and caused to be condemned, or who otherwise are fallen into any disastrous calamity; for of 50 themselves, loth they are, unlesse they be required thereto, to recount such things, lest they might be reputed malicious, and glad to heare of other mens harmes. A hunter loveth very well, to have speech and question mooved unto him as touching hounds 3 so doth a champion, and one that delighteth in bodily exercises, to be trained to talke of gymnasticall pastimes and feats of activitie, like as an amorous lover, of fuch persons as be faire and beautifull; a devout and religious man discourfeth ordinarily of dreames and visions that hee feeth, and what good fuccesse he hath had inhis affaires, by observing the direction of oracles, the presages of auguric and offes, by doing facrifice, and generally, by the grace and especiall favour of the gods: and fuch be well pleafed for to be asked questions as concerning these matters. As for old folke, you shall do them a high pleasure, if you put them to it, for to make any discourse what soever; for although the narration concerne them nothing at all, nor be to any purpose, yet if one aske them questions, he tickleth them in the right veine, and scratcheth them (as they say) where it itcheth. This appeareth by these verses out of Homer:

O Nettor, fonne of Neleus,
tell me in veritie,
How Agamemnon, elder fonne
of Arcus, did die?
Where was his yoonger brother then,
for Menclaus hight?
Lives he or no, in Achwa,
at Argoseitie bright?

Here you fee Telemachus asketh him many questions at once, giving him occasion and matter of much speech, not as some do, who restrening olde folke to answere to the point only which is necessarie, and driving them within a narrow compasse, between them of that which is their greatest pleasure. In sum, they that would rather please and delight, than displease and trouble, propose such questions, the answeres whereunto, draw with them, not the blame and reproofe, but the praise and commendation; not the harted and spight, but the amitie and good will of

the hearers. And thus much may ferve for interrogatories and demands.

As touching scoffes and merry jests, he that knoweth not how to use and handle them with dexterity, good difcretion and skill, according to time and place convenient, I would advise him altogether to forbeare them. For like as if men be in a flippery or ticklish ground, they that touch them never fo little in running by, are able to overturne and lay them along; even foat the table, when we are drinking, in danger we be upon every small occasion in the world offered (by a word not well placed, or untowardly delivered) to fall into choler; yea, and many times, more mooved we are with a fcoffe or pleasant gibe, than with a reprochfull taunt or meere flander; for that ordinarily it is seene; that a reprochfull word proceedeth from a violent fit and sudden passion of anger, even against his will that giveth it; but we take more to the heart, a mocke or fcornfull flout, as comming from a prepented malice, and a voluntary minde fet upon milchiele, without any necessitie at all enforcing thereto; and to be briefe, we are in generall more 30 offended with those that can give a drie frumpe in good sadnesse, than such as cast foorth words at randon. And this we hold for certeine, that every one of fuch frumps biteth fore, and feemeth to be an artificiall kinde of reproch devifed and thought upon of purpose before-hand: as for example, if one call another falt-fish-monger, by that word he gives him openly a plainereproch; but if he fay, we remember well, that you are woont to wipe or fnuffe your nofe upon your fleeve, he mocks him covertly, and calles him as much by craft. The like frumpe it was, that Cicero uled to one Octavius, who supposed to be an Affrican borne: for when he seemed to excuse himselfe that he heard not what Cicero spake: And that is a great woonder (quoth Cicereagaine) confidering that you have an holebored through your care. And Melanthim being 40 floured and made a mocking stocke by a comedie maker: You have (quoth he) given me a reward that I never deserved, and paid me that which you owed me not : such gibes therefore and mocks as these, doe pricke worse, and much like to arrowes with barded heads, sticke longer by them who are thus flouted; and for their wittinesse more delight those who are present, than for any other pleasure else, seeme to winne credit unto him that useth them. For to speake a truth, a fcoffe or mocke is nothing else but a covert and diffimuled reproch for some fault, according to Theophrastus: so as he that standeth by and heareth it, can make construction thereof, and ghesse how to adde more unto it, as knowing and beleeving all the rest behinde to be true. For no doubt he that laugheth heartily as if he were tickled, when he heareth the answer of Theoritus to one, who being named for a common stripper of men out of their garments, as they went 50 late in the streets , asked him if he went foorth to supper? Yes mary doe I (quoth hee) but I meane to lie there all night: fuch an one (I fay) feemeth to confirme the opinion of the foreaid crime, for which the partie was suspected; insomuch as hee that mocketh and scoffeth impertinently and without grace, possesses the standers by and hearers with malice, as if they infulted over the partie mocked, and were abbetters themselves, as being glad that hee is thus derided or reproched. But in that noble citie Lacedamon, among other good disciplines in times past there taught, men learned also to jest at others without biting, and not to count them-

felves nipped, when themselves were jested with : and if peradventure a man shewed himselse discontented with some broad jest, and could not be are it well, the other partie presently gave over and was quiet. How then can it chuse but be an hard matter, to finde that kinde of scoffe or taunt which may content and pleafe the party mocked? confidering that it is a point of no final arte, nor meane experience and dexteritie to bee able for to discerne and judge, what it is that in the feat of mockerie which is not offensive. Howbeit to open a little the meanes thereto: First and formost it seemeth, that as these jestes touch and sting them most who know themselves to be guilty of those vices for which they be mocked: so the same frumps if they note men for fuch faults of which they be most cleere, must needs in some fort be pleasant and acceptato ble unto them upon whom they be discharged. Thus Xenophon jesting pleasantly with that foule and ilfavoured fellow above all others, all hairy, and as rough as a beare; faid: He was the minion and love of Sambaulas. You may call to minde also Quintus a good friend of ours, who when he lay ficke in bedde, complained that his hands were cold: But you brought them warm enough not long fince (quoth Aufidius Modestus,) when you returned out of the province: which quippe being banded upon him, an honest and upright prætor, ministred occasion of mirth, contentment, and laughter; the same if it had light upon a proconfull that had used extortion or oppression, would have beene a girding and nipping reproch. This is the reason that when Socrates chalenged Critobulus the fairest young man then living, to compare their beauties, jested merrily with him, but scorned and derided him not. And Alcabiades himselse 20 was pleafantly disposed with Socrates, when he said: That jealous he was of faire Agathon. And even kings and great princes verily otherwhiles joy and take pleasure when they be spoken of, as if they were poore or private persons; like as one of these pleasants or parasiticall jesters, when king Philip feemed to gird and scoffe at him, returned upon him againe this word: What fir, know you not who I am, do not I keepe & mainteine you? For in reproching such persons with vices and defects, as which are not in them, they doe after an oblique manner give them to understand, and doe make knowen the vertues and perfections which they have. But heere wee must take heed and be fure in any wife, that such good parts they be indued withall indeed, and without all doubt; otherwise that which is spoken to the contrary, buzzeth in their heads, and breedeth a doubtfull suspicion in themselves: for hee that faith unto a rich and great monied 30 man, that he will be his broker, and helpe him to fome uturers of whom he may take up mony at interest; or unto a sober person, who drinketh nothing but water, that he is a drunkard, or hath taken his wine too liberally; or he that calleth a liberall man, well knowen to fpend magnificently, and ready to pleafure all men, a base mechanicall kumbix, and a pinching peni-father; or he who threatneth a famous advocate or counsellor at the barre, who hath a great name for lawe and eloquence in all courts of plea, and befides for policie and government is in high authoritie, that he will bring him to a non-fute, or overthrow him judicially, he (I fay) ministreth matter of good spirit and laughter unto the partie whom he seemeth so to chalenge or menace. Aster this manner king Cyrus became very lovely and gracious, by his fingular courtefie, in that he would feeme to provoke his familiars for to performe those feats, wherein he knew himselfe 40 inferior to them: and when Ismenias the famous musician plaid one day upon his flute, during the time of facrifice, but so, as for all his mulicke there appeared no good prognosticks and lignes, in the beaft facrificed, testifying that the gods were propice and well pleased; another mercenary minstrell, taking the instruments in his hand, kept a foolish and ridiculous tooting, full untowardly; and when all the company there in place reprooved him for it: To found an instrument (quoth he) to the contenument of the gods, is an heavenly gift: whereat Ismenias laughed a good, and made this answer: You take the matter amisse (quoth he) and cleane contrary, for whiles I plaied, the gods tooke fo great pleasure in my musicke, that they intended it onely, & had no while to accept of the facrifice; but when thou begannest to meddle with the Pipes, they received it immediately, and made hafte to be ridde and delivered of thy abfurd pi-50 ping. Moreover, they who call fuch things as bee fimply good, by odious and opprobrious names, and that in mirth, if they doe the fame with a good grace; please more than those who directly praise the same; like as they doe nippe and bite more shrewdly, who give reproches under faire and lovely tearmes, as for example: fuch as call wicked persons, Aristides, or base cowards, Achilles: after the manner of Oedipus in Sophocles, when he faid:

Creon who had beene alwater kind
And even at first her faithfull friend.

Another kinde there seemes to be of ironicall praise, opposite unto the former; namely, when Kkk 3 semblant

femblant is made of blame and reproofe: which maner of praile, Socrates often used; as for exexample, when he called the industrious meanes that Antisthenes practised to reconcile men and make them friends, as also to gaine good will and favour, broakage, bauds-craft, entifement and allurement: as alfo, for that the philosopher Crates, had a good grace with him wheresover he went, and because he was ever welcome, honourably received, and kindly enterteined into what house soever he came, he was commonly named Thyrepanaeles, as one would say; The doore-opener. Furthermore, that mockerie is pleafing, which goeth in maner of a complaint, and yet carrieth with it a kinde of gratitude and thankefulnesse. Thus Diogenes speaking of his master and teacher Antisthenes,

Who clad me in a cloake thred bare, Andmademeragged clothes to weare; Who forced me to beg my food,

And houselesse for to walke abroad. For nothing fo good a grace it would have had, in case he had used these words: He who made me wife, contented, and happy. Also a certeine Laconian, who making a shew, that he blamed the warden of the publicke froughes and halles of exercises, for giving him wood so drie, that it would not fo much as smoake, said thus of him: Heere is one, by whose meanes we can not be fuffered to shed at eare. Semblably, if a man should call him who kept a bountifull table, and feasted him every day, a tyrant and taker of men perforce, saying withall, that he would not suffer him to cat his meales at home, nor to fee fo much as once his owne table in fo many yeeres 20 space: like as if one should complaine of the king, for making him, of a poore man, rich and wealthy, in these tearmes: That he had laied wait for him to doe him a shrewd turne, in taking from him his repose and leasure, and bereaving him of his sleepe and natural rest: or as is some man having gathered plenty of good wine, turning againe upon the gods Cabeiri in Aeschlus. should accuse them, for that they had caused him to have scant of vineger in his house, as they themselves in bourd and mirth had menaced to doe. For these kinds of covert, secret and dissimuled praifes, enter farther, carrying with them a greater grace and more effectuall by farre, in fuch fort, as they who in this wife perceive themselves to be commended, are nothing offended

thereat, nor take it in ill part.

Over and befides, it behooveth him who would give a frumpe or fcoffe with a grace and dex- 30 teritie, to know also the difference of a desect and impersection, from studies and recreations whereto men are given: as namely, to diffing uith betweene avarice or a contentious humour, and the love of mulicke or of hunting: for as men cannot abide to be twit by those, so they are very well contented to be scoffed at for these; as Demosthenes the Mitylenæan plaied in this kinde pleasantly upon a time: for when he went to visit a familiar friend of his, who loved muficke passing well, and was much addicted to play upon the harpe; after that he had knocked at the doore, and the other hearing that it was he, willed him to come in : But first (quoth he) I would have you tie up your harpe. But the parasiticall bassau of king Lysunachus, contratiwise rejoined in this fort as rudely and uncivilly; for when the king had throwen a counterfeit fcorpion made of wood, upon his coat, whereat he first started and was afraied; but when he percei-40 ved once that the king was merrily disposed, and did but make sport, came upon him againe: And I will fright you, fir king, aswell (quoth he;) come on, and give me a talent from you. The like regard ought to be had, and the same difference made, as touching the defects or imperfections of the bodie, at least-wife in many of them: for if men be jested at, for that they be longnosed and hawked, or otherwise have short sout-noses, they will but laugh thereat. Thus one of the minions of Cassander, was nothing offended with Theophrastus, when he said: I woonder at your eies, that they fall not a finging, and make good musicke, confidering your nose is set and hidden within them: meaning, that he had a note fo flat and funke n. whis head. And Cyrus feeing one with a long nose and hawked withall, willed him to marrie a wife with a short and slat noie: For then (quoth he) you would match well, and make a good medly betweene you. But 50 in case we jest and make game at those whose nostrils stincke, or who have a strong and unsavory breath, they take it not well at our hands, but are displeased. On the other side, if they be plaied upon for their bald pates, they can abide it well enough, and put it up; but fay a man mocke them for having but one cie or being blinde, they will not endure it. In deedking Antigonus would jest pleasantle with himselfe for the losse of one cie; as namely, when there was prefented unto him a supplication written in great capitall letters: Why (quoth he) a man may see this, if hee were starke blinde, and had never an eie in his head: but Theorrism of Chies his prisoner, he

put to death, for that, when one to comfort him, came and faid: That if the kings eies once had afight of him, he should be pardoned, and save his life: Why then (quoth he) God have mercie upon me; for impossible it is for me to escape death; which he faid, because king Antigonus had but one eie. Lee the Bizantine, when Pasades objected unto him his bleered eies, saying: Mine eies before with looking upon yours: Goe to (quoth he) you twit and reproch me, for a bodily infirmity that I have, and never looke your felfeupon a fonne of your owne, who carrieth the vengeance of God upon his shoulders : now this Passades had a sonne, who was crumpt shouldred and bunch backed. Likewise Archippus, who in his time bare a great sway in Athens, as being one of the oratours who led the people, and ruled the State, was very angry with Melan-10 thiss, who alluding to his bunch backe, and scotling thereat, used these tearnes! That he did not fland manfully upright in the defence of the citic, but *flouped and bended forward, as if he had fuffered it likewife to leane, reele, and finckedownward. And yet somethere be, who can carrie these broad jests patienty, and with good moderation; as one of the minions of king Antigo. mu, who having craved of him a talent infree gift, and feeing that he was denied it, required at the kings hands, that he would allow him a good ftrong guard to accompanie him: For feare (quoth he) that I be forlaied by the way, and rifled by him, who enjoined me to carrie a talent of filver at my backe. See, how men are diverily affected in these externall things, by reason of theinequallitie of their maimes, forme after one fort, and fome after another. Eparminondas fitting at a feast with his companions and colleagues in government, dranke wine as sharpe as 20 vineger, and when they asked him why he did to, and whether it made for his health? I know notifiat (quoth he) but well I worthis, that good it is to put mee in minde of my home diet. And therefore in casting out of jests and pleasant aunts, regard would be had of mens natures and dispositions, for that some have broader backs to beare scoffes than others: and endevour we must, so to converse with men both in bourd and in earnest, that wee offend no person, but be acceptable unto all.

As for love, a paffion very divers it is, and paffing variable, as in all other things, so in jefts and gibes especially: for that some will take offence and be soone angry, others will be merrie and laugh it out, if they be touched in that point; and therefore above all things the opportunitie of the time would be well observed : for like as when a fire is newly kindled and but weake 30 at the first, the winde will put it quite out, but when it hath gotten strength and burneth foorth, it mainteineth, feedeth, and augmenteth the flame; even fo love, when it is a breeding, and whiles it lieth secret, and sheweth not it selfe, quickly taketh displeasure and offence against those that discover it; but when it is once broken foorth, and is made apparent and knowen to all, then nourished it is, and taketh delight to be blowen (as it were) and enflamed more with scoffes and merry jestes: and that which pleaseth lovers best is this, when they be jested with, in theprefence of those whom they love, and namely in love matters, otherwise not; and if the case stand so, that they be woonderfully enamoured upon their owne wedded wives, or yoong laddes by the way of honest and vertuous love, then they joy exceedingly, they glory and take apride, in being fcoffed at for the love of them. Heerenpon Arcefilam being upon a time in 40 his schoole; when one of these professed lovers and amorous persons, chaunced in communication, to give him these words: Me thinks this that you have said toucheth none of this companie; replied thus and faid: No more than you are touched and mooved; and with all, shewed

him a faire and well favoured youth in the prime of his yeeres fitting by him. Furthermore, good regard and confideration would be had, who they be that are prefent and in place, for otherwhiles, men are disposed to take up a laughter at merry words which they heare among friends and familiars, who would not take it well; but be offended thereat, if the fame were delivered before wife, father, or schoole-master, unlesse it were some thing that agreed very well with their humour: as for example, if one should mocke a companion of his before a philosopher, for going bare sooted, or fitting up at his booke all night long, studying and 50 writing; or in the presence of his father for being thriftie, and spending little; or in the hearing

of his owne wife, that he cannot skill of courting and loving other dames, but is altogether devoted and serviceable unto her alone : thus Tigranes in Xenophon, was mocked by Cyrus, in these tearnes: What and if your wife, thould heare say that you made a page of your selfe, and catted your bedding and other stuffe upon your owne necke? She shall not (quoth he) heare it, but be an eie witneffe thereof, and fee it in het presence. Furthermore, when they who give out fuch merrie taunts as these, be partakers therein, and in some fort doe include themselves withall; leffe blame-woorthy they are, and nothing fo much to be reproved; as for example: when

a poore man glaunceth against povertie, or a new upstart and gentleman of the first head, against meane parentage, or an amorous person girdeth at the wantonnesse of another lovers for it may feeme thereby, that there was no meaning and intent to offend or offer wrong, but that all was merrily spoken, seeing they partcipate in the like defects, for otherwise it might nippe very much, and go too neere to the quicke. Thus one of the affranchifed or freed men of the emperour, growen up on a fudden to be exceeding rich, bare himselfe very proud, and difdainfull to certeine philosophers, who fat at the table and supped together with him, insulting very infolently over them, and in the end comming out with this foolish question: How it came to passe that the broth or pottage made of beanes, whether they were blacke or white. looked greene alike? Aridices one of the philosophers there in place, asked him prefently a. 10 gaine, what the reason was, that the wales or marks of stripes and lashes, were all red indifferently, whether the whippes were made of white or blacke leather thongs? at which reply, the other was fo dashed, and disquieted, that he rose from the boord in a pelting chase, and would not taric. But Amphias of Taris (supposed to be no better than a gardiners sonne) having by way of fcorn fcoffed at one of the familiar friends of the lord deputie there, for his meane birth, taking himselfe immediately with the maner: But why say I sorfor we (quoth he) are come of no better feeds; made the party and all the company to laugh heartily. Semblably, there was a minstrell or professed musician, who kindly and with a very good grace, repressed the presumptuous curiofitie and unskilfulnesse of king Philip, who forgat himselfe so much, that hee would needs reade a lecture as it were unto the faid minstrell, how he should finger and strike; finding 20 fault with him in certeine accords of mulicke: Ah, God forbid, (quoth he) my good leege lotd that it should go so heard with your grace, as to be more skilful in this art than my selfe; for thus whiles he seemed to mocke himselfe, he told the king of his fault without offence : and this seemeth to be a device that comicall poets otherwhiles practife, to allay the bitter gall of their quips & taunts, namely, to scoffe at themselves, as Aristophanes used to make sport with his own bald pate: and Cratinus noted himselfe, that he loved wine so well, in that comedie which he intituled Pyrine, that is to fay, a bottle or flagon of wine: but above all, this regard and confideration would be had, that all such scoffes and merrie jestes, come from a man ex tempore, and readily, either by way of answer to a present demaund, or occasioned upon some other sudden scoffe, and in no wise to seeme farre fetcht, as a thing premeditate & studied on before: for 30 like as men beare and endure with more patience, the anger and debates among themselves, arifing now and then at the table, whiles they be in the middes of their cups; but if another strang ger thould come in place, and offer abuse to any of the guests, and so trouble the company, hee should be reputed an enemie, and for very hatred they would thrust him out of the dores by head & shoulders; even so, we can find in our harts, easily to pardon a scoffe, a frump, or broad jest, if it proceed from some matter, at the present deliverie, or seeme to comenaturally, unforced, and without all art; but in case it be not occasioned presently, nor respective to the purpose, but drawen (as one would say) violently by the haire of the head from elswhere; then it refembleth some ambush fore-laied afarre off, for to wrong and do injurie to one person or other; like to that jeft of Timagenes, which he discharged upon the husband of a woman, who 40 was wont ordinarily to cast up her gorge, in this maner:

Of Sympoliaques

With musicke bad you doe begin, Thus * vomiting to bring her in.

As also the demand proposed unto the philosopher Athenodorus, whether the love of parents to their children, be * muficall. For furely, fuch unfeafonable cuts and taunts as thefe, not accommodate to time and place, nor fitted to the present occasion, doe bewray a malicious you, that hath minde, and a deliberate purpose, to offer wrong and abuse: and therfore such persons as delight in these biting girds, many times for a word, which is the lightest thing in the world, as Plate faith, have paied a most heavie and grievous price; whereas contrariwise, they that know how to place their words in due time, in meet place, and aprly to the purpose, do verifie the testimo- 50 nic of the same Plato, who faith: That it is an affured signe of a mans good bringing up, and the point of liberall nurture and instruction, to know how to jest with a decent grace, and without the offence of any person.

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This equivocation in Greeke, carrieth that grace with it, which I can not fo aptly expresse in English. * promit. fome reade quantit. that is to fay, naturall. However it be, you must understand it of wanton love, which is neither naturall nor harmonicall. For this Athenedorus was noted for incest with one of his daughters.

THE SECOND QUESTION.

Why men be more hungrie, and eat better in Autumne, than in any other quarter of the yeere?

N the borough Elenjine, after the ceremonies of facred mysteries were performed, who as the folemnitie (celebrated with fo frequent concourse of people) was at the highest, we were seafled by Glaucias the oratour in his house, where when others had made an end of supper, Xenoeles his brother, began after his maner, to cavill and fcoffe at my brother Lamprias, twitting him 10 with his large feeding, and indeed hitting in his teeth and reproching him with the voracitie of the Bootians, who are taken to be good trencher-men : whereupon I (in the defence of my brother, and to be revenged of Xenoeles) tooke occasion out of the doctrine of Epicurus, and faid unto him: What (good fir) all men do not define and determine the utmost point and perfection of pleasure, to be indolence or the privation of paine, as your good master Epicurus doth: and befides, my brother Lamprias, who honoureth and effecmeth more the walking galleries of the Peripateticks, and the schoole of the Stoicks, called Lyeeum, than he doth the garden of Epicurus, must of necessitie and in effect, beare witnesse to Aristotle, who affirmeth: That there is no man, but he eateth more in Autumne, than in any other feafon of the yeere : and a reason he giveth thereof, although it be now out of my head. So much the better (quoth Glaucias) for 20 weour selves will see if we can finde it out after supper is done. Now when the tables were taken away, Glaucias and Xenocles both, imputed the cause thereof to the fundry fruits of that scason, and that after a divers fort. For one faid, that new fruits do make the bellie foluble, and fo by evacuation of the bodie, engender alwaies fresh appetites to meat. The other, to wit Xenoeles, affirmed, that thefe fruits (for the most part) carrie with them a certeine piercing and mordicant quallitie, yet pleasant with all, whereby they provoke and quicken the stomacke to appetite, more than any viands or fauces whatfoever; infomuch as those who be fickly, and have lost their stomacks, recover the fame many times, by eating fome of those fruits new gathered. But Lamprias alledged, that our familiar and naturall heat, by which we are nourifhed in Summer time, is dispersed, and becommeth more feeble and resolved : but contrariwise, upon the entrance of Au-30 tumne, it gathereth it selfe together inwardly againe, and is fortified by the meanes of the colde ambient aire, which knitteth, conftreineth, and closeth up the pores of the bodie. Then I (because it should not be thought that I would be one to participate in this conference without contributing somewhat of mine owne, when my course came to speake) declared, that in Summer time, by reason of the excessive heat of the weather, we are more thirstie, and in regard of the same heat and drought, take in more moisture and liquid nourishment: Now therefore, nature (quoth I) by reason of the change of the aire and the season, seeking (as her maner is) for the contrary, caufeth us to be more hungry in Autumne, than at other times, and for the temperature of the bodie, tendereth unto it as much driefood, as it had taken moisture in Summer time: and yet a man can not well fay, that the cause of this effect dependent nothing at all of 40 the viands which we eat, confitting much of new and fresh fruits, not onely thicke gruels and pottage, but also of pullet wheat-bread, and flesh, reared the same yeere, which being more savory than those of the yeeres past, do by consequence provoke those that use to feed upon them, for to eat better.

THE THIRD QUESTION.

Whether was before, The hen or the egge?

His long time I absteined from eating egges, by reason of a certeine dreame which I had, 50 L being desirous to make that experience in an egge, which is made in an heart, by occasion of a vision which hath evidently appeared unto me many times in my sleepe. And heereupon, when I was one day at a feaft which Sofius Senecio made unto us, the companie conceived an opinion or suspition of me, that there were entred into my head, the fantasses and superstitions of Orpheus & Pythagoras, and that I abhorred to cat an egge, like as many do forbeare the heart and the braine of a living creature; for that I beleeved it to be the principle and fountaine of generation: infomuch as Alexander the Epicurean, by way of a jeft, and to move laughter, alledged these verses:

* Hai Nusσαν εισάζων. which foundeth all one with rlad รับหัวนา ยาวน์reade according to the former, it lignifieth muficke : after the later, it betokeneth

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(count all one, to make of * beanes, our meat, As if the heads of parents we dideat.

As who would fay, that the Epicureans by this word word work that is to fay, beanes, meant ame. matically and covertly, egges, because that the breeding of young, or conception, in Greeke, is called zones, as if there were no difference at all, but they thought it all one to eat egges and the living creatures which lay them. Now if I had alledged my dreame unto them, for my defence, as the very cause of mine abstinence, certes, mine answere would have seemed more absurd and ridiculous, than the dreame it felfe, especially, to this Epicurean: and therefore I flood not greatly upon excusing my selfe unto the said Alexander, playing upon me so merrily, but fuffered him to feed and mainteine that opinion conceived of me : for furely, a pleafant man he was, honest, civill, and well learned. Howbeit, he tooke occasion heereupon, to set on foot 10 that doubtfull question of the egge and the bird, which had busied and amuzed the heads so much of great naturallists, and searchers into the causes of natural works, and namely to know. whether of the twaine was before? Whereat Sylla our familiar friend faid: That with this little question of the henne and the egge, as with a small lever; screw, or such like engine, we shaked the great frame and weightie fabricke of the generation of the whole world, and therefore willed him to furcease and proceed no farther, to speake thereof. But when Alexander laughed at it, and made no more reckoning of it, than of a ridiculous question of no importance, nor confequence at all depending thereof; my fonne in law Firmus began in this wife: I must beere borrow (quoth he) the indivilible elements of Epicurus, and make use of those motes or attomi of his; for it is betrue which he suppose than daieth for a ground: That small principles should 10 affoord beginning to great bodies; it foundeth by all likelihood to great reason, that the egge was before the henne: for as farre foorth as by our fenfes we are able to judge, it is more fimple, whereas the henne is a body mixt and compounded; and to speake in generalitie, the principle or element is ever first: the seed is a principle, and the egge full of seed, and lesse, than the chicke or living creature that is hatched of it : for like as the progresse and proceeding unto vertue is of a middle nature, betweene the first disposition and the finall habit and perfection thereof; even fo it should feeme, that the egge is a certeine processe and advancement forward of nature, tending to make a living creature of the feed disposed thereto: moreover, as in a beast or such a living creature it is commonly faid and received, that the atteries and veines bee formed first, and it is a specific fair blable, good reason there is to hold, that the egge was before the bird, as the continent 300 miles to hold, that the egge was before the bird, as the continent 300 miles to hold. before the thing conteined within: for foit is with very arts, which make the first draught of their works grolly without forme & fashion; but afterwards give distinct figure and shape to every part thereof, according to that which Polyeletus the famous imager was woont to faie: That their workemanship in potterie was then most difficult and hard, when the claie and the finger naile mette together: that is to fay, when the worke was at the point to be finished: and therefore it flandeth well to good reason, that the matter yeelding and obeying but flowly unto nature at the beginning, when the mooveth and frameth by little and little, produceth at the first, rude lumpes and masses, not as yet brought into shape and fashion, such as egges be; but as the fame grow to receive the impression of some forme, there is afterwards wrought out and framed a living creature within: for like as there is engendred first a grub, which in time grow-40 ing hard by reason of drinesse, cleaveth and openeth in the end, and putteth soorth another litthe winged flie, which we call Nympha, before it is a perfect bee; after the fame manner, the egge heere is the first sublistent matter of generation; for necessarie it is, that in every change and transfirmutation, that must precede and have a being first, which is to be altered and turned into another: see you not how cankers or catterpillers are bred in trees, and wormes in wood, either by the putrefaction, or concoction of humiditie? and will any man deny that the faid moithure went before; and that by order of nature, that which ingendreth is more auncient than that which is ingendred? for as Plate faith: The matter in all things that breed, serveth in stead of mother & nource; and that is to be counted the matter, whereof the thing is composed, & con- 50 tifferh which is bred. And now for that which remaineth (quoth he, and therewith he laughed) I will fing unto those that be skilfull and of understanding, one holy and sacred sentence, taken out of the deepe fecrets of Orpheus, which not onely importeth thus much, that the egge was before the henne, but also attributeth and adjudgeth unto it, the right of eldership and prioriry of all things in the world: as for the rest, let them remaine unspoken of in silence (as Herodotracfaith) for that they be exceeding divine and mysticall; this onely will I speake by the way: That the world conteining as it doeth, so many forts and fundry kinds of living creatures, there

is not in manner one I dare well fay, exempt from being ingendred of an egge, for the egge bringeth foorth birds and foules that flie; fifthes an infinit number that fwimme; land creatures, as lizards; fuch as live both on land & water, as crocodiles; those that be two footed, as the bird; such as are footlesse, as the erepent; and last of all, them which have many feet, as the unwinged locult. Not without great reason therefore is it confectated to the facted ceremonies and mysteries of Bacehus, as representing that nature which produceth and comprehendeth in it selse all things.

When Firmus had discoursed in this wife, Senecis opposed himselfe and said: That the last finilitude and comparison which he brought, was that, which first and principally made against 10 him: For you marke not ô Firmus (quoth he) how ere you were aware, you opened the world like a gate, as the proverbe faith, even upon your felfe; for that the world was before all other things, as being most perfect, and reason would, that whatsoever is perfect, should precede the unperfect; the entier and found goe before that which is wanting and defectious; and the whole before the part, for that there can be no parcell, but the whole thereof went before : for no man useth to speake thus: The feeds man, or the egges henne; but corrariwise we say: The mans feed, and the hennes egge, as if both generative feed and egge did fucceed and follow them, taking their owne generation in them first, and afterwards paying againe (as it were a debt unto nature) a successive generation from them: for need they have of that which is proper and familiar unto them, and thereupon are endued with a naturall defire and inclination, to produce fuch ano-20 ther thing as that was from whence they came: and heereupon it is, that feed is thus defined, to be ageniture or thing bred, having need and defire of new generation. Now there is nothing that either standeth in need or hath an appetite to that which is not, or hath no being: and wee may plainly fee, that egges have their totall effence and fubstance, from that compact knot and composition which is gathered within the body of a living creature, and faileth heerein onely, that it hath not fuch organes, instruments, and vessels as they have; which is the reason that you shall never finde written in any historie, that an egge was ingendred immediately of the earth; for even the poets themselves doe say: That the egge out of which sprang Castor and Pollax, fell from heaven; whereas the earth even at this day produceth many complet and perfect creatures; as for example, mice in Aegypt, and in many other places, ferpents, frogges, and 30 grash oppers, by reason that the principle and puissance generative, is infused and inserted into it from without. In Sieille during the time of the Servile warre, much carnage there was, and agreat quantitie of bloud shedde and spilt upon the earth, many dead bodies corrupted and putrified above ground, lying unburied; by occasion whereof, an infinit number of locusts were engendred, which being ipred over the face of the whole island, spoiled and destroiced all the come in the countrey: all these creatures therefore are bred and fedde of the earth; and of their nourishment they yeeld a generall superfluitie, apt to ingender the same kind, and that is called, feed; and for to be discharged thereof, by meanes of a certeine mutuall pleasure, the male and the female match and couple together; and so some according to their nature, breed and lay egges; others bring foorth young ones alive; whereby it is evidently feene, that the primitive 40 generation came first and immediatly from the earth, but afterwards, by a certeine conjunction of one with another, in a fecond fort, they breed their yoong. In fumme, to fay that the egge was before the hen, is as much as if the matrice were before the woman; for looke what relation there is betweene the faid matrice and the egge, the femblable hath the egge unto the chicken that is ingendered and hatched within it. So that , to demand how birds were made when there were egges, is all one, as to aske how men and women were created, before the naturall parts and genetall members of the one sex and the other were made? And verily the members for the most part, have their subsistence and being together with the whole; but the powers and faculties come after those members; the functions succeed the faculties, and consequently, the effects or complements follow upon the faid functions and operation: now the accomplished 50 workeor perfection of that generative facultie in the naturall parts, is the feed or the egge: fo that we must of necessitie confesse, that they be, after the generation of the whole. Consider moreover, that, as it is not possible that there should be concoction of meats or any nourishment, before the living creature be fully made and compleat, no more can there be any feed or egge; for that both the one and the other, is made by certeine concoctions and alterations: neither is it seene, how before the full perfection of a living creature, there should be anything that hath the nature of the superfluity or excrement of nutrition; and yet I must needs say, that naturall feed otherwise, in some fort, may go for the principle and beginning of life; whereas the

egge in no proportion answereth to such a principle, for that it hath not a sublistence first, nor any reason or nature of the whole, because it is imperfect. And hereupon it is, that we never fay, that a living creaure had any being or subsistence, without an elementarie beginning : but we affirme, that there was a principle of generation, to wit, the power or facultie generative, by which the matter was transmuted, and wherein there was imprinted a generall temperature; and that the eggeafterwards, is as it were a certein supergeneration, much like unto the bloud & milke of a living creature, after nourishment & concoction: for never shall you see an egge engendred of mud; for that an egge hath the generation and concretion within the bodie onely of a living creature; whereas there be an innumerable fort of creatures procreated & bred of mud and within mud. And to seeke no further for allegation of other examples to prove this, there 10 be taken every day an infinit number of celes, and yet never faw any man one cele, either milter or fpawner, or that had any row in it. And more than that, if one let out all the water forth out of the poole, and cleanse it from all mud and mire, yet after the water is returned thither agains into the place, there will be celes soone engendred. And therefore we may conclude necessarily, that whatfoever in generation hath need of another, can not chuse but be after it; and that which otherwise may be of it selfe, and without the other, must of necessitie precede and goebefore in generation: for this is that prioritie whereof I speake. To prove this, marke how birds do build and make their nests before they lay egges; women also provide cradles, clouts, beds, and swadling-clothes for their little babes, before they crie out, or be delivered; and yet you will not fay (I trow) that either the neft was before the egge, or the fwadling cloths before the infant, 20 For (as Flato faith) the earth doth not imitate a woman, but a woman the earth; and confequently, all other females. And very like it is, that the first procreation out of the earth, was performed entire, and accomplished by the absolute vertue and perfection of the Creatour, without need of fuch inftruments, veffels, or fecondines, which nature devifeth now, and frameth in parents, by reason of their imbecillity and weaknesse.

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

Whether wrestling were of all the exercises and games of prise, most ancient or no?

E made a feaft in the honour of Soficles the Coronean, for joy of the victorie which hee obteined at the Pythicke games, over all other poets. And when the time drew neere at hand, wherein the Gymnicke mafferies and feats of activity, were to be performed; the greatest talke was at table, as touching the wrestlers; for that many of them resorted thither, and those the most renowmed champions of all Greece. In our company was Ly smaches, one of the agents or procuratours of the high commissioners, called Amphictyones, who moved speech, and said, how not long before, he heard a Grammarian fay: That wreftling was the most ancient combat of all those exercises that were named Gymnicke, for that they were performed by men naked's and he added moreover: That the very name thereof in Greeke, imported no leffe; for min, alludeth neere unto mixas, which is as much as [of olde] or [in times past.] And it may seeme 40 (quoth he) that ordinarily, the things that be moderne and newly devised, borrow the names imposed upon those that be of more antiquity: for so we say that aun or, that is to say, the fluit or hauthoics, is turned, bortowing the tearme of round, which is a platterie or stringed instrument: and we call even at this day, i. the playing upon the pipe or hautboics, by the name of Resultant, that is to fay, striking with the fingers, which no doubt is a tearme fetched from the harpe or lute. And even fo, the very place where they do exercise, who performe all feats of activitie naked, is named πάλαις εσ, of πάλη, that is to fay, wreftling; which (no doubt) was a denomination given to it at the first, and time out of mind, howsoever it be reteined still, and extendeth to other exercises invented fince, & taken up long after. Then began I, and said: That this argument and testimonie, was not sufficient to conclude thereupon : For admit (quoth I) that Pale- 50 fra was derived of man, which fignifieth wrestling, yet it was not because of all others it was most ancient, but for that it is the only exercise that requiretheley, called mino, dust also and ceroma, which is a composition of oile and waxe, wherewith wrestlers be anointed. For surely, in these places, called Palastra, there is practifed neither running arace, nor fift-fight or combat with buffets, but only wreftling, called min, and Paneration, wherein they go to it with hand and foot, yea, and by the very teeth and all: for that in these two exercises, the champions lie along other-whiles, and wallow in the dust and mire, named mix . And evident it is, that Paneration

is a mixt exercise of wrestling and fist-fight. Againe: What likelihood or reason is there (quoth I) that wreftling, which of all combats is most wittie and artificiall, should likewise be of greatest antiquitie? for need and necessitie produceth that first, which is simple, plaine, and without arte; performed rather by fine force and maine violence, than by rule and method. When I had thus delivered my conceit, Sosieles seconding my words: True it is (quoth he) that you say, and the better to confirme your opinion; it seemeth unto me, that min is derived of the veibe madden, that is to fay, to overthrow or lay one along by craft and deceit. Nay rather (quoth Philinus) it tooke the name of munasms, that is to fay, the flat palme of the hand, because this part especially of both the hands is most emploied by them that wrestle; like as those, who 10 go to buffets, use their two fifts or hands clutched together; whereupon, that maner of fight is called moyen, that fignifieth, a fift; and the other, min of minus, that is to fay, the broad palme of the hand. Howbeit, for a finuch as the poets use this verbe maximum, for out minute and reserve, that is, to strew and sprinckle dust, which we see wrestlers for to practise more than any other champions, it may be very well, that the word make, was derived from maked Confider yet moreover (quoth he) how the curriers or runners in a race, do all that lies in them, to leave their concurrents a great way behind, and be as farre before them as possibly they can; those also that fight at buffets, though other-whiles they be very defirous to buckle and close together, yet the wardens and judges of the games will not permit them once to catchhold: but we see that wrestlers onely doe claspeabout, and imbrace one another with their armes; and the most part of their striving one against another, whether it be performed by taking hold either directly or indirectly, by tripping, by coping and tugging, doe all bring them together, and enterlace them: fo that it is not unlike, that by reason they approach so as they do, and be necrest one to another, their wrestling was first called min, of mass. which fignificth neere at hand.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

What is thereason that Homer among the combats of prize, sesteth alwaies in the first places. The fight at bustess; in the second, wrestling; and last of all, running the race?

30 VV Hen these words had passed to and fro, and after that wee had commended Philinus, Lysimachus began againe, saying: And which of all the games of prize should a man fay was first performed? The race or carriere, as at the Olympique solemnities for heere at the Pythique games, the manner is to bring in certeine champions at every feverall game or plaie: first boies to wrestle, and after them, men-wrestlers also; then those that performe fist-fight, one after another; and likewife the champions called Paneratiasta: but there, after that children have atchieved all their combats, the men growen were called in: Mary, this I would have you to confider well (quoth he) whether Homer hath not done very expresly, to show the order which was observed in histime? for alwaies in his poemes the fight with fift among all the Gymnick combats, standeth first; wrestling second; and the running of a course last: Heere-40 at Crates the Theffalian, woondring (as if he had beene amazed) O Hercules (quoth he) what a number of things are we ignorant of! but I befeech you, that if you have readily under your hand any of his verfes, you would not thinke much to call them to our remembrance, and recite them: Why (quoth Timen then) it is well knowen in manner to all the world, and none there is but his eares refound againe with this; that in the honorable funerals of Patroclus, the fame order of combats was precifely observed; and the poetkeeping the same order still, and never milling it, hath brought in Achilles speaking unto good Neftor in this manner:

Heere father old, I give to thee, This gift of meere gratuitee: For now with fift thoumailt not fight: To wre file fill thou hast no might: Thou canst no more the javelin launce,

Nor in the race thy (elfe advaunce:

And anon he inferrest the aged grey-beard, answering with along traine of words, as the maner is of these old folke, after this fort:

The time was when at buffet fight, the prize I wonne in field,

LII

And

And with my fift made Clitomede fir Oenops sonne, to yeeld: Ancæus the Pleuronien in wrestling gave me place, And Iphiclus by soot-manship, soverranneinrace.

Afterwards in another place he speaketh of uliffes, challenging the Phæocians to combat in this wise:

At buffets dry with good hard clutched fift,
At wrefiling, or at running if you lift.
But of Alcinous making a kinde of excule, and in fort condemning himselfe, in these words: 10
At buffets hard we fight not well,
Neyet in wrefiling doe excell:

But swift of foot, and light we are, Andrunne a course with you we dare.

Thus you may fee his order, he changeth not upon any occasion or occurrence presented. neither rathly, and as it came into his head, now in one fort, and then in another; but following from point to point, as it were by a certeine rule and prescript, what was the use in those daies, and what was done then; he keepeth himfelfe to the fame method', according as they likewife observe still in the said auncient order. Afterthatmy brother had finished his speech, I said: 20 That in mine advice he had spoken very well and truely to the point; but yet for all that, I could not conceive the reason of the said order: and some otherwere there present, who thoughtit unlikely, and were not perswaded, that in case of combat and atchieving seats of activitie for victorie, either fighting with fifts, or wrestling, should goe before running: and therfore they requested me to search farther into the matter, and to setch the reason thereof from the verie original: whereupon I fet in hand presently and extempore, spake to this effect: That I thought all these combats to be the very representations and exercises of warfare; for proofe whereof, the custome was and is at this day, after that these combats be performed, to bring into the place a foot-man in complet harneis, and armed at all pieces, as it were to witnesse, that this is the end whereunto tendall these exercises of the body, the contentions also and æmulations, 30 for to gaine the prize, and the priviledge graunted unto the victours when they returned with triumph to those cities where they were borne; namely, to make some breach in the walles, and to throw downe some part thereof: the mystery and meaning whereof is thus much; that the walles of a citie ferve in small stead, if there be no men in it who are able to fight, and know how to winne the victorie. In Lacedamon they that once had gained the prize at these sacred and crowned games; by a speciall priviledge of honour, were allowed a certeine place in the battell, to be raunged neere unto the kings person, and there to fight: and of all living creatures, there is none but the horse onely that can obteine the crowne in such games; for that he alone of all beafts, is by nature framed, and by discipline trained to accompany men in battels, and with them to fight: now if this be true, and to the purpose: We observe moreover (quoth I) 40 that the first and principall worke of those who fight in the field, is to strike the enemie, and to ward his blowes; the second is, when they be come to close and to grapple with hand gripes, to thrust and assay how to overturne and lay one another under-foot: which by report was the vauntage, that our countrimen being well practifed in the feat of wreftling, had over the Spartans, at the battel of Leuttres, whereby they overthrew them, & bare them to the ground this alfo was the caufethat Aefehylus the poet in one place, speaking of a valiant warrior, nameth him:

A wrestler stout, and tried in field,
To fight it out with sword and shield.
And Sophoeles in one of his tragedies speaking likewise of the Trojanes, reporteth thus much of them in these tearmes:

50

They love great horfes for to sit, as valians men at armes; Bowes borned as both ends they bend, and draw with strength of armes; They fight so close, they catch such hold, and gripe fust with bands twaine, That in their wrestling, all their shields resound and ring againe.

The third is this, when all is done; either to flie and runne away apace, if they be vanquifued, or elfe to follow hard in chafe, if they be conquerors. By good right therefore, the fight with fifts goeth first; wrestling followeth in the second place; and tunning commeth in the last; for that buffetting represented the charging of the enemie, and the avoiding of his recharge; wrestling may be compared with the violent buckling and conslict pel-mell in the medly; and by running, they learne how to pursue, or to escape by good footmanship.

THE SIXTH QUESTION.

Why the pine, sapine, or pitch tree, and such other as yeclar ofm, will not abide to be graffed in the seatchion, or by way of inoculation.

Solarus feasting us upon a time within his orchards, which were well watered, and environed all about with the river Cephifus, the wed unto us trees carying armes and braunches of fundry forts, after a very strange manner, and all by the meanes of a kinde of graffing in the budde, called inoculation: for there faw wee olive boughes growing out of lentiske or mastick trees; pomgranats out of myrtles; oakes there were which put foorth faire pirries or peare-trees; and 20 plane trees that admitted and adopted apple trees; figge-trees also which were grafted with mulbery impes and cions; other mixtures there were belides of wilde plants, fo ramed and made gentle, that they bare frute: whereupon some other of the guests began to jest and be merry with Soclarus, faying: That he nourithed certeine kinds of beafts, more monstrous than the fabulous Sphinges or Chimæraes of the poets. But Craton proposed this question: What the cause might be, that those trees onely which be oileous and full of rosin, admit not any such mixtures and compositions? For never shall you see pine tree that beareth the nuts, cypres tree, pitch tree or fapine, to mainteine or feede the graffe of a tree different in kinde. Then Philo, there is (quoth he) one maxime or principle held among the learned, and the fame confirmed by the experience of husbandmen: That oile is an enemie to all plants; and there is not a readier way 20 to kill what tree foever a man will, than to rubbe or befmeare it with oile; like as bees also by that meanes are foone destroied: fo it is therefore, that all those trees which have beene named, are of a fattie fubstance, and have a fost and uncteous nature, infomuch as there distilleth and droppeth from them pitch and rofin; and if a man make a gash or incision in any of them, they yeeld from within, a certeine bloudie liquor or gumme, yea, and there iffueth from the tortch flaves made of them, an oileous humour, which shineth againe, because they are so fattie & unguinous: This is the reason why they will not joine and be concorporate with other trees, nomore than oile it felfe be mingled with other liquors. When Philo had done with his speech, Crato added thus much moreover: That in his opinion, the nature of their rinde or barke, made fomewhat for the faid matter; for the fame being thinne and drie withall, yeeldeth neither a 40 fure feat & focket as it were to the impes or buds (which there dies) to reft in, nor meanes to get sappe and nutriment for to incorporate them; like as all those plants which have barks verice tender, moift, and foft, whereby the graffes may be clasped, united, and foddered with those parts that be under the faid barke. Then Sociarus himselfe faid: That who soever made these reafons, was in the right, and not deceived in his opinion; to thinke it necessarie, that the thing which is to receive another nature, should be pliable; and easie to follow every way; to the end, that suffring it selfe to be tamed and over-come, it might become of like nature, and turne the owne proper nutriment, into that which is fet and graffed in it. Thus you fee, how before wee fow or plant, we care and turne the earth, making it gentle, foft, and supple, that being in this manner wrought to our hand, and made tractable, it may be more willing to apply it selfe, for 50 to embrace in her bosome whatsoever is either sowen or planted; for contrariwise, a ground which is rough, stubborne, and tough, hardly will admit alteration: these trees therefore confifting of a light kinde of wood, because they are unapt to be changed and overcome, will admit no concorporation with others: And moreover (quoth hee) evident it is, that the stocke in respect of that which is fet and graffed into it, ought to have the nature of a ground which is tilled; now it is well knowen, that the earth must be of a female constitution, apt to conceive and beare; which is the cause that we make choise of those trees for our stocks to graffe upon, which are most frutefull; like as we chuse good milch women that have plenty of milke in their brests. Lll 2

brefts, to be nurfes for other children befides their owne, who we put unto them: but we fee plainly, that the cypreffe tree, the fapin, and all fuch like, be either barren altogether, or elfe beare very little frute: and like as men and women both who are exceeding corpulent, groffe and fatte, are for the most part unable either to get or beare children; for spending all their nourishment as they doe in feeding the body, they convert no superfluitie thereof into genetall feed; even so, these trees employing all the substance of their nouriture to fatten as it were themselves, grow indeed to be very thicke and great; but either they beare no frue at all; or if they doe, the same is very small, and long ere it come to maturize and perfection: no marvell therefore that a stranger will not breede or grow there, whereas the owne naturall issue thriveth but badly.

THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

Of the stay ship fish, Echeneis.

Heremonianus the Trallien, upon a time when divers and fundry small fishes of all forts were fet before us, shewed unto us one with a long head, and the same sharpe pointed. and told us that it refembled very much the stay-ship fish, called thereupon in Greeke Echeneis. and he reported moreover, that he had seene the faid fish, as he sailed upon the Sicilian sea, and marvelled not a little at the natural force and propertie that it had, fo fensiblie in some fort to 20 flay and hinder the course of a shippe under faile, untill such time as the marriner who had the government of the prow or foredecke, espied it sticking close to the outside of the ship. upon the relation of this strange occurrent, some there were in place at that time, who laughed at Cheremonianus; for that this tale and fiction, devised for the nonce to make folkemetry, and which was incredible, went currant with him, and was taken for good paiment: againe, others there were, who spake very much in the defence of the hidden properties, and secret antipathies or contrarieties in nature. There you should have heard many other strange passions and accidents; to wit, that an elephant being enraged and starke mad, becommeth appealed immediatly, upon the fight of a ram; also, that if a man hold a branch or twig of abeech tree close unto a viper, and touch her therewith never fo little, the will prefently stay and stirre no farther; likewife, 30 that a wilde bull, how wood and furious foever he be, will fland gently and be quiet, in case he be tied to a fig-tree; semblably, that amber doth remoove and draw unto it all things that be drie and light withall, fave onely the herbe bafill, and whatfoever is before ered with oile; Item, that the Magnet or Lode stone, will no more draw iron, when it is rubbed over with garlicke: the proofe and experience of which effects, is well known, but the causes thereof difficult, if not impossible to be found out. But I for my part, faid: That this was rather a shift and evasion, to avoid a direct answere unto the question propounded, than the allegation of a true cause pertinent thereto: for we daily fee that there be many events and accidents concurring, reputed for causes, and yet be none; as for example, if one thould say or believe, that the blowming of the within called Chaft-tree, caufeth grapes to ripen, because there is a common word in every 40 mans mouth.

> Loe how the chaft-trees now do flower, And grapes wax ripe even at one hower.

or that by reason of the sungous matter seene to gather about the candle-shuffes or lamp-weeks, the aire is troubled, and the skie overcast; or that the hooking inwardly of the nailes upon the singers, is the cause, and not an accident, of the ulcer of the lungs or some noble part within, which breedeth a consumption. Like as therefore, every one of these particulars alledged, is a consequent of divers accidents, proceeding all from the same causes; even so I am of this mind (quoth I) that one and the same cause, staieth the shippe, and draweth the little slish Echeneis to sticke unto the side thereof; for so long as the ship is drie, or not overcharged with moissure 50 stoking into it, it stands with great reason, that the keele glideth more smoothly away, by reason of the lightnesse that swith great reason, that the keele glideth more smoothly away, by reason of the lightnesse that swith great reason, that the keele glideth more smoothly away, by reason of the lightnesse that it is cleane and void of filth; but after once (by being long drenched and soaked in the water, it hath gotten about the keele a deale of mosse; reits, kilpe, and tangle, wherewith it is overgrowen and furred; then the wood of the said keele or bottome, becommeth more dull, and not able to cut the waves so easily; and the water beating upon the mosse and slighth there engendred, resten there still, and passen not so easily away. The mariners therefore,

therefore, feeing this, ufeto cleanfe the fides of the fhip, and to forape off this moffe, reits, and fuch like baggage, from the planks and ribbes thereof, unto which it is like that the faid fith willingly cleaveth, as being a matter foft and tender: fo that we may very well thinke, that by reafon of it, as the principall cause the ship is staied, and that it is not a consequent or accessorie of that which causeth the slownesse thereof.

THE EIGHTH QUESTION.

What is the cause that the horses named Lycospades, be more couragious, and fuller of slomacke, than others?

Ome are of opinion, that these horses Lycospades tooke their denomination of certeine Srough and hard bits, called in Greeke, Augot, by meanes whereof, being fo ftomakefull otherwife, and hard to be ruled, they were woont to be tamed and restrained : but my father, who was notaman fo prompt and ready of speech as others be, and given to speake rashly and without advilement, howbeit, one who had not the least skill in horfemanship, and loved alwaies to keepe the best horses that might be come by, said : That those horses (which being but colts) were fet upon and affaulted by wolves, and yet were refcued, escaped the danger of them, proved good mettall, and swift of pace; and there upon were named Lycospades. And for that many 20 approoved this reason of his, and gave testimonie with him that he spake a trueth, occasion was ministred thereby, to search into the cause thereof; and namely, how and by what reason such anaccident as this might make horses more generous and better spirited; and verily, the most part of the company there present, were of opinion, that the said occurrent bred cowardise in horses, rather than stomacke and generolitie; and so, by reason that they became timorous thereby, and apr to be frighted upon every occasion, therefore their motions were more quicke and lively; like as other wild beatts also, when they chance to be entangled within net and toile: but I my felfe inferred, and faid: That it would be well and thorowly confidered, whether it were not cleane contrary to that which appeared at the first fight, and which they opined; for colts become not more swift and sleet of foot for avoiding the perill of being worried and devoured by wolves that fet upon them, but rather, if they had not bene nimble and full of courage before, 30 naturally, they could never have gotten away cleere, as they did, from the wolfe; no more than uly fes proved a wife man, because he avoided the danger of that giant Cyclops Polyphemus; but for that he was by nature prudent and wife, he found meanes to fave himfelfe.

THE NINTH QUESTION.

What is the easyle that the flesh of those sheepe which have beene wolse-bitsen, is tenderer, but their wooll more subject to breed lice and vermin, than others?

40 \ Ponthe former discourse of horses, inferred there was a speech also, concerning sheepe that had bene bitten by the wolfe; for that it is a received opinion, that this biting of theirs maketh their flesh more delicate in the eating, but their wooll apt to ingender lice. As for the reason that my sonne in law Parrolles yeelded, as touching the sweetnesse of their stell, it seemedto be true; for thus he argued: That this beaft by meanes of his biting, caused the flesh to eat more short and tender, for that his breath is so ardent and sierie hot, that it is able to resolve and digest within his stomacke, the hardest bones that be; which is the reason (quoth he) that such fleih as the wolfe hath bitten, is fooner mortified, and doth puttific more quickly than others: mary, for the wooll we were not fo well refolved, as supposing that the same did not breed lice, but rather draw them forth, and let them out to be feene, by a certeine incifive or absterfive fa-50 cultie that it hath; as also through the hearthereof, whereby it openeth the porcs of the skinne; which propertie is infused into the wooll of a sheepe, by meanes of the tooth and breath of the wolfe, which altereth not onely the fleth, but even the very wooll and shag-haire of the beast which he hath worried and killed. And this reason is confirmed by experience and example; for it is well known into usall, that hunters, butchers, and cooks, formetimes with one blow knocke downe their beafts, and lay them along foone dead and breathleffe in a moment; others againe, hardly and with much ado are able to kill them, after many a stroake; and that which yet is more woonderfull than fo, fome of them infuse together with the axe or knife of iron, wherewith the beaft is flaine, fuch a qualitie that the fame putrifieth presently, and will not last sweet one day to an end: others againe, though they be not longer about the killing of a beaft than the other, yet the flesh of beasts so slaine, doth not so soone corrupt, but continueth sound and fweet a good while after. And that true it is, that the varietie & alteration occasioned by the fundry forts of death, and killing of beafts, passeth and extendeth as farre as to their very skin, their haire, nailes, houses and clees; Homer himselfe doth testifie, who of their hides and skinnes is wont thus expresly to write:

The hide it was of flurdy ox, Sticked with knife, or brain' d by knocks.

For the skinne of those beasts which die not for age, nor of long maladie, but are killed violent- 10 ly, is more firme, fast, and tough: and true it is, that of those tame-living creatures, which have beene bitten by wilde beafts, the houses, clees, and nailes turne blacke, the haire sheadeth, and the skinnes become riveled, foone teare and fall a pieces.

THE TENTH QUESTION.

Whether our auncestors did better, who when they were as supper, fedde every man by himselfe and knew his owne part, than we in these daies who eat our victuals all together, and feed in common?

Hat yeere wherein I was head magistrate in my countrey, and bare that provotship whereof the yeere tooke name, most of the suppers were private repalts of sacrifices. where every man had his part and portion fet out; where with fome were woonderfully well pleafed; but others blamed the manner thereof, as uncivill, unfociable, and illiberall, faying: That fo foone as the garland or coronet of the beaft facrificed was taken off his head, and laid down. we ought to reduce our tables to the auncient order and old accultomed fashion againe: For it is not I suppose (quoth Agias) for to eat and drinke simply, that we invite one another, but for to eat and drinke together for companie and good-fellowship; whereas this parting and division of flesh and other viands into portions, doth abolish all communication & societie, making indeed many feverall fuppers, and many men to fit at fupper apart, but not one fupping with 30 another, or fellow-guest in one messe; when every man takes as it were from the butchers stall his own joint of meat, or a piece of flesh by just waight, or at a certeine fize, & so fets his part before him. For is not all one I pray you, and what difference is there I would faine know, to allow ech one of the guests at table his owne cup by himselfe, & to fill every man his Congious or gallon of wine, yea, and to allow him his table apart from others? like as by report the linage of Demophon sometime served Orestes, and so to bid them drinke without any regard or heed of others? what diversitie (I fay) is in this, and the manner of these our daies; namely, to set before every man his lofe of bread, and piece of flesh, for to feed by himselfe, as it were at his owne manger? Surely all the oddes is, that we have no commaundement to keepe filence and fay never a word when we are at our meat, as those had who interteined and seasted Orestes, and verilie 40 even this haply ought to provoke and bring us that are met, to the communion & participation of althings at a feaft or banquet; namely: that we talke there one to another; that we be partakers together of one fong of a minstrell wenches musicke delighting us all, and one as well as another, with her playing upon a pfalterie or pipe, & finging thereto. Moreover, that standing cup of amitie and good-felowship, which is set in the very middes of the company, for to drinke out of it, one to another, and that without any limitation or restreint to certeine bounds, standeth as it were a fource and lively fountaine of love and good will, and hath no other stint and measure, but the thirst and disposition of every one, to drinke at his pleasure: not like to this most unjust distribution of bread and sless to every one, which masketh it selfe with a falle colour of equality among those who are unequall; for even that, as even and equall as it seemeth 50 and in manner all one, is too much for him that needs but a little, and too little for him, who hath need of much. Like as therefore (my good friend) he is a ridiculous and foolish leech, who to many and fundrie patients, ficke of diverse and different diseases, exhibiteth and giveth medicines just of one weight, and exactly of the same measure; even so were the matter of a feast woorthy to be laughed at, who having invited to his table fundry persons who are not hungry or thirsty alike, would enterteine and serve them all indifferently after one order, meafuring the equalitie of his distribution, by proportion arithmeticall and not geometricall. True

it is (I confesse) that we go or send al of us to the taverne for to buy our wine, by one & the same measure just, which is allowed and set downe by the publicke State; but to the table, every man brings his owne stomacke, the which is filled not with an equall quantitie of meat or drinke, to all others , but with that which sufficeth ech one. As touching those * banquets that Hamer diams foeaketh of, wherein every man had his part cut out; to what purpose should we bring them hither from military discipline, and the custome of a campe, to the manner and fashion of these daies? but more reason it is that we resolve and propose unto our selves, for to imitate heerein the humanity & courtefie of those in old time, who highly honored, not only those who lodged ordinarily, and made their abode with them under one roufe, but also such as drunke of the same 10 cuppe, eat of the fame meat, and fedde out of one dish with them, infomuch as they enterteined and reverenced their focietie in all things. Away therefore (I pray you) with those thore meales and flender pittances of Homer; which in my conceit are somewhat too scant and pinching, and as a man would fay, over hungry and thirstie; as having kings and princes for the mafters and makers of them, who be more sparing of their purses, and looking more neerely to their expences, than those good hoasts and keepers of ordinaries in Italy; as who being in armes and arranged in batell raie, and ready to joine in conflict with the enemie, could remember precifely, how many times ech one of their guests who dined or supped with them, tooke the cuppe and dranke. Yet commend me to those banquets and feasts which Pindarus writeth of, for furely they are much better; in which, as he faith:

Full oft a prince, and per son honorable, Among them all fat at some stately table.

For why? fuch teafts had the communication of all things together: and verily this was the felowship and knot indeed of true friends, whereas the other was a distraction and separation of persons, who made semblance to be the greatest friends, and yet could not agree and communicate together, fo much as in the feeding of one dish of meat. Agias had good audience given him, and was well commended for the reasons which he alledged; and then we set one of the company to come upon him in this manner, faying: That Agias thought it very strange and was offended that he should have an equall portion which others allowed him, carying as he did before him fuch a grand-paunch; and in truth, a great eater he was, and given exceeding 30 much to belly cheere: For a common * fish (as Democritus was wont to say) hath no bone. And * That is to yet this is that (quoth I) which especially and above all induceth us to the use of these portions, say, if a 6th and not without good reason, considering that we acknowledge fatall necessitie by the name of common, it μοίου: for according as the old lady Jocasta said in Euripides:

That which uniteth cities and great States,

And knits in league confederates. is nothing els but equalitie: and nothing in the world hath so much need thereof, as the societie than his seland communion at the table; which is grounded upon nature, and law of necessitie, nothing so bones lying much; the ulage whereof, is not newly taken up, nor drawen in, as needful, by opinion of others, upon his trenbut right necessarie in it selfe. For at an ordinary or common repast, where solke feed together 40 of one dish; if one cat more than his fellowes, certes, he that can not plie his teeth so fait, and commeth short of him, doth maligne and repine at him for it; like as that galley which maketh way, and skuddeth before others, is spighted by those that come dragging behinde. For mee thinks it is not an aufpicate beginning of a feast, nor agreeable to amitte and good fellowship, to fnatch or lurch one from another, to have many hands in a dish at once, to croffe one another with the elbow, and to be with hand or ame in his fellowes way, firiving a vie who should bemore nimble with his fingers, but furely, all these fashions are absurd, unseemely, and (as I may fay) dog-like, ending many times in fnarling, jarring, bitter taunts, revilings, and cholericke brawles, not onely of the guests one with another, but also against those that furnished the boord, and the mafters of the scall, But so long as these wise factives, unless and Adgeors, that is to 50 fay, portion and partition, had the ordering of suppers, dinners and great feasts, dispensing and fetting out an equalitie for to mainteine the societie there, a man should never see any illiterall or mechanicall diforder: for in those daies, suppers were called Adiren guests at the table, Philippin ves; the carvers ferving at the table, dweet; for that they divided, cut our, and gave to evertelone their due portions. And verily, the Lacedemonians had among them certeine distributers of flesh, whom they called x sworting, and those were no meane men of the vulgar fort, but principall persons of the State, infomuch as Lyfander himselfe was by king Agefilan ordeined and created Kpsadding in Afia, that is to fay, an officer for the distribution of stell-meat in the campe

how much one hath ca-

there. But downe went these distributions and divisions, when superstuities and costly cates crept into fealts, and were ferved up to the table; for they could not then (as I suppose) so handformely cut into even portions, their pie-meats, passies, tarts, marchpaines, and such devices of pastrie; they might not so well divide ther flawnes, custards, egge-pies, florentines, and daintie puddings, going under the name of cardona and cappacion, ne yet their blamangers, jellies, chawdres and a number of exquisit fauces, and delicate junkets of all forts, sent up and brought to the board: but being overcome with the pleasure of such lickorous viands, they tooke to them, an abandoning of all equal distribution of parts and portion. A good argument and sufficient proofe hereof, a man may gather by that which we see yet at this day; namely, that the seasts at facrifices, and some publike banquets, are made after the antique maner, and served up by even to portions, to shew the simplicity and pure feeding that was in olde time: fo that I suppose, whofoever would bring up againe that distribution, should withall revive the ancient frugaline, But some man haply, will say: That where private proprietie is in place, publicke communitie is turned out of doores. True indeed, in case that propriety reteine not equalitie: for it is not the possession of a mans owne, and of a thing in proper; but the usurping of another mans right, or the covetous encroching upon the common, that hath brought injustice, debate and trouble into the world; which enormities, the lawes do represse, by the bounds, limits and meafure of that which a man holdeth as proper & his owne, and thereupon they be called in Greeke, rous, of the power and authoritic which they have to part equally unto every one, that which was common among all. For otherwise, if you admit not this distribution, you have no more rea- 20 fon to allow that the mafter of the feast should deale among his guests, to every one his coronet or chaplet of flowers, nor his owne place to fit at the boord. Nay, if any one peradventure, bring with him his thee-friend and fweet-heart, or a minstrell wench to play and fing, they multbe common to him and his friends, that all our goods may be huddled pell-mell, and made in, that is to fay, one, according as Anaxageras would have all. But if it be fo, that the challenge in proprietie of this or that, is no trouble nor hinderance of focietie and communion, confidering, that other matters of principall regard and greatest importance, are allowed for to be common, (I meane conference in talke, courtefies and kindnesses of drinking one to another, and mutuall invitings) let us furcease and give over, thus to despise, discredit and condemne this laudable maner of portions, and the lotterie in partage, which (as Euripides faith) is the daughter of 30 *Fortune, which giveth not the prerogative and preeminence, either to riches, or credit and no-Ages, that is, bilitie; but going (as it happeneth) aswell one way as another, cheereth up the heart of a poore the fould to and abject person, and depriveth no fort and condition whatsoever, of libertie; but by acquainthers or you, and adject person, and depertorment there or you, that is filence, ting the great, wealthy and mighty person with an equalitie, so as he repine not and grudge thereat, reclaimeth him unto temperance and moderation.



THE THIRD BOOKE OF SYMPOSIAQUES OR BANQUET-QUESTIONS.

The Contents, or Chapters thereof.

of Hether it be commendable to weare chapless of flowers upon the head, at a table. of the Ivie, whether it be hot or sold by nature. What the reason is a bat women be hardly made drunke, but old men very soone; Whether women by their naturall constitution and complexion; be hotter or colder than men.

5 Whether wine of the owne nature and operation be colde. 6 Of the meet time and season to company with a woman.

7 What

What is the cause that Must or new wine, doth not easily overturne the braine, or make one drunke. How it commeths o paffe, that those who be thorow drunke indeed, are leffe troubled in the brane. than such as are but in the way unto it, and as it were halfe drunke.

9 What is the meaning of this old proverbe: Drinke five or three, but never foure. 10 Why flesh-meats corrupt and putrific sooner in the moone shine, than in the sunne.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF Symposiaques or banquet-questions.

The Preamble or Proeme.



Imonides the poet, ô Sosius Senecio, seeing upon a time a stranger at the table, fitting still, and faying never a word, when others were merrie, and dranke liberally, faid unto him: My friend, if you be a foole, you doe wifely; but if you be a wife man, you do as foolithly: for it is a great deale better for a man (as Heraelinus was woont to fay) to hide his own folly and ignorance, than to discover the same; and that iwis is a very hard matter to doe; when we are fet upon a merrie pinne, and drinking wine luffily: for as the poet Homer faid very well:

Wine makes a man, were he both wife and grave, One while to fing, and other whiles to rave: To sport, to play, and laugh full wantonly To leave, to dannee, and foot it deintily: Words to let fall, and secrets to reveale Which better were to hold in and conceale.

In which verses, the poet if I be not deceived, doth covertly and by the way imply a difference 30 between eliberall drinking of wine, or being formewhat cup shotten, and drunkennesse indeed: for to fing, to laugh, and to daunce, be ordinarie matters, incident to those who have taken their liquor well, and be heat with wine, but to prate like a foole, and * blurt out that, which bet - * draw d Gaze ter had beene kept in, be the effects and acts of fuch as have powred in too much, and be starke as a fuch drunken; and herefore Plate faid: That the affections and conditions of the vulgar fort of men, har feet Cir. bediscovered farre better in drinking than otherwise. And when Homer faith:

They had not yet by wine and words,

Knowen one another at their bords. it is evident that he wist well enough of what power and force wine was; namely, to engender to reade and multiply many words: for furely, we come not to the knowledge of men and their maners, 40 by eating and drinking, in case they cat and drinke and say nothing. but for that drinke induceth and draweth on folke to speake much and much speech derecteth and layeth open many things, which otherwife would have lien hidden; therefore by good confequence, drinking together giveth a great light and knowledge one of another: and therefore weemay by good right reproove Acfope in this wife: What meane you good fir, to feeke for those windowes, through which one man might looke into another, and fee into his neighbours heart? for wine ferteth the dores wide enough open unto us, and bewraieth what we have within; not fuffering us to be still and silent, but taking from us the maske and vifour of all diffimulation, and shewing what we are in our colours, as if we flood in no feare at all of law, but were a great way out of the fight of our tutors and schoole-masters that kept us in awe. Wine then is enough for Ae-50 Sose, for Plato, and for all those who learch after meanes to discover the secrets of mens hearts: but fuch as defire not in this wife to trie and fift one another; but rather be willing to converse together with mirth and recreation, these men (I faie) are wont to propose questions, and enterreine such discourses when they meet; whereby the ill parts and impersections of the soule, if they have any, may be concealed and hidden; but the best gitts thereof, and that which savoureth most of civilitie and erudition, may appeare and gather more strength, as being conducted and trained by the guidance of learning and good literature, to the faire meddowes and pleasant pastures wherein the taketh delight to walke and feed; in which regard, I have for your

take compiled this third Decade of banquet-questions and table discourses; whereof the first concerneth chaplets of flowers:

THE FIRST QUESTION.

Whether it be commendable to we are upon the head, flower-garlands at the table.

Here was a folemne feaft or banquet one day at Athens, which Eraton the profession in musicke made, having facrificed before unto the muses: and to this feast he invited many: among that faire company, certaine questions were mooved, and much good talke passed to as touching chaplets of flowers: for by occasion that after supper was done, many such coronets of all forts went about, and were dealt round among the guests; Ammonius beganne to fcoffe and laughatus; who in stead of laurell chaplets, did fet upon our heads rose-garlands: For that (quoth hee) these chaplets of flowers be girlish gaudes, and more meet indeed for plaifull maidens and yoong women, than the affemblies of philosophers and learned men: And I woonder much at this Eraton, that reprooving and detesting as he doth the flower-works. (as it were in long and mulicke, and blaming faire Agathon; who by report first brought up the Chromaticke musicke; and when he set out the tragadie of the Mysians, inserted it within other plaine musicke) should himselse as you see, heape upon us at this feast a number of wreathes, garlands, and chaplets of flowers, filling the whole place with sweet smels and plea- 20 fant favours; and when he shutteth up the dore of our eares, against the delights and pleasures of mulicke; should in the meane while set open the windowes of our eies and nosethrils, giving entrance thus another way unto them, for to pierce unto the foule, making a coronet and garland to ferve for pleasure and loosenesse; which should be a matter of religion and devotion: and yet I must needs say, that these oiles and persumes yeeld a sweeter savour, and more exquifit pleafant odour, than these chaplets of flowers, that fade and wither in the hands of the garland makers: howbeit, for all that, they are allowed no place in banquets and affemblies of philosophers; being an idle pleasure, not accompanied with any profit whatsoever, nor arising from any fource of naturall necessitie or appetite: for like as those who come as shadowes to a feaft, being brought thither by fome friends, who are themselves bidden guelts, according to 30 the ordinarie cultome of courtefie, finde themselves no lesse welcome and well intreated than the reft, as Arifodemus was, whom Socrates brought with him to a feast, which Agathon made; but if one goe of himfelfe prefumptuoufly, not invited nor brought thither by a friend; he is wel woorthy to have the dore that upon him; even to the pleasures of eating and drinking, which necessitie hath invited, and doe accompanie the natural appetite, are admitted and have place among wifemen: but as for others which come before they bee bidden or fent for, and presse to get in without any reason, onely upon a disordinate lust, are to be kept out and ex-

At these words of Ammonius, certeine young men who were not as yet acquainted with his fashions, being difmaied and abashed; began gently, and without more a doe to plucke off 40 and pull in funder their coronets. But I (who knew well inough that he mooved this talke onely by way of exercise, and because hee would draw us on to debate the matter) addressed my speech unto Tryphon the physician in this wife: Of all loves Tryphon, be so good as lay downe as wel as we, this goodly chaplet which you have upon your head, fo fragrant & flagrant, both of most beautifull red roses; or else declare presently as you are woont to do emany times among us, the profit and commodity that this flower garland doth conferre unto our drinking of wine fo freely. But here Eraton interpoling himselfe: How is it ordeined (quoth he) that we receive no pleasure free, but it bringeth alwaies one falarie or other with it; & ever as we folace our selves and be meric, we are displeased and discontented, in case wee enjoy not our delights with some hire or reward to cheere the fame: as for fweet finels or costly oiles, and compound perfumes,50 there is some reason peradventure why we should be somewhat ashamed of them; as also for the rich purple colours we may be abashed, in regard of the affected curiositie and superfluous expence thereof; which we are to reject, as being odours deceitfull, and fraudulent robes and colours; as fometime faid that barbarous Scythian: but colours and odours fuch as be naturall, are simple, pure, and sincere, not differing in that respect from the fruits of trees which nature bringeth foorth. Were it not then meere folly to gather the juice and liquor of fuch fruits, and in the meane time reject and condemne the fairer colours and sweet savours, that the

featons of the yeere do yeeld, onely for the delightfome afpect and pleasure that floweth (as it were) out of them, if they affoord not otherwise some vertue and propertie which is good and profitable? It feemeth rather yet, that we should do the contrary; namely, if it be true as you philosophers say, that nature doth nothing in vaine and for no purpose, that the hatherented and produced thefe things, for the pleasure onely of man, as serving to no other purpose, but onely for to cheere up our spirits, and content our outward senses. Marke this moreover and besides, how unto trees and plants that prosper and grow, nature hath given leaves, to save and defend their fruits; as also that under their covere, themselves (one while warmed and another while cooled and refreshed) might be able the better to endure the injuries of the aire, and to change of seasons. As for flowers, they yeeld no commoditie at all, by their tarrying upon the plant, unleffe it be this, that we have delight in smelling, and pleasure in beholding them for a time, in that there exhale and breathe from them, woonderfull fweet favors; and they discover unto us an infinit fort of tinctures and colours, by no art of man imitable. And therefore, when westrip trees of their leaves, they seeme displeased and grieved thereat; they seele (as it were) the smart and paine of a wound; and there is left (by that meanes) a hurt and fore like an ulcer; and being thus despoiled of their naturall beauty and heart, they are ill-favoured to see to, and deformed: fo that we ought not onely (as Empedocles faith)

The leaves of laurel wholly to forbeare, And to abstaine her branches for to teare.

10 but also we are to spare the leaves and boughs of all other trees, and not by their deformitie to adorne our felves, robbing and spoiling them perforce and against nature; whereas, if we gather and crop their flowers, we do them no hurt nor wrong at all. For this maner of dealing with them, telembleth vintage and gathering grapes from the vine; and if they be not plucked in due time, they shed of their owne accord, all saded and withered. Like as therefore, they be barbarous people, who clad themselves with the selles and skinnes of sheepe, in stead of making cloth of their wooll, to apparell their bodies; even so me thinks, that they who twist and plait their chaplets, of leaves, rather than flowers, doe not use plants so well as they ought to doe. Thus much I thought good to deliver unto you, in defence of those that make and sell flower garlands; for Grammarian I am not, nor much read in poets, to alledge teltimonies out of their 30 poems; wherein it is to be found, that in olde time, the victors who wan the prize of the facred games, were crowned all with chaplets of flowers; howbeit, thus much I will be bold to avouch out of them: That the role-garland was peculiarly destined and appropriat to the muses; for so I remember, I have read in one place of Sappho the poetreffe, where speaking of a great rich woman, yet altogether ignorant, unlettered, and a meete stranger to the muses, she writeth thus:

All dead thou shalt intombedlie, And leave no name nor memorie: For roles none thou could ft come by, That flower on mountaine Pieric.

But now it is time to heare what testimonie Tryphon will alledge out of his physicke. Then 40 Tryphon taking in hand the matter in question : Our ancients (quoth he) in alder time, were not ignorant of all these points; neither forgat they to treat thereof, as having exceeding great use of plants in the practife of phyficke. For proofe wherof, there remaine at this day, most evident arguments; for the Tyrians offer unto Agemonides, and the Magnefians unto Chiron (who were the first that professed and practised physicke in those parts) the primices and first gatherings of those herbs and roots wherewith they were wont to cure and heale their patients; and prince Basehus, not onely for the invention of wine (a most puissant medicine, I may say to you, and a pleasant), was esteemed a sufficient physician; but also for that he taught those who were surprifed and ravished with Bacchanal furie, to crowne their heads with ivie, and brought that plant into honour and reputation by that meanes; for that it hath a propertie in nature repugnant 50 and contrary unto the qualitie of wine, repreffing and quenching the coldnesse which it hath, the predominant hear thereof, that men might take leffe harme thereby, and so with stand drunkennesse. And verily, the names of certeine plants, do plainly thew the great industrie and carefull diligence of our forefathers in this behalfe. For the walnut-tree they called in Greeke *Kania, * Of yara, for that it fendeth from it a certeine heavie and formiferous vapour, which hurteth the head of the head, or those who lie under the shade and boughs thereof, whereby it causeth them to be drowsie. The daffodillikewife, seemeth to have taken the name* N. ureiffus, because it benummeth the sinewes, * 124 2201, beand ingendreth a heaviefleepineffe or stupefaction: which is the reason that Sophoeles tearmed number-

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* ຕ່າງເບດເ. * ало та а трипики вс

μίθυ, winc.

* (લ્ફીઝા• doire.

หม่ารายอบ as the French trapflation.

it the ancient coronet of the great gods, meaning thereby the gods terrestriall. Moreover, it is faid that the herbe Rue had the denomination in Greeke Thyavor, of the vertue which it hath; by reason that with the drinesse wherewith it is endued, and the same occasioned by excessive hear. it is so astringent, that it *knitteth, bindeth and hardeneth the naturall seed of man, and is a great enemie to conception and women with childe. As for the * Amethyst, aswell the herbe as the stone of that name, they who thinke that both the one and the other is so called, because they withfland * drunkenneffe, miscount themselves, and are deceived; for in trueth, both are named fo of the colour: and as for the leafe of the herbe, it hath no fresh and lively hew, but refembleth a * wineleffe weake wine, as one may fay, that either drinketh flat and hath loft the co. lour, or els is much delaied with water. Many other plants may be alledged to this purpose, 10 whose properties and naturall vertues have imposed their names: but these examples may suffice to thew the studious industrie and great experience of our ancestours; in regard whereof, they used to weare chaplets of leaves and flowers upon their heads, whiles they fat drinking wine; for strong wine and pure of it selfe, having begun to affaile the head, and to enervate or enfeeble the whole body, by feizing upon the originall fountaine of the nerves and fenfes, to wit, the braine, doth mightily trouble and disquiet a man: for the remedie of which inconvenience, the fent and finell, breathing from flowers, ferveth marvellous well, for that the fame doth defend and fortifie as with a rampar, the castle and citadell (as it were) of the head, against the affaults and impressions of drunkennesse. For these slowers, if they be hot, gently unitop and open the porce, and in fo doing, make way and give vent for the heady wine to evaporate and 20 breathe out all fumofities; and contrariwife, if they be temperatly colde, by clofing gently the faid pores, keepe downe and drive backe the vapours steaming up into the braine. And of this vertue are the garlands of violets and roses, which by their smell and comfortable sent, represse and ftay both ache and heavinesse of head. As for the flower of * Privet, Saffron and Baccaris, that is to fay, Our Ladics gloves, or Nard Rufticke, bring them sweetly to sleepe, who have drunke freely: for these send from them a milde aire, breathing after a smooth and uniforme manner; the which doth foftly comprise and lay even, the unequall distemperatures, the troublesome acrimonies and disorderly asperities, arising in the bodies of those who have overdrunk themselves; whereupon there ensuch a calme, and thereby the strength of the headic wine is either dulled, or elfe rebated. Other forts of flowers there be, the odours whereof being spred and dispersed about the braine, purge mildly the pores and passages of the senses and their or ganes, libitiliat and discusse gently, without trouble and offence, with their moderate heat, the humors and all moist vapours, by way of rarefaction, and warme the braine comfortably, which by nature is of a cold temperature: and for this cause especially those pettie garlands or poesies of flowers which they hung in old time about their necks, they called & of the would so flowers which they hung in old time about their necks, they called & of the would so flowers which they have a sife one would faie fuffumigations, and they annointed all their brest-parts with the oiles that were expelled or extracted from them. Aleyse also testifieth as much, where hee willeth to powre sweet oile upon his head that had fuffered much paine, and upon his breft all grey; for even fo fuch odors are directed up as farre as to the braine, being drawen by the sense of smelling. So it was not because they thought that the soule, which the Greeks call Hips was seated and kept residence 40 within the heart, that they called these wreathes and garlands about their necks & darby publics, as fome would have it, for then more reason it had beene to have tearmed them Embugulus, but it was as I said before, of the exhalation or evaporation upward from the region of the breast, against which they were worne pendant: neither are weeto woonder, that the exhalations of * The Yewgh Howers should have so great force; for we finde it written in records, that the shadow of * Smilax especially when it is in the flower, killeth them that lie a sleepe under it; also from the Poppie there arifeth a certeine spirit, when the juice is drawen out of it, which they call Opium, and if they take no better heed, who draw the same, it causeth them to swoone and fall to the ground: there is an herbe called Alysson, which whosever hold in their hands, or doe but looke upon it, shall presently be ridde of the yexe or painfull hickors and they say, it is very good also for 50 sheepe and goates, to keepe them from all diseases, if the same be planted along their cores and folds: the Rose, also named in Greeke Fibr, was so called, for that it casteth from it an * odoriferous fmell, which is the reason that it quickly fadeth, and the beautie passeth soone away; cold it is in operation, although it carie the colour of fire, and nor without good cause; for that the little heat that it hath, flieth up to the superficies of it, as being driven outwardly from within, by the native coldnesse that it hath.

THE SECOND QUESTION.

Whether Ivic of the owne nature be cold or hot.

His speech of Tryphon we greatly praised : but Amonius smiling : It were not meet (quoth he) to kicke and fourne againe, nor to overthrow fo beautifull and gay a discourse as this was, embelished and adorned with as great varietie as the garlands whereof it treated, and which he undertooke to defend and mainteine: but that I cannot tell how it is come to paffe that the to Ivicisenterlaced in the chaplet of flowers, and faid by the naturall coldnesse that it is to have a vertue and propertie to extinguish and quench the forcible heat of new wine: for contrariwise, it feemeth to be hot and ardent, and the frute which it beareth being put into wine, and infufed therein, giveth it power to inebriat and make drunke, yea, and to trouble and disquiet the bodie by the inflammation that it causeth: by reason of which excessive heat, the very body thereof groweth naturall crooked, after the manner of wood that curbeth and warpeth with the fire; allo the fnow which oftentimes cotinueth and lieth many daies upon other trees, flieth in great haste from the Ivietree; or to speake more properly, is presently gone, thawed and melted, if it chance to fettle upon it, & that by reason of the heat; and that which more is, (as Theophrafin hath left in writing) Harpalus the lieutenant generall under Alexander the Great, in the 20 province of Babylon, by expresse order and direction from theking his master; endevoured and did what he might to fet in the kings or chard there, certaine trees and plants which came out of Greece, and fuch especially as yeelded a goodly shade, caried large leaves, and were by nature cold; for that the countrey about Babylon is exceeding hot and fcorched with the burning heat of the funne; but the ground would never enterteine nor abide the Ivic onely; notwithflanding that Harpalus tooke great paines, and emploied most carefull diligence about it: for plant it as often as he would, it dried and died immediatly; and why? hotte it is of the owne nature, and was planted in a mould farre hotter than it felfe, which hindered it for taking root; for this is a generall and perpetuall rule: that all excessive enormities, of any object, destroy the force and powers of the subjects in which regard, they defire rather their contraries; in such 30 fort, as that a plant of cold temperature requireth an hot place to grow in; and that which is hot demaundeth likewise a cold ground: and this is the reason, that high mountaine countries, windie, and covered with snow; beare ordinarily trees that yeeld torch-wood and pitch, as pines, cone trees, and fuch like: Andwere it not fo, my good friend Tryphon, yet this is certeine; that trees which by nature are chill and cold, shedde their leaves every yeeres for that the small hear which they have, for very penuric retireth inwardly, and leaveth the outward parts naked and deflitute: whereas contrariwife, heat and uncteous fattinesse, which appeareth in the olive, laurell and cypressettees, keepe themselves alwaies greene, and hold their leaves, like as the Ivie alfodoth for her part. And therefore good father Bacchus hath not brought into use and requell the Ivie, as a preservative and present helpe against the encounter of drunkennesse, nor 40 as an enemie to wine, who directly calleth wine with and furnameth himfelfe with under the reupon but in mine opinion; like as they who love wine, if they cannot meet with the liquor of the grape, use a counterfet wine or batley broth, called beere & ale, or els acerteine drinke made of apples, named cydres or els date-wines; even so, he that gladly would in winter season we are a chaplet of vine branches, feeing it altogether naked and bare of leaves, is glad of the Ivie that relembleth it; for the body or wood thereof is likewife writhed and crooked, and never groweth upright, but shutterfrout heere and there, to and fro at a venture; the soft fattie leaves also after the lame maner grow dispersed about the branches without all order; & besides all this, the very betties of the Ivie growing thick & cluftered together like unto greene grapes, when they begin to turne, doe represent the native forme of the vine; and yet albeit the fame yeeldeth some 50 helpe and remedie against drunkennesse; we say, it is by occasion of heat, in opening the pores and small passages in the body, for to let out the sumes of wine, and suffer them to evaporate and breathe forth, or rather by her heat helpeth to concoct and digeft it, that for your fake (good Tryphon) Bacchus may still continue a physician. Arthefewords, Tryphon stated a while, and made no answere, as thinking with himselfe, and studying how to reply upon him. But Eraton calling earnestly upon every one of us that were of the yoonger fort, iputned us forward to aide and affilt Tryphon our advocate, and the patron of our flower-chaplets, or els to plucke them 686

from our heads, and weare them no longer. And Ammonius affured us (for his part) that if any one of us would take upon him to answere, he would not recharge againe, nor come upon him with a rejoinder. Then Tryphon himselfe moved us to say somewhat to the question. Whereupon I began to speake and said : That it belonged not to me, but rather unto Tryphon, for to proove that Ivie was colde, confidering that he used it much in physicke to coole and binde, as being an astringent medicine: but as touching that which ere-while was alledged; namely, that the I vie berie doth inebriat, if it be steeped in wine; it is not found to be true; and the accident which it worketh in those who drinke it in that maner, can not well be called drunkennesse, but rather an alienation of the mind and trouble of the spirit; like to that effect which henbane worketh, & many other plants, which mightily disquiet the braine, and transport our senses and un- 10 derstanding. As for the tortuositie of the bodie and branches, it maketh nothing to the purpole and point in hand; for the works and effects against nature, can not proceed from faculties and powers naturall; and pieces of wood do twine and bend crooked, because fire (being neere unto them) draweth and drieth up forcibly, all the native and kindly humour; waere as the inward and naturall heat, would rather ferment, enterteine and augment it. But confider better upon the matter and marke rather, whether this writhed bunching forme of the Ivie wood (as it groweth) and the basenesse, bearing still downward and tending to the ground, be not an argument rather of weaknesse, and bewray the coldnesse of the bodie, being glad (as it were) to make many rests and staies; like unto a pilgrim or wayfaring traveller, who for wearinesse and faintneffe fitteth him downe and reposeth himselfe many times in his way, and ever and anon tifeth 20 againe and beginneth to fet forward: in regard of which feeblenesse, the Ivie hath always need of some prop or other to stay it selfe by, to take hold of to claspe about and to cling unto, being not able of her owne power to rife, for want of naturall heat, whose nature is to mount alost. As touching Snow, that it thaweth and paffeth away so soone, the cause is, the moisture and softneffe of the Ivie leafe; for fo wee fee that water dispatcheth and diffolveth presently, the laxitie and spongeous raritie thereof, being (as it is) nothing els but a gathering and heaping of a number of small bubbles couched & thrust together : and hereof it commeth, that in over-moist places, fobbed and foaked with water, fnow melteth affoone as in places exposed to the fun. Now for that it hath leaves alwaies upon it, and the fame (as Empedocles faith) firme and fast, this proceedeth not of heat, no more than the fall and shedding of leaves every yeere, is occasioned by 10 colde. And this appeareth by the myrtle tree and the herbe Adiantum, that is to fay, Maidenhaire, which being not hot plants, but colde, are alwaies leaved and greene withall: and therefore some are of opinion, that the holding of the leaves, is to be ascribed to an equality of temperature: but Empedocles (over and befides) attributeth it to a certeine proportion of the pores, thorow which the fap and nourishment doth passe and pierce equally into the leaves; in such fort, as it runneth sufficiently for to mainteine them: which is not so in those trees which lose their leaves, by reason of the laxitie or largenesse of the said pores and holes above, and the straightnesse of them beneath; whereby, as these doe not send any nourishment at all, so the other can hold and reteine none, but that little which they received, they let goe all at once: like as we may observe in certeine canals or trenches, devised for to water gardens and orchards, if $_{40}$ they be not proportionable and equall; for where they be well watred and have continuall nourithment, and the fame in competent proportion, there the trees hold their owne, and remaine firme, alwaies greene, and never die. But the Ivie tree, planted in Babylon, would never grow, and refused there to live. Certes, it was well done of her, and she shewed great generositie, that being (as she was) a devoted vassaile to the god of Baosia, and living (as it were) at his table, she would not goe out of her owne countrey, to dwell among those Barbarians; Thee followed not the steps of king Alexander, who entred alliance, and made his abode with those strange and forren nations, but avoided their acquaintance all that ever the could, and withflood that transmigration from her native place: but the cause thereof, was not heat, but colde rather; because thee could not endure the temperature of the aire, so contrary to her owne : for that which is 50 femblable and familiar, never killeth any thing, but receiveth, nourisheth and beareth it, like as drie ground, the herbe thyme, how hot foever the foile be. Now for the province about Babylon, they say, the aire in all that tract is so soultrie hot, so stuffing, so grosse, and apt to stiffe and ftop the breath, that many inhabitants of the wealthier fort, cause certeine bits or bagges of leather to be filled with water, upon which, as upon featherbeds, they lie to sleepe and coole their bodics.

THE THIRD QUESTION.

What the cause is, that women hardly are made drunke, but olde men, very soone?

Lorus one day feemed to marvell, that Ariffule having in his treatife of drunkennesse, set downe this position: That olde men are soone surprized and overseene with wine, but contratiwife, women, hardly and very feldome; rendred no reason thereof, considering that his maner otherwise, is not to propose any such difficulties, but hee doth decide and electe the same. 10 And when he had made this overture, he mooved the companie to inquire into the cause thereof, and a supper it was, where familiar friends were met together. Then sylla faid: That the one was declared by the other: for if we comprehend the cause aright, as touching women, it were no hardmatter to finde out a reason for old men; confidering that their natures and conflitutions be most opposit and contrary, in regard of mostlure and drinesse, roughnesse and smoothneffe, fortneffe and hardneffe: for first and formost, suppose this of women undoubtedly, that their naturall temperature is very moift, which causeth their flesh to be so tender, soft, smooth, flickeand thinings to fay nothing of their naturall purgations every moneth: when as therefore wine meeteth with fo great humiditie, being overcome by the predominancy thereof, it loseth the edge and tin Cture (as it were) together with the force that it had, fo as it becommeth dull, 20 every way discoloured and waterish. And verily to this purpose, somewhat may be gathered out of the words of Ariffetle; for he faith: That those who make no long draught when they take their wine, nor drinke leafurely, but powre it downe at once (which manner of drinking they called apaskers) are not fo subject to drunkennesse as others; for that the wine maketh no long stay within their bodies, but being forcibly thrust foorth, foone passeth thorow: and ordinarilie we may observe, that women drinke in this manner; and very probable it is, that their bodies by reason of continual attraction of humours downward, to the nether parts for their monethly termes, is full of many conduits and passages, as if they were divided into chanels, pipes, and trenches, to draw foorth the faid humours; into which the wineno fooner falleth, but away it paffeth apace, that it cannot fettle nor rest upon the noble and principall parts, which if they 20 beconce troubled and possessed, drunkennesse doth soone ensue. Contraviwise, that old men want naturall humiditie, their very name in Greeke feemeth to implie fufficiently, for called they are years, not because they are peopres is that is to say, inclining and stouping downward to the earth, but because they are already in their habitude of bodie passes and pages, that is to say, earthly: Moreover, their stiffenesse and unpliable disposition, the roughnesse also of their skinne, argueth their dry nature and complexion: it standeth therefore to good reason, that when they liberally take their wine, their bodies which are rare and fpungious within, by occasion of that drinesse, quickly catcheth and sucketh up the same, and then by long staying there, it worketh up into the head, caufeth the braine to beat, and breedeth heavinetfe there; & like as land-flouds gently glide over those fields which be solide & hard, washing them onely 40 aloft, and making no mire & dirt; but if the ground be light and hollow they enter and toke fartherin; even so wine being soone caught, and drawne by the drinesse of old mens bodies, flaieth there the longer time: and were not this fo, yet we may observe that the verie nature of old menadmitteth the fame fymptomes and accidents which drunkennesse maketh. Now these accidents occasioned by drunkennesse, are very apparent, to wit, the trembling and shaking of their limbes, faltering in their toong, and speaking double, immoderate and lavish speech, pettifineffe and aptueffe to choler, forgetfulneffe and alienation of the minde and underflanding; the most part whereof being incident to old men, even when they are best in health and in most fober, a little thing God wot will fet them cleaneout, and any finall agitation whatfoever will doe the deed : fo that drunkenneffe in an old man engendreth not new accidents, but 50 fetteth on foot and augmenteth those which be already common and ordinary with them. To conclude, there is not a more evident argument to proove and confirme the fame than this; that nothing in the world refembleth an old man more, than a yoong man when hee is

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THE FOURTH QUESTION.

Whether women by their naturall complexion be colder or hotter than men?

Hen Sylla had delivered his minde to that effect; Apollonides an expert profession and well feene in raunging a battel in array, feemed by his words to approove well of that which had bene alledged as touching old men; but he thought, that in the discourse of women, the onely course was left out and overslipt, to wit, the coldnesse of their constitution, by meanes whereof, the hottest wine is quenched, and forgoeth that fierie slame which flieth up to the head, and troubleth the braines: and this was received as a very probable and fufficient reason, by all the company there in place. But Athryilatus the physician, a Thasian borne, interjected foine state of farther searching into this cause: For that (quoth hee) some are of opinion that women are not cold, but hotter than men; yea, and others there be, (and that is a greater matter) who hold, that wine is not hotte at all but cold. Florus woondering, and amazed hecreat: This discourse and disputation (quoth he) as touching wine I refer to him there; and with that pointed at me; for that not many daies before wee had disputed together about that argument: But as for women (quoth Athryllatus) that they bee rather hot than cold, they argue thus: First and formost, they are smooth, and not haire on their face and bodie, which testifieth their heat, which fpendeth and confumeth the excrement and faverfluitie that engendreth haire. 20 Secondly, they proove it by their abundance of bloud, which feemeth to be the fountaine of heat in the body; and of bloud women have fuch store, that they are ready to be inflamed, yea, to frie and burne withall, if they have not many purgations, and those quickly returning in their course to discharge and deliver them thereof. Thirdly, they bring in the experience obfervéd at funerals, which theweth evidently, that womens bodies be farre hotter than mens; for they that have the charge of burning and enterring of dead corfes, doe ordinarily put into the funerall fire one dead body of a woman to tenne of men: For that one corps (fay they) helpeth to burne and confume the rest; by reason that a womans slesh conteineth in it I wot not what unctuofitie or oileous matter, which quickly taketh fire, and will burne as light as a torch, fo that it ferveth in stead of drie sticks to kindle the fire, and set all a burning. Moreover, if this 30 be admitted for a truth, that what soever is more frutefull and apter for generation, is also more hot: certeine it is, that young maidens beripe betimes, readier for marriage, yea and their flesh pricketh fooner to the act of generation, than boies of their age; neither is this a small and feeble argument of their heat but for a greater and more pregnant proofe thereof, marke how they endure very well any chilling cold, and the injurie of winter feafon, for the most part of them leffe quake for cold than men doe, and generally need not fo many clothes to weare.

Heereat Florus began to argue against him and said: In my conceit, these very arguments will ferve well to confute the faid opinion; for to beginne with the last first, the reason why they withstand cold better than men, is because everything is lesse offended with the like: besides, their feed is not apt for generation, in regard of their coldnesse, but serveth in stead of matter 40 onely, and yeeldeth nourifhment unto the naturall feed of man. Moreover, women fooner give over to conceive, and ceafe child-bearing, than men to beget children: and as for the burning of their dead bodies, they catch fire fooner I confesse, but that is by reason that commonly they be fatter than men; and who knoweth not, that fatte and greafe is the coldest part of the bodie; which is the cause that yoongmen and those that use much bodily exercise, are least fatte of all others:neither is their monthly ficknesse & voidance of bloud, a signe of the great quantity and abundance, but rather of the corrupt qualitie and badneffe thereof; for the crude and unconcocted part of their bloud being superfluous, and finding no place to settle and rest, nor to gather confiftence within the bodie by reason of weaknesse, passeth away, as being heavy and troubled, altogether for default and imbecillitie of heat to overcome it: and this appeareth mani- 50 feltly by this, that ordinarily when their monthly ficknesse is upon them, they are very chill, & thake for cold, for that the bloud which then is stirred and in motion, ready to be discharged out of the bodie, is fo raw and cold. To come now unto the smoothnesse of their skinne, and that it is not hairie; who would ever fay that this were an effect of heat? confidering that we fee the hottest parts of mans bodie to be covered with haire? for furely all superfluities and excrements are fent out by heat, which also maketh way, boring as it were holes through the skinne,

and opening the paffages in the fuperficies thereof. But contratiwife wee may reason, that the fliecknesse of womens skinne is occasioned by coldnesse, which doth constipate and close the pores thereof. Now that womens skinne is more fast and close than mens; you may learne and understand by them (friend *Ashryilatus*) who use to lie in bedde with women, that annoint their bodies with sweet oiles, or odoriferous compositions; for even with sleeping in the same bed with them, although they came not so neere as to touch the women, they finde themselves all persuned, by reason that their owne bodies which be hot, rare, and open, doe draw the said ointments or oiles into them: Well, by this meanes (quoth he) this question as touching women hath beene debated pro & contra, by opposit arguments right mansfully.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

Whether wine be naturally cold of operation?

But I would now gladly know, (quoth Florus ftill) whereupon your conjecture and suspicion should arise, that wine is cold of nature? why? And doe you thinke (quoth I) that this in an opinion of mine? Whole then (quoth the other?) I remember (quoth I) that not of late, butlong agoe, I light upon a discourse of Aristorie as touching this probleme: and Epicurus himselfe in his Symposium or banquet, hath discussed the question at large; the summe of which 20 disputation (as I take it) is thus much: For (he faith) that wine is not simplic of it selfe hot, but that it conteineth in it certeine atomies or indivisible motes causing heat, and others likewise that engender cold; of which some it casteth off and loseth when it is entred into the bodie; others it taketh unto it, from the very bodie it felfe wherein it is; according as the fame petie bodies be of nature and temperature, fitted and agreeable unto us; in such fort, as some when they be drunke with wine, are well hear; others againe contrariwife, be as cold. These reasons (replied Florus) directly bring us by Protagoras into the campe of Pyrrho, where we shall meet with nothing but incertitude, and be still to feeke, and as wife as we were before: for plaine it is, that in speaking of oile, milke, honie, and likewise of all other things, we shall never grow to any particular relolution of them, what nature they beeof, but still have some evasion or 30 other, laying: That they become fuch and fuch, according as ech of them is mixed and tempered one with another: But what be the arguments that your felfe alledge, to prove that wine is cold? Thus I see well (quoth I) that there be two of you at once, who presse and urge mee to deliver my mind ex tempore, and of a fudden: the first reason then that commeth into my headisthis, which I fee ordinarily practifed by phyticians upon those who have weake stomacks: for when they are to corroborate and for the that part, they preferibe not any thing that is hot; but if they give them wine, they have present case and helpe thereby; semblablic, they repressed fluxes of the belly, yea, and when the bodie runneth all to diaphoreticall sweats, which they effect by the meanes of wine, no leffe, nay much more than by applying flow, confirming and strengthening thereby the habit of the bodie, which otherwise was ready to melt 40 away and resolve : now if it had a nature and facultie to hear, it were all one to applie unto the region of the heart, as fire unto frow furthermore, most physicians do hold, that sleepe is procured by cooling; and the most part of soporiferous medicines which provoke sleepe, be cold; asforexample, Mandragoras and poppie Juice : but thefe I must needs confesse, with great force and violence doe compresse, and (as it were) congeale the braine to worke that effects whereas wine cooling the fame gently, with eafeand pleasure representation and stateth the motion thereof; fo that the difference onely betweene it and the other, is but in degree, according to more and leffe. Over and befides, what foever is hot, is also generative and apt to ingender seed; for howfoever humiditie giveth it an aptitude to run and flow, it is spirit, by the meanes of hear, that endueth it with vigor & strength, yea, and an appetite to generation: now they that drinke 50 much wine, especially if it be pure of it felfe, and not delaied, are more dull and flow to the act of generation, and the feed which they fow, is not effectuall, nor of any force and vigor to ingendery their medling alfoand conjunction with women, is vaine, and doth no good at all, by reafon that their feed is cold and feeble: furthermore, all the accidents and paffions which colde worketh, doe befall unto those that be drunke; for they tremble and thake, they are heavie and dull of motion, and looke pale; the spirit in their joints and members, is unquiet, and mooveth diforderly; their tongues falter, flut and be double; laft of all, their finewes in the extremities of the bodie, are drawen up in maner of a crampe, and benummed; yea, and in many, drunkennesse Mmm 3

endeth in a dead palife or generall resolution of all parts; namely, after that the wine hath utterly extinguished and mortified their naturall heat. Physicians also are woont to cure these fymptones and inconveniences procured by excessive drinke and furfet, by laying the patients presently in bedde, and covering them well with clothes, for to bring them to an heat; the next morrow they put them into the baine or hot-house, and rub them wel with oile; they nou. rish them with meats which do not trouble the masse of the body; and thus by this cherrishing, they gently fetch againe and recover the heat which wine had diffipated and driven out of the bodie. And for a fmuch as (quoth I) in things apparent and evident to the eie, we fearch for the like faculties which lie hidden and fecret, how can we doubt what drunkenneffe is, and with what it may be compared ? for according as I have before faid, drunken folke refemble (for all the 10 world) old men : and therefore it is, that great drunkards foone wax old, many of them become bald before their time, and grow to be grey and hoarie ere they be aged; all which accidents fcome to furprize a man for defect of heat.

Moreover, vineger (in some sort) resembleth the nature and propertie of wine: now of all things that are powerfull to quench, there is none fo repugnant and contrarie to fire, as vineger is; and nothing fo much as it, by the excessive coldnesse that it hath, overcommeth and represfeth a flame. Againe, we fee how phylicians use those fruits to coole with all, which of all others be most vinous, or represent the liquor of wine; as for example, pomgranates and other orchard apples. As for honie, do they not mix the substance thereof with raine-water and snow, for to make thereof a kinde of wine, by reason that the cold doth convert the sweetnesse for the affi- 20 nitie that is between them, into aufteritie, when it is predominant and more puissant? what should I say more? have not our ancients in olde time, among serpents, dedicated the dragon? and of all plants, confectated Ivie to Bacchus, for this cause, that they be both of a certeine colde and congealing nature ? Now if any doe object for proofe, that wine is hot; how for them that have drunke the juice of hemlocke, the fovereigne remedie and counterpoise of all other, is to take a great draught of strong wine upon it; I will replie to the contrary, and turne the same argument upon them; namely, that wine and the juice of hemlocke mingled together, is a poison incurable, & presently killeth those who drinke it, remedilesse. So that there is no more reason to prove it hot, for refulting hemlocke, than colde, for helping the operation of it; or els we must fay, that it is not coldnesse whereby hemlocke killeth those that drinke it so presently, but rather 30 fome other hidden qualitie and propertie that it hath.

THE SIXTH QUESTION.

Of the convenient time for a man to know his wife carnally.

Erteine yoong men, who were new students, and had lately tasted of the learning conteined in ancient books, were ready to teare Epicurus in pieces, and inveighed mightily against him as an impudent person; for proposing and moving speech which was neither seemly nor necessarie, in his symposium or banquet, as touching the time of meddling with a wo- 40 man : for that an ancient man, well stept in veres as he was, should make mention & begin talke of venerous matters, and namely, at a banquet, where many yoong men were in place, to particularize and make question in this fort: Whether it were better for a man to have the use of his wife, before supper or after; seemed to proceed from a lascivious minde, and incontinent in the highest degree. Against which, some there were, who alledged the example of * Xenophon, who his Symposium after his supper or banquet, brought his guests (not on foot, but on horse backe, riding a gallop away home) to lie with their wives. But Zopyrus the phylician, who was very well seene and converfant in the books of Epicurus, faid: That they had not read diligently and with advisement, his booke called Symposium, that is to fay, The banquet: For he tooke not this question (quoth he) to treat of at the beginning, as a theame or subject matter expressy chosen and of purpose, 50 whereto all their talke should be directed, and in nothing els to be determined and ended a but having caused those yoong men to rise from the table for to walke after supper, he entred into a discourse, for to induce them to continence and temperance, and to withdraw them from diffolute lust of the flesh, as being at all times, a thing dangerous, and ready to plunge a man.into mischiefe, but yet more hurtfull unto those who use it upon a full stomacke, after they have eat and drunke well, and made good cheere at some great feast. And if (quoth Zopyrus) he had taken for the principall subject, the discourse of this point, is it pertinent and beseeming a philoso-

pher, not to treat and confider at all of the time and houre proper and meet for men to embrace their espoused wives? or much better so to doe, in due season and with discretion? and is it (I pray you) not discommendable, to dispute thereof elswhere and at other times? and altogether dishonest, to handle that question at the table or at a feast? for mine owne part, I thinke cleane contrary; namely, that we may with good reason reprove and blame a philosopher, who openly in the day time, should dispute in publicke schooles, of this matter, before all commers, and in the hearing of all forts of people; but at the table, where there is a standing cup set before familiars and friends, and where other-whiles it is expedient to vary and change our talke, which otherwise would be but lewke warme or starke colde for all the wine, how can it be unseemely or 10 dishonest, either to speake or heare ought that is holsome and good for men, as touching the lawfull company with their wives in the fectet of marriage ? for mine owne part, I protest unto you, I could with with all my heart, that those Partitions of Zeno, had beene couched in some booke entituled, Abanquet or pleasant treatise, rather than bestowed (as they are) in a composition so grave and serious, as are the books of policie and government of State. The young men at these words, were cut over the thumbs; and being abashed, held their tongues, and fat them downe quietly. Now when others of the company requested Zopprus to rehearle the words and reasons of Epicurus, as touching this point. I am not able (quoth he) in particular, to decipher, and precifely to fet them downe as he delivered them; but I suppose the philosopher seared those violent concussions and motions, which are felt in the time of that conjunction; for that 20 our bodies by that meanes, be woonderfullly stirred and disquieted, in regard especially of the wine, which being of it felfe stirring and causing much turbulent agitation, it setteth the bodie ordinarily out of quietrepose: if then the full maffe thereof, being in such an agitation, meet not with a fetled calme and rest, by sleepe, but runneth on still headlong to other troublesome motions, caused by the sports of Venus, so that the cords and ligaments, which are wont to hold our bodies entire, and mainteine them firme and strong, be slacked and loosed, great danger there is, that the foundation being thus shaken, the whole edifice wil fall to the ground : for furely at fuch a time, the very genitall feed is not fo apt and ready to paffe away with cafe, being fo pent and conflipate (as it is) by reason of repletion; so that it must be setched away perforce, all troubled and confused. In which regard (quoth Epicurus) a man is to goe about this bustneffe, when the bodie is at quiet and well fetled; namely, after that the concoction and digetition on both, of our food, is perfectly finished, which all that time runneth to and fro, and willingly avoideth all fuch disquietnesse; untill (I say) the bodie have need of new nourishment. And for to confirme this opinion of Epicarus, a man may adjoine a reason out of physicke; namely: That the opportunity of the morrow-morning, when the concoction is thorowly performed, is molt fafe and fure; whereas to struggle or meddle with a woman immediatly after supper, is never without danger: for who can sell (before the meat be well concocted) whether after the panting agitation by the act of Ferm, there will not enfue another cruditie and indigeftion, so as a double inconvenience and furfet upon furfet may follow thereupon? Then Olympicus taking his turne to speake and opine : As for me, I am (quoth he) infinitly well pleased with that sen-40 tence of Climas the Pythagorean; who being demanded the question, when the best time was to embrace a woman? Marie (quoth he) when thou are minded to do thy felde most harme : for that which Zopyran faid even now of the fittime, carrieth some reason with it: and as for the other, it hath (I fee well) many and fundry difficulties and inconveniences, and is altogether unfeatonable for this purpose. Like as therefore, Thales the wife, being importuned by his mother (who preffed hard upon him) to matrie; pretily put her off, shifting and avoiding her cunningly, with words: for at the first time, when the was in hand with him, he said unto her: Mother, it is too foone, and it is not yet time : afterwards, when he had passed the slower of his age, and that the fet upon him the fecond time, and was very inftant: Alas mother, it is now too late, and the time is past; even so, it were good for every man to carry and governe himselfe in these 50 amatorious games of Venus, that when he goes to bed at night, he fay to himselfe: It is not yet time; and when hee rifeth in the morning: Now there is no time left. Heereupon Sotharus: These be indeed (quoth he) Olympicus, the parts of champions, and require such as would enter combat for to win a prize at the facted games: these matters (I say) altogether, are for those to performe, who can drinke wine freely, and make a game of it, yea, and eat flesh as luftily; but furely, this speech of yours, little besitteth this time and place; for heere are a fort of fresh and luftic yoong men newly married,

By whom, wot well, the works, in some degree, Of love and Venus, must performed be.

Neither is dame Penus as yet, retired and fled altogether from us; for we fill in chanting hymnes unto the gods, pray devoutly other whiles unto her, in this wife:

O Venus, ladie deere and goddeffe faire, Holdbacke olde age, keepe from us hoarie haire.

But let us consider now (if you thinke it good) whether Epicurus hath done well and decently, as he ought to doe, in taking away Venus from the night feason; of whether he hath not rather offended against all right and reason in so doing; considering that Menander, a man well seene in love-matters, faith: That thee is acquainted with her above all other gods and goddeffes: for 10 in mine opinion, well ordeined was this vaile and shade of darkenesse, to cover those that are minded to performe these acts, and in some fort to hide the pleasure from them, and not to come unto this game by day-light, thereby to chase from out of their eie-fight all shame and to give meanes unto lafeivious wantonnesse, for to be bold and confident; and finally, to imprint the memorie of the act to lively, that it may remaine long after in the minde, for to kindle and revive still, new lusts and stefhly desires : For the eie-sight (as Plato saith) passeth most swiftly thorow the fleshly affections of the body into us, that is to fay, into our foule, and evermore awakeneth and raifeth fresh and new concupifcence, representing with great force and vehemencie, the images of pleasure, and putting us in minde to pursue the same; whereas contratiwise, the night taking away the greatest part of fuch acts as be most furious, lulleth nature asleepe, and 20 bringeth her (as it were) to bed, in fuch fort, as it doth not exorbitate or breake forth by meanes of the fight, into lascivious loofenesse. But over and besides all this, what reason or sense is there in this, that a married man, returning all jolly, fresh and merry, from a festivall supper, and peradventure with a gay chaplet of flowers upon his head, yea, and perfumed with fweet and odoriferous oiles, should come home, go to bed, turne his backe unto his wife, pull the clothes about him round, and so lie to sleepe all night; and the morrow after, in broad day light and in the mids of houshold occasions and other affaires, send for his wife out of the nourserie or womens roome, for to come unto him about such a matter; or in the morning, turne unto her and imbrace her in his armes, at fuch a time as the cocke troads his hennes? for the even-tide (my good friend Olympicus) is the end and repose of all out day-labours past, and the morning is the be- 20 ginning of new travels. Of the evening, god Bacchus is the superintendent and president, who is furnamed Lyfus or Liber, for that he freeth us from all paines taking; and accompanied he is in this presidencie of his, with the mules, to wit, faire Terpsuhore, who loveth daunces, and pleafant Thalia, who delighteth in feafts and banquets 3 whereas the morning rifeth betimes by the breake of day, to do fervice unto Mynerun, furnamed Ergune, the work-miltreffe or patroneffe of artifans; to Mercurie likewife, the mafter of merchants and occupiers; and therefore upon the evening, attend fongs, muficke, minstrelsie, plaies, daunces, weddings,

Masques mommeries, feasts and banquets,

Noise of hautboies, fluits, and cornets. In the morning a man shall heare nothing but the thumping founds of the smithes hammer 40 and fledges, beating and knocking upon the anvill; the grafting noise of sawes; the morowwatch of Publicans, Cultomers and Toll-gatherers, crying after those that come in or go forth; the ajournements of ferjeants and criers, calling for apparance in the court before the judges; publications of edicts and proclamations; fummons to attend and be ready to make court, and to do ductie unto some prince, great lord or governour of State; at which time, all pleasures be gone and out of the way.

Of Venus then there is no talke, The flaves of Bacchus do not walke With Ivie dight : the gamesome sport Of gallant youths, is all-a-mort:

For why? as day growes on apace, Cares and troubles come in place.

Moreover, you shall never reade, that the poet Homer reporteth of any woorthy prince and demi-god, that in the day-time he lay either with wife or concubine; onely he faith, that Paris, when he fled out of the battell, went and couched himfelfe in the bosome and lap of his Helena; giving us thereby to understand, that it is not the part of an honest minded husband, but the act of a furious and wanton-given adulterer, to follow fuch pleafures in the day-time. Neither doth

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it follow (as Epicurus faith) that the bodie takes more harme by performing this duetic of marriage after supper, than in the morning, unlesse a man be so drunke or overcharged with meats, that his bellie is ready to cracke; for certeinly, in fuch a cafe it were very hurtfull and dangerous indeed; but if one have taken his meat and drinke fufficiently, be wel in health, and in fome meafurecheerefull; if his bodie be apt and able, his minde well disposed thereto; if hee interpose fome reasonable time betweene, and then fall to clip and imbrace his wife; he shall not thereby incurre any great agitation that night, nor feare the heavie load and repletion of meat; neither will this action worke him any dammage, or coole him too much, no yet disquiet and remoove out of their place, the atomies (as Epicurus faith); but if hee compose himselfe afterwards to 10 fleepe and repose, he shall soone supplie againe that which was voided, and replenish the vessels with a new afflux of fpirits, which were emptied by the faid evacuation. But of all things, efpeciall heed would be taken, not to play at this game of Venus in the day time; for feare left the body and minde both, being troubled already with the cares and travels of fundry affaires, be by this meanes more exasperat and inflamed, considering that nature hath not a sufficient and competent time betweene, to repose and refresh her selfe: for all men (my good friend) have not that great leafure which Epicurus had neither are they provided for their whole life time, of that rest and tranquillity, which he said, that he got by good letters and the study of philosophy: nay, there is not one in maner, but every day he finds himfelfe amufed and emploied about many affaires and businesses of this life, which holde him occupied; to which, it were neither good 20 nor expedient for a man to expose his body, so resolved, ensembled and weakened with the furious exploit of concupifcence. Leaving him therefore to his foolish opinion of the gods, that being immortall and happy, they have no care of our affaires, nor bufie themselves therewith, let us obey the lawes, maners and customes of our owne countrey, as every honest man ought to do; namely, to be fure in the morning to go into the temple, and to lay our hands upon the facrifice, if haply a little before, we have done such a deed. For in trueth, well it were, that interpoling the night and our fleepe betweene, after a fufficient time and competent space, we should come to present our selves pure and cleane, as if wee were risen new men with the new day, and purposing to leade a new life, as Democritus was woont to say.

THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

What is the cause that Must or new wine doth not inebriate or make solke drunke?

"He maner was in Athens, to give the affay, and to tafte new wines the eleventh day of the moneth [February] which day they named Pithagia: and verily in olde time, they observed this ceremonie, to powre out the first drawing thereof unto the gods, before they dranke of it, making their praiers devoutly, that the use of this medicinable drinke might be holsome and healthfull, not noisome nor hurtfull unto them. But in our countrey this moneth is called Hersunicus, the fixt day of which moneth, the manner was to pierce their veffell first, and talte 40 new wines, after they had facrificed to good Fortune, and good Damon, and that the westerne winde Zephyrus had done blowing; for of all windes, this is it that most troubleth, disquieteth, and turneth wine: and looke what wine may escape this season, great hope there is that it will hold and continue good all the yeere after: according to which custome my father upon a time facrificed as his maner was; and after supper finding that his wine was good & commendable, he proposed this question unto certeine young men that were students with mee in philosophic: Howit came to passe that new wine would not make a man drunke: the thing secmed at the first unto many a very strange and incredible paradox: But Agias said: That this new fweet wine was every way offenfive unto the stomacke, and quickly glutted it; by reason whereof a man could hardly drinke so much of Must, as were sufficient to overturne his braines: 50 for that the appetite is quickly dulled and wearied, for the small pleasure that it taketh, so some as it feeleth no more thirst. Now that there is a difference betweene fweet and pleafant, the poet Homer knew well enough and gave us fo much to understand when he said:

> With cheefe and hony that is fweet: With pleasant wine a drinke most meet.

For in truth wine at the first is to be counted sweet, but in the end it becommeth pleasant, namely, after it hath age, and by the meanes of working, chullition and concoction, paffed to a certeine harshnesse and austeritie. But Arist anet us of Nica said: That he well remembred how he

had read in a certeine place in some books: That Must mingled with wine staieth & repressed trunkennesses, he added moreover and said: That there were physicians who ordeined for them that had overdrunke themselves; to take when they went to bed, a piece of bread dipped in hony that had overdrunke themselves; to take when they went to bed, a piece of bread dipped in hony and to eat it? If then it be so, that sweet things doe mittigate and dull the force of wine: good reason it is, that new wine should not inebriate, untill the sweetnesse thereof be turned into pleasantnesse. We approoved greatly the discourse of these two yoong men, for that they fell not upon triviall and common reason, but had devised new: for these be they that are alledged by every man, and ready at hand, to wit; the heavinesse of Must or new wine, as Institute said, which maketh the belly soluble, and so it breaketh thorow the quantitie of statient and muddy shirts that abide therein, together with the waterie substance, of which the ventosities directify get foorth, as expelled by force; but the aquositie by the ownenature enseableth the strength of the wine: like as contrariwise age augmenteth the power thereof, for that the watrie substance is now gone; by reason whereof, as the quantitie of the wine is diminished, so the qualitie and vertue is energased.

THE EIGHT QUESTION.

What the reason is, that they who be throughly drunke, are lesse brame-sicke than those who are but in the way of drunkennesse.

Ecing then (quoth my father) that we have begun already to disquiet the ghost of Aristotle, it shall not be amisse to trie what we can say of our selves, as touching those whom wee call eterflor ones, that is to fay, who are well heat with wine, but not yet starke drunk for how foever Ariflottle was ordinarily very quicke and fubtile in refolving fuch questions, yet in mine opinion he hath not fufficiently and exactly delivered the reason thereof; for as farre as I can gather out of his words (he faith) That the discourse of reason in a man who is sober, judgeth aright and according to the truth of things as they be: contrariwife, his fense and understanding who is cleane gone, & as they fay dead drunke, is done and oppreffed altogether: as for the apprehenfion and imagination of him who hath taken his wine well, and is but halfe drunke, is yet found, mary his reason and judgement is troubled already and crackt: and therefore such judge indeed, 30 but they judge amiffe, for that they follow their phantalies onely: but what thinke you of this? For mine owne part (quoth I) when I consider with my selfe his reason, it seemeth sufficiently to have rendred a cause of this effect; but if you would have us to search farther into the thing, and devile fome special newmatter? marke first, whether this difference which hee maketh betweene them, ought not to be referred to the bodie: for in the fe that have well drunke, there is nothing but the discourse of reason onely troubled; because the bodie being not yet thorowly drenched and drowned in wine, is able to doe service unto the will and appetite; but if it be once off the hookes, (as they fay) or utterly oppreffed, it for faketh and betraieth the appetites, and breaketh day with the affections, being fo farre shaken and out of joint, that it can serve no more, nor execute the will: whereas the other having the bodie still at commaund, and ready 40 to exorbitate together with the will, and to finne with it for companie, are more seene and discovered, not for that they be more foolith, and have leffe use of reason, but because they have greater meanes to flow their follie. But if we should reason from another principle, and go another way to worke (quoth 1) he that will confider well the force of wine, shall finde no let, but that in regard of the quantitie, it altereth and becommendivers, much like unto the fite, which if it be moderate, hardeneth and baketh the tile or pot of claie; but in case it bee very firing, & the heat exceffive, it melteth & diffolveth the fame: and on the otherfide; the fpring or fummer feafon at the beginning breedeth fevers and fetteth them on fire, which in the progresse and middes thereof being growen to their heights, decline and cease altogether. What should hinder then, but the minde and understanding which naturally is disquieted and troubled with 500 wine, after it is once off the wheeles, and cleane overturned by the excessive quantitie thereof should come into order * againe, and be fetlet as it was before? Much like therefore as Ellebore beginneth his operation to purge, by overturning the fromacke, and disquieting the whole malle of the body; and if it be given in a leffe dofe or quantitie than it should be; well it may trouble, but purge it will not also as wee see some, who take medicines for to provoke sleepe, under the just and full quantitie which is prescribed, in stead of sleepe and repose, finde themfelves more vexed and tormented than before; and others againe, if they take more, fleepe

*Hereuvon high many rilea proverby 's hat amin may danke hareite tolier. The third Booke.

foundly; even so is standeth to good reason, that the brain-sicknesse of him who is halfe drunk, after it is growen once to the highest strength and vigour, doth diminish and decay; to which purpose now wine serveth very well, and helpeth much: for being powred into the body with great abundance, it butneth and consumert that spice of madnesse which troubleth the minute and use of reason; much after the maner of that dolefull song, together with the heavy sound of hautboies in the sunerals of dead solke, at the first mooveth compassion; and setteth the cice a weeping, but after it hath drawen the soule so to pittie and compassion, it proceedes that there; and by little and little it spendeth and riddeth away all sense of dolour and sorrow; semblably a man shal observe, that after the wine hath mightily troubled, disquieted the vigorous & courago gious part of the soule, men quickly come to themselves, & their minds be settled in such fort as they become quiet, and take their repose when wine and drunkennesse hat passed as farre as it can.

THE NINTH QUESTION.

What is the meaning of the common proverbe: Drinke either five, or three, but not fower?

Hen I had thus faid; Ariston crying out aloud as his maner was: I see well now (quotit he) that there is opened a reentrance, and returne againe of measures into feaths and 20 banquets, by vertue of a most just and popular decree: which measures by meanes of (I wot not what) fober feafon, as by a tyrant have beene this long time banished from thence: for like as they who professe a canonicall harmonie in foundit. of the harpe, doe holde and say: That the proportion Hemiolios or Sesquialterall, produceth the symphonic or musicall accord Diapenta, of the duple proportion ariseth that Diapason: but as for the mucsike or accord called Diatessaron, which of all others is most obscure and dull, it consistes in the proportion Epitritos; even fo, they that make profession of skill in the harmonies of Bacchus, have observed, that three fymphonies or accords there are, betweene wine & water, namely, Diapenta, Diatrion, & Diatesfaron, singing and saying after this manner: Drinke five, or three, and not sowers for the fift standeth upon the proportion Hemiolios, or Sesquialterall to wit, when three parts or measures of water be mingled with two of wine; and the third conteine the duple proportion; namely when two parts of water be put to one of wine; but the fourth answereth to the proportion of three parts of water powred into one of wine; and verily this measure or proportion Epitritos, may fit some grave and wife senatours sitting in parliament; or the Archonres in the counsell chamber Prytaneum for to dispatch waightie affaires of great consequence: and it may befeeme well enough forme logicians that pull up their browes, when they are buffe in reducing, unfolding, and altering their Syllogismes; for surely it is a mixture or temperature fober and weake enough: as for the other twaine, that medley which carieth the proportion of two for one, bringeth in that turbulent tone of the Acrothoraces before faid; to wit, of fuch as are formewhat cup-shotten and halfe drunke:

Which stirs the strings and cords of secret hart,
That moved hould not be, but rest apart.

For it neither suffereth a man to bee fully sober, nor yet to drench himselfe so deepe in wine; that hee bee altogether witlesse and past his sense: but the other standing upon the proportion of two to three, is of all others the most musicall accord, causing a man to sleepe peaceablie, and to forget all cares, resembling that good and fertile corne-field which Hessaus speaketh of,

That doth from man all cares and surfes drive, And children cause to rest, to feed, and thrive.

It appeafeth and stilleth all proud, wiolent, and disordered passions arising within our heart, in50 ducing in the stead of them a peaceable calme and tranquillitie. These speeches of Ariston no
man there, would crosse or contradict; for that it was well known he spake merily: but I willed
him to take the cup in hand, and as if he held the harpe or lute, to tune and set the same, to that
accord and consonance which he so highly praised, and thought so good. Then came a boy
close unto him, and powred out strong wine; which herefused, saying, (and that with a laughter) That his musicke consisted in reason and speculation, and not in the practise of the instrument. But my father added thus much moreover to that which had beene said: That as hee
thought, the auncient poets also had to great reason seigned; that whereas Jupiter had two

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nurses, to wit, Ida and Adrastia; Juno one, namely, Euboca; Apollo likewise twaine, that is to fay, Alethia, and Corythalia; Bacchus had many more; for that he was fuckled and nurfed by many nymphes, because this god forsooth had need of more measures of water, signified by the nymphs to make him more tame, gentle, wittie, and wife.

Of Symposiaques

THE TENTH QUESTION.

What is the reason that any killed slesh will be naught and corrupt sooner under the raies of she moone, than in the sunne?

Nthydemus of Sumium, feasted us upon a time at his house, and set before us a wilde bore, of fuch bigneffe, that all wee at the table woondred thereat; but he told us that there was another brought unto him farre greater; mary naught it was, and corrupted in the cariage, by the beames of the moone-thine: whereof he made greatdoubt and question, how it should come to passe; for that he could not conceive, nor see any reason, but that the sunne should rather corrupt flesh, being as it was, farre hotter than the moone. Then Sayrus: This is not the thing (quoth he) whereat a man should marvell much in this case; but rather at that which hunters practife; for when they have strucken downe either a wilde bore, or a stagge, and are to fend it farre into the citie, they use to drive a spike or great naile of brasse into the body, as a preservative against putrefaction. Now when supper was done, Enthydemus calling to minde his 20 former question, was in hand withall againe, and set it now on foot: And then Mosehion the physician shewed unto them, that the puttrefaction of sless was a kinde of eliquation and running all to moisture; for that corruption bringeth it unto a certeine humiditie, fo as whatfoever is sappie or corrupted, becommeth more moist than it was before: Now it is well knowen (quoth he) that all heat which is mild and gentle, doth ftirre, dilate, and spred the humours in the flesh: but contrariwise, if the same be ardent, fierie, and burning, it doth attenuate and restreine them: by which appeareth evidently the cause of that which is in question; for the moone gently warming bodies, doth by confequence moisten the same; whereas the sunne by his extreme heat catcheth up and confumeth rather that humiditie which was in them: unto which Archilocus the poet alludeth like a naturall philosopher when he said:

I hope, the dogge starre Sirius, In firie heat fo furious With raics most ardent will them smite, And numbers of them dry up quite.

And Homer more plainly spake of Hellor, over whose body lying along dead: Apollo (quoth he) displaied and spreda darke and shadowy cloud:

For feare lest that the scorching beames, of sunnealoft in skie, Should on his corps have power, the flesh

and nervesto parch and dry. Contrariwife, that the moone cafteth weaker and more feebler raies; the poet I'm the weth,

faying:

The grapes doe finde no helpe by thee, to ripen on the vine, And never change their colour blacke,

that they might make good wine. Thele words thus passed : And then all the rest (quoth I) is very well said, & I approove thereof; but that al the matter should lie in the quantity of heat, more or leffe cofidering the season, I see not how it should stand; for this we find, that the sunne doth heat lesse in winter, & corrupteth more in lummer: whereas we should see contrary effects, if putrefactions were occasioned by 50 the imbecillity of hear, but now it is far otherwise, for the more that the suns heat is augmented, the fooner doth it puttifie & corrupt any flesh killed: and therefore we may as wel inferresthat it is not for default of heat, nor by any imbecillitie thereof; that the moone causeth dead bodies to putrifie, but we are to referre that effect to some secret propertie of the influence proceeding from her: for that all kinds of heat have but one qualitie, and the fame differing onely in degree, according to more or leffe: that the very fire also hath many divers faculties, and those not resembling one another, appeareth by daily & ordinary experiences: for gold smiths mele

and worke their gold with the flame of light straw and chaffe: physicians doe gently warme (as it were) in Balneo those drougues, and medicines which they are to boile together most all with a fire made of vine cuttings; for the melting, working, blowing, and forming of glaffe, it feemeth that a fire made of Tamarix is more meet than of any other matter what-foever; the heat caused by olive tree wood, serveth well in drie stouphs or hot houses, and disposeth mens bodies to sweat; but the same is most hurtfull to baines and baths; for if it bee burned under a furnace, it hurreth the boord floores and feelings; it matrethalfo the verie foundations and ground-workes: whereupon it commeth, that Aediles for the State, fuch as have any skill and understanding, when they let to ferme the publicke baines 10 unto Publicans and Fermers, except ordinarily olive-tree wood, forbidding exprelly, those that rent them at their hands, not to use the same; as also not to cast anto the surnace or fire with which they give an heat unto them, the feed of Darnella for that the finoaks and fumes which arifeth from fuch matters, ingender head-ach and heaviveffe of the braine, together with a dizzineffe and swimming in the head, in as many as wash or bathe in them, And therefore, no marvell it is, that there should be such a difference betweene the heat of the sunne and of the moone, confiderig that the one by his influence doth drie, and the other by her power dissolveth humors, and in some bodies (by that meanes) causeth rhewines: and therefore discreet and carefull nourfes take great heed how they expose their sucking babes against the raies of the moone, for that fuch infants (being full of moisture, like to sappy-greene wood) will (as it 20 were) warpe, twine, and cast at-one side by that meanes. And an ordinary thing it is to be seene, that who loever fleepe in the moone-fhine, be hardly awakened, as if their fenfes were flupefied, benummed, and attonied: for furely, the humors (being diffolved and dilated by the influence of the moone) doe make bodies heavie. Moreover, it is faid, that the "full-moone (by relaxing " drynlams, and refolving humors in this wife) helpeth women in travell of child-bearing, to easie delive- as some nucrrance. Whereupon, in my judgement, Diana, which is nothing els but the very moone, is cal-presis. led Lochia or Ilithria, as having a speciall hand in the birth of children; which Timotheus directly tellifieth in these verses:

Thorow azure skie, with farres befet, by moone that giveth freed Of child birth, and doth eafe the paine of women, in their need.

Moreover, the moone sheweth her power most evidently even in those bodies, which have neither sense nor lively breath; for carpenters reject the timber of trees fallen in the ful-moone, as being foft and tender, subject also to the worme and putrifaction, and that quickly, by reason of exceffive moisture; husbandmen likewife, make haste to gather up their wheat and other graine from the threshing sloore, in the wane of the moone, and toward the end of the moneth, that being hardened thus with drinesse, the heape in the garner may keepe the better from being fultie, and continue the longer; whereas corne which is inned and laied up at the full of the moone, by reason of the softmesse and over-much moisture, of all other, dothimost cracke and 40 burit. It is commonly faid also, that if a leaven be laied in the full-moone, the paste will rise and take leaven better; for although it have but a little leaven, & leffe in quantitie than ordinary, yet it faileth not by the sharpnesse thereof (by meanes of rarefaction) to make the whole masse and lumpe of dow to fwell and be leavened.

To returne now unto flesh that is caught, and beginneth to putrifie, it is occasioned by nothing els but this, that the spirit which mainteineth and knitteth the same fast, turneth into moiflure, and so by that meanes, it becommeth over-tender, loose, and apt to runne to water: an accident, which wee may observe in the very aire, which resolveth more in the full of the moone, than at any other time, yea, and yeeldeth greater flore of dewes: which the poet Aleman figurefieth anigmatically and covertly unto us, when he faith in one place, that dewis the daughter

50 of the aire and the moone; for these be his words:

What things on earth, the dew as nour se doth feed, Whom Jupiter and moone betwixt them breed.

Thus evident relitimonies we have from all parts, that the light of the moone is waterish, and hath a certeine propertie to liquifie, and by consequence, to corrupt and puttifie.

As for the brasen spike or naile above mentioned, if it be true (as some hold and say) that being driven into the body, it preserveth the flesh for a time from rottenhead and putrifaction: it feemeth to worke this effect, by a certeine aftrictive qualitie and vertue that it hath; for the

* I suppose Homer uled the words in a farre other fenfe, by Mof. chions leave be it fpoken, who was a better phyli-

flower of braffe, called Ver-de gris, physicians doe use in their aftringent medicines : and by report, those that frequent mines, out of which brasse-ore is digged, finde much helpe thereby for bleered and rheumaticke eies; yea, and some thereby have recovered the haire of their eie-lids. after they were shed and fallen off: for the small scales or fine powder in maner of flowre, which commeth and falleth from the braffe-stone Chakitia, getting closely into the cie-lids, staieth the rhewme, and represses the flux of weeping and waterie eies : and thereupon it is faid, that the poet Homer hath given thefe attributes and epithites unto braffe, calling it * dinoga and rues me, Befides, Ariftothe faith, that the wounds inflicted by speares and lances with brasen heads . by fwords also made of braffe, are lesse painfull, and be sooner healed, than those which are given by the fame weapons of iron and fleele; for that braffe hath a kinde of medicinable vertue in it. 10 which the faid weapons doe leave behinde them immediatly in the wounds. Moreover, that aftringent things be contrary unto those that putrifie , and that preservatives or healing matters. have an opposit facultie to such as cause corruption, it is very plaine and evident; so that the reason is manifest of the said operation : unlesse haply some one will alledge, that the brasen folke or naile in piercing thorow the flesh, draweth unto it the humours thereof, considering that there is evermore a flux in that part which is hurt and wronged. Over and besides, it is said, that there appeareth alwaies some marke or spot, blacke and blew, about that very place of the flesh, bewraying (as it were) some mortification; a probable argument, that all the rest remaineth found and entire, when the corruption runneth and floweth thither as it doth.

Of Sympostaques



THE FOVRTH BOOKE OF SYMPOSIAQUES OR BANQUET-QUESTIONS.

The Contents or Summarie.

Hether the food confishing of many and sundrie viands, is easier of digestion, than the Why it is thought that Mushromes are incendred by thunder; wherein also the question is made, wherefore it is a necessarie opinion, that those who he asleepe, are not (mitten with lightning. 3 What is the reason that to a wedding supper, many guests were invited.

Whether the viands which the sea affoordeth, be more delicate than those of the land. Whether the Jewes in a religious reverence that they have of swine, or upon an abomination and ab-

horring of shem, forbeare to eat their flesh.

6 What god the Jewes worship.

7 Why the dayes of the weeke, bearing the names of the seven planets, are not disposed and reckoned according to the order of the said planets, but rather cleane contrary, where, by the way, there is a discourse as touching the order of nailes.

8 What is the cause that rings and signets were worne especially upon the fourth singer, or that, mext

9 Whether wee ought to carrie in our scale-rings, the images of the gods engraven, or of wise perso- 50

10 What is the reason that women never eas the middle part of a Lectuce.

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THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

Symposiaques or banquet-questions.

The Proeme.



Olybins in times past (& Sossius Senecio) gave unto Scipio Africane this good advertisement : Never to depart out of the market or common place, where citizens daily affembled about their affaires, untill he had gotten one new friend or other, more than he had before: Where you must understand this name of friend, not precifely as the Stoicks doe, nor after the fubtile acceptation of the world, according to curious Sophysters; namely, for him that continueth firme, falt for ever and immutable; but after a civill and vulgarmaner, for a wel Willer, as Die archus meant, when he faid: That we ought to make all men our well-willers, but honest men onely

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our friends: for furely, this true triendflip and amitie can not be gotten and purchased, but in long time, and by vertue; where is that good will of tivill perforts may be gained by affaires and 20 dealings one with another, by conference and convertion, and other whiles; by playing and gaming together; mainely, when opportunities time and place meters therewith, which helpeth not a little to the winning of humane affection and favour among men. But confider now, whether that leffon and precept of Polybous may be fitted, not onely to the market and common place aforefaid, but alfo to a fealt or banquet; namely, Thara man ought never to rife from the table, nor to depart from the company met at a feast, before he know, that he hath acquired the love and good affection of fome one of those there affembled; and so much the rather, because men repaire ordinarie to the publike place of the citie about other negotiations and bufineffe; but to a feast, wife and discreet persons come as much to get new friends, as to do pleasure unto those whom they have already and therefore (as it were) a base, absurd and illiberall part, to 30 feeme to carry away from a feaft or banquet any thing whatfoever; fo to goe from thence with more friends than he brought thither at his entrance, is a delectable, honest and honourable thing: like as on the contrary fide; he that is negligent and careleffe in this behalfe, maketh that meeting and fellowship unpleafant and unprofitable unto himselfe, and so he goes his way as one that had supped with his bellie, and not with his minde and spirit; for he that commeth as a guest to supper among others; commeth not onely to take his part with them, of bread, wine, meats and junkets, but to communicate also in their discourses in their learning, yea, and their pleasant courtesie, tending all in the end, to good will and amitie. For wreftlers to catch and take fast hold one of another, had need of dust strewed upon their hands; but wine at the table, especially when it is accompanied with good talke, is that which giveth meanes to lay holde up-40 on friends, and to knit them together. For * speech doth transfuse and derive by discourse and * 2006, rather communication, as it were, by conduits and pipes, courtesse and humanity, from the bodie to dies, wine, the mind; for otherwise, dispersed it is, and wandreth all over the bodie, and doth no other good at all, but onely fill and fatisfic the faine. And like as marble taketh from iron red-hot, the fluxible moifture, by cooling it, and maketh that formerfe to become hard and fliffe, whereby it is more apt to receive the impression of any forme received; even so honest discourse and talke ac the table, fuffereth not the guests that are eating and drinking together, to run endlong still, and be carried away with the ftrength of wine; but ftaieth them; and caufeth their mirth and jollitie (proceeding from their liberall drinking) to be well tempered, lovely, well beforming, yea, and apt to be fealed (as it were) with the fignet of amity and friendship, if a manknow with 50 dexteritie, how to handle and manage men, when they are thus made foft and tender, yea, and capable of any impression, through kinde heat, by the meanes of wine and good cheere,

THE FIRST QUESTION. .

Whether the food confifting of fundry forts of wands, be easier of digestion, than the simple? He first question then, of this fourth Decade of Table discourses, shall be concerning di- * That is to versitie of meats: for by occasion of the solemne feast * Elaphebolia, for the celebration fav, The Stag whereof killing.

whereof we went to the city Hyampolis. Philon the physician invited us, who (as it should seeme) had made great preparation of good cheere, to enterteine us magnificently; and seeing with Philinus a yoong lad his sonne, seeding heartily upon drie bread without calling for any other meat to it, tooke occasion to breake out into this admiration: O Hercules, now surely here is the common proverbe verified indeed!

They fought in place all full of stone, But from the earth could lift up none.

and therewith he leapt forth, and ran into the kitchin to fetch some good victuals for them: and after he had staied a pretie while away, he came againe and brought nothing with him, but a few drie figs and some cheese; which when I saw : This is (quoth I) the ordinary fashion of those, 10 who having made provision of rare and exquisit things, which also be costly and sumptuous, do neglect those which be good and necessarie, whereof afterwards, they finde a misse and want. Inever remembred (quoth Philon) that our Philinus heere, feemeth to feed after the maner of * Softratus, who never (by report) did eat or drinke any thing, all his lifetime, but onely milke: but as for him, very like it is that upon some change of minde, he began this maner of dier, and that he had not alwaies lived fo; but this Philinus here, like another Chiron, feedeth his fonnet like as schilles was brought up from his very infancie) with fuch meats as have no bloud in them, that is to favor the fruits of the earth. And thinke you not, that by this certeine demonstration, he verifieth that which is written of the grashoppers; namely, that they live of the aire and dewe I never thought upon a supper (quoth Philinus) or a feast of an hudred beasts killed for facrifice, 20 as they were when Aristomenes feasted his friends; for otherwise, I would have come from home well provided before hand of fimple viands, which be holfome and healthfull, as prefervatives hanging about our necks, against these sumptuous, surfetous & feaverous feasts; for that I have heard many times physicians say: That simple viands are easier of digestion, than varietie of meats, like as they be also readier at hand, and sooner provided. Then Marcion directing his speech unto Philo: This Philinus heere (quoth he) marres all your provision of good cheere, frighting as he doth your guests, and (what lies in him) withdrawing them from eating thereof: but if you will request me, I shall answer in your behalfe, I will pawne my selfealso and be their warrant, yea and proove unto them afterwards, that the divertitie of meats is more eafie to bee concocted and digested, than their simplicitie and uniformitie, to the end that they may in the meane time be the bolder and better affured to fall unto their victuals, & make merry with that plentifull fare that you have ordeined for us: Then Philo entreated Marcion fo to doc.

Now after that we had supped, we called upon Philinus to set in hand with the accusation of this multiplicitie of fundry and divers viands: Why (quoth he againe) I am not the author of this position; neither is it I that have said so; but this good host of ours Philo heere, who evermore tellethus: First and formost, that those beasts which seede upon a simple kinde of meat, and the fame alwaies one, live more healthie than men; whereas they that be kept up and crammed in coupes, cages, mewes, & bartons, or otherwise franke-fed & fatted, are in greater danger to fall into diseases, & more subject to crudities, for that their meat is set before them mingled, compounded, and in some fort delicately condited. Secondly, there was never yet any physici-40 an so bold and venterous in making new experiments, who durst offer unto his patient sicke of an ague, any meat or nourishment so compounded of divers sorts; but ordefined there is for them alwaies the simplest that can be had, & least smelling of the kitchin and cooks crast; as that which is most easie to be concocted in the stomacke : for in truth our meats should suffer alteration, and be wrought by the naturall faculties within us: and like as the colours which are most fimple doe strike the deepest die, and give the best tincture; and among oiles that which hath no fent at all taketh best the aromaticall drougues and odors of the perfumes, and sooner turneth or chaungeth than any other; even so the simplest nourishment is that, which most easily is altered and concocted by the vertue digestive: whereas if there be many and fundry qualities, and those of a contrary operation, they corrupt soonest, for that they fight and runne one a- 50 gainst the other, and so hinder concoction; much like as in a citie, the confused multitude of many nations hudled together from all parts, hardly will ever grow to any agreement, & confiftence well united and accordant; for that ech partie leaneth to their owne rites, striveth to draw all to their owne commoditie, and followeth their private affections against others, hardly or never agreeing and framing well with strangers. Moreover, we may have a most evident and infallible argument of this by the familiar example of wine, for nothing there is that fo doth inebriate, as varietie and change of wines; and it feemeth that drunkennesse is nothing els

but the indigestion of wine: and therefore our great professed drinkers avoidall that ever they can, mixt and brewed wines; yea & they that are the brewers and minglers thereof, doe it as fecretly as it is possible; like to those that lie in ambush: for furely every change brings with it inequallity, and a kinde of extafie, putting all out of frame; which is the cause likewise that muficians are very wary how they stirre or strike many strings together, & yet there is no other harme at all to be suspected but the mixture and varietie. This I dare be bold to affirme, that a man will fooner believe &confent to a thing where contrary reasons be alledged, than make good concoction, and digettion of divers and fundry faculties: but because I would not bee thought to speake in jest, leaving these prooves, I will come to the reasons of Philo: for wee to have heard him oftentimes say: That it is the quality of the meat that causeth difficultie of digestion, and that the mixture of many things is pernicious, and engendreth strange accidents: and therefore we ought to take knowledge by experience, what is friendly and agreeable to nature, that we may use the same, and rest contented therein; and if peradventure there bee nothing of the owne nature hard to be concocted, but that it is the quantitie alone that troubleth and hurteth our stomacke, and there corrupteth, so much the rather in mine advice we ought to forbeare divers forts of viands, wherewith Philoes cooke exercising his art cleane contrarie to his mafters, hatheven now empoisoned and bewitched us, by diversifying our appetite and by novelties and change, not fuffring it to bee wearie, and to refuse any thing, feeding it still with one thing after another, and causing it by this varietie to passe the bonds of contentment 20 in reason; much like unto the foster-father of lady Hypspyle:

Who being set in meddow gay, Flower after slower did erop away: And yet his minde so childish was, And in de sive so for re did passe, That bootie none would him content, Vntill the slowers most part off went.

In this case therefore it were good withall to remember the wise instruction of Socrates, who giveth us counsell to take heed and beware of those viands which draw men on to ear, when they are not hungry, wherein his meaning was this and none other; that we should avoid and seare the diversitie and pluralitie of meats: for this is it that cause thus to exceed the bounds of suffifiance, farther than needfull is, and reteineth our pleasure in things that content the cie and the care, in venereous matters, in plaies, games, and all kindes of sport, being continually refreshed and renewed still with a singularitie and superfluitie that hash many heads: whereas in simple and uniforme pleasures, the attractive delight never exceedeth the necessitie of nature. To be short, of this minde I am: That a man would better endure a musician, who commended a confusion of many strings discordant; or a master of wrestlers who praised the annointing of bodies for exercise, with sweet oiles and persumed ointments; than a phystrian who recommended this multiplicitie and varietie of viands; for surely such alterations and changes from one dish to another, must needs force and drive us out of the right way to health.

After that Philinus had thus faid: I am of this minde (quoth Marcion) that not onely they who disjoine and fever profit from honestie, incurre the malediction of Socrates, but also those who diftinguish pleasure and health a funder, as if pleasure for sooth were repugnant, or an enimic unto it, and not rather a friend and companion thereof: for feldome and even against our wils (quoth he) doe we make any use of paine, as being an instrument too boisterous and violent, whereas no man, would he never so faine, can chase pleasures away, and banish them, but they will prefent themselves alwaies in our feeding, in sleeping, in washing, bathing, sweating, and annointing our bodies; they enterteine, foster, and cherish him that is over-travailed and wearie, putting away quite by a certeine familiar propertie, agreeable unto nature, whatfo-50 ever is strange and offensive: for what manner of paine, what want, what poison is there how ftrong foever it be, that riddeth or dispatcheth a maladie so soone or so presently, as the bath in due time; or wine given to those that have need, and when their heart doth faint? Our meat going downe into the stomacke merily, and with pleasure, dissolveth incontinently all wambles, reducing and restoring nature againe into her owne estate; as if faire weather and a calme season were come againe; whereas on the contrarie fide, the fuccors and remedies which are procured by dolorous and painful meanes, by little and little, hardly & with much adoo are brought about and effected, even with wrong and injurie offered unto nature: let not Philinus there-

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fore set himselfe in opposition against us, in case we doe not hoise up and spred all our sailes to flie away from pleasures: but endevour and studie wee rather to draw delight and health together, for to make a marriage betweene them, for which we have more reason than some philofophers, to match pleasure with honesty. For first and formos (Philinu) mee thinks in the very entrance of your discourse, that you are greatly deceived; setting downe this supposall for a ground: That brute beafts feed more simply than men, and in that regard live more healthfully; for neither the one nor the other is true: and as for the former, disprooved plainly it is by the testimonic of the goates, of whom the poet Eupolis writeth, who highly commend and praise their pasture, as being mingled, and consisting of the varietie of all plants and herbes; who fing and fay in this manner:

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Of Symposiaques.

We feed in plenty everie where upon the plants which earth doth beare; The statty Firre we bark and bruse The Holme likewife with mightie bowe hes; The tender crops of Arbute tree Which beares a frute like Strawberre; Do reeldus foode, andmany mo Which both on hilles and dales do grow; As namly sweet tree Trifolie On which we love to eatedaily; The Juniper with fragrant smell, The Yewghlay greene and leav'd as well; Wilde Olives and fruitfull Lentisk, Which yeelds the hollome gumme Mastick, Ash, Figge-tree, Okes that high doe grow, Ivie, Lings which creepes as low; Whins, Tamarix, Gorfe and Broome, Chaste-tree, Brambles, all and some, Mollein, Longwoort, Asphodell, Ladan shrub that sweet doth smell: Beechtrees, with triangled Mast, Thyme and Sav'ry, be our repalt,

For even these trees, shrubbes, and herbes, heere reckoned up, have no doubt infinit differences in taste, juice, favour, sent, & vertue; and yet there be a number more besides these lest out unnamed. And as for the second point, Homer refuteth it by an evident experience, shewing that murrens and pestilent contagions, seized first upon brute beasts: besides, their short life witneffeth furficiently how difeafed they be, and fubject to many accidents and infirmities; for there is not one of them to speake of, that liveth long, unlesse haply some man will give instance of the raven and the crow, which we know and see to eat much, and to feed of all forts of victuals. Moreover, mee thinks that reasoning from the diet of sicke-persons, you have not 40 gone by a right rule to discerne the meats which be of easie or heavie digestion; for labour and exercise, yea and to cut and chew the meat well, serve much for concoction; but for all that they agree not to those who are in a feaver: furthermore, I suppose, that you seare without just occasion, the repugnance and contrarietie of divers and fundry meats: for fet the case that either nature doth out of different and dislike meats, chuse and take that which is agreeable unto it; the divers nourishment transmitting many and fundry qualities, into the maffe and bulke of the body, distributeth unto every part that which is meet and fit for it: so as that commeth to passe which Empedocles delivered in these verses:

Sweet will to sweet, and therewith loves to joine; The bitter runnes to that which bitter is; Looke what is (harpe with fharpe doth well combine, With faltish parts falt forteth not amisse.

This goeth one way, and that another, ech one to that which is sutable thereto, after that the mixture by the heat which is feated in the spirits is dilated and spredabroad, the like alwaies follow their owne kinde: for a body mingled and compounded of fo many things affembled together as ours is, by all reason doth contract, enterreine and accomplish the temperature thereof by varietie of matter, rather than by a simple uniformitie thereof; or if it were not so, but that

the conconction fo called, be it which hath force to alter and change our viands; yet the fame will both fooner and also better be performed in fundry and divers meats, than in that which is one and fimple: for never will the like receive any paffion or alteration by the like; but contrarietie and repugnancie is that, which fooner turneth and changeth the qualities being enfecbled by the mixture of their contrarie: and if you resolve once (ô Philinus) to condemne all that which is mixed and compounded; do not reproove and revile this Philo heere, for interteining onely his friends at the table with fo costly fare and varietie of deintie dishes? but also, yea and so much the rather, when soever he compoundeth and mixeth those roiall confections, and those cordiall electuaries that be counter-poisons, which Erafistrates was woont to cal: The 10 very hands of the gods; condemne them (I fay) of vanitie, curiofitie, and abfurditie, who confound and mixe together minerals, herbs, theriacall trochifts, made of the parts of venemous ferpents, for the composition of their treacles; yea and in one word, what soever land or sea affoordeth: for by your advice, good it were to abandon al these mixtures, and reduce all physick to plaine ptifans, thinne barley water, cucumber feeds, all fimple, or at the most to oile and water mingled together: yea, but this pluralitie and divertitie of yiands, doth by your faying, ravish, transport, and enchant our appetite as it were, besides it selfe, insomuch as it hath no more mastry of itselfe: I answer my good friend: That the same draweth after it puritie and neatneffe; it maketh a good stomacke; it causeth a sweet breath; and in one word, procureth cheerefulnesse in us, and a disposition both to eat more, and to drinke better: for otherwise 20 why take we not course branne in stead of the fine flower of meale to thicken our pots? or why dreffe wee not and prepare * cives and golden thiftles, as well as wee doe the tender crops and * heads of garden sperage? why reject wee northis odoriferous, fragrant, and delicate wine of ours, to drinke some savage and hedge drinke; ascyder made of apples, even out of the tubbe which refounds with the confort and muficke of gnats and flies round about? for you will fay (I am fure) that an healthfull diet is not the flying and avoiding of pleasure altogether; but rather a moderation and temperature of pleafures, making use of that appetite which is obedient to profit: for like as pilots and mafters of thips have many devices and meanes to escape a blufterous and violent winde when it is a loft, but when the fame is allaied and downe, there is no man able to raife and fet it up againe; even so to withstand the appetite, and to represse the same 30 when it doth exceed, is not so hard and difficult a matter; but to stirre up, to provoke, & corrobrate the same when it is lost, & decaied before due time; or to give an edge unto it, being dull, and faint, is a mastrie indeed, and a piece of worke (my friend, I may fay unto you) not so easily done: whereby it appeares, that the nouriture of divers viands, is better than the fimple food, and that which by reason is alwaies of one fort, doth soone satisfic and give one enough, by how much more easie it is to stay nature, when she is too speedie and hastie, than to set her forward, being weary and drawing behinde: and whereas fome haply there bee, who fay, that repletion and fulneffe is more to be feared and avoided than inanition and emptineffe, that is not true; but rather the contrary: indeed, if repletion and furfet grow to corruption or to fome maladie, it is hurtfull; but emptine ffe (if it bring and breed none other harme els) is of it felfe 4º adverse and contrary to nature. Let these reasons therefore be opposed, as it were, dissonant and founding of a contrary ftring, against those which you(Philinu) have phylosophically discourfed: as for others of you heere, that for faving money, and to spare cost, sticke to falt and *cumin; you are ignorant for want of experience, that varietie is more pleafant, and the *phones. more delectable that athing is, the more agreeable it is to the appetite, (provided alwaies that some reads you shunne excesse and gourmandise) for surely it cleaveth quickly to the body which is desi- water, that rous of it, going, as one would fay before, and ready to meet it halfe-way for to receive it, having beanes the eie-fight to prepare the way: whereas contrariwife, that which is lothfome or not pleafing to the appetite, floteth and wandereth up and downe in the bodie, and findeth no entertein-

ment, in such fort, as either nature rejecteth it quite, or if she receive it, the same goes against her 50 heart, & she doth it for pure need, and want of other sustenance: now when I speake of diversitie & variety of viands; note thus much and remember, that I meane not these curious works of pa ftry; these exquisit sawces, tarts, and cakes, which go under the name of Aburraca, Canduli,& Caryca; which are but superfluous toics and vanities; for otherwise Plato himselfe alloweth varietie of meats at the table, to these generous and noble-gentlemen his citizens, whom he defcribeth in his common-wealth, when hee fetteth before them, bulbs, fcalions, olives, falade herbes, cheefe, and al manner of deinties that woorth would affoord; and over & above al thefe,

he would not defraud not cut feafts (hort of their junckets & banquetting difhes at the end of al-

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THE SEGOND QUESTION.

What is the reason of this opinion so generally received, that Mushromes be engendred of thunder? and that those who lie assected are not thought to be smitten with lightning?

T a certeine supper, where we were in the city Elis, Agemachus set before us Mushromes A of an exceeding bigneffe; whereat when the companie feemed to woonder, one who was there present, smiled and said: Certes, these may be seeme well the great thunders that we have lately had within this few daies; by which words he feemed pleasantly to scoffe at this vulgar o- 10 pinion: That Mushromes should breed of thunder. Now some were there, who said: That thunder caused the earth to chinke and open, using the meanes of the aire, as it were a wedge to cleave it, and withall, that they who feeke for Mushromes, by those crevices guesse where they are to be found; whereupon arose this common opinion: That they were engendred of thunder, and not shewed thereby; as if a man should imagine that a showre of raine breedeth snailes, and not rather cause them to creeve foorth and be seene abroad. But Agemachus seemed then in good carnell to confirme the faid received opinion, by experience, praying the company, not to conclude by & by that a thing was incredible, because it was strange and wonderfull: For (quoth hee) there be many other effects of thunder, lightning, and other meteores or celeftial impreffions right admirable; whereof it were very hard, if not altogether impossible, to comprehend 20 the causes and the reasons. For this ridiculous round root called the Bulb, which maketh usso good sport, and is growen into a by-word, little though it be, escapeth not by that meanes from thunder, but because it hath a propertie cleane contrary unto it; like as the figge tree also, and the skin of the feale or fea calfe, and of the beaft Hyena, with whose skinnes, mariners and failers are wont to clothe the ends of their croffe-faile yards, whereupon they hang their failes: gardeners also and good husbandmen, call those showres that fall with thunder, duch that is to fay, good to water their grounds, and so they thinke them to be. In summe, it were great simplicity and meere folly to woonder heereat, confidering that we doe fee before our eies, things more admirable than this, and indeed of all other, most incredible; namely, out of moist clouds, fire to flash, and from the same (soft as they be) so great cracks and horrible claps of thunder: 30 Well, I am (quoth he) in these matters somewhat talkative and full of words, because I would follicit and move you to be more willing to fearch into the cause, for that I meane not to deale hardly otherwise with you, and seeme to presse you every one to lay downe your part toward the paiment for these my great Mushromes. Why (quoth I) Agemachus himselse seemeth in some fort to have pointed with his very finger to the reason hereof; for I assure you, at this present I can not thinke of any one, more probable than this; namely, that together with thunder, there falleth downe many times a certeine genitall water, apt to ingender; and the cause thereof, is heatmingled among: for, that pure, light, & piercing fubstance of the fire, being now converted into lightning, is gone and passed away; but the more weightie, groffe and flatilent part remaining behinde, enwrapped within the cloud, altereth and taketh quite the coldnesse away, and 40 drinketh up the moisture, making it more flateous and windie, in such fort, as by this meanes especially, these raines gently and mildly enter & pierce into plants, trees and herbs, upon which they fall, causing them within a while to thrive in bignesse, and infusing within them a particular temperature and a peculiar difference of juice. As we may observe otherwise, that the dew maketh the graffe to be better feafoned (as it were) and fitter to content the appetite of sheepe and other cattell: yea, and those clouds upon which that reflexion is made, which we call the rain-bow, fill those trees and wood upon which they fall, with a passing sweet and pleasant odor; wherof, the priests of our countrey be not ignorant, but acknowledge as much, calling the same Irissepta, as if the rain bow did rest or settle upon them. Much more probable it is, that when these waters and raines together with their ventosities & heats, occasioned by thunders & light- 50 nings, come to pierce deepe into the earth, it turneth and rolleth round, and by that meanes are ingendred therein fuch like nodolities and knobs, foft and apt to crumble, which we call Mushromes; like as in our bodies there breed and arise certeine flatuous tumors, named Kirnels or Glandules, formed by occasion of I wot not what bloudy humors and heats withal: for a Mushrome seemeth not to be a plant, neither without rain & moisture doth it breed, having no root at all, nor any sprout springing from it, it is wholly entire of it selfe round about, and holding upon nothing, as having the confiftence onely of the earth which hath bene a little altered & changed.

And if you thinke this reason to be but flender, I say unto you more, that the most part of those accidents which follow upon thunder and lightning, are of the like fort; and therefore it is efpecially, that in these effects there is thought to bee a certeine divinitie. Then Dorothew the oratour who was in the companie: Truthitis (quoth he) that you fay, for not onely the vulgar fort of simple and ignorant people are of that opinion, but some also of the philosophers; and for mine owne part I know as much by experience, that the lightning which of late fell upon our house, wrought many strange and woonderfull things: for it emptied our sellers of wine, and never did hurt unto the earthen vessell wherein it was; and whereas there lay a man a sleepe, it flew over him, yea, and flashed upon him, without any harme at all to his person, or sienging so to much as his clothes; but having a certeine belt or pouch wherein were certeine pieces of braffe money, it melted and defaced them all fo confuledly, that a man could not know by the forme or impression, one from another; the man went thereupon to a certeine Pythagorian philosopher, who as happe was fojourned there, and demanded of him what the reason might bee thereof, and what it did prefage & But the philosopher, when hee had cleered and affoiled his minde of scrupulous feare and religion, willed him to ponder and consider of the matter apart by himfelfe, and to pray unto the gods. Theare fay alfo, that not long fince there was a fouldiour at Rome, who keeping the Centinell, upon one of the temples of the citie, channed to have a flath of lightning to fall very neere unto him; which did him no hurt in the world in his body, buronely burnt the latchets of his shoes: and whereas there were certeine small boxes and cru-20 ets offilver within wooden cafes, the filver within was found all melted into a maffe in the bottome, and the wood had no injurie at all, but continued ftill entire and found. But thefe things a man may chuse whether he will believe or no. How beit; this passeth all other miracles, which we all; (Huppole) docknow very well; namely, that the dead bodies of those who have been ekilled by lightning, continue above ground and putrific not: for many there be who will neither burne nor enterre fuch corfes, but cast a trench or banke about, and so let them lie as within a rampar; fo as fuch dead bodies are to be feene alwaies above ground uncorrupt; convincing Clymene in Eurypides of untruth, who speaking of Phaethon said thus:

Beloved mine, but fee where dead be ties;

Invale below, and therewith purifies. 30 And heereupon it is, (as I take it,) that brimftone taketh the name in Greeke Beiov, for the resemblance of that smell which those things yeeld that have beene smitten with lightning, which no doubt have a fierie and piercing fent: and this may bee the reason likewise in my conceit, that dogges and fowles of the aire forbeare to touch any dead bodies, which in this fort are striken from heaven. Thus farre foorth have I laid the first stone for a ground-worke of this cause, as also of the Bay-tree: Now let us intreat him heere to finish and make out the rest, for that he is well acquainted with Mushromes, less haply that befall unto us which sometimes tothe painter Androey des did; for whe he painted the gulfe Seylla, he portraied more naturally & to the life, the fishes all about, than any thing else besides; whereby men judged that hee shewed more affection therein, than cunning of his art, for that naturally he loved to feed upon good fitnes; and even fo fome one might fay; that we have discourfed fo much of Mushromes, the breeding and generation whereof is so doubtfull, as you see, for the pleasure and delight that we take in eating of them. Confidering now that in these points our discourse seemed to carriesome probabilitie, and that everie man was perswaded well enough that the cause and reason thereof was elecresand withall my felfe began to speake and advise, that it was now time as the manner was in comedies, to fet up those engins devised for to counterfet thunder; so to inferre a disputation at the table of lightning; to which motion all the company condescended, but paffing over all other points, very defirous and earnest they were to heare a discourse as touching this one: What the reason might be that men a sleepe be never smitten or blasted with lightning. Now albeit I saw well well enough, that I should gaine no great praise, in touching 30 a cause, whereof the reason was common, yet I beganne to servo it and said: That the fire of lightning was fine and fubtill, as that which tookethe originall and beginning from a most pure, liquid, and facred substance; which if there had beene in it any moisture or terrestrials grosenesse mingled among, the celeritie of motion is such, that it would have purged and cast it foorth: Nothing is smitten with lightning (quoth Democritus) that cannot resist the fire from beaven; and therefore folide bodies, as iron, braffe, filver, and gold, becorrupted and melted therewith, by reason that they hold out, and withstand it: contrariwise, such as bee rare, full of holes, foungious, foft, and lux, lightning quickly pierceth through, and doth them no harme; as for example, clothes or garments, and drie wood; for fuch as is greene will burne, because the moisture within maketh refistance, and so catcheth fire withall. If then it be true, that those who lie afleepe be never ftricken dead with thunder and lightning, furely wee must fearch heere for the cause, and never goe farther; for the bodies of men awake, are stronger, more firme and compact, yea, and able to make more refissance, as having, all their parts full of sbirits, by which ruling, turning, and welding the natural fences and holding them together as it were with an engine, the living creature becommeth ftrong, faft, knit, and uniforme : whereas in fleepe it is flacke, loofe, rare, unequall, foft, and as it were all refolved, by reason that the pores be open, for that the spirit hath forsakon and abandoned them; which is the cause likewife that voices, odors, and favours, paffe through them, unheard and unimelled: for why? that 10 which should relift; and in resistance suffer and take impression, meeteth not with those objects. that are prefented unto it, and least of all, when they pierce with such swiftnesse and subtilities as the fire of lightning doth; for that which of it felfe is leffe firme & strong for to refult offentive things, nature doth defend, fortifie, and furnish with remedies against that which offendeth. by putting before them hard and folide munitions; but looke what things bee of incomparable force, and invincible, they leffe offend and flure that which woeldeth, than that which maketh head and refiftance: adde moreover heereunto, that they who lie a fleepe are leffe affraid, affrighted, or altonied, by occasion whereof and of northing elle, many have died; onely (I say) for feare of death, without any harme at all done unto them : and this is the very cause that shepheards teach their theepe to runne and gather round together, into a troupe when it thun- 20 dreth, for that they which are differred and feathered a funder; for very feate take harme, and cast their young ones in time of thunder: year and an infinit number have been a knowen to lie dead on the ground, by reason of thunder, without any marke or stroke, wound, scorch on burne feene upon them, whose life and soule for very feare hath flowen out of their bodies, like a birde out of a cage: for according as Euripides laith: 19 out 1

The very blast of some great thunder-clap, Hathmany a one strucke stone-dead with a slap.

And forasinuchas otherwise the sense of hearing, is of all others most subject to suffer violent passions, and the searchill frights occasioned by sounds and noises, worke greatest troubles in the minde: against it, the privation of sense is a sure bulwarke and ramparto a man that lieth'a- 30 sleepe; whereas they who are awake, be many times killed with seare of the thing before it commeth: for a fright (to say a trueth) knitting, closing, and compressing the body sast, giveth more strength a great deale to the stroake when it comes, for that it findeth more resistance.

THE THIRD QUESTION.

Why at a wedding or bride-supper, men use to invite more guests, than at other times?

T the wedding of my fonne Autobulus (ô Sossus Senecio) one who came fro Charonea, was with us to folemnize the fealt; & a great nuber there were befides of other honorable perfor ages; which gave unto him occasion for to demand this question: What the cause might be, 40 that ordinarily we invite more guests to such a marriage supper, than to any other feast?considering that even those law-givers who impugned most, the superfluitie and riot of feasts, have precifely & expresly fet downe the number of those persons, whom they would have to be biddenguells to a wedding: For of the ancient philosophers (quoth he) the man that treated of this argument and the cause thereof, to wit, Heeatam of Abdera, hath written nothing in my judgement worth ought, nor to the purpose; for thus he faith: That they who marry wives, bid many persons to their wedding, to the end that many may take knowledge and beare witnesse, that being free borne and of free condition, they take wives likewife of like free birth and condition. For the comicall poets, cleane contrary, mocke and laugh at those, who make proud and sumptuons fealts at their marriage, fetting out the fame with great pompe and magnificence, as if that 50 were no fure bond nor linke to be trufted unto, wherewith they would feeme to knit wedlocke; like as Menander faid to one, who willed the bridegrome to make a ftrong rampar all about, of pois, pannes and platters;

When that is done on every side,

What is all this to your new bride?

But left we inight not feeme to finde fault with others at our pleasure, for that we have nothing of our owne to say, which is the easiest matter in the world, I shewed first and formost, that there

was no occasion of feasing, so publike nor so much divulged and celebrated, as marriage : for fay that we factifice unto the gods, or fealt a friend for his farewell when he is to goe a long voiage, or enterteine a traveller and stranger that passeth by our house, or commeth of purpose to vilit us, we may do all without the privitie of kinfefolke & friends: but a nuptiall feast (where the wedding-fong and caroll of Hymenam is chanted aloud; where the torches are to be feene lightburning; where the hauthoies and pipes play merrily and refound; where (as Hamer faith) the very women and maidens stand woondering at their doores, to see and heare) is notoriously knowen and proclaimed to the whole world; in regard whereof, because there is none ignorant of these espousals and festivall solemnities, men being ashamed to leave out any invite general-10 ly, all their kinsefolke, familiar friends and acquaintance, as whom in some fort it doth concerne, and who have an interest in the thing. When we all had approoved this, Theoretaking in hand the question: Surely all this (quoth he) may goe for current, for it carrieth great probabilitie therewith; but you may adde moreover (if you please) thus much: That these marriage feasts are not onely for friends, but also for kinsefolke and allies; for that a whole kindred, race and generation, come to have another new alliance to be incorporated into them: and that which more is, when two houses in this wife be joined together; both he who receiveth the woman, thinketh that hee ought to enterteine and feaft the kindred and friends of him that giveth her; and he who giveth her, likewife taketh himfelfe bound to doe as much reciprocally, by the kinfefolke and friends of the receiver; whereby the feaft and number of them who are bidden, grow-20 eth double. Now forasmuch as many marriage complements, and (to say a trueth) the most part in maner all, are performed at weddings by women, furely where the goodwives be, great reason there is, that of necessitie their husbands also should be welcome for their sakes, and so thereby the companie still doth increase.

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

Whether the viands which the fea affoordeth, be more delicate than those of the land?

Alepfor a town in Eubara, where there be baths naturally of hot waters, is a proper feat and I place fitted by nature, for fundry honest pleasures, beautified with many faire houses and lodgings, in such fort, as it is reputed the publike hostelrie of all Greece: and albeit there be great game there, of hunting and hawking, and woonderfull plentic aswell of fowle as other venilon, yet is the market no leffe ferved from the fea, nor their tables leffe furnished with daintie fish; for that indeed along the coast, the sea is very deepe, and the water faire, nourishing an infinit number of excellent fishes. This towne flourisheth more in the mids of Spring, than at any other feafon of the yeere; for much concourfe there is thither at that time, who converse familiarly one with another, feathing mutually, and taking the benefit of that great affluence of victuals, and abundance of all good things; where having nothing els to doe of great importance, they passe the most part of the time in devising and discoursing together of good letters and 40 matters of learning: but when foever Callifration the professiour of rhetoricke is at home, hardly may a man sup any where els but at his house; for, a man so sull of courtesie he is and hospitalitie, that there is no faying of him nay. Now for that willingly he used to bring those together who were learned and professed scholars, his company was so much more pleasant and delectable; for many times he would feeme among other ancient persons of olde time, to imitate Cimon, making his whole and onely pleasure, to feast many in his house, and those from all parts: but most of all, and in maner continually, he followed the example and steps of Celeus, of whom it is written, that he was the first who daily affembled to his house, a number of honourable perfons, and of good marke, which affembly he called Prytanium. The speeches ordinarily at these meetings in Calliftratus his house, was forting well and furable to fuch companie: but one day 50 above the rest, when the table stood furnished with all maner of dishes that a mans heart could with for, it ministred matter and occasion to enquire as touching viands, whether were better, those of the land or those of the sea? And when all others in maner with one accord and voice. commended them which the land did yeeld, as being of fo divers and fundry forts, yea and those innumerable; Polycrates calling Symmachus by name: You fir, (quoth hee) who are (as one would fay) a water-animall, bred and fed within fo many feas, environing round about your facred citie Nicopolis, will not you mainteine and defend your turelar god Neptune? Yes that I will (quoth Symmachue) I heartily pray and beleech you to joine with me in this cause, whom I

take for mine adjoint and affiltant; confidering that you enjoy the benefit of the sweetest and most pleasant coast of all the sea. Beginne we then (quoth Polyerates) our discourse with our usuall custome and manner of speech: For like as among so many poets as there be, wee give but one by way of excellencie, simply the name of poet; to wit Homer, for that of all others he is the principall; fo there being in the world many daintie cates, and exquifit viands, yet use of speech hath caried it so, that fish alone, or especially is named by, that is to say, meat, for that indeed it is the chiefe and very best: heereupon it comes, that we call those gluttons that love belly cheere fo well, o to say, and on that they love beefe fo well as Hercules did: who as the poet faith:

Of Sympofiaques

When that he had fedde well of flesh, Dideas greene new figges gasheredfresh.

Neither doe weename fuch an one PIADOURDY, that is to fay, a lover of figges, as Plato was, or einoβοσείω, that is to fay, one that loveth grapes as well, like as Arcesilaus did; but fuch as haunt ordinarily the fifth stalles, and have a quicke eare, to heare the market bell, or listen to the clock, that giveth warning when the fish-market is open: And Demosthenes when hee objected unto Philocrates: That with the money that hee received for betraying his countrey, hee bought whoores, & fishes; reproched the man no doubt for his lecheric and gluttony: and it is pretily faid of Ctesiphon, when as one of these gluttons and bellie-gods, in the court or counsell house cried out: That he should cracke and burst in the middes: Doe not so (quoth hee) my good friend in any case, make us not a bait heere, for to be devoured of fishes: and he that made these little verses:

Thouliv ft of capers as thy meat,

* avbiav, if it

When as of *Sturgeon thou masse cat. What was his meaning thinke you? or what meaneth this common word of the people, when they speake one to another, for to be merry and make good cheere: Come, shall wee to the ftrond or shore to daie? Is it not as much as if they meant; that to suppe by the water side had no fellow for pleasure and delight, as in truth it hath not; for surely their purpose is norto goe unto the shore for the love that they have to see the billowes of the sea, or the gravell stones and fands cast up; why then? because they would eat some good pease potrage there, or make their meales with capers? no forfooth; for who goes thither for that purpose? but it is because they that dwell along the banke by the water-fide, are provided alwaies of foilon and store of good 30 fith, & the same fresh & sweet. Moreover, sea fith carieth an higher price beyond alreason, than other meat that commeth to the market: infomuch as Cato declaming and inveighing openly before the people against the superfluitie and excesse in Rome citie, brake out into this speech, not hyperbolically and over-reaching the truth, but as it was indeed: That a fish at Rome was deerer fold than a fatte oxe : for they fell a little barrell of fifh at fuch an high price, as an hundred oxen would not cost so much, at a solemne sacrifice, where they goe before bores, goates, and other beafts, yea and the strewing of sacred meale. Certes, the best judge of the vertue and strength of medicinable drougues and spices, is the most expert physician; likewise no man is able to well to judge of fong and harmonicall measures, as the best and most experienced musician; and consequently we may inferre, that the meetest judge as touching the goodnesse 40 and deintinesse of meats, is he who loveth them best: for we must not take to arbitrate and determine such a controversie and question as this, Pythagoras or Xenocrates; but rather Amagoras the poet, Philoxenus the sonne of Eryxis, and Androcydes the painter; who being to make a picture for to represent the gulfe Seylla, drew even the fishes about it most emphatically with a kinde of affectionate minde unto them; and in one word, more lively and naturally than all the rest, because he loved fish so well, and fedde upon them with such contentment. Antagoras the poet was upon a time in the campe of king Antigonus, who finding him verie buffe all untied & unbuttoned, in feething of congers in a pan, came close unto him, & rounding him in the care: Sirha, (quoth hee) thinkest thou that Homer thy master, when hee described the 50 noble acts of Agamemnon, was busic about boiling of congers: unto whom Antagoras turned againe, and replying in this wife presently: And thinke you sir (quoth he) that when Agamemnon exploited those brave seats of armes, he went up and downe in his campe spying, peeping, and prying into every corner so bufily as you doe, for to see if he could find one seething aconger? Thus much Polyerates: and to conclude and knit up his speech: For mine owne part (quoth he) this I thought good to fay in the behalfe of fithes, induced thereto as well by the proofe of testimonies as custome and usual speech.

But I (quoth Symmachus) will handle this matter foberly, and in good earnest, going more fubrilly and liker a logician to worke, in this manner: For if that be counted dainty and delicate which seasoneth meat, and give thit the most pleasant taste; we must need s confesse, that fimply to be the best, which mainteineth the appetite, and giveth an edge to the stomacke that continueth longest: like as therefore those philosophers furnamed Elpistiques affirme: That there was nothing that mainteined life, and held bodie and foule longer together than Hope; for that without hope which doth mittigate and allay all travels, it is unpossible to live; even so fowe must needs graunt and yeed, that to keepe and preserve appetite best, without which all other viands be lothfome and odious: but nothing shall you finde of that propertie and effect, To comming out of the earth; but fuch a thing the sea affoordeth, and that is falt, without which nothing to speake of is savorie, nothing toothsome nor to be eaten: for even our very bread is not pleafing to our tafte, if there be no falt within it : which is the reason that Neptune and Ceres be alwaies worshipped together in one temple: In summe, falt is as it were the sauce of sauces, and that which feafoneth all the dainties what loever. And hecreupon it was that those worthies and demi-god princes, who encamped before Troy, and made profession of sparie and fimple diet, as religious votaries, and who cut off all curious superfluitie and excesse, over and above necessarie food, infomuch as they did not eat once of fish; notwithstanding they had a standing legier, hard upon the straights of Hellespont, could not endure to beserved at the table without falt; witneffing thereby, that it is the onely viand which cannot be rejected or 20 left out: for like as colours of necessitie require light; even so all those sapours and juices within meats, have need of falt, to slirre up the fense of taste, and to provoke appetite, otherwise they are but flat, unpleafant to the tongue, and lothfome : for dead carrions (as Hercules faith) would be cast foorth, rather than dung and ordure: and what is the flesh that wee eat, but a dead thing, and part of a dead carcase? but when the strength of salt is put thereto, it is in stead of life. to give a grace and commendable tafte unto it: and this is the reason, that before other food, we take those things that be sharpe and saltish, and in one word, whatsoever do stand most of salts for fuch be allectives of the appetite, which being drawen on, and entifed as with a bait, by the meanes of these vantcurriers and preparatives, it commeth more fresh, and with a better edge. ready to fet upon other meats; whereas, if we should begin with them first, our stomacke would 30 quickely be done and gone: I will yet fay more than fo; namely, that all the kinds of falt, ferve not onely to give a good relish to our meats, but also draw on our drinks, and cause us to make a quarrel to the cup. As for that oinion which Homer talketh of and praifeth for a special dainty to commend drinke, it was more meet indeed for mariners & rowers at the oare, than kings and and princes: but in trueth, those meats that be powdred or corned a little with falt; for that they be favoury in the mouth, give all wines a pleasant verdure to please the taste, and to goe downe the throat merrily; the same make any water potable and delightsome, having besides, no fuch ranke and strong fent, as the onion leaves behinde it. That which more is, such meats doe rarefie other viands, and prepare them for concoction and digeftion, in fuch fort, as falt being eaten, imparteth unto the bodie the delight of a deintie viand, and the might of an holfome

40 medicine. To come now unto other meats, wherewith we are furnished from the sea: besides, that they are passing sweet, they be also of all others most harmlesse; for albeit they be of a stessly substance, yetthey lie not heavie upon the stomacke, they be easily concocted, and soone passe downward : witnesse hereof, our Zeno here, yea and beleeve me, Crato, who so soone as men be ficke or ill at eafe, before all other directions, betake them to fifth diet. Furthermore, it founds eth to good reason, that the sea breedeth and seedeth for us, living creatures, more holsome than any others, by how much they be more exercised, considering that the very aire which duth breathe and fend forth, for the purity and simplicitie thereof is most agreeable unto us. Well faid of you (quoth Lamprias) and fully to the point; howbeir, formewhat will I adde more out of 50 my phylosophicall learning: My grandfather (I remember) was woont ordinarily to say of the Jewes by way of mockerie, that they abiteined from the eating of that flesh, which of all others, deferved most justly to be eaten; even so may we say, that man hath not so great right and reafon to feed upon any viands whatfoever, as those that come out of the sea: for, say that there were no other communion and fellowship betweene us and these land-creatures; yearst least wife, thus much there is, that many of them eat of the fame food with us, draw in the fame aird, wash and drinke as we doe, yea, and otherwhiles we are abashed, and take pity of them, when we kill them for our food, making a lamentable crie as they do: and for that we have made fome of

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them familiar unto us, infomuch as they can do many things answerable to the education which they had; whereas the fishes in the sea and rivers, are altogether strangers unto us, as being bred, nourished and living in another world; no voice of theirs, no aspect of countenance, nor service at all which either they have done or can doefor us, can exempt them or crave mercy at our hands, for to have their lives saved. For what use should we make of those creatures which we can not keepe alive with us? or what charitable assection can we beare toward them? It he place where we live, is to them no lesse than hell; for no sooner come they into it, but dead they are immediatly.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

Whether it is upon any reverent and religious opinion of fivine, that the Jewes absteine from their stell, or because they detest and abborne them?

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Fter these speeches thus passed, some there were, who prepared and addressed themselves A to dispute in opposition against that which had beene said: but Callistratus breaking off and puting by all further disputation of this argument: What thinke you (quoth he) of that byspeech, discharged against the Jewes by Lamprias; namely, that they forbeare to eat of that flesh which deferveth most justly of all others to be eaten? For my part (quoth Polycrates) I thinke it paffing well spoken; but this moreover and besides, troubleth my head, and maketh me doubt, 20 whether this nation, upon any honour or reverent regard of swine, or for meere abomination and hatred of the beaft, doth abiteine from their flesh? as for that which themselves alledge, it resembleth fables and devised tales; unlesse haply they have some other serious and secret reafons, which they are loth to deliver before the face of the world. To fay what I thinke (quoth Callistratus) I am verily perswaded, that the swine is in some honour among them: for admit that it be a foule and ilfavoured beaft, what then ? that it be filthie befides, what of that ? I can not fee that it is more ugly in shape to fee to, or more untoward of nature to be endured, than the bettill, the crocodile, or the cat; which notwithstanding, the Aegyptian priests do honour and reverence as most holy creatures, some in one place and some in others: and as for the hogge, it is faid, that they regard and honour it by way of thankfgiving, as gratefull persons, acknowled- 30 ging a benefit received from that beaft, in that it sheweth them the maner how to til and eare the ground, breaking up the earth, digging and rooting (as he doth) into it with his fnout: and withall, what fay you to this, that he hath shewed the making of a plough-share, which some thinke, thereupon tooke the name with, as derived of the word is, that is to fay, a fwine. And verily, the Aegyptians at this day, fuch as inhabit the low-countrey and the flats along the river Nilm, have no need of other plough than the fwines fnour; for when the river is returned againe within his banks, after he hath watered the plaines & champian field fufficiently, the peafants of the countrey doe no more but follow presently with their seed, and put in all their hogges after it, who partly trampling with their feet, and in part turning up the foft earth with their nofes, cover the feeds which the husbandmen have cast upon the ground. No marvell therefore, if there be 40 fome nations, who in this respect forbeare to eat swines flesh, considering there be other beasts, who for as small matters as these, yea, and some that be meere ridiculous and to be laughed at, have had right great honours done unto them, by barbarous nations: for it is faid, that the Aegyptians make a god of the filly blinde mouse Mygate: and why so ? because darkenesse was before light, and is of greater antiquitie: also they have an opinion, that this creature is ingendred of mice in the fifth generation, or at the fifth time that they breed, and that in the verie change of the moone; also, that the liver of it doth decrease, as the moone is in the wane, and doth decay with her light.

Moreover, they confecrate the lion unto the funne, for that it is the onely foure-footed beaft having crooked clawes, which bringeth forth whelps that can fee: alfo, for that the lion is verie 50 wakefull, and fleepeth paffing little, and whiles he fleepeth, his eies do fhine againe. Moreover, they fee lions heads gaping for the fpouts of their fountaines, because (for footh) the river Nitus bringeth new waters into their fields, and corne-grounds, when the sunne passeth thorow the signe Leoin the Zodiacke: and as for the blackes torke 1bis, which they likewise honor, they say, that when it is first hatched, the weigheth two drammes, that is to say; just as much as the heart of a yoong infant newly borne doth peise; also that of the two legs and the bill stretched foorth one from the other, and resting upon the ground, is made the true proportion of atti-

angle with three equall fides: And why fhould the Aegyptians be blamed and condemned for forgreat folly and abfurditie, feeing that by report, the very Pythagoreans themselves adored and worthipped a white cocke; and among other sea fitnes they abstenced from the barble and the nettle fish; considering also that the Magicians, who were of the sect of Zoroafires, but noted above all living creatures upon carti the trichin or hedghogge, but hated water-mice; faying: That he should doe best fervice, and most acceptable to the goods, yea and be right blefed and happie himselse, who could kill the greatest number of them.

This giveth me occasion to thinke, that if the Jewes had held twine hatefull, and abominable creatures, they would have killed them, like as the Magicians did the faid mice; whereas 10 contrariwife they are as well forbidden to kill them, as to eat them: and peradventure there is good reason, that as they honour the affe, for that sometime in a great drought he thewed them a place wherein was a fountaine of water; even fo they reverence the fwine, for teaching them how to fowe and till the ground. And verily fome man haply might fay, that this people abfterneth likewife from eating the hare, hating and abhorring the fame, as an impure and uncleane beaft: It is not without some cause (quoth Limprias, taking the word out of his mouth) that they forbcare eating of the hare, for the refemblance that it hath to the afle, whom they myftically doe worship; for the colour of them both is all one; the cares be long and bigge with all; their cies great and thining; in which respects there is a marvellous similitude betweene them, in such fort, that of a great and small beast, there is not to be found such a resemblance 20 againe in any other; unlesse peradventure among other similitudes, they imitate hecrein the Aegyptians, who efteeme the swiftnesse of this beast divine, yea, and the exquisit perfection of fome naturall fenfes, admirable: for the cies of hares be fo vigorous and indefatigable, that they will fleepe open cied, and their hearing fo quicke, that the Aegyptians having them in fuch admiration therefore, when they would figuifie in their Hieroglyphick characters, perfeet hearing, doe paint and pourtrey hares: as for fwines flesh, the Jewes have in great abhomination, for that barbarous nations do of all other difeates abhorre faint Magnus evill, or the white leprofie most, as well for that they suppose, that these maladies may be engendred, by feeding upon their flefh, as also because, looke what persons they do assaile, them they doe cat & confume in the end; and this we doe fee ordinarily, that a fwine under his belly is full of a kind 30 of leprofie, and covered all over with a white fourffe, called Pfora; which infection feemeth to proceed from fome evill habit, and inward corruption within the body, bewraying it felfe in the

wife, which must needs impart some evill qualitie to the slesh; for there is not another beast againe, that taketh fuch pleafure in durt and ordure, loving to wallow and welter in the most mirie and stinking places that be, as it doth; unlesse they be such as breed and bee nourished in those places: furthermore, it is faid, that the fight of their cies is so bent and fixed downeward, that they can fee nothing on high, no, nor once fo much as looke up to the skie, unleffe they be cast upon their backs with their feet upward; so that the balles of their eies by this means be turned quite contrary to the course of nature: and verily this beast howsoever otherwise or-40 dinarily it be given to cry and grunt exceeding much, yet if the feet be turned upward (as is before faid) it will be filent and still; so much astonied and amazed it is to see the face of heaven, which it is not woont to doe, and so for feare of some greater harme, it is thought that it giveth over crying: Now if wee may come in with poeticall fables to make up our discourse; it is faid, that faire Adonis was killed by a wilde bore: and Adonis is thought to be no other than Bacehte himselfe; which opinion may be confirmed by many ceremoniall rices, in facrificing, both to the one and the other, which are the very fame : although fome hold that Adonis was the minion whom Bacchus loved, as appeareth by Phanocles the poet, a man well scene in lovematters, in these verses:

outfide of the skinne: to fay nothing of the filthineffe of this beaft, both in feeding and other-

Bacchus who tooke fo great delight The hilles and forrests for to range: Of faire Adonis had once a sight, and him to ravish made it not strange.

Symmachus marvelling at this last speech of his above the rest: How now (quoth he) will you Lamprius indeed insert and transcribe the tutelar god of your country:

Bacchus Imeane surnamed Evius, Who women doth to rage inche:

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And

And in such service furious, And franticke worship takes delight.

among the fecret ceremonies of the Hebrewes? Or doe you not thinke there is some reason that he is the very fame god whom they love. Then Meragenes: Let Lamprias alone (quoth he) as for my selfe who am an Athenian, I answer & say unto you affuredly, that he and Bacchus are both one: but the most part of the arguments and conjectures which proove it, may not be ut. tered and taught, but unto those who are professed in the absolute religion and confraternitie trietericall, of Bacches in our country: howbeit, that which we are not forbidden to speak among friends, and namely at the table, amidde our cuppes, and when we take pleafure in the gifts and See the blundhelle and benefits of this god, (if it pleafeth the copany) ready I am to deliver; and when they all willed & 10 requested him so to doe: * First and formost (quoth he) the season and whole manner of their these pagans: principall and greatest feast, is altogether proper and convenient unto Bacchus; for that which they call their falt, they celebrate in the very middes and heat of vintage, at what time as they bring tables abroad, and furnish them with all kinds of fruit: they fit under tents or boothes, which are made principally of vine branches and ivie, wrought, twifted, & interlaced one within another; and the even or day before it, they call the feath of tabernacles or pavilions: within a few dates after, they celebrate another feaft, and the fame is not under a figure, and covertly, but openly, and directly in the name of Bacchus: there is a third folemnitie yet among them, named Cradephoria, of carying vine braunches and Thyr fophoria, of bearing javelins dight with ivie, and in that manner enter they into their temple, but what they doe within we know not: 20 howbeit very probable it is, that they performe there certeine Bacchanales or rites in the honor of Bacchus; for they use little trumpets to invocate upon their god, such as the Argives have in their Bacchanale folemnitie; then come others playing upon harpes and lutes, whom they call in their language Levites, a denomination haply derived of Lyerus, the furname of Bacebus, or rather of Evim: It feemeth alfo to me, that their feafts of Sabbats is not altogether difagreeable with Bacchus; for there be many places yet in Greece even at this day, where they call the priests Bacchi, by the name of Sabbi: who in their Bacchanales and ceremoniall sports, estfoones reiterate these voices, Euoi and Sabboi, as appeareth in the oration of the crowne which Demost henes made against Aefelines; as also in the poet Menander. And this name, Sabbat, if a man should fay, it was imposed upon thus fealt of arteris, that is to fay, of the inordinate motion and turbulent agitation of the pricits of Bacchus, it were not altogether abfurd and without reason; for even they themselves tellifie no lesse; for they solemnize and honor the Sabbat with mutuall feathing and inviting one another to drinke wine, untill they be overfeene therewith, undeffe fome great occasion do occurre that hindereth them; and even then, they thinke yet that they must needs taste strong wine. Howbeit, some man may haply say, that these arguments be but bare conjectures and prefumptions, that cary with them fome little probablitie: but verily, that which is done among them, is a forcible & necessarie proofe. First and formost, their high prieft thewing himselfe abroad, and going before with a miter upon his head, at these feasts, arguerh no leffe; who also is clad in a vesture of Stags skinne, wrought richly with golde; arraied befide, in a long robe, downe to his feet, and wearing buskins; befides, there be many little belles pendant round about the border and skirt of his robe, which gingle and ring as he goeth, like 40 as also among us: this maner of resounding they use still in their facrifices, and they surname the nourses of their god, Cholcodryta: and besides, there is a Thyrse or favelet with tabours to be seene expresly printed aloft, against the walles of their temple; all which ceremonies, certeinly can agree to no other god, but unto Bacchus.

Moreover, in none of all their oblations do they offer honic, for that they thinke it marreth and corrupteth wine when it is mingled with it; and yet this was the liquor which they used in olde time, to serve God withall in their libaments; and whereof they dranke untill they were drunke, before the vine-tree was knowen: and even at this day, those barbarous nations, who drinke no wine, use a certeine drinke made of honie, correcting the exceeding sweetnesse there- 50 of with certains tart and auftere roots refembling (in fome fort) the verdure of wine: thefe oblations, the Greeks present unto their gods, and those they call Nephalia and Melesponda, as one would fay, Sober and confected with honie; for that honie hath a natural propertie adverse and contrary unto wine. To conclude, that this is the fame God which they worship, a man may collect by this one argument, which is of no fmall force; namely, that among many puminments which they have, this is the most shamefull and ignominious, when they are forbidden to drinke wine; wo are punished even so long as it pleaseth him to set downe, who is the judge, and hath power to impose the penaltie; and those who are thus punished, * * * *

The end of this discourse is wanting, as also the discussing and deciding of the other five questions proposed in the forefront of this fourth booke.



THE FIFTH BOOKE OF SYMPOSIAQUES OR TABLE-QUESTIONS.

The Contents or Summarie.

Herefore we willingly heare and feethem who counterfeit those that be either angry or sorowfull; but such as be wroth or heavie inded, we love not either to heare

That there was an ancient game of prize, performed in Poetrie.

Why the * Pitch-tree is consecrated to Neptune and Bacchus; also that in the be- " wints. ginning, menufed to crowne with branches of the faid tree, those who wan the prize at Ishmicke solemnitie of sacred games; afterwards, with a garland of * Smallach; and now againe, * craws, some they begin to take up the crowning of them with Pitch-tree.

4 What is the meaning of the fe words in Homer: Swedness & klegges

5 Of those that invite many to supper.

20

6 What is the cause of sitting pent and with streight roome at the beginning of supper, but at large afterward, toward the end.

Of those who are said to eie-bite or to bewitch.

8 What is the reason that the poet called an Apple-tree, ay hadrenger; and why Empedocles named

9 What is the reason, that a Fig-tree being it selfe intaste most sharpe and biting, bringeth soorth a fruit exceeding freet.

40 10 Who are they that are said in the common prover be to be well and κλινύμινον.

THE FIFTH BOOKE OF Symposiaques or table-questions.

The Proeme.



Hat your opinion is at this present (ô Sossus Sinecio) as touching the pleasures of the soule and bodie, I wot not;

For that now many amountaine high, And hady forest stand betweene; Theroaring feas likewife do he, So as to part us, barres they beene.

for you feemed not greatly, long agoe, to approove and allow their fentence, who holde: That there is nothing properly and particularly delightfome, nothing pleafant unto the foule, nothing at all that it defireth, or joieth in, of it felfe; but that it liveth onely accor-

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vanue of who for want of the nue lightout of holy feriptracs run on Hillim darkneffe,carred with the words onely of humane wit and lear-900g,

ding to the life of the bodie, laughing (as it were) and sporting with it in the pleasant affections thereof; and contrariwife, mourning at the heavie passions afflicting it: as if the soule were no other thing, but a very matter apt to take the impression of fundry formes, or a mirror to receive the images and refemblances of those objects which are presented unto the flesh and body for as by many reasons, a man may easily refute the blind and illiberall falsitie of this opinion; so, by this especially; that after the table is taken away, and supper done, men of learning and knowledge incontinently fall to discourse and devise together (as it were) at a banquet, delighting and folicing one another with pleasant talke, wherein the bodie hath no part at all, unleffe it be very little and a farre off: which experience beareth witnesse, that this is the provision of daintie cates, and delicate pleasures laid up peculiarly for the soule; and that these bethe onely de- 10 lights indeed of the minde, whereas those other be but bastards and strangers infected with the focietie of the bodie: like as therefore nurses whiles they give pappes and panades unto their little babes, have some small pleasure in feeding them, by tasting the same in their owne mouthes before; but after they have filled their infants bellies, and brought them a fleepe, fo as they crie no more, then they goe themselves to their owne resection, meet for them, they cate and drinke and make good cheere; even so the soule doth participate with the desires and appetites of the bodie, in manner of a nurse attending upon it, serving it, and framing herselse in some sort to do it pleasure, and satisfic the necessities thereof: but after that the body is sufficiently ferved, laied at reft and repose, then being delivered of her obsequious service and bufinesse about the bodie, the betaketh herselse from thencesorward unto her owne pleasures 20 and delights; making her repast, and taking her folace in discourses of learning, in good letters, in sciences and histories, and in seeking to heare somewhat, and know more still of that which is fingular. What should a man fay any more of this? confidering and feeing as he doth, that even base mechanicall and unlettered fellowes, after supper, ordinarily withdraw their minds, and employ the same upon other pleasures and recreations, farre removed from the body, proposing darke riddles ænigmaticall questions, and intricate propositions of names comprised under notes of certeine numbers, hardly to be associated or gested at? and after all this, come in banquets, which make way unto plaiers, jefters, counterfet pleafants, giving roome to Menander, and the actours of his comedies: all which sports and pastimes are not devised for to ease and take away any paine of the body, neyetto procure some gentle moti- 30 on and kinde contentment in the fleth; but onely for that the speculative and studious part of the minde, which naturally is in every one of us, doth demaund & call for some particular pleafure and recreation of her owne, when wee are once discharged of the businesse and offices whereabout we are emploied for the body.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

What is the cause that willingly we heare and see those who counterset them that be angrie, or sorrowfall; but love not to heare or see the parties themselves in those passions?

F fuch matters there passed many discourses, when you were present with us at Athens, at what time as the comedian actor Strato flourished; for hee was then in so great name and reputation, that there was no talke but of him. But one time above the rest, weewere invited and feasted by Boethus the Epicurean, and with us there supped many more of that sect: now after supper, the fresh remembrance of the comedie which we had seene acted, gave occafion unto us, being students and lovers of learning, to fall into a discourse and question about the cause, why we cannot abide but are greatly discotented, to heare the voices of those who are angrie, forrowful, timorous, or affrighted and contrariwife, what the reason is, that they who counterfet these passions, and represent their words, their jestures and behaviour, doe much delight and please us? And verily, all in manner there in place, opined the same, and were in one 50 fong; for they gave this reason and said: Inasmuch as he who counterfeiteth those pastimes, is better than he who suffereth them indeed; & in regard that he who is not affected himselfe, excelleth the other; we knowing so much, take pleasure and are delighted: but I, albeit, that I set foot (as men fay) in the daunce of another, faid thus much: That we being naturally framed for to discourse by reason, and to love things that savour of wit, and be artificially done, affect and esteeme those who have a dexteritie therein, if a thing succeed accordingly: for like as the Bee delighting in sweetnesse, flieth from flower to flower, seeking busily where shee may

finde any matter that will affoord substance for hony 3 even so a man by nature ingenious, stirdious also of arts, and elegancie, is woont to cherish, love, and embrace every action, and worke, where he knoweth there was wit and understanding emploied in the finishing of it: if then one come and present unto a yoong childe, a little loase of bread indeed, and withall tender unto him a prety puppie or bulkin, or heighfer made of patte or dough; you shall see that he will run rather to these counterfet devices, than to the other: and even so it is also in other things; for if one offer him a piece of filver in the maffe unwrought; and another tender unto him a little beaft or a cup made of filver, he will much fooner make choife of that which he feeth to have some artificiall workmanship joined with it, and to savour of wit and cunning; and 10 therefore it is, that children at this age take more delight, both to heare fuch covert speeches as shew one thing and meane another; as also those plaies and pastimes which have some wittie matters contrived, or ambiguous difficulties interlaced therein: for that which is fmoothly polished and curiously wrought, draweth and allureth unto it mans nature of the owne accord, as being proper unto it, and familiar, although it be not taught to imbrace it. For a finuch as therefore, hee who is angry or grieved in good earnest, sheweth nothing else but common and ordinary passions; but in representing and counterseiting of the same, there is a certaine dexteritie and subtilitie of wit to be seene, especially if it speed well and take essect; therefore wedelight to behold the one, and are displeased to see the other. For the proofe heerof, marke how we are affected, semblaby in other objects, shewes, and fights, presented unto us: for 20 with griefe and forrow of heart we looke upon those who are either dying or lie grievously sick: contrariwife, with joy we behold, yea and admire either Philottetes painted in a table; or queene Joeasta portraied in brasse; upon whose visage it is said; that the workman tempered a little silver with the braffe, to the end that this mixture of mettals together, might reprefent naturally, and to the life indeed, the face and colour of one ready to faint, and yeeld up the ghoft: And this (quoth I) my masters, (to you I speake who are Epicureans) is an evident argument on the Cyrenaiques fide against you; to proove that in pastimes and sports, presented to the cie and the eare, the pleasure consistest not in seeing or hearing, but in the understanding: for an odious and unpleasant thing it is, to heare a henne keepe a creaking or cackling, and a crow untowardly and untunably crying; and yet hee that can well and naturally counterfet either the 30 cackling of an henne, or the crying of the crow, pleafeth and contenteth us woonderfull well: femblably, to looke upon those who are in prisicke or consumption, is but a lovelesse sight; and yet we joy and take delight to fee the pictures or images of fuch perfons; for that our understanding is pleased and contented with the imitation & resemblance of them, as a thing proper and peculiar unto it: for otherwise, what joy and contentment have men, or what outward occasion have they so much to admire and woonder at Parmenons sow infomuch as it is growen to be a common by-word: This Parmenon was by report, one that counterfeited paffing well, the grunting of an hogge; for which his fingular grace and gift therein, his concurrents upon an envious humour, would needs affay to doe as much in despight of him but men being already forestalled with a prejudicate opinion of him, would say thus: Well done; but 40 nothing to Parmenons hogge: and therefore, one of them having gotten a little porket indeed under his arme, made it for to fqueake and crie; but the people hearing the noise of a swine indeed : All this (fay they) is nothing to Parmenons hog; whereupon the partielet the faid live hog run among them all, for to convince them of their corrupt judgement, caried away with an opinion, and not grounded upon trueth and reason. Whereby it appeareth evidently, that one and the same motion of the sense, doth not affect the minde alike, when there is not an opinion, that the action was performed wittily and with artificiall dexterity.

THE SECOND QUESTION.

That there was inold time a game of prize for poets.

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A T the folemnitie of the Pythicke games, there was fome question and talke upon a time, about the cutting off, and putting downe of certeine plaies and pastimes, foisted in, to the others that were ancient and of the first institution: for whereas at the first, there were but three onely that plaied their prizes; to wit, the Pythian plaier of flute or pipe, the harper, and the singer to the harpe: after they had once admitted the actour of tragedies, no sooner was this gare (as one would say) set open, but they were not able to resist and keepe out an infinit number of

other plaies and sports, that rushed and thrust themselves in after him: by occasion whereof, there was much varietie and a frequent concourse at this solemnitie, which I must needs say, was no unpleasant sight to beholde: but surely it reteined not the ancient gravity and dignitie befeeming the Mules indeed; for by this meanes, the judges and umpires were much troubled; befides, there grew many quarrels and enmitties, which could not otherwife be 3 for where there are so many contending for the prize, there can not chuse but be a number of mal-contents, that missed the garland. But among all others, it was thought good by the judges, to remoove and banish from the solemnitie, a number of those who penned orations, and all the fort of poets that came thither to verifie for the best game; which they did not (I assure you) for any hatted unto learning and good letters, but for that they who present themselves to these learned com- 10 bats, be ordinarily the most notable persons of all others; the judges before said, reverenced them, and in some fort, pitted their case, esteeming them all worthy men, and well deserving of good letters, howbeit, not able all to gaine the victory. We therefore, being at this councell, labored to dehort those who went about to change and alter setled customes, and who blamed in any of thelefacred games, multiplicity and variety, as if they found fault with many flrings in an instrument, or a confort of voices in vocall musicke. Now, in supper time when we were in Petrem his house, who was the president and governour of the said solemnitie, and courteously had invited us, the question was revived and set on foot a fresh; and we tooke upon us to defend the cause of the Muses, shewing, that poetric was no moderne profession, nor entred but lately among the combats of facted games, but that of ancient time it had won the victorie, and gai- 20 ned the crowne. There were in the company, fome who thought by these words of mine, that I meant to alledge old testimonies, and to cite stale and triviall examples for proofe of the cause; to wit, the funerals of Ocolyeus the Theffalian, and of Amphidamas the Chalcidian, at which, Homer and Hestodus made verses one against another for the victorie, as stories make mention : but casting by and rejecting all these evidences so much tossed and divulged already by Grammarians; and namely, the funerall obsequies and honours done to Patroelus in Homer, where they read not ilustry, that is to fay, launcers of darts, but piluses, that is to fay, makers of orations and eloquent oratours, as if Achilles had proposed rewards and prizes for orations; leaving (Isay) these matters, I affirmed: That when Acastus celebrated the funerals for his father Pelias, he exhibited a combat of poets for the best game, wherein Sibylla went away with the victory, Hereat 30 many flood up, and opposed themselves against me, demanding a reall caution at my hands for to make good that which I had averred, for that it feemed unto them a very strange narration and incredible : but as good hap was, I called to remembrance, that I had read fo much in the Chronicle of Lybia, copiled by Acefander, where the story is put downe: And this booke (quoth I) is not in every mans hand to reade; howbeit, I thinke verily, that the most of you have beene carefull to peruse those records which Polemon the Athenian, a diligent writer and a learned antiquarie, who hath not beene idle and fleepie in feeking out the antiquities and fingularities of Greece, hath fet downe in writing, as concerning the treasures of the city Delphos: for there you shal find written, that in the treasurie of the Sicyonians, there was a golden booke, given and dedicated by Aristomache the poetresse of Erythran, after the had obteined the victorie, & gotten 40 the garland at the folemnitie of the Ishmicke games : Neither have you any reason (quoth I) to effective Olympia, and the games thereof, with fuch admiration above the rest, as if it were another fatall desteny immutable, and which can not be changed nor admit alteration in the plaies there exhibited: as for the Pythian folemnitie, three or foure extraordinarie games it had, respective unto good letters and the Muses, adjoined and admitted to the rest: the Gymnicke exercises and combats performed by men naked, as they were at first ordeined, so they continued for the most part still, and hold on at this day; but at the Olympian games, all, save onely running in the race, were taken up afterwards, and counted as acceffories: likewife, there have bene many of them which at first were instituted, since putdowne and abolished; namely, warm, that is to fay, an exercise and seat of activitie, when the concurrent mounted on horsebacke, in the 50 mids of his course leapeth downe to the ground, taketh his horse by the bridle, and runneth on foot with him a full gallop: as also another, called another, which was a course with a chariot drawen by two mules: moreover, there is taken away now, the coronet ordeined for children that atchieved the victorie in Pentathlus, that is to fay, five feverall feats: to be short, much innovation, change and altering there hath beene in this feltivall folemnitie, from the first institution; but I feate me, that you will call upon me againe for new pledges and cautions, to proove and justifie my words, if I should say, that in olde time at Pifa, there were combats of sword-fen-

cers, fighting at the sharpe to the uttrance, man to man, where they that were vanquithed or yeelded themselves died for it; and if my memorie failed mee that I could not bring out mine author, and name him unto you; I doubt, you would laugh and make a game of mee, as it had overdrunke my felfe, and taken one cup to many.

THE THIRD QUESTION.

What is the cause that the pitch-tree is held consecrated unto Neptune and Bacchus: And that in the beginning the wictours at the 1sthmian games were crowned with a garland of fine-taken in the tree branches, but afterwards with a chaplet of smallage or payley, and now of late, with processed in the forefaid puch-tree?

Here was a question propounded upon a time: Why the manner was to crowne those therm has with pine or pitch-tree branches, who gained the prize at the Isthmick games? For so it this be united was, that during the faid festivall solemnity, Lucanius the high priest made a support at Corinib, slood of the at his owne house, and seasted us: where Praxiteles the geometrician, a great discourser, told us pure a poeticall tale, and namely; that the body of Melicerta was found call up, & driven upon the body of a pine-tree, by the fea at a full tide; for that there was a place not farre from Megana, named Cales Dromos, that is to fay, the race of the faire lady; whereas the Megarians doc re-20 port, that dame Ino carrying her young babe within her armes, ranne and cast her selfe headlong into the lea: But it is a common received opinion (quoth he) that the pine is apropriat for the making of coronets, in the honour of Neptune: whereupon when as Lucanius the highpriest added moreover and said: That the said tree being confecrated unto Bacchus, it was no marvell nor abfurditie if it were dedicated also to the honour of Melicerta. Occasion was taken to fearch into the cause; wherefore the auncients in old time held the said tree facred unto B.cchus and Meptune both? For mine owne part I faw no incongruitie therein; for that thele two gods be the lords and rulers over one generall principle, or element, to wit, humidity or moiflure, confidering also that they generally in manner all, sacrifice unto Neptune, under the surname ευτάλμιος, as one would fay, protectour of plants; and unto Bacchus likewife, by the name 30 or addition Associates, that is to fay, the prefident over trees : and yet it may be faid, that the pine more particularly appertenenth not to Neptune; not as Apollodorus is of opinion, because it is a tree that loveth to grow by the fea-fide, or for that it delighteth in the windes as the fea doth: (for some there be of this minde) but especially in this regard; that it affoordeth good timber, and other stuffe for building of ships; for both it, and also other trees, which for their affinitie may goe for her fifters, to wit, pitch-trees, larike-trees, and cone-trees, furnish us with their wood, most proper to flote upon the lea, and with their rosin also and pitch, to calke and calfret; without which composition, be the joints never so good and close, they are to no purpose in the sea: as for Bacchus they consecrated the pitch-tree unto him, for that pitch doth give a pleafant feafoning unto wine: for looke where these trees doe naturally grow, the vinc 40 there by report yeeldeth pleafant wine; which Theophrastus imputeth to the heat of the foile; for commonly the pitch tree groweth in places of marle or white clay, which by nature is hot, and fo by confequence helpeth the concoction of wine; like as fuch kinds of clay yeeldeth water, of all others most light and sweet : besides, if the same be blended with wheat, it maketh the greater heape, for that the heat thereof doth cause it to swell, and become more full and tender: moreover the vine receiveth many commodities and pleafures more from the pitchtree, for that it, with those things which be, is good & necessarie, both to commend and also to preserve wines; for it is an ordinary thing with all men, to pitch those vessels into which they put up their wines, yea, and some there be who put rosin even into the wine: as for example, those of Eubaa in Greece, and Italy, the inhabitants by the Po fide; and that which more is, from out of 50 Gaule by Vienna, there is brought a certeine pitch wine, called Pifites, which the Romanes fet much store by, because it giveth it not onely a delectable sent, but also a better strength, taking from it in a small time the newnesse and the watery substance thereof, by the meanes of a milde and kinde heat. This being faied, there was an oratour there, a man of great reading a fingular scholar, and an excellent humanitian, who cried out in this manner: And is it so indeed? as who would fay, it were not very lately, and but the other day, that the pine tree yeelded garlands and chaplets at the Ishmian games? for heeretofore the victors there, were crowned with wreathes

wreathes and coronets made of smalach leaves: and this appeareth by that which we may heare out of acerteine comedie, a covetous miser speake in this wise:

Thefe Isthmique games I gladly would part fro,

For price that (mallach wreaths in market go. And Timeus the historiographer writethy that when the Corinthians marched in battell ray under the conduct of Timoleon against the Carthaginians, for the defence of Sicily, they encountred in the way certeine folk, who carried bunches of finallach: now when many of the fouldiors tooke this occurrence for an ill prefage (because smallach is taken to be an unluckie herbe; infomuch as when we see one lie extreame sicke, & in danger of death, we say: That he hathneed of nothing elfe but finallach) Timoleon willed them to be of good cheere, and put them in minde 10 of the victorious chaplets of smallach at the Ishmian games, wherewith the Corinthians crowaed the winners, Moreover the admirall galley of king Antigonus was called Isthura, for that without any fowing or fetting, there grew imaliach of it felfe about the poupe thereof: and this obscure & anigmaticall epigram under darke and covert words, significth plainly, earthen veffeis stuffed and stopped with smallach: and in this manner it goeth:

This Argive earth which ere while was full foft, Now bakedhard with fire, the bloud deepe-red Of Bacchus hides within, but loe alofs, It Istmick branches beares in mouth and head.

Certes, they have not read thus much, who vaunt fo greatly of the Pitch-tree chaplet, asifit 20 were not a moderne stranger and new commer, but the ancient, proper, and naturall garland, belonging to the Ithmian games. Which words of his, mooved the yoonger fort not a little, as being delivered by a man who had feene and read much; and Lucanius the high-prieft himfelfe, calling his cic upon me, and imiling withall : Now by Neptune (quoth he) I fweare, what a deale of learning is heere! howbeit, others there were, who bearing themselves (as it should feeme) upon mine ignorance and want of reading, were perswaded of the contrary, and avouched, that the Pitch-tree branches were the ancient garlands in the Ishmicke folemnitie, as naturall unto that countrey; and on the other fide, the coronet of Smallach was a meere stranger, brought from Nemea thither upon an emulation, in regard of Hercules, whereby it had indeed the name, for a time; infomuch as it supplanted the other, and woon the credit from it, as being counted a facred herbe, and ordeined for this purpose; but afterwards, the Pine-garland flourifhed againe and recovered the ancient reputation, fo at this day it is in as great honour, as ever it was. Hecreupon I suffered my selse to be perswaded, and gave so good care, that many tostimonies for confirmation of this opinion I learned, yea, and some of them I bare away andremembred; and namely, that out of them, Euphorion the poet, who spake of Melicerta, much after this maner:

The young man dead, they did bewaile, and then his corps they laid Upone greene branches of Pine-tree, whereof the crownes were (and To have beene made, those to adorne with honour glorious, Who as the facred Isthmicke games were deem' d victorious: For why? as yet the murdering hand, fir Charon hadnot flaine, The sonne of Neme, wofull dame, where as with streame amaine Asopus runnes : since when, began the wreathe of Smalach greene, To binde the head of champions, all bravely to be feene.

Also out of Callimachus, who hath expressed this matter more plainly, where he bringeth Hercules in, speaking after this maner:

And it, though much inferiour, and more terrestriall,

Employ

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Employ they hall in I fibricke games, when in memoriall Of god Acgaon they with crownes the victours brave de deske, According to I emean rises, and thereby give the checke To chaplets made of Pine-tree faire, wherewith the champion For victorie, sometime was dight at games Corinthian.

Over and befides, if I be not deceived, I have light upon a certeine commentarie of Procles, writing of the Isthmian folemnitie; namely, that at the very first institution thereof, ordeined it was: That the victorious coronet should be made of Pitch-tree branches; but afterwards, when these games were accounted facred, they translated thither from the Nemzam solemnities, the chaplet of Smallach: now this Procles was one of the scholars in the Academic, what time as Xenocrates taught and flourished.

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

What is the meaning of these words in Homer : \Sweetner 3 wegges?

Ome of the companie where I supped upon a time, thought Achilles ridiculous, in that he willed his friend Patroclus* to fill outpurer wine, and leffe delaied, giving a reason withall, *For so he interpreted for

For now are come to vifit me for love, My deerest friends, and whom I best approve.

But Niceratus the Macedonian, a familiar friend of ours, opposed himselfe directly, and said: That (we're, in this place of Homer, fignifieth not meere wine of it felfe, without water, but hot wine, as if the primitive word goedy, were derived sind ris Corner is of Charles, that is to fay, vitall heat 30 and ebullition: And therfore meet it was (quoth he) that (feeing his good friends were in place) there should be filled out for them, a cup of fresh wine, new drawen, and full of life and sparkling spirits; like as we our felves use to do, when as we powre out and offer unto the gods, our facred libations : but Soficles the poet, calling to minde, and alledging a fentence of Empedocles, whose words be these, speaking of the generall mutation of the universall world,

What thing before most simple was and pure, Became now * mixt by compound temp rature.

faid: That the philosopher meant by the word (ver), as much as we carry, that is to fay, well tempered: Neither fee I (quoth he) any thing to the contrary, but that Achilles might bid Patroclus to prepare and dreffe a cuppe of wine, fo tempered as it should be drunke : neither must you 40 thinke it a strange phrase or maner of speech, if he said, so or ear for so is for we are wont likewife, to put and of sinh ; as also Agreed for Agion : for received now it is, by ordinatic custome, to use the comparatives of some words for the positives. Then Antipater, a friend of ours there present, said: That in olde time they were woont to call the yeere by the name of ages, and [(a] in composition with other words, fignifieth as much as the greatnesse of a thing, so that olde wine, that had lien many yeeres in this place, Achilles called Coefficer. As for my felte, I inferred thus much and put them in mind: That fome thinke Confregor fignfieth [hotter.] and by hotter, the meane quicker, fooner, or with more speed; for in that sense other-whiles we bid our fervants to bestirre themselves more horly about their worke, meaning they should make more hafte, and dispatch their businesse. But in the end, I declared unto them, that their disputation 50 and arguing about this point, was but childish, in case they were afraid to confesse, that Gueirreev betokened that which was more pure and of it felfe, without tempering or delaying; as if (forfooth) Achilles had committed here, fome incongruitie or abfurditie, as Zoilus the Amphipolitane would feeme to tax him; who confidered not first and formost: that Achilles law Phenix and tilyffes, two ancient personages, who tooke no great pleasure to have much water in their wine, no more than all other olde men, who love to drinke it meere and pure; in regard of whose age, he gave commandement to delay it leffe for them: againe, having beene (as he was) the scholar of Chiron, and learned of him, the regiment of health, as one not ignorant what dier

was meet for mens bodies, he thought thus with himfelfe, that those bodies which are at repose and ease, having beforetime beene used to travell, required a more remisse, for and tender temperature, as that which is fitter and meeter for them; for so he caused among other forrage and provender, his horses to be served with smallach; for that seedes standing idle in the stable, and doing nothing, will be troubled with the paines in their feet; for which infirmitie this smallach is a sovereigner emedie: neither should yee find (and reade the this throughout) that smallach or any such kinde of fodder was given to other horses than to those who shood still, and laboured not. Achilles therefore being well seene in physicke, was both carefull about his horses to provide for them, as the time required, and also consider and respective to his owne body, for to ordeine the lightest diet, (as most holsome) for himselfe who tooke his ease, and was not emploied in bodily exercise; whereas he did not in that manner interteine those personages, who all the day had beene in the field, and performed martiall exploits, and was like service, but who all the day had beene in the field, and performed martiall exploits, and was like service, but who all the greatly loved not wine, stor that he was by nature sower and implacable, appeareth by these verses of the same poet:

For gentle nature he had none,
he was not foone appeas d,
But irefull, fierce, and volent,
and once now dhardly pleas d.
And in one place, speaking liberally of himselse, he said:
That many nights he sup no winke,
Of sundry matters he did so thinke.

Now who knoweth not, that short sleepes agree not to those that drinke meere wine, neither will they serve their turne: also when as he contested with Agamemnon, and revised him, at the sirst word hee gave him the tearme Owobases, wine-bibber or drunkard; as if drunkennesse and wine-bibbing were the vice which his heart abhorted most: And therefore to conclude, considering all these circumstances, great reason he had, that seeing right honourable personages were come unto him, and those of good yeeres, he should be well advised to take order, not to temper wine for them, as his manner was for himselfe; because the same had beene too small, and not agreeable for their persons.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

Of those who invite many guests to supper.

Pon my returne from Alexandria, all my friends one after another feafted me, for my welcome home, and to beare me company, they invited with me, as many as they thought, in regard of kindred or friendship, were any way toward me; in such fort, as by reason of the multitude of guests, our meetings were ordinarily more tumultuous, and sooner dissolved than they had woont to be: the disorder therefore of sitting at such feasts, gave us occasion to dis-40 course much of that matter. But Onesserates the physician when hee feasted me in his turne, as others did; bad not very many, but those onely whom he knew to be my speciall friends, and most familiar with me: whereupon I called to minde a sentence written by Plato, as touching a citic, and thought with my felfe, that it might very well be applied unto a feast: for like as a citie which still groweth and augmenteth, in the end becomes no more a citie; for that there is a certeine bigneffe prefixed & limited unto it, which it must not outgrow; even so there is a just, proportion in the greatnesse of a feast, within the which it is still a feast; but if it passe and exceed the fame, (I meane) in the number and multitude of guests, so as they cannot salute and fpeake one to another conveniently, they have no meanes to cheere up and drinke one to another reciprocally, nor exercise their mutuall knowledge kindly; surely it is no more to becal-50 led a feath: for there should not be at a feast, as in a campe, messengers and curriers betweene; nor after the manner of a great galley, speciall servitors, going from one to another, to cheere them up, and bidde them be merie; but the guests ought to speake and talke one with anothers for that a feathmust be disposed after the maner of a daunce, fo as he who fits lowest may heare him that is highest. After I had thus much faid, my grandfather Lamprias began to speake, and that with fo loud a voice and fo strong, that all the companie might heare him: There is then (quoth he) a kinde of meane and moderation, whereof we had need, not onely in eating and

drinking at a feat, but also in the bidding and inviting of guefts; for furely there may be an excesse in unmeasurable curtesse and humanitie, when it cannot omit nor leave out any of those with whom a man hecretofore hath seasted or made merrie, but draweth all of them, as if the case were to goe for to see a plate, behold solemne sights, or to heare musicke: and for mine owne part I thinke that the good man of the house, or master of a seast, is not for much woorthy to be blamed or laughed at, for being at a sault of bread or drinke for his guests; as when hee hath not roome enough to place them; of which he ought to make provision with the largest, not onely for those who are formally invited, but also for commers in, and such as bid themselves; for strangers also that passe by :moreover, if there chaunce to be some want of bread or to wine, the sault may be laid upon the servants, as if they had made it away, or plaied the theeves; but if there be no roome lest, it cannot chuse but be imputed to the negligence and indiscretion of him who invited the guests: Hessaue is woonderfully much commended for writing thus:

At first no doubt it was so east, That there might be a Chaos wast.

For in the beginning of the world, requifit is was that thereshould bee a void place for to receive and comprehend all those things that were to be created : Not (quoth hee) as my sonne yesterday made a supper, according to that which Anaxagaras said . All things were hudled and jumbled together pell-mell, confusedly: and admit that there bee place and rooms 20 enough, yea, and provision of meat sufficient, yet neverthelesse, a multitude would be avoided, as a thing that bringeth confusion, and which maketh a focietic unfociable, and a meeting unmeet and not affable: certes, leffe harme it were, and more tolerable a great deale, to take from them who are bidden to our table, their wine, than their communication and felowship of talk; and therefore Theophrastus called (merrily) barbars shops, dry banquets without wine; for the good talke that is betweene a number of persons sitting there one by another: but they who bring a forttogether into one place, thrumbling them one upon another, deprive them of all conference, and discoursing reciprocally, or rather indeed they bring it so to passe, that but verie few can commune & converse together; for by that meanes they for themselves apart, two by two, or three by three, for to have some talke: as for those who are set farder of, hardly they 30 can not differene, no nor know them, being diffant and remooved a funder, as a man would fay the length of an horse race:

Some, where Achilles tents are pight close for to make their stay: And some, where Ajax quarter is, as sarre another way.

Thus you shall see how some richmen heereby, otherwhiles shew their soolish magnificence to no purpose, in building halles, and dyning chambers, conteining thirtie tables a piece in them, yea, and some of greater capacitie than so: and verily this manner of preparation for to make suppers and dinners, is for folke that have no amitte nor societie one with another, when 40 there is more need of some provost of a field to marshal the, than an other of an hall to see good order among them: but these men may in some fort well bee pardoned for doing so; because they thinke their riches no riches, but that it is blinde, deafe, lame also, or shut up, that it cannot get forth, unleffe it have a number of witneffes, like as a tragedie, many spectators; but as for us, this remedie we have of not affembling fo many at once together; namely to bidde often, and to make divers suppers; to invite (Isay) our friends and well-willers at sundrie times, by few at once, and so by this meanes wee may make amends for all, and bring both ends together: for they that feast but seldome, and as they say si appears, that is to say, by the cart loades, areforced to put in the roll all those that any way belong unto them, either by kinred, friendship or acquaintance whatsoever: whereas they who ordinarily picke out three or fower at a 50 time, and doe fo oft, make their feafts as it were little barks, to discharge their great hulkes, and the same to goe light and nimble: moreover, when a man considereth continually with himselfe the cause why he inviteth his friends; it maketh bim to observe a difference and choise in that great multitude of them: for like as for every occasion & businesse that we have, we assemble not all forts of people, but fuch onely as be meet for ech purpofe; for if we should have need of good counfell, we call for those who be wife; if we would have a matter pleaded, we fend for eloquent orarours; if a voiage or journey performed; wee feeke for fuch as will take up with short meales, and who have little else to doe, and be best at leisure; even so in our invitations

one to another: for when we facrifice unto some one god, we make not our praiers to all others, although they be worthipped in the fame temples, & upon the fame altars; but if there be three 10 cups or boules brought full unto us, we powre libations out of the first to some, the second we offer to others, and the last we bestow likewise upon a third fort: for there is no envie abideth in the quire ordaunce of the gods: femblably, thedaunce and quire of friends is divine, in fomefort, if fo be a man know how to distribute and deale his courtesseand kindnesse decently among them, and as it were to goe round about with them all.

THE SIXTH QUESTION.

What is the cause that guests at the beginning of a supper sit close together at the table, but asterwards more at libertie?

Hele words thus passed, and then immediately a new question was mooved; namely, What the cause might be, that men commonly at the beginning of dinner or supper, sit at the table very streight and close, but toward the end more at large; whereas it should seeme by all reason, that they should doe cleane contrary, for that then their bellies be full? Some of the company attributed this unto the forme and positure of their bodies, as they sit; for that ordinarily men fit to their meat, directly at their full breadth, groveling forward, and put their right hands streight foorth upon the table; but after they have well supped, they turne themselves more to a side, & sit edge-wise, taking up no place now, according to the superficies of the body, not fitting (as a man would fay) by the fquire, but rather by the line and the plumb: 30 like as therefore the cockal bones occupie leffe roome when they fall upon one of their fides, than if they be couched flat; even so every one of us at the first fitteth bending forward, and fronteth the table with his mouth and cies directly upon it; but afterwards hee chaungeth that forme, from front to flanke, and turneth fidelong to the boord. Many there were who alcribed the reason of this, to the yeelding of the couch or bed, whereon men sit at their meat; for being preffed downe with fitting, is stretched broader and wider, like as our shooes with wearing and going in them, grow more flacke and easie for us by little and little, untill in the end they be so large, that we may turne our feet in them. Then the good old man spake merrily and said: That one and the same feast had alwaies two presidents and governors different one from another: at the beginning hunger, which cannot skill of keeping any good order; toward the end, Bacchus, 40 and him all men know very well, and confesse to have beene a very sufficient captaine, and an excellent leader of an armie: like as therefore Epaminondas (when as other captaines by their ignorance and unskilfulnesse had brought the armie of the Thebanes into a place so narrow that all was thrust together, and the ranks and files came one upon another, and crushed themfelves) tooke upon him the place of a commaunder, and not onely delivered it out of those ftreights, but alforeduced it into good order of battell; even fo god Bacchus firnamed Lyeus, and Choreus, that is to fay, a deliverer, and mafter of daunces, finding us at the beginning of Supper thrusting one another, and having no elbow roome, by reason of hunger that throumbleth us together like a fort of dogges, bringeth us againe into a decent order, whereby wee fit at ease and libertie enough like good fellowes.

THE SEVENTH QUESTION. Of those who are said to be with their cie.

Here grew some question upon a time, at the table, as touching those who are reported to be cie-biters, orto bewitch with their cies; and when others (inmaner all) paffed it over

with laughing, as a frivolous and ridiculous thing: Metrius Florus, who had invited us to his house, tooke the matter in hand, and said: That the effects or events rather, which daily we doc observe, do make marvellous much to the brute and voice that goeth of the thing; but for want of yeelding a good reason thereof, and setting downe the true cause, the report many times of fuch matters wanteth credit: But unjuftly (quoth he) and wrongfully in mice opinion; for an infinit number therebe of other matters, that have a reall effence, and are notoriously knowen tobefo, although we are ignorant of their cause; and in one word, who sever tecketh in each thing for a probable reason, overthroweth miracles and woonders in all; for where wee faile to give reason of a cause, there begin we to doubt & make question, & that is as much to say, as to To play the philosophers: fo as we may inferre confequently: They that differed things admirable, do in fome fort, take away and abolish all philosophie; but we ought (quoth he) in such things as thefe, to fearch * Why they are fo, by reason; and learne * That they are so, by hillorie and relation; for histories do report unto us many narrations of like examples. Thus we know, that there be men, who by looking wiftly and with fixed eies upon little infants, doe hurt them most of all; for that the habit and temperature of their bodies which is moift, tender, and weake, foone receiveth alteration by them, and changeth to the woorfe; whereas leffe subject they be to fuch accidents, when their bodies are better knit, more strong and compett. And yet Philarchus writeth in his historie of a certeine nation and people inhabiting the realine of Pontus in times palt, called Thybiens, who were by that meanes pelliferous and deadly, not 20 onely to young babes, but also to men growen; for looke how many either their eie, their breath or their speech could reach unto, they were sure to fall sicke, and pine away: and this harme was felt and perceived (as it thould feeme) by merchants, who reforted into those parts, and brought from thence, flaves to be folde. But as for thele, the example peradventure is not fo strange and wonderfull, because the touching, contagion, and familiar conversing together, may yeeld a manifest reason and cause of such accidents: and like as the wings of other fowles, if they be laied together with those of the eagle, perith, confume, and come to nothing, for that the plume and downe of the feathers fall off and putrifie; even fo, there is no reason to the contrary, but that the touching of a man thould be partly good & profitable, and in part hurtful and prejudiciall: mary, that folke should take harme by being seene onely, and looked on, is an acci-30 dent which (as I faid before) we know to be; but for that the cause thereof is so difficult & hard to be hunted out, the report of it is incredible: Howbeit (quoth I then) you wind the cause already; you have met (in fome fort I fay) with the tracts and footing thereof, and are in the very way of finding it out, being come already to those defluxions that passe from bodies; for the sent, the the voice, the speech and breath, be certeine defluxions and streames (as it were) flowing from the bodies of living creatures, yea, and certeine parcels thereof, which move and affect the fenfes, when as they fuffer by the fame, lighting and falling upon them: and much more probable it is, that fuch defluxions, proceed from the bodies of living creatures, by the meanes of heat & motion; namely, when they be enchafed and flirred; as also that the vitall spirits then doe beat ftrongly, and the pulses worke apace, whereby the body being thaken, casteth from it continu-40 ally, certeine defluxions, as is before faid; and great likelihood there is alfo, that the fame fhould paffe from the eies, more than from any other conduit of the bodie: for the fight being a lenfe very lwift, active and nimble, doth fend forth and disperse from it, a wonderfull fierie puissance, together with a spirit that carrieth and directethit; in such fort, that a man by the meanes of this cie-light, both fuffereth and doth many notable effects, yea, and receiveth by the objects which hefeeth, no fmall pleafures or displeasures; for love (one of the greatest and most vehement pasfions of the minde) hath the fource and originall beginning at the * cie; infomuch, as he or the that is furprifed therewith, doth even refolve and melt with beholding the beautie of those perfons whom they love, as if they would run and enter into them; and therefore, a man may verice well marvell at those, who confessing that we suffer and receive hurt by the cic, thinke it a strange 50 matter to doe harme by the fame; for the very afpect and regard of fuch persons as are in the flower of their beautie, and that which paffeth from their cies, whether it be light or flowing of of the spirits, doth liquesie and consume those who be enamoured on them, with a certeine pleasure mingled with paine, which they themselves call Bitter-sweet: for nothing so much are they wounded or affected, either by hearing or feeling, as by feeing and being feene, so deepe is the penetration, and fo ftrong the inflamation by the cie; which maketh mee other-whiles to thinke, that no experience and proofe they have ever had what love is, who wonder at the Median A aphtha neere to Babylon, that it should burne and catch a flame, being a great way off from Ppp 2

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the fire; for even fo, the eies of faire and beautifull creatures, kindle fire within the very hearts and foules of poore lovers, yea, though they looke not upon them but a farre off: but we know full well, and have often feene the remedy of those who are troubled with the jaundice; namely, * Sometakeit that if they can have a fight of the bird * Charadrios, they are prefently cured; for this bird hath for the Larior, fluch a nature and temperature, that it draweth to it felfe, and receiveth the maladie paffing from the patient, as it were a fluxion, and that by the conduit of the eies; which is the reason that these buds are never willing to fee a person who hath the jaundice, neither can they endure so to doe. but turne afide and avoid it all that ever they can, by clofing their elestogether, not envying (as fome thinke) the cure of that difease by them, but fearing to be burt and wounded themselves: and of all other maladies, it is well knowen, that they who converte with them whose eies be inflamed and bleered, are foonest and most of all infected therewith, so quicke a power and so readie, hath the fight to fet upon another, and inflict the contagion of that infirmitie. Then Patrocleas: True it is that you say (quoth he) in bodily passions and diseases; but as for those which be more spirituall, and concerne the soule, among which I reckon this kind of witching, howcan it be, and how is it possible, that the only cast and regard of the eie should transmit any noisance or hurt into the bodic of another? Why? know you not (quoth I) that the foule (according as it is disposed) doth likewise affect and alter the bodie ? the very congitation of Venus, causeth the flesh to rife; the ardent heat in couragious maftives and band-dogges, which are put upon wilde bealts for to encounter them when they are baited, dimmeth their cie-fight, and oftentimes makes them flarke blinde, forrow, avarice, and jealousie, alter the colour and complexion 20 of the face, drie up the habit and constitution of the bodie; and envie no leffe sublile than the rest, and piercing directly to the very soule, filleth the body also with an untoward and badde disposition, which painters lively doe represent in those tables which conteine the picture of envies face: when as therefore they who be infected with envie, doecast their cies upon others, which because they are seated necre unto the soule, doe catch and draw unto them verie cassile this vice, and so shoot their venemous raies, like unto poisoned darts upon them; if such chance to be wounded and hurt thereby, whom they looke upon, and wiftly behold: I fee no strange thing, nor a matter incredible; for verilie the biting of dogges is much more hartfull and danderous when they be angry than otherwise; and the sperme or naturall feed of men doth sooner take effect, and is more apt for generation, when they meddle with women whom they love; 20 and generally the passions and affections of the soule, doe fortific and corroborat the powers, and faculties of the bodie: and hecreupon it is, that those preservatives against witcherast called research, are then thought to do good against envie, when the eie-fight of the envious person is withdrawen and turned away by some filthie and absurd object, that it cannot make so ftrong an impression upon the patient whom he would hurt: Lo seigneur Florus (quoth I) heere is mine efect for our good cheere at this meeting, in ready coine paid downe upon the natle head: Well done (quoth Sociarus) but first before you goe, we must allow the money for good and currant; for I affure you, there be some pieces that seeme counterfet; for if we suppose that to be a truth, which is commonly reported, as touching those who are thus bewitched and eie bitten; it is not I am fure unknowen to you, that many are of opinion, that there be of their 40 friends and kinsfolke, yea, and fome of their fathers also, who carrie about them witching cies; in fuch fort as their very wives will not fo much as fhew unto them their owne babes, nor fuffer fuch to looke upon them any while together: how then should this effect of witcheric proceed from envie? Nay what will you fay to those (I pray you) who are named for to eiebite and bewitch their owne felves? You have heard I am fure thus much; or at leastwife you have read this Epigram.

Of Symposiaques

Faire was fometime Eutelidas,
His face and haire full lovely was;
But fee, one day when needs he would
(Unhappy man)himfelfe behold
In river fireamethat foftly ran,
His beauties han he foome began
So to admire, that for envie
Bewitch's he was by his own eie;
And fell anon by malady,
To pine away and foto dy.

For it is reported of this Eutelidas, that looking upon himselfe in the river water, he was so farre

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in love with his owne beautie, and so deepely affected with the fight thereof, that he fell ficke, and so both beautie and the good plight of his bodie went away at once: but see now what shift you can make to falve these abfurdities? or what answer you will devise to avoid them? As for that (quoth he) I shall doe it at some other time sufficiently: but now drinking thus as you see me, out of fo great and large a boule, I dare be bold to averre, and that confidently, that all perturbations and passions of the minde, if they settle and continue long in the soule, doe ingenerate therein evill habitudes; & these, after they have in processe of time gotten the strength and become another nature, upon every small occasion, are stirred, and oftentimes drive men perforce, and even against their willes to those familiar and accustomed passions : for doe but 10 marke timorous and fearefull cowards, how they be affrighted even with fuch things as be fafe, and doe preserve them 3 cholericke persons are angrie many times, and fall out with their best friends; lascivious wantons can not conteine, but in the end they will offer abuse and vilanie to the most holy & facred bodies that be for: cultome hath a wonderfull power to conduct & cary the habit unto that vice which is familiar unto it; & looke who is apt to take a fall, will flumble at every small hob that lies in his way: and therefore it is not a matter to make a woonder of, if they who have gotten in themselves habit of envie, and bewitching, bee incited and mooved according to the particular propertie of their passion, even against those who are most deare unto them; and being once mooved and stirred, they doe not that which they will themselves, but that whereunto they are so inclined and disposed; for like as a round bowle or ball runneth. 20 like it felfe; and femblablic a roller or cylender moveth as a roller or cylender, both of them after the different figure thereof; even fo, who foever they be that have thus contracted an habitude of this cie-biting envic, their difposition mooveth and driveth them enviously upon all things; howbeit it carieth a great likelihood that they should hurt them, who are most familiar unto them, and best beloved than any other; and therefore that good Eutelidas and all other fuch as he, who are faid to charme and bewitch themselves, incurre this hard extremity, not without great appearance of reason: for as Hippocrates faith in his aphorismes: The good habit or plight when it is at the height is dangerous; and bodies when they are come to the highest point, they can not hold and stand so, but presently must incline and bend to the contrarie: when as men therefore are growen suddenly all at once, and see themselves in a better 30 state than they hoped for; infomuch as they wonder & behold themselves with admiration, then befure the body is neere unto some change, and then being caried according to their habitude to the woorle, they bewitch themselves: and this is wrought the rather, by meanes of those fluxions which reft upon waters, looking-glaffes, or any fuch mirrors by way of repercussion; for that they rebound backe, & breath as it were againe upon those who looke in them, so, that the hurt & damage which they have done to others, lighteth upon themselves: this haply befalling many times to little children, doth impute (though falfly and unjuftly) the cause to these that looke upon them. When I had finished my speech, Caim the sonne in law of Florm, began to fpeake in this wife: Why then belike the images that Democritus speaketh of are of no reckoning nor account, no more than the idols of Megina and Megara, as the proverbe goes; for 40 this philosopher faith: That there goe foorth certeine images out of the eies of envious perfons, and those not altogether without a kinde of sense and inclination, but rather full of their malice and envious witcherie who fend them forth; with which, when the faid images come to fettle, remaine, and reft upon those who are envied, they trouble and offend the bodie, soule and understanding: for this I take to be the meaning of that great philosopher, and that hee hath delivered his opinion to this effect, under those divine and magnificent words: So he doth no doubt (quoth I) but I marvell much, how you perceived not that I have taken nothing from those defluxions, but onely life and will; which I did, for feare left if now (being farre within night, and very late) I had talked of spirits, idols, and apparitions, having sense and understanding, I should have put you into some fright, and scared you with them: and therefore, if you 50 thinke it fo good, let us referre and put off the confideration of these thing untill to morrow morning.

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THE EIGHT QUESTION.

What is the resson that the poet Homer salled the Apple-tree, a produceron, that is to say, bearing fruit; and Empedocles named Apples, wife proventhat is to say, flourishing.

A Swewere merry together at a feaft one day, in our citie Charonea, we were ferved with all forts of fruits in great abundance; by occasion whereof, it tooke one of the companie in his head to pronounce these verses out of Homer:

σύχαι τε γλυκεραί κ) μηλέαι άγλαδημερτιι
..... Και κλαΐαι τηλεθόω σει.

That is to fay:

The sweet Fig-trees and apple-trees that beare a fruit so faire,

The Olive-trees likewife all greene ----

whereupon arose some question, why the poet gave unto apple-trees the attribute of bearing faire struit? and Tryphon verily the physician, answered: That it might be spoken of the said tree, by way of comparison; which being but small to speake of, and making as little shew, bringeth forth so saire, so great, and so goodly fruit. Another said: That compounding (as he did) beautie or goodnesse, of all parts and in every respect, he could not see the same in any other sruits covered with a rinde, but onely in this for to touch and feele, it is as smooth and net as the violet, so as it doth not staine or so lie the skin, filling with a sweet sent, him that handleth it; in talte, it is pleasant; to sincell unto, most delectable; and to the cie, as lovely; so as contenting it doth, all the senses in a maner, by good right it is so praised and commended. We liked well of this discourse; and said, it was sufficient to solve the question. But whereas Empedaeles hath written thus:

นังเหม อำไภภาคีระ ต่องินมี วัลร์คุดภอเล แล้วล. Why pomgranates fo late doe grow, And apples beare a lovely show?

I understand well (said I) this epithite of poros, given unto of but, that is to say, pomgranats, because the fruit commeth not to maturitie or ripenelle, untill it be about the end of Autumne, when as 30 now the extreame heats be decaied and gone; for their moisture, so thin, seeble and waterish as it is, the funne will not fuffer it to thicken, or grow to any confiftence, unleffe the aire begin to change and incline unto coldnesse; and therefore Theophrass w faith, that it is the onely tree that doth ripen and concoct her fruit, best & soonest, in the shade, But I doubt in what sense this wife philosophicall poet giveth this addition of & popolar, unto apples? considering that the man is not woont to imbelifh and adorne the matters and things whereof he treateth, with the gaiest and most glorious adjectives, as with fresh and lively colours, to enrich and beautifie his stile, or to fet out his verses; for there is not an epithite that he useth, but serves for to represent and expresse either the substance or els some facultie and vertue of the thing. Thus he calleth our bodie environing the foule, روانه طبية الموادووية, that is to fay, earth circummortall; the aire he tearm-40 eth, repeating that is to fay, gathering clouds; as also, the liver, παλυαίματαν, that is to fay, full of bloud. When I had thus put this doubt to question, there were certeine Grammarians in place, who faid: That Empedocles called apples, & 492000, in regard of their vigor: for poets by this verbe and invertigated thus much maniely, to be growen apace to the vigour, flower, and full ftrength. And the poet Antimachus in this sense, tearmed the city of the Cadmeans, philusus imigus, that is to fay, flourishing with store of fruits. Semblably, Aratus speaketh of the Canicular-starre, Sirim, in this wife:

και πα μερ έρρασεν, Αυ 5 φλών ώλεσε παίτα.

That is to fay:

In some he did confirme their vigour,

Andmarr dinothers all their verdeur.

In which place, he calleth the viriditie or greennesse, and the verie slower or beautie of fruits, excor. They added moreover, and said: That among the Greeks, some there were, who sacrifice to Bacehus, surnamed excise. For asmuch as therefore, the apple mainteineth it selfe longest in viriditie and vigour, of all other sruits, therefore the philosopher named it, whipperson. But Lamprus my grandfather said: That this adjection or preposition with, signifieth not only, much, see the price of the

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greatly, but also, above, or with-out-foorth: for in this acception, the head or lintell of a doore, we name καίρδηση. that is to say, above the doore; and likewise, an upper-toome, chamber, or lost, καράσι: and Homer the poet, meaneth the outward sless he beast factificed, by the word στηντίες; like as the inward, by the wocable ἐρισσα. Consider then (quoth he) whether Empedeeles had not a respect heereunto, by attributing this said epithite usto an apple; that whereas other fruits are inclosed & covered within a certaine barke as it were, which in Greeke is called ρλοίω, and have without forth, those that we tearme λεσθέραν, καλόφι, ψιδύνοις χλοιδώς, that is to say, sholte, rindes, cods and pannicles to cover them, that barke or shell (if I may fo say) which the apple hath, lieth within; namely, a glutinous and smooth tunicle or coat, which we call the core or the corque, wherein the pepins or feeds lie conteined; but the sless hich we call the core for to be eaten, is all without the saidcore, in which respect, it may by good right be named στηρελούν.

THE NINTH QUESTION.

What is the cause that the Figge-tree, being of all other trees most bitter and sharpe in taste, yeeldeth as suit most sweet?

Fter this, demaunded it was, why the figge, so fat and sweet a fruit as it is, groweth upon at tree most bitter? for the very lease of a figge-tree by the reason of the asperitie and roughnesse that it hath, is called Thrien, and the wood is full of juice; so that when it burneth, you shall see it cast up a most eager and bitter smoke, and when it is burnt, the ashes make a leic very ftrong, and marvellous deterfive, because of the acrimonie and sharpenesse thereof: yea, and (that which is most admirable) whereas all other trees and plants clad with leaves and bearing fruit, put foorth a flower before, onely the figge-tree never sheweth bloffome: and if it be true which is moreover faid; that it is never blatted, or fmitten with lightning, a man may attribute and ascribe it to the bitternesse and evill habitude of the stocke; for it should seeme that lightning and thunder never touch any fuch things, no more than the skinne of a fea-calfe, or of the beatt Hyena. Heere the good old man (our grandfire) taking occasion to speake, said: 30 No marvell then, if all the sweetnetse bee found in the fruit, the rest of the tree be harsh and bitter: for like as when the cholericke humour is cast into the bagge or bladder of the gall, the proper fubfrance of the liver it felfe remaineth very fweet, even to the figge-tree having fent all the sweetnesse and fatnesse it had into the fruit, remaineth it selfe disfurnished of it; for that within the trunke of the faid tree there is otherwise some sweetnesse and good juice, though it bebut a little; I make an argument from the herbe rue; which they say: If it grow under or neere a figge-tree; becommeth more pleafant in smell, and in taste more milde, by receiving and enjoying some small sweetnesse from it; whereby that excessive, strong and odious qualitie of rue is abated and extinct; unleffe peradventure a man will reason cleane contrary, and faic, that the figge-treedrawing somewhat from rue, for the owne nouriture, taketh from that herbe 40 some part of the bitternesse and acrimonie thereof.

THE TENTH QUESTION.

Who be they who according to the common proverbe, are faid, med a have winner, that is to fay, about the fait and commin? and so by the way, why the poet Horner nameth sait divine.

Lorsa asked us one day when we were at supper in his house, who they were whom we tearmed by an usuall by-word, to be about the sale and cumin: Apollophanes the grammarian,
one of our companie, solved the question readily in this manner: They (quoth he) who are such
so friends and so familiar that they suppe together, with salt and cumin, are meant by this common speech. But then we mooved a new question, namely: How it came to passe, that salt was
so highly honoured? for that Homer directly saith:

And then anon when this was done,

He strewed salt divine upon.

And Plate affirmeth, that the bodie and substance of faltby mans lawes, is most facred and holie: The difficultie of this question he enforced still, and augmented the more; for that the Acquerian

Acgyptian priefts who live chafte, absteine altogether from falt, infomuch as their verie bread which they eat is not feafoned with falt: And if it were (quoth he) fo divine and holy, why have they it in so great detestation? Then Florus willed us to let the Aegyptians goe with their superstitious fashions; and to alledge somewhat of the Greeks as touching this subject argument: Whereupon I began and faid: That the Aegyptians themselves were not heerein contrarie to the Greekes; for the fanctimonie and profession of chastitie, forbiddeth procreation of children, laughing, wine, and fuch like things; which otherwife be good, and not to be rejected: and as for falt, haply those who have vowed to live a chaste and pure life, doe for beare it, for that by the heat which it hath, (as some thinke) it provoketh those who use it, unto lecherie: and probable it is besides, that such votaries doe refuse salt, because of all other meats, it is most to delicate; & a man may well fay: That it is the viand of viands, & the fauce as it were to feafon all others; and therefore some there be who attribute unto these falts, the very tearme of Charites or the Graces; for that they make that which is necessarie for our food, to be pleasant & acceptable unto us: Shall wee fay then (quoth Florus) that falt was called divine in this respect? And if we did fo (quoth I) wee have no flender reason to induce us thereunto; for men are wont to attribute a kinde of divinty unto things which are passing common, and the commoditie whereof reacheth farre (as for example) to water, light, & the feafons of the yeere; as for the earth, her above the rest, they repute not onely divine, but also to be a goddesse: & there is none of all these things rehearsed, that falt giveth place unto, one jot, in regard of use and profit; being as it is a fortification to our meats within the bodie, and that which commended the them unto 20 our appetite: but yet confider moreover, if this benot a divine propertie that it hath, namely, to preserve and keepe dead bodies free from putrifaction a long while, and by that meanes to refill death in some fort, for that it suffereth not a mortall bodie wholly to perish, and come to nothing: but like as the foule being the most divine part of us, is that which mainteineth all the rest alive, and suffereth not the masse and substance of the bodie to be dissolved, and suffer colliquation; even so, the nature of salt, taking hold of dead bodies, and imitating heerein the action of the foule, preserveth the same, holding and staying them that they runne not headlong to corruption, giving unto all the parts an amitie, accord & agreement one with the other: and therefore it was elegantly faid by some of the Stoicks: That the flesh of an hoggewas even from the beginning no better than a dead carion, but that life being diffused within it, as if salt 30 were strewed throughout, kept it sweet, and so preserved it for to last long. Moreover you see, that wee esteeme lightning, or the fire that commets by thunder, celestiall and divine, for that those bodies which have beene smitten therewith, are observed by us to continue a great while unputrified and without corruption: What marvell is it then, if our auncients have efteemed falt, divine, having the fame vertue and nature, that this divine and celestials fire hath? Heere I ftated my speech, and kept silence. With that, Philmus followed on and pursued the same argument : And what thinke you (quoth he) is not that to be held divine, which is generative, and hath power to ingender, confidering that God is thought to be the original authour, creatour, and father of all things? I avowed no leffe, and faid it was fo: And it is (quoth he) an opinion generally received, that falt availethnot a little in the matter of generation, as you your 40 felfe touched ere while, speaking of Aegyptian priests: they also, who keepe and nourish dogs for the race, when they fee them dull to performe that act, and to doe their kinde, do excite and awaken their lust and vertue generative, that lieth (as it were) asleepe, by giving them aswell as other hot meats, falt flesh, and fish both, that have lien in brine & pickle : also, those ships & velfels at fea, which ordinarily are fraight with falt, breed commonly an infinit number of mice and rats; for that (as fome hold) the females or does of that kinde, by licking of falt onely, will conceive and be bagged without the company of the males or bucks: but more probable it is, that falmeffedoth procure a certeine itching in the naturall parts of living creatures, and by that means provoketh males & females both, to couple together: and peradventure this may be the reason that the beauty of a woman which is not dull and unlovely, but full of favor, attractive, and 50 able to move concupifcence, menufe to name drawer val deput, that is to fay, faltifn or well feafoned: And I suppose that the poets have fained Venus to have beene engendred of the sea, not without fome reason; and that this tale, that she should come of falt, was devised for the nonce, to signifie and make knowen under those covert tearmes, that there is in falt a generative power: certes, this is an ordinarie and generall thing among those poets, to make all the sea gods, fathers of many children, and very full of issue. To conclude, you shall not finde any land-creature, or flying fowle, for fruitfulneffe, comparable to any kinde of fifthes bred in the fea; which no doubt this verfe of Empedacles had respect unto:

Leading a troupe, which senselesse were and rude, Even of sea-fish, a breeding multitude.



THE SIXTH BOOKE OF SYMPOSIAQUES OR BANQUET-QUESTIONS.

The Summarie.

Hat is thereason, that menfasting, be more athirst than hungrie.

Whether is be want of food that causeth hunger and thirst, or she transformation and change of the pores and conduits of the bodie, be the cause thereof.

How commeth is, that they who be hungrie, if they drinke, are eased of their hanger;

but contrariwife, those who are thirstie, if they eat, be more thirstic.

4 What is the reason that pit-water, when it is drawen, if it be left all night within the same aire of the oit becommend homore cold.

pit, becommet b more cold.

5 What is the cause that little stones, and plates or pellets of lead, if they be cast into water, causes to be the colder.

6 Why snowe is preserved, by covering it with straw, chaffe, or garments.

30 7 Whether wine is to run thorow a strainer. 8 What is the gause of extraordinarie hunger or appetites to meat.

9 Why she poet Homet, when he speaketh of other liquors, as feth proper epithits, onely oile he calleth

10 What is the cause that the slesh of beasts slame for sacrifice, if they be banged upon a sig-tree, quickly become tender.

THE SIXTH BOOKE OF Symposiaques or banquet-questions.

The Proeme.



Late being minded to draw Timothem the sonne of Conon (ô Sossius Senecio) from sumptuous seasts and superfluous banquets, which great captaines commonly make, invited him one day to a supper in the Academie, which was philosophicall indeed and frugall, where the table was not furnished with those viands which night distemper the bodie with seaverous heats and inflamations, as lon the poet was wont to say; but such a supper I say, upon which ordinarily therefollow kinde and quiet sleeps, such fansies also, and imaginations as ingender sew dreames, and those short; and in one word, where the sleeps do testifie a great calmnesse and tranquillitie

of the bodie. The morrow after, *Timotheus* perceiving the difference betweene these suppers and the other, said: That they who supped with *Plato* over-night, found the pleasure and comfort thereof the next day; and to say attructh, a great helpe and ready meanes to a pleasant and blessed life, is the good temperature of the body, not drenched in wine, nor loaden with viands, but light, nimble, and ready, without any seare or distrust to performe all actions and functions

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of the day-time. But there was another commodity no leffe than this, which they had, who fupped with Plate, namely, the discussing and handling of good and learned questions, which were held at the table in supper time : for the remembrance of the pleasures in eating and drinking is illiberall and unbefeening men of worth, transitoric besides, and toone at an end; like unto the odor of a perfume and sweet ointment, or the smell of rost in a kitchin a day after; whereas difcourfes philosophicall, and disputations of learning, when they be remembred afterwards, yeeld alwaies new pleafure and fresh delight unto those that were at them, yea, and cause them who were abfent and left out, in hearing the relation thereof, to have no leffe part of learning and crudition, than they who were present: for thus we see, that even at this day, students and profellours of icarning, have the fruition, and enjoy the benefit of Socrates his banquets, no leffe than they themselves who were personally present, and had their reall part of them at the time: and verily, if corporall matter, as dainty diffies and exquifit fare, had to greatly affected and delighted their minds with pleafure; Plato and Xenophon should have put downe in writing, and left unto us the memoriall, not of the discourses there held, nor of the talke which then passed, but rather of the furniture of the table, & have made a note of the delicate viands, pastric works, comfitures and junkers ferved up in Callias or Agathus houses: whereas now of all fuch matters there is no mention at all, as if they were of no account, nor worth the naming, not with flanding very like it is, there was no want of provision, no spare of cost, nor defect of diligence in that behalfe: but on the otherfide penned they have most exactly, and with great diligence the difcouries of good letters and philosophy, which then and there passed merrily; and those they have commended unto posterities, to give us example, that we ought not onely to devise and 20 reason together when we are at the boord, but also to call to minde afterwards, what good talke had paffed and to keepe the fame in memorie.

Of Symposiaques

THE FIRST QUESTION.

What is the reason, that those who be fasting are more thirsy than hungry?

Now fend I unto you Softing Senecio, this fixth booke of banquet discourses, whereof the first question is: Why those who be long suffing, are more thirstie than hungry? For it may seeme contrary unto all reason; that thirst rather than hunger should ensue much sattings for that the want of dry food, would feeme by courfe of nature to require a supplie of nutriment by the like. Then began I in this manner to argue, before the companie there in place: That of all things within us, and whereof we confift, our naturall heat either alone or principally, had need of nouriture and maintenance: for thus verily wee doe observe in outward elements, that neither aire, water, nor earth, defire nutriment; neither doe they confume whatfoever is neere unto them; but it is fire onely that requireth the one, and doth the other; which is the reafon that all yoong folke doe cat more than elder persons; for that they be hotter; yea and old men and women can endure to fall better, because their naturall heat is already decaied and feeble in them; like as it is in those living creatures which have but little bloud; for small need have 40 they of nouriture, for default of naturall heat. Moreover, thus much we may observe in everie one of our felves, that our bodily exercifes, our loud outcries and fuch like matters, as by motion doe augment heat, make us to take more pleasure in our meat, and to have a better appetite to eat: now the principall, most familiar and naturall food of heat, in mine opinion, is moiflure, as we may fee by daily experience, that burning flames of fire increase by powring oile thereto; & of all things in the world, ashes are the drieft, because the whole humiditie is burnt up and confumed; but the terrestrial substance destitute of all liquor, remaineth alone: semblably, the nature of fire is to separate and divide bodies, by taking away the moisture which held them fodered and bound together: when as therefore wee fastlong, our naturall heat draweth forcibly unto it; fust, all the humours out of the reliques of our nourishment; which 50 done, the inflammation thereof paffeth farther, and fetteth upon the very radical humour within our flesh, searching every corner for moisture to feed and nourish it: there being caused therefore a woonderfull drineffe in our bodie, like as in earth or clay that is parched with heat; our feeliby confequence commeth to fland more in need of drinke than of meat, untill fuch time as we have taken a good draught; by meanes whereof our heat being well refreshed and fortified, worketh and procureth appetite to folide and dry nourifhment.

THE

THE SECOND QUESTION.

Whether it be want of food that causeth hunger and thirst, or rather the transformation and change of the conduits and passages within our bodies?

His discourse being thus ended, Philo the physician went about to impugne and overthrow the first polition; mainteining, that thirst proceeded not from default of any nourishment, but was to be imputed unto the change of the forme in certaine passages of the body: 10 and for demonstration heereof, hee alledged of the one fide this experience: That they who be a thirst in the night, if they sleepe upon it, lose their thirstinesse, although they drinke never a drop : on the other fide, that they who have the ague, if their fit decline, or be off them, or in case the seaver be cleane past and gone, presently they are eased of their drought: likewise there be many, who after they have beene bathed, yea, and beleeve me, others when they have vomited, are ridde of thirstinesse; and yet they get moisture neither by the one nor the other; but they are the pores and petie conduits of the body that fuffer mutation, because they be altered and transformed into another state and disposition; and this appeareth more evidently in hunger: for many ficke folke there be, who at one time have need of nourishment, and yet want appetite to their meat; some there are againe, who let them eat and fill themselves 20 never so much, have never the leffe appetite to meat, nay, their greedie hunger encreaseth the more: semblablie, you shall have many of those who lothed their meat, to recover their stomacke and appetite quickly, by tafting a few olives or capres, condite with falt pickle: whereby it appeareth plainly sthat hunger is not occasioned by default of nourishment, but through the faid alteration or paffion of the potes and conduits of the body: for furely fuch meats as those, although they diminish the want of nourishment, by addition of more food, yet neverthelesse cause hunger; and even so the poinant acrimonic of these falt viands, contenting the talte and pleasant to the mouth, by knitting, binding, and strengthening the stomacke; or contrativise, by relaxing or opening the same, do procure unto it, and breed therein a certeine gnawing and a disposition to the liking of their meat, which we call appetite. The reason of their arguments 30 feemed unto me very wittily devised, and framed pretily, for to carrie a good snew of probabilitie; howbeit, to be contrary unto the principall end of nature, to which the appetite doth leade and conduct every living creature, defirous to supplie that which is wanting, to fill that which is emptie, and purfuing alwaies that which is meet for it and familiar, but yet defectuous : for to fay, that the thing wherein principally a living creature differeth from a liveleffe bodie, was not given unto us for the tuition, maintenance and prefervation of our health and fafetie, even as it were of our cies that be so proper and familiar to the body, and to seare such occurrents as be adverse thereto; but to thinke that the same is onely a passion, change, and alteration of the pores occasioned according as the same be made either bigger or smaller; is (to speake plainly) the fashion and part of those who make no reckoning at all of nature. Moreover, to confesse, that 40 to quake for colde, hapneth unto our bodie for want of heat familiar and naturall unto it, and with one breath to denie, that hunger and thirst proceed not from defect of moisture and nourishment, is very about and yet, more unreasonable and monstrous it were to affirme, that nature defireth evacuation, when the feeleth her felfe charged with fulneffe, and with all, hath a defire to repletion; not because she findeth her selse over-emptie, but upon some other passion comming I know not how, not which way. Certes, these needs and repletions in the bodies of living creatures, resemble properly the accidents that fall out in agriculture and husbandry; for the earth suffereth many such defects, and requireth as many helpes and remedies : against drought, we feeke to moisten by watering; for burning with heat, to coole moderately; when things are frozen, to heat them againe, and keepe them warme, by laying (as it were) many co-30 verings over; and looke what is not in our power to doe, we pray unto the gods for to helpe and furnish us therewith; namely, sweet and milde dewes, pleasant and comfortable windes; so that nature alwas seeketh supplie of that which is desective, for to preserve her state and temperature. And in my conceit, this word & which fignifieth nourithment, feemeth to import as much as கூல் ரம் ஸ்ஸ, that is to fay, preserving nature; & preserved it is in plants verily, & trees infensibly (as Empedocles said) by the aire about them, when they are refreshed and watered thereby in convenient maner, as need requireth ; but as for us , our appetite causeth us to seeke

and procure that, for default whereof, we have not our kinde temperature. But let us confider better, ech one of those reasons by it selfe, which have bene delivered, and how untrue they be: for first and formost, those viands which have a quicke, sharpe and pleasing taste, by reason of their acrimonie, procure no appetite at all in those parts, which be capable of nouriture, but only a certeine biting or gnawing in them, much like unto that itching, when fomething is applied unto the skin, that doth plucke and fret it : and fay, that this passion or affection (whatfoever it is) procureth appetite, it standeth to great reason, that by such sharpe and quicke viands, those matters which caused fulnesse, comming to be attenuated and made more subtill, are discussed diffolved, and so diffipated as they ought to be; by which meanes, consequently there followeth a want and defect; not for that the pores and passages be altered or changed into another 10 forme, but rather, because they be now voided, cleere and purged; considering that those juices which be sharpe, eager, quicke, piercing and saltish, by attenuating and making tender the matter that they meet with and worke upon, do discusse, disgregate and scatter the same, in such fort. as they ingender and procure a new appetite. To come now unto those who sleepe upon their thirstinesse, they be not the pores which by their transformation allay thirst, but by reason that they receive humiditie from the fleshie parts, and are filled with a vapourous moisture from thence : and as for vomits, in casting up one thing which is adverse to nature, they give her meanes to enjoy another which is friendly and familiar thereto: for thirst is not a desire so much of an exceeding great quantitie of moisture, as of that which is kinde and familiar; and therefore, although a man have within him great abundance of that moisture which is unnaturall, yet nevertheleffe, he wanteth still; for that his thirst giveth place to no other humiditie, but unto that which is proper and naturall, and whereof it is defirous: neither commeth mans bodie into a good temper againe, before such time as that humiditie be removed and gone, which was enemie to nature; and then the waies and paffages receive willingly that moisture which is friendly and familiar unto her: as to the ague before faid, it driveth indeed the moisture inwardly into the center (as it were) of the bodie; for when the middle thereof is all on a fire, thither runneth and retireth all the humiditie, where it is thrust together and reteined; and by reason that there is such store thereof, pressed and pent in, it falleth out often times, that many being ficke of the ague, do cast and vomit it up, for to be discharged thereof, and be exceeding thirstie withall, for want of moisture, and for the drinesse that is in other parts of the bodic, which call for humiditie: when as then the fever either declineth or hath intermission, so as the ardent heat 30 within, is gone from those interior parts in the center and middle of the bodie, the moisture returneth againe into the outward habit, it fpreadeth (I fay) and is difperfed thorowout, according to the naturall course thereof; so as at once it bringeth ease to the parts within, and withall, caufeth the flesh and skin without, to be smoothe, soft and moist, whereas before it was rough, hard and drie; yea, and many times it mooveth sweats; whereby it commeth to passe, that the want which before caused thirst, now ceaseth and is gone, while the moisture is returned from the place wherein before it was streightly pressed and kept in, unto that which is desirous and hath need of it, and where it is at large and more at libertie: for like as in an orchard or garden, although there be a pit conteining plentie of water, unlesse a man draw some out of it, and there-40 with water the ground, it can not chuse but the herbs, plants and trees will be as one would fay, athirst, and at a fault for nourishment; even so it fareth in our bodies; if all the moisture be gotten to one place, no marvell if the rest do want and become exceeding drie, untill such time as it run againe, and that there be a new diffusion thereof; like as it falleth out with those who are ficke of an ague, when the fit is past, or the fever hath left them, and to those who sleepe upon thirst; for in these, sleepe bringeth backe the moisture from the center and middle of the bodie, distributing it to all the members and parts thereof, and so maketh an equall distribution and supply thorowout.

But this transformation and change of the pores from which it is faid that hunger and thirst doth proceed; whatkinde of thing is it I would gladly know? For mine owne part, none o- 50 ther differences fee I, but of more and leffe, and according as they be either stopped or opened; when they bee obstructed or stopped, receive they cannot either drinke or meat; when they be opened and unftopped, they make a voide and free place; and forely that is nothing els but the want of that which is proper and naturall: For the reason (my good friend Philo) why clothes which are to be died, be dipped first in alome water, is because that such water hath a piercing, scouring, and abstersive vertue, by meanes whereof, when all the superstuous filth

in them is confirmed and rid away, the pores being opened, reteine more furely the tincture which is given unto the clothes, onely because they receive the same better, by reason of the emptinefle occasioned by want.

Congress on THE THIRD QUESTION.

What is the cause that when men be hungry, if they drinke, are delivered from their hunger: but contrarrwife, when they be athirft, if they eate, are more thir sty than before?

WHen those discourses were thus passed; he who invited us to supper, began in this wise: It seemeth unto me (my masters) that this scason as touching the voidance and repletion of pores, carieth with it a great apparence of truth, and namely in the foliution of another question besides, to wit: VV hy in them who be hungry, if they drinke, their hunger ceaseth immediately? and contrariwife, they who are a thirst, if they cat, are still more thirstie? I am of opinion (quoth he) that those who alledge and urge these pores and their effects, doe render the reason and cause of this accident, very easilie, and with exceeding great probabilitie however in many points, they enforce the fame not fo much as probably: for whereas all bodies have pores, fome of one measure, and symmetry, others of another; those which be larger than the rest, receive food solid as well as liquid both together; such as been arrower and more ftreight admit drinke; the avoidance and evacuation of which, caufeth thirft, like as of the other, 20 hunger: and therefore if they who be a thirst doe cat, they finde no succour and benefit thereby, because the pores by reason of their streightnesse, are not able to receive drie and solid nutriment, but continue still indigent and destitute of that which is their due, and fit for them: whereas they who be hungry, in case they drinke, finde comfort thereby, for that the liquid nouriture entring into those large pores, and filling those concavities of theirs, doe flake and diminish mightily the force of their hunger.

As touching the event and effect (quoth I) true it is (as I thinke) but I cannot accord and give my consent to the supposition of the cause pretended: For if (quoth I) a man should hold, that with these pores and conduits (upon which some stand so much, so greatly embrace and mainteine fo floutly) the flesh is pierced, and by meanes thereof full of holes; furely he would 30 make it very loofe, quavering, flaggie, and fo rotten, that it would not hang together: moreover, to fay that the same parts of the body doe not receive meat and drinke together, but that they doe passe and runne (as it were) thorough a threiner or canvase bolter, some one way and fome another; methinks is a very strange position, & a meere devised siction: for this verie mixture of humiditie, tempering and making tender the meats received, together with the cooperative helpe of the inward naturall heat, and the spirits, doth cut, subtiliate, and mince the foode, with all manner of incitions, threddings, and divitions, no tooles, no knives, nor inftru-· ments in the world fo fine and fmall; infomuch as every part and parcell of the faid nourishment is familiar, meet & convenient for ech part & member of the bodie; not applied & fitted as it were to certeine veffels and holes to be filled thereby; but united & perfectly concorporate 40 to the whole, and every part thereof: but if this were not fo, yet the maine point of the question is not affoiled for all that; for they who ear, unlesse they also drinke to it, are so farre off from allaying their thirst, that contrariwise they increase the same; and to this point there is not yet a word faid. Confider now (faid I) whether the politions & reasons which we set downe, are not probable & apparent? first we suppose, that moisture being consumed by drinesse, is cleane perifhed & gone; & that drineffe being tempered & full cined by moilture hath certaine diffusions, & exhalations: fecondly we hold, that neither hunger is a general & universal want of dry food, nor thirst, of moisture, but a certeine scantnesse and defect of the one and the other, when there is not enough and sufficient; for those who altogether doe want the same, bee neither hungrie northirstie, but die presently: Let these supposals be laid for grounds, it will not be from hence-50 foorth hard, to know the cause of that which is in question: for thirst increaseth upon them that eat, because meats by their drinesse doe gather together, sucke and drinke up the humidity dispersed, and which is left but small and seeble, in all the bodie, causing the same to evaporate away; like as we may observe without our bodies, how dry earth and dust, do quickly snatch, dispatch, and consume quite the liquor or moisture that is mingled therewith : contrariwise,

drinke necessarily slaketh hunger; for by reason that moisture drenching and soking that little

meat which it finderh dry and hard, raileth from it certeine vapors and moist exhalations, and

those it doth elevate and carrie up into all the body, applying the same to the parts that stand

in need: and therefore Erassistratus not unproperly tearmed moisture, the wagon of the viands: for being mixed and tempered with such things as otherwise of themselves by reason of their drinesse or other evill disposition, be idle, and heavy, it raiseth and listeth up: and hecreupon it commeth, that many men who have been exceeding hungry, onely by bathing or washing themselves, without any drinke at all, have woonderfully aswaged and aliaed their hunger: for the moisture from without, entring into the body, causeth them to be more succeeding hungry of the moisture from without, entring into the body, causeth them to be more succeeding hungry of the moisture from without, on the body, causeth them to be more succeeding hungry for the moisture from the resident of the fell mood, and better plights for that it doth enlarge the parts within, so that it doth mitigate the fell mood, and better plights for that it doth enlarge the parts within, so that it doth mitigate the fell mood, and appeale the critell rage of hunger. To conclude, this is the reason that they who are determined to pine themselves to death by utter abstinence from all solid meats; live and continue a long time if they receive but water onely, even untill the time that all be quite evaporate, spent 10 and dried up, which might nourish and be united unto the bodie.

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

. What is the raufe that pit or well-water being drawen, if it be left all night within the aire of the pit, becommeth colder than it was ?

E had a certeine guest who lived delicatly, and loved to drinke cold water; for to please and content whole appetite, our fervants drew up a bucket of water out of the pit or wel. and fo let it hang within the fame (fo that it touched northe top of the water) all the night long; 20 wherewith he was ferved the morrow after at his supper, and he found it to be much colder than that which was newly drawen: now this stranger, being a professed scholar and indifferently well learned, told us, that he had found this in Aristotle among other points, grounded upon good teason, which he delivered unto us in this wise: All water (quoth he) which is first heat, becommethafterwards more colde than it was before; like to that which is provided and prepared for kings: first, they set it on the fire untill it boile againe; which done, they buriethe pan or vessell wherein it is, within fnow; and by this device it proves exceeding colde: no otherwise than our bodies, after that we have bene in the stouph or baines, be cooled much more by that meanes: for relaxation occasioned by heat, maketh the bodie more rare, and causeth the pores to open, and fo by consequence, it receiveth more aire from without, which environeth the bodie, and 30 bringeth a more fudden and violent change: when as therefore water is first chased (as it were) 3 and let in an heat by agitation and stirring within the bucket whiles it was in drawing, it groweth to be the colder by the aire which environeth the faid veffell round about. This stranger and guest of ours, we commended for his confident resolution and perfect memory; but as touching the reason that he alledged, we made some doubt: for if the aire in which the vessell hangeth be colde, how doth it inchafe the water? and if it be hot, how cooleth it afterwards? for befide all reason it is, that a thing should be affected or suffer contrarily from one and the same cause, unleffe some difference come betweene. And when the other held his peace a good space, and flood musting what to say againe: Why (quoth I) there is no doubt to be made of the aire; for our very senses teach us, that colde it is, and especially that which is in the bottome of pits; and 40 therefore impossible it is, that water should be heat by the cold aire : but the trueth is this rather, although this cold aire can not alter all the water of the spring in the bottome of the well, yet if a man draw the same in a little quantitie, it will do the deed, and be so much predominant as to coole it exceedingly.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

What is the reason that little stones and small plates or pellets of lead, being cast into water, make it colder?

YOu remember I am fure (doe you not, faid I) what Ariffotle hath written, as touching pibble ftones and flints, which if they be cast into water; cause the same to be much colder and more aftringent: And you remember (quoth he) aswell, that the philosopher in his Problemes hath onely said it is so; but let us assay to finde out the cause, for it seemeth very difficult to be conceived and imagined: You say true indeed (quoth I); and a marvell it were if we could hit upon it: howbeit, marke and consider what I will say unto it: First to begin with all; doe you not thinke that water is sooner made colde by the aire without, if the same may come to enter into

it? also, that the aire is of more force and efficacie, when it beateth against hard flints, pubbles of whethones for they will not fuffer it to patte thorow, as veffels either of braffe or earth; but by their compact foliditie, refifting and flanding out against it, they put it by from themselves, and turne it upon the water; whereby the coldnesse may be the stronger, and the water thorowout be fully affected therewith: and this is the reason, that in Winter time, running rivers be much colder than the fea; for that the cold aire hath greater power upon them, as being driven backe againe from the bottome of the water; whereas in the fea it is diffolved; and paffeth away, by reafon of the great depth thereof encountring there nothing at all, upon which it may frike and beat : but it feemeth there is another reason, that waters, the thinner and electer they be, futher to themore from the colde aire; for fooner they be changed and overcome, fo weake and feeble they are : now hard whetstones and little pibbles, doe subtiliat and make the water more thin, in drawing to the bottome where they be, all the groffe and terrestriall substance that trouble it; in fuch fort, as the water by that meanes, being more fine, and confequently weaker, fooner is vanquithed and furmounted by the refrigeration of the aire. To come now unto lead : cold of nature it is, and if it be loaked in vineger, and wrought with it, maketh cerule of all deadly poisons, the coldest. As for the stones aforesaid, by reason of their soliditie, they have an inward coldneffe conceived deeply within them; for as every stone is a piece of earth gathered together and congealed (as it were) by exceeding colde, fo the more compact and matthe that it is, the harder is it congealed, and confequently, so much the colder : no marvell therefore it is, if 20 both plummets of lead and these little hard pibbles aforesaid, by repercussion from themselves, inforce the colductie of water.

THE SIXTH QUESTION.

What is the reason that men use to keepe snowe within chasse, light straw, and clothes?

Pon thesewords, that stranger and guest of ours, after hee had paused a while: Lovers (quoth he) above all things, are desirous to talke with their paramours; or if they can not so doe, yet at least wife they will be talking of them; and even so it fareth at this time betweene me and showe; for, because there is none heere in place, nor to be had, I will speake of it; and namely, I would gladly know the reason why it is wont to be kept in such things as be very hot; for we use to cover and swaddle it (as itwere) with straw and chaffe, yea, and to lap it within soft clothes, unshome rugges, and shaggie frize and so preserve it a long time in the owne kinde, without running to water: A woonderfull matter, that the hottest things should preserve those which are extreame colde! And so will I say too (quoth 1) if that were true: but it is farre otherwise, and we greatly deceive our selves, in taking that by and by to be hot it selse, which doth heat another; and namely, considering that we our selves use to say, that one and the selse sament in Vinter keeps us warme, and in Summer cooleth us; like as that nourse in the tragedy, which gave sucked unto 20 interest children:

With mantles course, and little blanquets worne,

She warm's and cool's her pretie babes, new borne. The Almaigns verily put on garments oncly for to defend their bodies against the rigour of cold: the Aethiopians weare them not, but to fave themselves from soultrie heat: wee in Greece use them for the one purpose and the other; and therefore why should wee count them to be hot, because they warme us, rather than cold, for that they coole us? yet of the twaine, if wee would be judged by the outward fense, wee might repute them rather cold than hot: for when we put on our shirts or inner garments first, our naked skinne findes them cold; and so when we goe into our beds, wee feele the sheetes and other clothes of themselves as cold; but afterwards they helpe to heat us; but how? being themselves full of heat, which commeth from us, 50 they hold in our heat, and withall, keepe off the cold aire from our bodies. Thus you fee how they that be licke of the ague, or otherwise, burne with heat, change continually their linnens and other clothes about them, because ever as any fresh thing is laid upon them, they feele it cold and take comfort therein; no fooner is it cast over them, & lien a while, but it becommeth hot, by reason of the ardent heat of their bodies: like as therefore a garment being warmed once by us, doth warme us againe; even so, if it be made cold by fnow, it keepeth it cold reciprocally; but made cold it is by frow, for that there arrieth from it a fubrill spirit, or vapour which doth it; & the fame fo long as it abideth within, holdeth it together concrete and folid in the ownernature; contrariwife, when it is gone, snowe melteth and turneth to water; then that white fresh colour vanisheth away, which came by the mixture of the said spirit & humiditie together, caufing a kinde of froth: when as snowe therefore is lapped within clothes, both the cold is held in thereby, and the outward aire kept out, that it cannot enter in, to thaw and melt the substance of the fnow thus gathered and congealed together; now to this purpose they use such clothes as have not yet come under the fullers hand, nor beene dreffed, burled, thorne, and preffed; and that for the length and drineffe of the shagge haire and flocks, which will not suffer the cloth to lie heavie and preffe downe the fnow, and cruth it being fo fpungious and light as it is: and even fo the straw and chaffe, lying lightly upon it, and fortly touching it, breaketh not the congealed substance thereof; and otherwise besides, the same lieth close and fast together, whereby it 10 is a cause that neither the coldnesse of the snow within, can breath foorth, nor the heat of the aire without enter in. To conclude that the excretion and iffuing out of that fpirit, is the thing that canfeth the snowe to fore-give, to fret, and to melt in the end, is apparent to our outward fenfes, for that the fnow when it thaweth engendreth winde.

THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

Whether wine is to runne thorough a streiner before it be drunke?

Mexical entrandrenowmed philosopher; yet so long, as in that time he had not learned any good thing at his hands, but stollen from him ere he was aware, that, whereby he was offensive and odious unto others; and namely, this bad cultome he had gotten of his mafter, boldly to reproove and correct in all things, those who were in his company: when as therefore we were upon a time with Artifon in his house at supper together, he found fault generally with all the provision, as being too fumptuous, curious, and superfluous; and among other things, hee flatly denied: That wine ought to paffe through a streiner before it be powred foorth and filled to the table; but he faid: It thould be drunke as it came out of the tunne, as Hefodus faid, whiles it hath the strength and natural sforce, and as nature hath given it unto us; for this manner of depuration and clarifying of it by a streiner, first doth enervate and cut as it were the sinewes of 20 the vigour and vertue, yea and quench the native heat that it hath; for it cannot chuse, but the fame will exhale, evaporate, and flie away with the spirit and life thereof being so often filled and powred out of one veffell into another: Againe, (quoth he) it bewraieth a certeine curiofitie, delicacie, and waltfull wantonnesse, thus to consume and spend the good and profitable, for that which is pleafant onely and delectable: for like as to cut cocks for to make them capons, or to gold fowes and make them gualts, that their fleth may be tender, deintie, & (against the nature of it) effeminate, was never furely the invention of men, found in judgement, and of honest behaviour, but of wastfull gluttons, and such as were given over to belly cheere; even so verily they that thus streine wine, doe geld it, they cut the spurres and pare the nailes thereof; if I may be allowed to to speake by way of Metaphor, yea and doc effeminate the same; whiles 40 they are not able either to beare it by reason of their infirmitie and weakenesse, nor drinke it in measure, as they should because of their intemperance: but furely this is a sophisticall device of theirs, and an artificiall tricke to helpe them for to drinke more, and excuse them for powring it downe to merrily; for by this meanes the force of wine they take away, leaving nothing but bare wine; much like unto those who give water boiled unto sicke & weak folke, who cannot endure to drinke it cold, & yet beyond measure defire it; for the very edge of wine they take off, & looke what firength & vertue was in it, the same they rid away and expell quite: that in so doing they marre it, for ever: this may bee a sufficient argument, that wine thus misused, will not last nor continue long in the owne nature, but turne quickly to be very dregs; it lofeth (I fay) the verdure thereof presently, as if it were cut by the roote, from the owne mother, which are the lees thereof. Certes in old time they were wont directly to call wine it felfe wha, that is to faic, Lees: like as we use to tearme a man by a diminutive speech, a soule or an head, giving unto him the denomination of those principall parts onely; and even at this day wee expresse the gathering of the vine fruit, by the verbe revyar: Also in one place Homer called wine Atanguyior, and as for wine it selfe, it was an ordinary thing with him, to call it allow xed in offer, that is to say, blackith and redde, not pale and wanne, by often streining and clenting, such as drifton heere ferwith its with: heerent Ariston laughing at the matter: Not so my good friend (quoth he) not

pale, bloudleffe and discoloured: but that which at the very first fight sheweth it selfe pleasant, milde, and lovely, where as you would have us to ingurgitate and drench our felves with a wine as blacke as the night, thicke, groffe, and duskifh, like a datke cloud: the clarifying and purification thereof you condemne, which in truth is nothing elfe, but the calling up as it were by vomit of all the choler that it had, and the discharging it of that which is heavy, heady in it, able to make men ficke and drunken, to the end that being more light, cheerefull, and leffecholerick, it might go into our bodies for to be intermingled with us, even fuch as Homer faith: those worthies and demi-gods, at the warre of Troy, used to drinke: for Homer when he named wine adoona, meant not blackish and thicke, but transparent, neat and bright; for having before attri-10 buted unto braffe, these epithites, επιώρ, and τώροψ, that is to fay, meet for men, & relplendent, he would not have called it ai304 afterwards, if hee had not meant blacke and duskish by that attribute. Like as therefore, the fage Anachar sis, when he reproved some other fashions among the Greeks, commended yet their char-coales, for that leaving the smoake without doores, they brought the fire into the house; even so you my masters, that are wise men and great scholars, may haply blame us in other respects, if you list : but in case when we have rejected and dispatchedaway that which was turbulent, cholericke and furious in wine, we make it then looke clere, and tafte pleafant of it felfe, without any fophilitication; if we do not (I fay) turne or take off the edge quite, and grinde out all the steele (as it were) but rather scouring away rust and canker, fourbith and glaze it, and so present it unto you for to drinke; what hainous fault (I pray you) 20 have we committed ? but you will fay (for footh) it hath more frength in it when it is not thus clarified with freining: and fo (by your leave, good fir) hath a franticke, lunaticke, and madde man, when he is in his fits; but after that he is well purged with Ellebor, or by good regiment in diet, brought to be staied, and reduced into his right minde and senses againe, that violent and extraordinary force is gone, but the true naturall itrength of his owne, and his fetled temperature remaine still in his bodie, together with his right wits; even so this cleansing and clarifying of wine, by ridding away that headinesse which troubleth the braine, and causeth rage, bringeth it to a mildehabit and holfome constitution. Cettes, for mine owne part, I holde there is a great difference betweene affected curiofitie; and fimple neatneffe or elegancie: for those women that paint themselves, perfume and beforecretheir bodies with costly odours, and balmes, 30 or otherwife glitter in their ornaments of golde, and go in their rich purple robes, are by good right thought to be curious, costly, and wanton dames; but if a woman use the bath, wath her skin, annoint her felfe with ordinary oile, yea, and weare the treffes of her owne haire, difoofed and laied in order decently, no man will finde fault with her for it. This distinction in womens dreffing and attire, the poet Homer hath elegantly and properly expressed, in the person of Juno, when the dreffed and trimmed her felfe, in this wife:

With pure Ambrofia fir ft, her corps immortall, from all foile And filth, she cleans' d, then it she did anoim with glibber oile.

40 Thus farre foorth, there is nothing to be seene in her, but carefull diligence and marronlike cleanlinesse; mariewhen the comes to carquans, chaines, borders, and buttons of gold, when the hangs on herpendant earerings most curiously and artificially wroughe, and not staying there, proceeds in the end to take in her hand that enchanting tiffue and girdle of Penus; believe me, heere was superfluous sumptuositie, heere was vanitie and wantonnesse in deed, not befeeming a wife or dame of honour; femblably, they that colour their wine with the sweet wood of aloeor cinomon, and otherwife give it a tincture and pleasant aromatization with saffron, doc even as much as those who curiously tricke up and set out a woman, for to bring her to a banquet, and to profittute her as a courtifan; whereas they that do no more but purge out of it, the groffe filthineffe, and that which is good for nothing, make it by that meanes, pure, holfome and 50 medicinable: for otherwife, if you admit not this, you may aswell say, that all things that you see heere, is nothing but needleffe superfluitie, and affected curiositie, beginning even at the verie house and the furniture thereof: for why is it (will you say) thus pargetted and laied over with a coat of plaifter? why is it open and built with windowes on that fide especially, where it may receive the purest aire and freshest windes, or where it may enjoy the light of the sunne tending Westward toward his setting? why are these pots and drinking cups, every one of them rubbed and feoured on every fide, fo near and cleane, that they glitter and finne againe, so as a man may feehimfelfe in them? And ought (good fir) thefe boules and goblets to be kept cleane with-

out all fifth, or sweet without evill sent; and must the wine which we drinke out of them, be full of filthie dregges, or otherwife stained with any ordure and corruption? but what need I runne thorow all the rest? the very workemanship and painefull labour about the wheat whereof our bread heere is made, what is it els (I befeech you) but cleanfing and purging ? fee you not what a doe there is about it before it be brought to this passe? for there must be not onely threshing, fanning, winnowing, riddling, grinding, fifting, ferling and boulting out the branne from the flowre, while it is in the nature of come and meale; but also it requireth to bekned and wrought, that no roughnessermaine behind in the dough; so that being thus united and concorporatinto a lumpe of paste, it may be made bread fit for our eating: what absurditie then is there in this. if straining and cleanling of wine riddeth it from that feculent and dreggie matter, as if it were 10 course brannes or grosse grounds, especially seeing the doing of it, is not any wife chargeable nor laborious?

THE EIGHTH QUESTION.

What is the cause of that extraordinarie hunger, called Buriu ?

"Here is a folemne facrifice used among us, received by tradition from our ancestors, which the provoit or chiefe governour of the city for the time being, performeth at publicke the altar, but other private citizens befides, in their own houses: and this solemnity is called, The ba. 20 nishment of Bulimos, that is to say, of hunger or famine: and the maner is at such a time, for eyerie mafter of an house, to take one of his flaves, and when he hath swinged him well with weeds of the withie called Chast-tree, to thrust him out of the doores by the head and shoulders, faving withall: Out with * Bulimos , but come in wealth and health. Now that yeere wherein I was provoft, many there were at my facrifice, invited to the feaft; and after we had performed all ceit feemeth by remonies and complements there o belonging, and were fet at the table, fome question there was moved, first, as touching the vocable it selfe swips, what it should signific, and afterwards of the words uttered unto the flave when he is driven out; but most of all, of that maladie so called, and of the accidents and circumstances thereof. As for the tearme Bulimos, every man in maner, was of opinion, that it betokened a great and publike famine, but especially we Greeks of Aco. 30 lia, who in our dialect use the letter $*\pi$ for β , for we commonly do not say, Bulimos, but Pulimos, as if it were Polylimos or Polilimos, that is to fay, a great famine, or a generall famine thorowout the citie : and it feemed unto us, that Babroftis was another thing different from it; and namely, by a found argument which we had from the Chronicles penned by Metrodorus, as touching the acts of Ionia, wherein thus much he writeth: That the Smyrneans who in old time were Acolians, use to facrifice unto Bubrostis, a blackebull, as an holocaust or burnt offering, which they cut into pieces with the hide, and so burne it all together. But forasmuch as all maner of hunger refembleth a maladie (and principally, this called Basing) which commeth upon a man when his bodie is affected with some unkind and unnaturall indisposition, it seemeth that by great reason, as they oppose wealth to povertie, so they set health against sicknesse: & like as 40 the heaving and overturning of the stomacke, a disease when as men are said Naurian, tooke that name first upon occasion of those who are in a ship, & when they saile or row, sal to be stomack ficke, and are apt to cast: but afterwards by custome of speech, who so ever feele the like passion of the Homacke, and a disposition to vomit, are said round, that is to saie, to be sea sicke; even fo the verbe βάλιμαϊν, and the noune βίλιμας, taking the beginning as is before faid, there is come unto us, and fignifieth a dogs-appetite or extraordinary hunger. And to this purpose wee all spake, and made a contribution as it were of all our reasons, to make out a common supper or collation: but when we came to touch the cause of this disease; the first doubt that arose among us was this; that they should most be surprized with this maladie, who travell in great snowes: like as Brutus did of late daies; who when he marched with his army from Dyrrhachium to Apol- 50 lonia, was in danger of his life, by occasion of this infirmitie: it was a time when the snowe lay very deepe ; in which march he went fuch a pace, that none of those who had the carriage of victuals overtooke him, or came neere unto him: now when as he fainted fo for feeblenesse of ftomacke, that he now fwo oned and was ready to give up the ghost; the souldiers were forced to runne in haste unto the walles of the city, and to call for a loase of bread, unto their very enemies, warding and keeping the watch upon the walles, which when they had prefently gotten, therewith they recovered Brutus: whereupon afterwards, when he was mafter of the towne, hee

* That is to and famine : that which followeth, that they put poverty also before Bulimos, in appofition to health. " p. for b.

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grievoully intreated all the inhabitants, for the courtefie which he had received from thence. This dileafe hapneth likewise to horses and asses, especially when they have either figges or apples a load: but that which of all the rest is most woonderfull, there is no manner of food or sustenance in the world, that in such a case so some recovereth the strength, not of men onely, but of labouring beafts also, as to give them bread, so that if they eat a morfell thereof, bee it never so little, they will presently finde their feet, and be able to walke.

Hereupon enfued filence for a while; and then I (knowing well enough, how much the arguments of ancient writers are able to content and fatisfie fuch as are but dull and flow of conceit; but contrarywife unto those that be studious, ripe of wit and diligent, the same make an overto ture and give courage and heart to fearch and inquire further into the truth) called to minde and delivered before them all a fentence out of Aristotle, who affirmeth: That the stronger the cold is without, the more is the heat within our bodies, and so consequently, causeth the greater colliquation of the humours in the interior parts. Now if these humours thus resolved, take a course unto the legges, they cause lassitudes and heavinesse; if the rheume fall upon the principall fountaines and organs of motion and respiration, it bringeth faintings and seeblenesse. I had no sooner said, but as it is wont in such cases to fall out, some tooke in hand to oppugne these reasons; and others againe to defend and mainteine the same: and Soclarus, for his part: The words (quoth he) in the beginning of your speech were very well placed, and the ground furely laid; for in truth the bodies of those who walke in snow, are evidently cold without, and 20 exceedingly closed fast and knit together; but that the inward heat occasioned thereby, should make fuch a colliquation of humors, and that the same should possesse and seize upon the principall parts and inflruments of respiration, is a bold and rash conceit, and I cannot see how it should fland: Yet rather would I thinke, that the heat being thus kept in, and united together, and fo by that meanes fortified, confumeth all the nourishment; which being spent, it cannot chuse, but the said heat also must needs languish even as a fire without sewell; and hecreupon it is, that fuch have an exceeding hunger upon them, and when they have eaten never folittle, they come prefently to themselves againe; for that food is the maintenance of naturall heat: Then Cleamenes the physician: This word Aquis, that is to fay, hunger (quoth hee) in the compound Bushines, fignifieth nothing elfe, but is crept into the composition of it I know 30 not how, without any reason at all; like as in the verbe (), which betokeneth to devoure, or fwallow downe folid meat, with that is to fay, to drinke, hath no fense or congruitie at all; no more than words, that is to fay, to bend downward, or fall groveling, hath any thing to doe in the verbe arasin his, that fignifieth to rife aloft, or to hold up the head as birds doe in drinking; for furely 6 exigues or 6 exigues, feemeth not unto me to be any hunger, as many have taken it; but it is a passion of the stomacke, which concurring indeed with hunger, engendreth a fainting of the heart, and an aptneffe to fwoone: and even as odors and fmels doe fetch againe and helpe those that be in a swoone; so bread doth remedie and recover those who are feeble and faint, by this Bulimia, not for that fuch have need of fustenance; (for let it be never so little that they take, they are revived and refreshed thereby) but because it setcheth the spirits againe, 40 and recalleth the power and strength of nature that was going away. Now that this Bulimos or Bulimia, is a faintnesse of the heart, and no hunger at all, appearethevidently by an accident that we observe in those draught beasts, whereof we spake before, subject to this infirmitie; for the fmell of figges and apples worketh not in them any defect or want of nourishment; but causeth rather a gnawing in the mouth of the maw, a plucking (I fay) and contention in the brim of the stomacke. As for me, on the otherside, although I thought these reasons indifferently well alledged; yet I was of opinion, that if I went another way to worke, and argued from a contratie principle, I could mainteine a probabilitie, and uphold, that all this might proceed rather by way of condensation, than rarefaction: for the spirit of breath that passeth from the fnowe in manner of fubtile aire, is the most cutting edge, and finest decision or scale, comming 50 from the concretion of that meteor or congealed substance, which I wot not how, is of so keene and piercing a nature, that it will strike thorough, not flesh onely, but vessels also of silver and braffe: for we fee that they are not able to conteine and hold fnowe in them, but when it commeth to mele, it confumeth away, and covereth the outfide of fuch veffels, glazed over with a most subtill moisture, as cleere as ife, which no doubt the said spirit, breath, aire, or edge, (call it what you will) left behinde it, when it passed through those insensible pores of the said veffels; this spirit then thus penetrative and quicke as a flame, when it smiteth upon their bodies who goe in fnowe, feemeth to fcorch and findge the superficiall outside of the skinne, in cutting and making way thorough into the flesh in manner of fire; whereupon ensuetha great rarefaction of the body, by meanes whereof, the inward heat flying foorth, meeteth with the coldspirit or aire without in the superficies which doth extinguish and quench it quite, and thereby yeeldeth a kinde of small sweat or dew, standing with drops upon the outside, and so the naturall strength of the bodie is resolved and consumed: now if a man at such a time stirre not, but restsfill, there is not much naturall heat of the bodie that passeth thus away; but when motion by walking or otherwise doth quickly turne the nutriment of the bodie into heat, and withall the faid hear flieth outward thorough the skinne thus rarefied; how can it otherwife be, but all at once there should ensue a great ecclipse (as it were) and generall defect of the naturall powers? And that true it is, that the fame doth not alwaies close, knit, and binde together 10 the bodie, but otherwise melt and rarefie the same, it appeareth manifestly by this experience; that in tharpe and nipping winters, many times plates or plummets of leade are knowen to five at and melt: this observation also, that many do fall into this infirmitie called Bulimia, who are not hungrie, doth argue rather a defluxion and dilatation, than a constipation of the bodie; which no doubt in Winter is rarefied by that fubtiltie of the spirit, whereof I spake, and especially, when travell and ftirring, doth sharpen and subtiliat the heat within the body: for being thus made thin, and wearied befides, it flieth forth in great abundance, and fo is differfed thorowout the body. As for those figs and apples, it is like, that they do exhale and evaporate such a spirit, as doth subtiliate and diffipate the naturall heat of labouring beasts that carrie them: for it standeth by good reason in nature, that as some be revived and refreshed with one thing, and some 20 with another; so contrariwise, some things do diffipate the spirits in one, and others in another,

THE NINTH QUESTION.

Why the poet Homer to other liquors giveth proper epithites and attributes, and oile onely be callethmoist?

Here was a great question also another time: What might the reason be, that there being fo many liquors as there are, the poet Homer is wont to adorne every one of the with their feverall and proper epithits, and namely, to call milke, white; hony, yellow; and wine, red; but 20 oile alone he ordinarily noteth by an accident common unto them all, and tearmeth it moift? to which, this answere was made: That as a thing is named, Most sweet, which is altogether fweet; and Most white, which is altogether white; (now you must understand, that a thing is said to be fuch and fuch altogether, when there is nothing mixed with it of a contrary nature) even fowe are to call that Moift, which hath not one jot of drineffe mingled among, and fuch a qualitie doth properly agree unto oile: for first and formost, the polithed smoothnesse that it hath, doth shew that the parts thereof be all uniforme and even thorowout; and feele it wherefoever you will, you shall finde it equall in every respect, and one part accordeth with another so, as the whole agreeth to withstand both mixture and colde: besides, to the cie sight it yeeldeth a most pure and cleere mirror to behold the face in ; for why? there is no roughnesse nor ruggednesse 40 in it, to diffipate the reflexion of the light; but by reason of the humiditie or moisture thereof, all the light (how little foever it be) doth rebound and returne againe upon the fight: whereas contrariwife, milke alone, of all other liquots, fendeth backe none of these images and resemblances, like as a mirror or looking-glaffe doth, for that it hath a great deale of terrestrial subftance in it: moreover, of all liquid matters, oile onely maketh the least noise when it is stirred or shaken, for that it is so moist thorowout; whereas in other liquors, the parts which be hard and carthy, in running, flowing, and moving, do encounter, fruite and hit one another, and fo confequently make a noife, by reason of their weight and soliditie: and that which more is, it remaineth simple of it selfe, without admitting any mixture or composition with any other liquor whatfoever, for that it is fo firme, compact, or fast; and good reason, for it hath no wandering 50 holes here and there, betweene terrene and hard parts, which might receive any other fibstance within: moreover, all the parts of oile, for that they be so like one unto the other in a continued union, do joine paffing well together, however they will not fort with other liquors; and by reafon of this tenuitie and continuitie, when oile doth froth or fome, it suffereth no winde or spirit to enter in : furthermore, this humiditie of oile, is the cause that it feedeth and nourisheth fire, for mainteined it is with nothing that is not moift, and this is the onely liquor that may be burned, as we may see evidently in the wood which we dayly butne; namely, that the airie sub-

flance therein, flieth up in smoake; that which is terrestriall, turneth into ashes; and there is nothing but that, which is moift or liquid, that flameth out, burneth light, and is confumed cleaner for why? fire hath no other fuftenance to feed upon; and therefore, water, wine, and other liquors, stand much upon a feculent, muddie & earthly matter, which is the cause that if a man do cast them upon a fire or flame, by their asperitie, they difgregate, and by their weight, choke & quench it; but oile, (for that most properly and fineerely it is mosst, and by reason also that it is to fubtile) foone receiveth alteration, and being overcome by the fire, is quickly inflamed; but the greatest argument to prove the moisture of oile, is this, that a little thereof will spread and go a great way; for neither honie, nor water, nor any other liquid thing whatfocver, in fo finall a to quantitie can be dilated and drawen fo far as oile, but for the most part, they are spent and gone by occasion of their ficeity: and verily, oile being so pliable and ready to be drawen every way, foft also and glib, is apt to run all over the body, when it is anointed, it floweth and spreadeth a great way, by meanes of the humiditie of all parts which are fo moveable, in fuch fort, as it continueth a long time, and hardly will be rid away, it sticketh and cleaveth so fast: for a garment, if it be dipped and drenched all over in water, will foone be drie againe; but the spots and staines with oile, require no finall adoe to be scoured out and cleanfed, for that it taketh so deepe an impreffion; and all because it is so fine, subtile and exceeding moist and Aristotle himselfe faith, that even wine also being delaied with water, if it be gotten into a cloth, is hardly fetched out, for that now it is more fubtile than before, and pierceth farther within the pores thereof.

THE TENTH QUESTION.

What is the cause, that the sless of beasts killed for sacrifice, if it be hung upon a fig-tree, becommeth more tender within a while?

Rifton had a cooke commended highly by those who used to sup with his master, for sin-A gular skill in his art; and namely, for that among all other viands which he handled and dreffed paffing well, hee ferved up a cocke unto the table before us, newly killed and facrificed unto Hercules, the fleth whereof did eat as short and tender as if he had hung by the heeles a day 30 or two before : and when Ariston faid that it was an easie matter so to doe; and that there needed no more, but prefently when his throat was cut, to hang him upon a fig-tree, we tooke occasion thereby to fearch into the cause of this effect: Certes, that there passeth from the figge-tree a tharpe aire and ftrong spirit, our verice eielight will testifie; as also the common speech that goeth of a bull, who if he be tied to a fig-tree, how wilde, favage and fell foever he was before, will foone be mecke and quiet, abide to be handled, and in one word, lay downe his furious rage, as ifit were cleane daunted: But the principall cause hecreof was attributed to the acrimonie and sharpe qualitie of the wood, for the tree is more succulent than any other; infomuch as the verie figge it felfe, the wood also and the lease, be all full of juice; also whiles it burneth in the fire, there ariseth from it a bitter bitting smoake, very hurtfull to the cies; and when it is burnt, 40 there is made of the aftes a strong leie, very deterfive and scouring, which bee all signes of heat: and moreover, whereas the milkie juice of the fig-tree will cause milke to turne and cruddle, (fomefay,) it is not by the inequality of the figures of milke, which are comprehended and glewed as it were therewith, namely, when the united and round parts thereof are cast up to the superficies, but for that the foresaid juice by meanes of heat, doth resolve the waterie substance of the liquor, which is not apt to gather confistence and be thickned: moreover, this is another figne thereof, that notwithstanding the juice be in some fortsweet, yet it is good for nothing, and maketh the woorst and most unpleasant drinke in the world; for it is not the inequalitie therof, that causeth the smooth parts to gather a crud, but the heat which maketh the cold and cruddie partes to coagilate. A good proofe of this we have from falt, which ferveth to 50 this purpose, because it is hot; but it impeacheth this interlacing and glutinous binding pretended, for that by nature it doth rather diffolve and unbinde. To come against herefore unto the question in hand; the fig-tree sendeth from it a sharpe piercing and incisive spirit; and this is it, that doth make tender, and as it were concoct the fleih of the faide foule: and as great an effect should one see, if he had put him in a heape of wheat or such corne, or covered him all over with falt nitre; and all by reason of heat: and that this is true that wheat is hot, may be gathered by the veffels full of wine, which are hidden within a heape of wheat; for a man thall foone finde that the wine will be all gone.



THE SVENTH BOOKE OF SYMPOSIAQUES OR BANQUET-DISCOURSES.

The Summarie.

Gainst those who reproove Plato for saying , that our drinke passeth thorough the

What is that which Plato calleth Ksedo Coase? and why those seedes which fall upon beeses hornes, become hard in concoction?

Why the middle pars in wine, the higheft in oile, and the bottome of hony is best?
Wherefore the Romans in old time observed this custome 3 never in any case to take away the table.

4. It herefore the Romans in clatime objerved this enfomes, never in any case to take away the table 20 cleane, nor to suffer a lampe or candle to goe out? 5. That we ought to take great heed of those pleasures which naughtie musicke yeeldeth, and how we

5 That we ought to take great need of those pleasures which naughtie musicke yeetaeth, and now we should be ware of it?

6 Of those guests who are called shadowes, and whether amanman goeto a feast unbidden, if hee be brought thither by those who were invited? when and unto whom?

7 Whither it he lawfull and honest to admit she-minstrels at a feast or banquet?

8 What matters especially it is good to hear ediscoursed upon at the table?

9 That to su in counsell or consult at a table, was in old time the custome of Greeks, as well as of Persuns.

10 Whether they did well that fo consulted at their meat?

THE SEVENTH BOOKE OF Symposiaques or banquet-discourses.

The Proeme.



He Romans have commonly in their mouthes, ô Sostus Senecio, the speech of a pleasant conceited man and a curteous, who she he had supped alone at any time, was wont thus to say: Eaten I have this day, but not supped; shewing thereby, that meales would never be without mirth and good companie, to seafon the same, and to give a pleasant taste unto the viands. Euenus verily used to say: That sire was the best sauce in the world: and as for salt, Homer called it divine; and most men gave it the name of the Graces; for that being mingled or otherwise taken with most of our meates, it gives a kinde of grace, and commendeth them as

pleafant and agreeable to the stomacke. But to fay a truth, the most divine sauce of a table or a supper, is the presence of a friend, a familiar, and one whom a man knoweth well; not so much for that he eateth and drinketh with us, but rather because as he is partaker of our speeches, so he doth participate his owne unto us, especially if in such reciprocal talke there be any good discourses, and those which be profitable, fit, and pertinent to the purpose; for much babling indeed and lavish speech that many men use at the boord; and in their cuppes, bewrateth their vame folly, driving them oftentimes into inconsiderate and passionate fits, and to perverse lewdnesses; and therefore no lesse requisite it is, and needfull, to make choise of speeches, than or friends to be admitted to our table: and in this case we ought both to thinke, and also to say,

contrary unto the auncient Lacedamonians, who when they received any yoong man or firanger into their guild-halles, called *Phiditia*, where they used to dine and suppe in publicke together, would show unto them the dores of the place and say: Out at these there never goeth word: but we acquainting our selves with good words, and pertinent speeches at the table, in our discourse, are wilking and content, that the same should go forth all, and be set abroad to all persons what soever; for that the matters and arguments of our talke are void of lastivious wantonnesse, without backbiting, staundering, malice, and illiberall seurisitie, not be seeming men of good education: as a man may well judge by these examples following in the Decade of this seventh booke.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

Magainst those who reproove Plato, for laying: That our drinke passeth by the lungs.

Thapned one day in fummer time, that one of the company where I was at fupper; came out with this verie of Aleam, which every man hath readily in his mouth, and pronounced it with a loud voice:

the трудь правистах отно, то 18 аксет тестеральта.

That is to fay:

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Io

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Now drinke and wet thy langs with wine,

For why? the hot Dogge-flarre doth shine.

No marvell (quoth Niciau) then, (a phyfician of the city Nicopoliu): if a poet as Alexan was, were ignorant in that, which Plate a great philosopher knew not: and yet Alexan in some for may be borne our infaying so, and relieved in this wise; namely, that the lungs being so necre as they are unto the stomacke, enjoy the benefit of the liquid drinke, and therefor it was not improperly said: That they be wette and soked therewith: but this samous philosopher by expresse words hath left in writing, that our drinke directly passen for the most patt, thorow the lungs: so that he hath given us no meanes of any probabilitie in the world, to excuse and defend him, would wenever so faine, so grossless his errour, and ignorance so palpable for in the first place, (considering it is necessary, that the drie nourithment should be mingled with the liquid) plaine it is, that there ought to be one common vessel, which is the stomacke, for to receive them both together; to the end, that it might transmit and send into the bellie and panch beneath, the

meat well foaked and made foft: besides, seeing that the lungs be smooth and every way compact and solide, how is it possible, that is a man drinke a supping or grewell, wherein there is a little meale or slower, it should get thorow, and not stay there? for this is the doubt that Erassistant wobjected very well against Plato. Moreover, this philosopher having considered most parts of the bodie, and searched by reason, wherefore they were made; and being desirous to know (as became a man of his profession) for what use nature had framed every one, he might have thought thus much: That the we zill of the throat, otherwise called Epiglottis, was not made for nothing and to no purpose; but ordeined for this, that when we swallow any food, it might keepe downe and close the conduit of the winde-pipe, for seare that nothing might and that way upon the lights; which part no doubt, is woonderfully troubled, tormented, and torne (as it were) with the cough, when any little thing is gotten thirter, where the breath doth passie to and fro: Now this wezill abovesaid, being placed just in the middes, and indifferent to serve both passages, when we speake, doth shut the mouth of that conduit or wezand that leadeth to

by way of respiration. Furthermore, thus much we know by experience: That those who take their drinke leasurely, letting it go downe by little and little, have moister bellies than those who so power their liquor downe at once; for by this meanes the drinke is caried directly into the bladder, passing away apace and with violence, making no stay; whereas otherwise, it restet honger with the meat, which it soaketh gently, and is better mingled and incorporate into it; but wee should never see the one or the other; if at the first, our drinke and meat went apart, and had their severall waies by themselves, when wee swallow them downe; for wee conjoine our meat and drinke together, sending them both one after another, to the end that the liquor might serve in stead of a waggon, according as Erasistratus was woont to say, for to carrie and convey the meat and the nourillment into all parts.

the stomacke; and as we either eat or drinke, falleth likewise upon the winde-pipe that goeth to

the lungs, keeping that passage pure and cleere, for the winde and breath to go and come at case,

After

* Ad carilo.

* φάξυ, 05.

After that Nicias had made this discourse, Protogenes the Grammatian added moreover, and feconded him in this wise, saying: That the poet Homer, first of all other, saw well enough; and observed, that the stomacke was the proper receptacle and vessell to receive our food, as the winde-pipe, which they called in olde time, as degrees, to admit the winde and the breath: and hereupon it came, that they used to call those who had big and loud voices, it considered the state is to say, wide-throated, meaning by the throat, the winde-pipe, and not the gullet, wezand or gorge: and therefore when he had said of Achilles, charging Hetter with his launce:

d thetetote with the through bis * gorge at fir ft,

A speeding wound and deadly thrust.

A little after he added, and faid:

His* winde-pipe yet he went beside, And did not it in twaine divide.

He meaneth by acodestors, the proper inftrument of the voice and conduit of the breath, which he cut not quite in funder as he did the other, named rangelia or results, that is to fay, the wezand or gullet.

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upon these words, all was husht for a time, untill Floras tooke upon him to speake in the behalfe of Plato: And shall we thus indeed suffer this philosopher (quoth he) to be condemned, when he is not heere in place to answere for himsels? No (said I) that we will not; but we will joine unto Plato, the poet Homer also, and put them both together; who is so farre off from averting and turning away the liquor from the wind-pipe, that he sendeth both drinke and meat 20 together out of it; for these be his words to that effect:

There gush tout of his * winde pipe, wine good store, Andgobs of mans-stesh, eatennew before.

tinlesse peradventure some one will dare to say, that this Cyclops Polyphemua, as he had but one eie in his head, so likewise he had no more but one conduit for his meat, drinke, and voice; or els mainteine that in this place the poet, by **ea**p**, meaneth the stomacke, and not the windepipe or wezill pipe, which hath bene named so, by all men generally, aswell ancient as moderne writers: and this cite I not for want of testimonies, but as induced thereto for the truethsake: for there be witnesses enough to depose on Plates side, and those of good credit and authority: for let Euposis the comicall poet goby, if you please, who in his comedie named Colaces, that is 30 to say, Flatterers or Parasites, thus saith:

For why? this rule and precept streightly gave Protagoras: To drinke; that men migh have Their lungs well wet and drencht with liguor cleere, Erethat in skie the Dog-starre doth appeere.

And passe-by, if you will, that elegant and sweet conceited poet Eratostkenes, whose words be these:

With good meere-wine do not forges The bottome of thy lungs to wet.

Euripides verily, who in expresse tearmes writeth thus in one tragedie,

The wine sought all the conduits round about,

And so did passe the lung-pipes cleane throughout. sheweth evidently, that he was quicker sighted than Eristratus, and saw further into the thing than he did; for well he knew that the lungs have many pipes in them, and be (as it were) bored thorow with many holes, by which the liquor passeth: for our winde or breath had no need of fuch conduits and small pipes to send it out; but the lungs were made spungeous and full of cavernosities or holes, in maner of a colander or strainer, for liquors, yea, and other matters that go downe together with the liquors: neither is it more unmeet (my good Nicias) for the lungs to transmit and give passage unto meale, or any good thicke grewell, than for the stomackes for our stomacke or gullet is not, as some thinke, smooth and slipperie, but hath a kinde of roughnesse and certeine rugged wrinkles, of which by all likelihood, some small crummes and parcels of our meat doe take holde, and flicking thereto, are not at once swallowed downe, and caried away: but a man is not able indeed to affirme Categorically, either the one or the other; for nature is so wittie and industrious in all her operations, that no eloquence will serve to expresse the same; neither is it possible to explicate and declare sufficiently the exquisit workmanship and perfection of those principall instruments which she useth, I meane those that serve for the spirit or breath and the heat: howbeit, in the favour of Plato I am willing to citemore wit-

neffes, to wit, Philistion the Locrien, a very auncient writer, and renowmed for his excellencie in your arte of phylicke; and Hippocrates of Cos: for these men have allowed no other way nor paffage for our drinke than Plate hath: and as for the wezill that you ftand fo much upon, and have in fuch reputation, Dioxippus was not ignorant of it: but he faith, that about it, the humiditie or liquor in swallowing is divided and severed, and so glideth or slippeth into the winderpipe; but the meat rolleth into the stomacke, and within the said winde-pipe, there falleth no patt of the meat; howbeit the ftomacke receiveth together with the dry food some partals of the drinke or liquor mingled among ; and this feemeth to ftand well with reason : for the wezill is set before the winde-pipe as a fence or lidde, to the end that by little and little, the drinke 10 might gently runne as by a fireiner into it, not fuddenly and at once with a violence, for feare that if it were in that manner powred in, it would either stop or else fore trouble and impeach the breath; which is the reason that birds have no such slappe or wezill, and nature hath ordeined none for them, for they neither draw in by gulpes, nor lappe their drinke, but dipping their bils let it downe foftly, and fo wet their throat: And thus much may ferve for witneffes in the behalfe of Plate. To come now unto reason: First and foremost our very sense doth confirme the fame that he hath faid : for letthe faid wezill-pipe be wounded, no liquor will goe downe, but as if a conduit pipe were cut in funder, we may fee all of it to breake foorth and run out at the wound, notwithstanding the wefand or stomacke be found and whole: moreover we all know by experience, that upon the malady called Perippeumonia, that is to fay, the inflamma-20 tion of the lungs, there followeth a most ardent thirst, by occasion of drought or heat, or else fome other cause, which with the said inflammation engendreth also an appetite to drinke: furthermore, there is another argument, stronger and more evident than this, namely; that those creatures which have either no lights or verie smal, have no need of drink, nor desire it; for every part of the body hath a certeine naturall appetite to doe that worke or function, unto which it is ordeined; and looke what creatures so ever have no such parts, neither have they use for them, nor any defire to that operation which is performed by them: In fum, if it were not so as Plato faith; it may feeme that the bladder was made in vaine; for if the stomacke receive drinke as wel as meat, & fende it downe into the belly, what needed the superfluitie or excrement of the liquid food, that is to fay drinke, any peculiar receptacle or paffage by it felfe; for sufficient it 30 had beene to have had one common, as well for the one as the other, to discharge the excrements of both, by one spout as it were into the same draught: but now it is otherwise: the bladderis by it felfe, and the guts apart by themselves; for that the one nutriment goeth from the lungs; the other from the stomacke, parting immediatly, and taking their severall waies at the very swallowing. And heereupon it is that in the liquid superfluitie which is wine, there appear reth nothing of the drie, refembling it either in colour or fent; and yet naturall reason would, that if it were mixed and tempered with it in the belly and the guttes, it should bee filled with the qualities thereof, and could not possibly be excluded out of the body so pure and voide of ordure. * Againe, it was never knowen, that a stone hath been eingendred in the paunch or "Untrue. guts; and yet good reason it were, that moisture there should congeale or gather to a stone as 40 it doth within the bladder; if true it were that all our drinke descended into the belly and the guts, by paffing thorough the stomacke onely: but it seemeth that the stomacke incontinently when we begin to drinke, fucketh and draweth out of that liquor which paffeth along by it in the wezill pipe, as much onely as is needfull and requifit for it, to mollifie and to convert into anutritive pap or juice the folid meat; and so it leaveth no liquid excrement at all: whereas the lungs, so some as they have distributed both spirit and liquor from thence, unto those parts that have need thereof, expell and fend out the rest into the bladder: Well, to conclude, more likelihood there is of truth by farre, in this, than in the other: and yet peradventure the truth in deed of these matters lieth hidden still and incomprehensible; in regard whereof, it is not meet to proceed so rashly and insolently to pronounce sentence against a man, who as well for his

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50 owne fufficiency, as the fingular opinion of the world, is reputed the prince and chiefe of al phi-

many reasons collected out of the readings and writings of Plato.

lolophers, especially in so uncerteine a thing as this, and in defence whereof there may bee so

" μήτε χατα

πίνεσα τίω

πιτιυ αναλι

tranflate this

place thus: Swalloweth

downe her

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the is taken :

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בכאולייים דובע.

*าไม่ า*กาบสะ

αλισκομθμίη.

I suppose nei

ther of them

both, found,

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rupt: And

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THE SECOND QUESTION.

What is meant in Placo by this word x segro flows, and why those seeds which in sowing light upon oxe hornes, besome hard and not easie to be concocted.

Here hath been calwaies much question and controversie about Kegga Bissos, and Arreduss, not who or what is so called (for certeine it is, that feeds falling upon ox hornes, according to the common opinion, yeeld ffute, hard and not eafily concocted; whereupon by waie of Metaphor, a stubborne and stiffe-necked person, men use to tearme Keega stoor, and arreduced but 10 as touching the cause, why such graine or feeds hitting against the hornes of an ox, should come to be so untoward: And many times refused I have, yea, and denied my friends to search into the thing; the rather for that Theophrastus hath rendred so darke and obscure a reason. raunging it among thany other examples which he hath gathered and put downe in writing of ftrange and wonderfull effects, whereof the cause is hard to be found; namely: That an henne after that the hath laid an egge, turneth round about, and with a fefture or straw seemeth to purific and halow her-felfe, and the egge also; that the sea-calse or seale * consumeth the pine, and yet swalloweth it not downe; semblably, that stagges hide their hornes within the ground and burie them; likewife, that if one goat hold the herbe Eryngium, that is to fay, fea-holly, in his oxoulin Some mouth, all the rest of the slocke will stand still: Among these miraculous effects, Theophranu 20 (I fay) hath put downe the feeds falling upon the hornes of an ox; a thing knowen for certeine to be so, but whereof, the cause is most difficult, if not impossible to be delivered. But at a supper in the citie Delphi, as I fat one day, certeine of my familiar friends came upon me in this maner, that feeing not onely, according to the common faying:

From hellie full best counsell doth arise, And fureft plots men in that cafe devise.

fhould feeme, but also we are more ready with our questions, and lesse to seeke for answeres, when as wine is in our heads, caufing us to be forward in the one, and resolute in the other; they would request me therefore to fay formewhat unto the forefaid matter in question: howbeit, I held off still, as being well backed with no bad advocates, who tooke my part, and were ready to defend my cause; 20 and by name, Euthydemus my colleague or companion with me in the facerdotall dignitie, and nall to be cor- Patrocless my fonne in law, who brought foorth and alledged many fuch things, observed aswell in agriculture, as by hunters; of which fort is that which is practifed by those who take upon them skill in the forefight and prevention of haile; namely, that it may be averted and turned afide, by the bloud of a mould warpe, or linnen ragges, stained with the monethly purgations of women: Item, that if a man take the figs of a wilde fig tree, and tie them to a tame fig-tree of the orchard, it is a meanes that the fruit of the faid fig-tree shall not fall, but tarrie on, and ripen kindly: also that stags weepe falt teares, but wilde bores shed sweet drops from their eies, when they be taken: For if you will fet in hand to feeke out the cause hereof (quoth Euthydemus) then presently you must render a reason also, of smallach and cumin; of which, the former, if it be 40 troden under foot and trampled on in the comming up, men have an opinion it will grow and prosper the better; and as for the other, they sow it with curses and all the sowless words that can be devised, and so it will spring and thrive best. Tush (quoth Florus) these be but to ics and ridiculous mockeries, to make sport with: but as touching the cause of the other matters above specified, I would not have you to reject the inquisition thereof, as if it were incomprehensible. Well (quoth I) now I have found a medicine and remedie, which if you do use, you shall bring this man with reason to our opinion, that you also your selfe may solve some of these questions propounded. It seemeth unto me therefore, that it is colde, that causeth this rebellious hardneffe aswell in wheat and other corne, as also in pulse; namely, by preffing and driving in, their folid substance, untill it be hard againe; for heat maketh things soft and easie to be dissolved: 50 and therefore they do not well and truely, in alledging against Homer, this versicle:

šτος φέρς κχι άρουρα.

The yeere, not field, Doth beare and yeeld.

For furely those fields and grounds which are by nature hot, if the aire with all affoord a kinde and seasonable temperature of the weather, bring forth more tender fruits: and therefore such corne or feed which prefently and directly from the husbandmans hands, lighteth upon the ground,

ground, entring into it, and there covered, finde the benefit both of the heat and moilture of the foile, whereby they foone fourt and come up; whereas those which as they be call, do hit upon the hornes of the bealts, they meet not with that direct positure or rectitude called Eugeneraum, which Hefindus commendeth for the best, but falling downe(I wot not how) and missing of their right place, feem rather to have bene flung at a venture, than orderly fowen; & therfore the cold comming upon them, either marreth and killeth them outright, or els lighting upon their naked husks, cauteth them to bring fruit that proveth bard and churlifh, as drie as chips, and fuch as will not be made tender & fidow, without they be freeped in some liquor, as having not bene covered but with their owne bare coats: for this you may observe ordinarily in ftones, that 10 those parts and sides which lie covered deeper within the ground, as if they were of the nature of plants, be more frim and tender, as being preserved by heat, than those outward faces which lie ebbe or above the earth; and therefore skilfull masons digge deeper into the ground for stones which they meane to fquare, worke and cut, as being melowed by the heat of the earth; whereas those which lie bare aloft and exposed to the aire, by reason of the cold, prove hard and not easie to be wrought or put to any use in building : femblably, even come, if it continue long in the openaire, and cocked upon the flacks or threshing floores, is more hard and rebellious, than that which is foone taken away and laid up in garners; yea, and oftentimes the very winde which bloweth whiles it is fanned or winnowed, maketh it more fough and stubburne, and all by reason of cold : whereof the experience, by report, is to be seene about Philippi a citie in Micedonie, 20 wherethe remedie is, to let come lie in the chaffe: and therefore you must not thinke it strange, if you heare husbandmen report; that of two lands or ridges, running directly one by the fide of another, the one should yeeld corne tough and hard; the other, fort and tender; and that which more is, beanes lying in one cod, some be of one fort, and some of another, according as they have felt (more or leffe) either of cold or of winde.

THE THIRD QUESTION.

What is the cause, that the mids of wine, the top of oile, and the bottome of honie, is best?

Y wives father Alexion, one day laughed at Hesiodus, for giving counsell to drinke wine Instille, when the vessell is either newly pierced or runneth low; but to forbeare, when it is halfe drawen; his words are thefe:

When tierce is full, or when it draweth low, Drinke hard; but fare, to mids when it doth grow.

For that the wine there, is most excellent : For who knoweth not (quoth he) that wine is best in themiddle, oile in the top, and honic in the bottome of the vessel? but Hesiodaus (for sooth) adviseth us to let the mids alone, and to stay untill it change to the woorse and be sowre; namely, when it runneth low and little is left in the veffell. Which words being paffed, the companie there present, bad Hesiodus farewell, and betooke themselves into searching out the cause of this 40 difference and divertitie in these liquors. And first, as touching the reason of honie, we were not very much troubled about it, because there is none in maner, but knoweth that a thing, the more rare or hollow the substance of it is, the lighter it is said to be; as also, that folid, massie, and compact things, by reason of their weight, do settle downward; in such fort, that although youturne a veffell up-fide-downe; yet within a while after, each part returneth into the owne place againe; the heavie finks downe, the light flores above; and even fo, there wanted no arguments, to yeeld a found reason for the wine also : for first and formost, the vertue and strength of wine, which is the heat thereof, by good right gathereth about the middes of the veffell, and keepeth that part of all others best; then the bottome for the vicinitie unto the lees is naught: lastly, the upper region, for that it is next to the aire, is likewise corrupt; for this we all know, 50 that the winde or the aire is most dangerous unto wine, for that it altereth the nature thereof; and therefore we use to set wine vessels within the ground, yea, and to stop and cover them with all care and diligence, that the least aire in the world come not to the wine; and that which more is, wine will nothing to foone corrupt when the veffels be full, as when it hath beene much drawen and groweth low, for the aircentreth in apace proportionably to the place that is void; the wine taketh windethereby and to much the fooner chaungeth; whereas if the veffels be full, the wine is able to mainteine it felfe, not admitting from without much of that which is adverte unto it, or can hurr it greatly. Rrr 2

But

But the confideration of oile put us not to a little debate in arguing: One of the companie faid: That the bottome of oile was the woorst, because it was troubled and muddy with the leis or mother thereof: and as for that which is above, he faid: It was nothing better than the rest, but feeined onely fo, because it was farthest remooved from that which might hurt it: Others attributed the cause unto the soliditie thereof, in which regard, it will not well be mingled or incorporate with any other liquor, unleffe it be broken or divided by force and violence; for fo compact it is, that it will not admit the very aire to enter in it, or to be mingled with it, but keepeth it felle a part, and rejecteth it by reason of the fine smoothnesse, and contemptie of all the parts, so that lesse altered it is by the aire, as being not predominant over it : neverthelesse, it feemeth that Arifotle doth contradict and gainfay this reason, who had observed (as he saith himselfe) that the oile is sweeter, more odoriferous, and in all respects better, which is kept in veffels not filled up to the brim; and afterwards afcribeth the cause of this meliority or betternesse unto the aire: For that (faith he) there entereth more aire into a vessell that is halfe emptie, and hath the more power: Then I wot not well (faid I) but what and if in regard of one and the fame facultie and power, the aire bettereth oile, and impaireth the goodnesse of wine? for we know that age is hurtfull to oile, and good for wine; which age the aire taketh from oile, becanfe that which is cooled continueth still yoong and fresh; contrariwise that which is pent in and fluffed up, as having no aire, foone ageth and waxeth old: great apparence there is therefore of truth, that the aircapproching neere unto oile, and touching the superficies thereof, keepeth it fresh and yoong still: And this is the reason, that of wine the upmost part is woorst, 20 but of oile the best, because that age worketh in that, a very good disposition, but in this, as badde:

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

What was the reason that the auncient Romans were very precise, not to suffer the table to be cleane voided and all taken away 3 or the lampe and candle to be put out?

Lorms a great lover of antiquitie, would never abide, that a table should be taken away emptic, but alwaies left some meat or other standing upon it: And I know full well (quoth he) that both my father and my grandfather before him, not onely observed this most carefully, but also would not in any case permit the lampe after supper to be put out, because for sparing of oile, and that thereby none should be wasted vainly. But Eustrophus the Athenian being upon a time a time at supper with us, hearing Florus making this relation: And what good gat they by this (quoth he) unlesse they had learned the cunning cast of Epicharmus our fellow-citizen; who as he faid himfelfe, having studied a long time how he might keepe his boies and servants about him, from filching and stealing away his oile, hardly, and with much adoe at the last, found this meanes: for prefently after that the lampes were put out, he filled them full againe with oile; and then the next morning, he would come and see whether they were still full. This speech made Florus to laugh: But seeing (quoth he) this question is so well solved, let us search I prayyou 40 into the reason: Why in old time, as it should seeme, our * auncients were so religious and precise, as touching their tables and lampes: first therefore they began with lampes and lights: And Cafernius his fonne in law faid: That those auncients as he thought, tooke it to be an ominous matter, and a very abomination indeed; that any fire whatfoever should be put out, for the likeneffe and kinred that it had with that facred fire which is alwaies kept inextinguible: for two waies there be(as I take it) whereby fire (like as we men) may die; the one violent, when it is quenched and put out by force, the other natural when it goeth out & dieth of it selse:as for that facred fire, they remedied both the one & the other, in mainteining and looking to it continually with great care and diligence; the other which is common, they neglected and fuffred to goe out of it felfe, without any more adoe; for fo they themselves quenched it not perforce, 50 nor caused it to die, grudging and envying that it should live, as a beast that doth no good, they passed for it no more, nor made any further reckoning. Then Lucius the sonne of Florus said: That he liked well of all the rest which was faid; but as concerning the sacred fire, he supposed, that our anneeffours chofe it not to reverence and adore, because they thought it more holy or better than other: but like as among the Aegyptians, some worshipped the whole kind of dogs; others, woolves likewife or crocodiles; but they nourished (with any especiall respect) but one of every kinde; to w.t., some, one dogge, others, one woolfe, and others againe, one crocodile; for

that impossible it was to keepe them all; even so heere in this case, the vigilant care and devotion which they emploied in faving and keeping the facred fire, was a figne and folemne testimoniall of the religious observance which they carried respectively to the whole element of fire; the reason was, because there is nothing in the world that more resembleth a living creature, cofidering that it mooveth, stirreth, and feedeth it felfer, yea and by the shining light that it giveth, (in maner of the foule) laieth all things open, and maketh them to bee feeme; but most of all it sheweth and prooveth the power that it hath, not to be without some vitall seed, or principle, in the extinguishing and violent death thereof; for when it is either quenched, suffocated, or killed by force, it feemeth to give a cry or fericke, strugling as it were with death, like unto a lito ving creature when the life is taken away by violence. And in uttring these words a casting his cies upon me: What fay you (quoth hee) unto me, can you alledge any thing better of your owne? I cannot (faid I) finde any fault with you, in all that you have delivered; but I would willingly adde thus much moreovers that this fallion and cultome of mainteining fire, is a very exercise and discipline training us togreat humanitie: for surely I hold it not lawfull to spoile our meats and viands after we have eaten thereof fufficiently, no more than I doe for to flop or choke up a foring or fountaine after we have drunke our fill of the pure water thereof, or to take downe and dimolifit the markes that guid men in navigation, or wait aring, upon the land, when we have once ferved our owne turne with them: but thefe and fuch like things we ought to leave behinde us unto posteritie, as meanes to do them good that shall come after us, & have need of 20 them when we are gone: and therefore I hold it neither feemely nor honeft, to put out a lampe for mechanicall miferie, fo foone as a man himfelfe hath done with all; but he ought to mainteine & keepe it burning stil, that what need soever there should be of fire, it may be found there ready, and thining light out; for a bleffed thing it were in us, if possibly we so could, to impart the use of our owneede-sight, our hearing, yea and of our wisedome, strength and valour unto others for the while, when we are to fleepe or otherwife to take our repole : confider moreover, whether our forefathers have not permitted excellive ceremonies and observations in these cases, even for an exercise and studious meditation of thankfulnesse, as namely; when they reverenced so highly the oakes bearing acornes as they did. Certes the Athenians had one fig. tree which they honored by the name of the holy and facred Fig. tree; and expresly forbad to 30 cut downe the * mulberietree: for these ceremonies I assure you, doe not make men inclined . uacatar, unto superstition as some thinke, but frame & traine us to gratitude & sociable humanitie one to-lesseday ut ward another, when as we are thus reverently affected to fuch things as thefe, that have no fould be nor sense. And therefore Hespatas did very well, when he would not permit any sless or meats to to say, the betaken out of the pots or cauldrons for to be fet upon the table, unleffe fome thing before had olive tree, as gone out of them, for an affay to the gods; but gave order that some portion thereof should the French be offred as first fruits unto the fire; as it were a reward and farisfaction for the ministery and seemeth to good service that it hath done: The Romans also did as well, who would not when they had read it. done with their lampes take from them that nourifhment which they had once allowed, but fuffred them to enjoy the fame, still burning and living, by the meanes thereof. After I had thus 40 faid: Now I affureyou (quoth Eustrophus) hath northis speech of yours made the overture and given way to passe forward to a discourse of the table? for that our auncients thought there Thould be alwaies somewhat left standing upon it after dinner and supper, for their hoshold serwants and children; for furely glad they be, nor fo much to get wherewith to eat, as to have it in this order communicated from us and our table unto them: and therefore the Persian kings by report, were wont alwaies to fend from their owne boord certeine diffies, as a liuraifon not onely to their friends and minions, to their great captaines and lieutenants under them, to their chiefe penfioners also and squires of the body; but they would have their slaves, yea and their very hounds and dogs to be served daily, and have their ordinary allowance set even upon their table: for their will and meaning was, that who foever did them any fervice, & were emploied in 50 their ministerie, should if it were possible be partakers of their table and fire also: for furely the most fell or savage beafts that bee, are made tame by such communication and fellowship in their feeding. Heereat I could not chuse but laugh: And why then doe we not (quoth he) my good friend, put in practife the old order, and bring abroad the fifth laid up for flore, according to the common proverbe, as also the Chenix or measure that Pythagor as fo much talketh of, & upon which he forbiddeth a man to fit? giving us thereby a leffon, that wee should learne to leave somewhat for the next day, and on the even to remember and thinke upon the morrow. We Beeotians have this by-word amongstus, common in every mans mouth: Leave some-

what for the Medes: fince time that the Medes overran and forceied the whole province of Phoeis, and wasted the frontiers and marches of Bastis: but suply, we should have evermore ready at hand this saying? Save something alwaies for strangers and guests, that may come in unlooked for: And to speake what I thinke; so thinke own part. I missise suterly that hungry table that webilles kept, which evermore was found bate and void. For when as we jax and tuly see came embassage unto him, they sound no meat at all fittings whereupon he was forced even then to kill somewhat, and to deesse the same out of hand for their suppers: Another time also being minded to entertaine king Priamus friendly, when he came unto his pavilion:

He then bestir'd himselfe, and caught up soone, a constant of the

but about cutting it up, quartering, jointing, feething and rofting, be spent agreet part of the night: whereas Eumaus a wife scholar of as wife a master, was nothing at all troubled at the sudden and unexpected comming of Telemachus; but presently willed him to sit downe, made him good cheere, setting before him platters full

Of good fiesh meats, which were of former store, All ready rast, and left the night before.

But if you thinke that to be but a small matter, and lightly to be regarded, yet I am sure confesse you will; that this is not a thing of little importance; namely to refraine and and conteine the appetite, when as there is enough yet before a man, to provoke and satisfie it; for those who are wont to absteine from that which is present, have lesse desire to that which is absent: Then Eurosia added thus much, that he remembred how hee had heard his grandmother say: That the table was a facred thing: Which is stope so (quoth he) there ought no thing that holy is, to be emptie; and for mine owne part, I am of this minde: That the table is a representation and figure of the earth; for besides that, it seeded his, round it is, and standeth firme and sure; in which regard, some have called it properly, *Vesta*: and like as we would have the earth to be are and bring forth alwaies some thing or other for our prositissowe thinke, that we should never see the table void, nor left without some viands upon it.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

That we ought especially to beware of the pleasures which we take in naughtie musickes, and how we should take heed thereof.

T the folemnity of the Pythicke games, Calliftrates the superintendant, deputed by the A high commission and councell of State, named Amphytiones, for to oversee and keepe good order, put backe a certaine minstrel, who plaied upon the flute, though he were a countrey man of his and a friend, because he came not in time to present himselfe for to be intolled among those that were to contend for the prize, which he did according to the statutes and lawes of those games provided in that behalfe: but one evening when he had invited us to supper, he brought him forth into the banquet among us, fet out and adorned in his faire robes and chap-40 lets magnificently, as the maner is to be seene at such games of prize, and attended besides with a goodly dannee and quire of fingers, well and trimly appointed; and I affure you, a brave show it was at the first entrie, and a pleasant pastime woorth the seeing and hearing: but after that hee had tried and founded the whole companie there met, and perceived many of them how they were inclined, and that for their delight and pleafure which they prefently tooke, they would be carried away, and fuffer him to do what he lift himfelfe; namely, to play lafeivious tunes, and in gesture to represent the same accordingly; then he showed himselfe openly, and gave us an evident proofe and demonstration; that musicke will make those more drunke, and distemper their braines woorfe (who inconfideratly at all times, and without all measure exceedingly give themfelves unto it) than all the wine that they can drinke. For now by this time, they could not be 50 content as the were fet at they table, to hout and hollo with open throat, and withall, to keepe a clapping with their hands one at another; but in the end, the most part of them leapt from the boord, and began withall, to daunce and to foot it, yea, and otherwise to shew dishonest and filthy gestures, farre unbeseeming gentlemen, but yet surable to the tunes hee sounded, and the fongs that the rest chanted; but afterwards, when they had made an end, and that the banquet (as it were after a fit of furious madnesse) was come againe to it selfe, and better setled, Lamprias was defirous to have faid formewhat; and rebuked in good earnest, this missule and disorder of

the youth, but that he feared withall, that he should be thought too rigourous, and give offence unto the companie; untill fuch time as Calliffrat whimfelfe gave him his hint, and incited him fo to do, by fuch a speech as this: For mine owne part (quoth he) even I also, do acquit them of intemperancie, the simple defire of hearing musicke, and seeing sports : howheir, I am not altogether of Aristonenus opinion, when he faith, that these be the onely pleasures that be woorth a whoupe, and at the end whereof, a man should fay, Kanis, that is to fay, Oh, well and trimly done! For furely, men are woont to attribute fo much unto certaine daintie means and fweet perfumes and ointments, calling them trim and fine, and giving this praise unto them, that they be well dreffed and confected; yea, and it is an ordinary speech to say: That it is well with us, when we 10 have beneat a delicate and costly supper. I suppose also, that Anstorie himselfe alledgeth not a fufficient cause, that the solace and pleasure by faire sights and sweet musicke, and generally, the contenument that we have by the cie and the care, is to be exempted from the crime of intemperancy, because as he faith, these be the onely delights proper unto man; whereas in all others, brute bealts do communicate with us, and have the benefit of them: for I fee that there be manie creatures which have no use of reason, and yet take pleasure in musicke; as for example, stages, in flutes and pipes; and at the time when mares are to be covered with stallions, there is a certeine found of the hauthoies and a fong to it, named thereupon, Hippotheros: and Pindarus faith in one place, that he was moved with the fong,

The leventh Booke.

Like as the dolphin furnmes apace,
Directly forwar do that place
Whereas the pleafant hautboies found,
And whence their noife doth foone rebound;
What time, both winds and waves do lie
As fea, and let no harmonie.

And as they daunce, they beare up their heads and eies aloft, as joying in the object which they fee of others likewife dauncing; for they strive to imitate and counterfeit the same, stirring and wagging their shoulders to and fro: I cannot see therefore, what singularitie by it selfe there is in these pleasures, because they onely are respective to the soule, and others belong unto the bodie, and do seize and rest in the bodie; whereas tunes, measures, daunces, and songs, passing bodie, and beyond the sense, doe saften their delight and tickling pleasure, upon the very joy and contentment of the minde; which is the reason that none of these delectations are hidden, nor have need either of darkenesse to cover them, or of walles to environ, enclose, and keepe them in, as women are woont to say by other pleasures; but contrariwise, built there are for these delights of the cie and care, circuits and races, theaters and snew places; and the greater company that there is with us to see or heare any of these, the greater joy we take, and the thing it selfe is more stately: but this is plaine, that desirous we are, not of a number of wimesses to tellistic our intemperance and naughtic pleasure, but we care not how many see our honest exercises and civill sports or recreations.

After that Callifratus had ended his speech, Lamprian perceiving that those favourers and 40 mainteiners of fuch care sports, tooke better heart, and became more audacious by these words; fet in hand to speake now in deed as he meant before, in this maner: This is not the cause, good fir Callistratus, the sonne of Leon, but in mine opinion, our ancient forefathers have not done well, to fay that Bacchus was the fonne of Oblivion; for they should rathet have faid, that he was his father; confidering, that even now by his meanes you have forgotten, that of those faults and mildemeanours which are committed by occasion of pleasures, some proceed from intemperance; others from ignorance or negligence: for where the hirt and dammage is evident, there men (if they finne) doe it because their reason is forced and overcome by intemperance; but looke where the hire and reward of incontinencie and loofenesse doth not directly enfue, nor prefently upon the committing of a fault, there all their delinquencie is to be aferi-50 bed unto ignorance, for that fuch leand acts, they both approve and perpetrate, because they wish not what hurt would follow: and therefore such as doe exorbitate and misgoverne themfelves in eating or drinking exceffively, as also in the immoderate use of women; which enormities be ordinarily accompanied with many maladies, much expence, decay of estate, losse of goods and an ill name befides; we usually call loose, dissolute, and intemperate persons : such an one was that Theodettes, who being diseased in his cies; when soever hee espied his sweet heart whom he kept as his harlot, would falute her in these tearnes, zeife pixer pos:

All haile my (weet and lovely light, The onely joy of mine eie fight. And fuch another was Anaxarchus of Abdera: Who (by report) knew well what miseries He lived in, but yet bu nature was Inclined fo to pleasure, which men wife, And fages dread most part; that he alas Was thereby drawen and caried unto fin, Out of that way which judgement fet him in.

But those who hold out manfully, and stand upon their owne guards, for seare they bee caught 10 and overcome with the groffe pleafure of the belly, and the parts under it, of taffe and of fmelling; and yet nevertheleffe fuffer themselves to be circumvented and surprized by other delights, which fecretly forelay them, and lie in ambush, hidden close within their cies and cares; these men (I say) although they be nothing lesse passionate, dissolute, and incontinent than the others, yet we tearmethem not fo for all that: and why fo? because they know not the danger wherein they fland; they runne on headlong through ignorance, thinking they fhall bee masters over their pleasures, yea, though they taried at the theater all the long day, from morning to night, to see and heare plaies and other pastimes, without bit of bread or drop of drinke; as if for footh an earthen veffell or pitcher should boast it selfe and stand much upon this, that it is not stirred and taken up by the belly or the bottome, and yet easily removed and caried from 20 place to place by the two eares: and therefore Arcesilans was woont to fay: That it skilled not which way one committed filthinesse; for behind and before, was all one; so that we ought to feare that wantonnesse and pleasure which tickleth us in our cares and eies both: neither are we to thinke a citie impregnable, which having all other gates fast made with strong locks, fortified also with croffe barres, & portculliffes, if the enemies may enter in at one other gate; nor to take our selves to be invincible & unconquered by pleasures, for that we be not caught & taken within the temple of Venue; in case we suffer our selves to be taken in the chappell of the Muses, or else at some theatre: For surely such a passion may overtake and captivate our soule as well here as there, yea, & betake it unto pleasures, for to hale & pull, carie & harie us as they list: and these verily doe infuse and powre into our spirits, poisons more eger and piercing, yea, and in 30 greater varieties I meane of fongs, daunces, mulicall accords and measures, than all those be, which either cooks, confectioners, or perfumers can devise: by the strength whereof, they leade and carie us whither they will, yea, and corrupt us so, as that wee cannot chuse bur convince and condemne our selves by our owne testimonic against us: For as Pindarus said very well:

We cannot charge, nor yet blame-worthy thinke, What ever, for our present meat and drinke The facred earth to us affoor ded bath, Or fea, with windes, that is fo fell and wrath.

And to fay a truth, there is no daintie cates, no delicate viands, fifth or flesh; no nor this passing good wine which we drinke, that for any pleasure & contentment which they yeeld unto us, cau- 40 feth us to fet up any fuch noises, like as ere while, the found and playing of the flutes did, which filled (I fay) not this house onely, but I believe well, the whole citie, with outcries, utas, clapping of hands, and alarmes: and therefore we are to stand in great seare and dread of such pleafures as these; for exceeding forcible they be, and most powerfull, as those who stay not there, as those doe which affect either taste, feeling, or finelling; to wit, in the unreasonable part of the foule, without paffing any farther; but they reach unto the very judgement, and discourse of reason: moreover, in other delights and pleasures, although reason should faile and not be able to withstand them, but give over in plaine field: yet there be other passions a good many which will refift and impeach them: for fay there be some daintie and delicate fish to be bought and fold in the market; nigardife oftentimes holdeth backe a gluttons fingers from drawing 50 outhis purse strings, who otherwise would bee busie and readie enough to helpe his deintie tooth: covetousnesse likewise otherwhiles turneth away a wanton leacher and whoremaster from medling with a deare and costly courtifane, who holdes her-selfe at an exceeding high price; like as Menander in one of his comedies bringeth in a pretie pageant of this matter; for when as a certeine band had brought unto a banquet where divers youthes were drinking, and making merrie together, a palling faire wench, yoong withall, and trimly fet out in every point,

point, for to entice and allure them, they Cast downe their heads, and like good merry mates, Fell to their junkets hard, and deinty cates.

For when it stands upon this point, that a man must take up money at interest, or els goe withouthis pleasure; certes, it is a shrewd punishment to bridle his lust and incontinence; for wee are not alwaies fo willing and ready to lay our hand to our purfes: now the eies and cares of fuch as love muficians and minftrels, and other fuch gentleman-like fports, and recreations as we call them, fatisfie their furious appetites & affections, in founding mufick, plaies, & thewes. for nothing and without any cost: for why? such pleasures as these, they may be sped with, and enjoy in many places, at the publicke and facred games of prize, in theaters, and at feafts, and all atothermens charges; and therefore an easie matter it is to meet with matter enough for to spoile and undoe them quite, who have not reason to governe and direct them. Heereat hee made a paule, and so there was some filence for a while: And what would you have (quoth Callistraries) this reason, either to doe or say for to succour and save us for she will not fasten round about our eares, those little cases or boliters to cover our eares with, which Xenocrates speaketh of, neither wil the cause us to rife from the table so soone as we heare a musician to tune his lute or prepare his pipe: No in truth (quoth Lamprias) but looke how often foever as wee fall into the danger of these pleasures, we ought to call upon the muses for to succour, us; we must size into that mountaine Helicon of our auncients: for fuch an one as is enamoured upon a fump-20 tuous and costly strumpet, we cannot tell how to match by and by with a Penelope, nor marrie unto Panthea; but if one take pleafure in bawdy ballades, lascivious songs, and wanton daunces. we may foone divert him from thence, by fetting him to reade Euripides, Pindarus, or Menander; and so wash a filthic care, and furred all over with falt (as Plato faith) with a sweet and potable lotion of good fayings and wife lentences: for like as magicians commaund those who are possessed or haunted with evill spirits, to rehearle and pronounce apart by themselves Ephesian letters, or words for a counter-charme; even so when we are among these vanities, where minfirels play their parts, and moriske dauncers their may-games, fetching their frisks and gam-

> Shaking themselves in furious wife, With Arange allarmes and hideous cries: Wagging and flinging every way Their necks and heads all while they play.

Let us then call to remembrance the grave, holy and venerable writings of those ancient Sages, and conferring them with these sottish sonets, riband rimes, paltrie poemes, and ridiculous reafons, we shall not be endangered by them, nor turne fide (as they fay) and fuffer our selves to be carried away with them downe the streame.

THE SIXTH QUESTION.

Of fuch guests as be named shadowes; and whether he that is called by one, may go unto another to supper; if he may, when, and to whom.

Omer in the second booke of his Ilias, writeth of Menelaus, how he came of his owne accord unbidden, to a feast that his brother Agamemnon made unto the princes and chiefe commanders of the armie:

For why? he well conceived in his minde, That * troubled much, his brother he (hould finde.

And as he would not neglect and overfee thus much, that either the ignorance or forgetful-fore might neffe in his brother, should be otherwise seene; so he was lesse willing to discover it himselfe in owne brooking the state of the seene of the was lesse willing to discover it himselfe in owne brooking the state of the seene of 50 failing for to come 3 as some froward and peevish persons are woont to take holde of such over-ther. fights and negligences of their friends, being better content in their hearts thus to be neglecited, than honoured, because they would have advantage, and somewhat to complaine of. But as touching fuch as are not invited at all to a feast, nor have no formall bidding (whom now adaies, we call fhadowes) and yet are brought in by those who were invited, there arose one day a question, how this custome first came up and tooke beginning. Some were of opinion that Soerates began it, who perfuaded Ariffodemse upon a time, being not bidden to goe with him to a feath at Agathons house, where there fell out a pretie jest and a ridiculous; for Aristodemus tooke

no heed when he thither came, that he had left Socrates by the way behinde him, and so himselfe entred before into the roome; which is as much as the shadow before the bodie, and the light comming after : but afterwards, at the feafting and enterteinment of friends that are travellers, and passe by as strangers, especially, if they were princes or great governours, because men knew not who were in their traine, and whom they deigned this honour, for to fit at their owne table, and to cat and drinke with them; the cultome was to request themselves, for to bring with them whom they would, but withall, to fet downe a determinate number; for feare left they should be so served as one was, who invited to a supper, Philipking of Macedonie, into the countrey: for he came unto his hoafts house with a great retinew after him, who had not provided a supper for many guests: Philip perceiving that his friend was hereupon in great perplexitie, and 10 knew not what to doe, fent unto every one of his friends that he brought with him, a fervitour of purpole to round them fecretly in the eare, that they should so eat of the viands before them, as that they referved a piece of their stomacke for a daintie tart or cate that was to come in : by which meanes, whiles they looked evermore when the faid dish should come to the table, and dideat more sparily in hope of it, of those meats which stood before them, there was sufficient for them all. But whiles I feemed thus to play upon the point before the company there prefint, Florus thought good that this question ought to be handled in good carnell, and more ferioutly; namely, as touching those thadowes above said: Whether it might stand with honesty and good maners, to follow or goe with them who were bidden ? As for Cefernius his fonne in law, he utterly condemned that fathion: For a man ought (quoth he) to obey the counsell of 20 Tie fjodus, who writeth thus:

Above all others, to thy feast, Invite thy friend who loves thee best.

If not fo, yet be fure at least wife to bid thy familiars and those of thine acquaintance, for to participate with thee in thy facred libations and thankfgivings to the gods at the table, in discourses there held, in the courtefies paffing to and fro; and namely, in drinking one to another: but now a daics it is with men that make feasts, as with those who keepe ferrie barges or barks to transport paffengers; for when they take in men aboord, they permit them to call into the veffell what fardels or baggage they have besides; for even so, we making a scalt for some especial perfons, give them leave to fill the place with whomsoever they please; whether they be honest nem & of worth or no, it makes no matter. And I would marvell much, if a man of quality, and one that knoweth good maners, would come thus bidden (as it were) at the fecond hand, which is all one as unbidde, being fuch an one, as many times the mafter of the feaft himfelfe knoweth not; and if he be one of his acquaintance and knowledge, and yet unbidden, furely it were more thame now to go unto his house, as it it were, to upbraid him and cast in his teeth, as if he came nato his feast without his good will, and yet would take his part thereof, even by violence and flrong hand. Moreover, to go before or tarrie after him, who would feeme to bid one to another mans table, carrieth fome shame with it, and would make a modest and honest man dismaied and blanke: neither is it a decent thing to have need of witnesses, and a warrant (as it were) betweene him and the mafter of the house, to infinuate thus much, that he is come indeed, not as 40 one formally bidden to supper, but as the shadow of such and such a man; besides, to daunce attendance upon another, and observe when he hath bene in the stouph, is anointed and washed, waiting the houre when he will goe, fooner or later; this in my fimple judgement is a very base and mechanicall thing, favouring strongly of the bonfon or parasit Guarbo, if ever there were fuch a friell-feaft as Gnatho, who haunted mens tables where it cost him naught: furthermore, if there be no time or place, wherein a mans tongue may be better permitted to fay thus:

Art thou dispos à to boast, to cracke and brave In measure? speake out hardly 3,000d seave have.

than at a banquet, where commonly there is most libertie allowed and intermingled in all that is done and faid, and every thing is well taken, as in mirth; how should a man behave and governe 50 himselfe at such a place, who is not a lawfull and naturall bidden guest indeed; but as a man would say, a bastard and subrepitious exerpt in, and intruded I wor not how into a feast, without all order of inviting? for say that hee doe speake freely at the boord, or say he doe not, lie open he shall both for the one and the other, to the calumniations of them there present neither is it a small inconvenience to be made, a marke for scurrile tearmes, and a meere laughing stocke, namely; when a man putter up, and endureth the base name of a shadow, and will be content to answere thereunto? for I assure you, to make simal account of unseemely

words is the next wafe to leade men unto undecent and dishonest deedes, and to acquaint them therewith by little and little: wherefore when I invite others to a feaft or fupper unto mine owne house, I allow them otherwhiles to bring their shadowes with them (for the custome of a citie is much, and may not well be broken) but furely, when I have my felfe beene called upon, to goe with others to a place where I am not bidden, I have ever yet denied, and could not for any thing be brought unto it tipon which words enfued filence for a time, untill Floras began againe in this wife: Certes this fecond point is more difficult and doubtfull than the other; for when wee are to enterteine strangers that be travellers (as hath beene faid before) we must of necessitie invite them in this order: the reason is, because it were so incivilitie and discourtesse, to part them and their friends in a strange place, whom they were woont to have about them; and againe, it is no case matter to know, whom a man hath in his company. See then (quoth I) whether they who have given libertie unto them that make a feast, thus to invite guests, that they may take others unto them (as you say) permit not them also whom they would bring, as their shadowes, to obey, and so to come unto a feast; for it flandeth not with honestie, to graunt and give that, which is not meet for to demaund or give; nor in one word to follicite or exhort one to that, whereunto he would not willingly be follicited, either to doe or give his confent: but as for great States and rulers, or strangers travelling by the way, there is no fuch inviting or choise to be made; for enterteined they must be whom foever they bring with them: but otherwife, when one friend feafteth another, it were a more 20 friendly and courteous part, for himselfe to bid the familiars or kinsfolke of his faid friend, knowing them fo well as he doth; for by this meanes greater honour he doth unto his friend, yea, and winnerh more thanks at his hands againe, when the partie invited shall know that he loveth them best, that most willingly he defireth to have their companie, a staking pleasure that they be honored and intreated to come as well, for his fake; and yet for all this, it would otherwhiles be wholly referred unto his difcretion that is bidden: like as those who facrifice unto fome one god, doe honour likewife and make vowes unto those who are partakers of the fame temple and altar in common, although they name them not severally by themselves, * * For there is neither wine, deintic viands, nor sweet persumes, that give such contentment and pleasure at a feast, as doth a man whom one loveth and liketh well of stitting by his side or neere 30 unto him at the table: moreover, to aske and demaund of the man himfelfe, whom one would fealt, what viands or what banquetting diffies or paltry works he loveth best; as also to seeke and enquire of the diversitie of wines and pleasant odors he delighted in, were a very uncivil and abfurd part: but when a man hath many friends, many kinsfolks & familiars, to request such an one to bring with him those especially whose companie he liketh best, & in who he taketh greatelt pleasure, is no absurditie at all, nor a thing that can be offensive: for neither to faile in one thip nor to dwell in the fame house, ne yet to plead in the fame cause, with those whom we are not affected well unto, is fo displeasant & odious, as to fit at a supper with them against who our heart doth rife; and the contrary is as acceptable; for furely the table is a very communion and focietie of mirth and earnest, of words and deeds; and therefore if men would be merry there, 40 and make good cheere, I fee no need, that all manner of persons indifferently should meet, but those onely who have some inward friendship, and private familiaritie one with another: as for our meats and fauces that come up to the boord, cooks I confessed on make them of all maner of fapours, different as they be, mixing them together, and tempering, harth, fowre, milde, fweet, sharpe, subtill, and biring, one with another: but a supper or feast, is nothing acceptable and contenting, unlesse it be composed of guests who are of the same humour and disposition: and for that, as the Peripateticke philosophers doe affirme, that there is one Primum mobile, above, or principall moover in nature, which mooveth onely, and is not mooved; and another thing beneath, and in the lowest place, which is mooved onely, and mooveth not; but betweene thele two extremities, there is a middle nature, that mooveth one and is mooved by 50 another; even fo, (fay I) there is the same proportion among three forts of men; the first of those who invite another; the second of such as are invited onely; and the thirde of them that doe invite others, and are invited themselves: and now because wee have spoken alreadie of the first and principall feast-maker, who inviteth, it were not a misse to say somewhat now of the other two folks: He then who is bidden, and yet hath leave to bidde others; ought in great reafon (as I thinke) to be carefull and take heed, that he forbeare to bring with him a geat number or multitude, left hee should seeme to make spoile of his friends house, as of an enemies territorie, and as it were to forage there for all those that belong unto him; or to doe as those who

come to occupie and inhabit a new countrey, that is to fay, by bringing with him formany of his owne friends, disease, or at leastwise exclude and put by his guests, who invited him, and so by that meanes the masters of the feasts might be served as they are, who set soorth suppersunto Hecate or Profer pina, and to those averruncan gods, or apotropae, whom men call upon, not to doc good, but to avert evill, for they themselves nor any of their house licke their lips with any jot of all that cheere; onely they have their part of all the smoake and troubles belonging thereto: for otherwise they that alledge unto us this common saying:

At Delphi when one hath done facrifice,

Must buy his owne viands, if he be wife. speake it but merily and by way of jest; but certeinly it befalletheven so in good truth and ear- 10 nest unto those who interteine either strangers or friends so rude and uncivill, who with a number of shadowes, as if therewere so many harpies or cormorants and greedy guls, consumed and devoured all their provision: fecondly, a friend that is himselfe solemnly invited, must be carefull, that he take not with him, for to goe unto another mans house, those that he first meeteth or that come next hand, but fuch especially, as he knoweth to be friends, and of familiar acquaintance with the feast-maker, as if he strived a vie to prevent him in bidding of them; if not to, to have those with him, of his owne friends, whom the master of the feast himselfe could have withed and made choife of, to have bidden; as for example, if he be a modest man and a civill, to fort him with modelt and civill persons; if studious and learned, to furnish his table with students & good scholars; if he have bene beforetime in authority, to fit him now with personages 20 of power & authority; and in one word, to acquaint him with those, whom he knoweth he would be willing to falute, and enterteine with speech and communication; for this is a wife kinde of courtefic and great civilitie, to give unto fuch a personage occasion and meanes, to falute, embrace, and make much of them: whereas hee who commeth to a feast with such about him as have no conformitie at all unto the feaft-maker, but feeme meere aliens and ftrangers; as namely, with great drunkards, to a fober mans house; to a man that is a good husband, wary, and thrifty in his expenses, with a fort of diffolute ruffians and swaggering companions; or unto a yong gentleman, that loveth to drinke heartily, to laugh, to jeft, and to be merie, with grim fires, and fevere ancients, fuch as in their talke are grave, and by their long beards, may be taken for fages and profound clearks; fuch an one (I fay) is a very abfurd fellow, thus to requite the hospitall 20 courtese of his friend, with such impertment incongruity: for he that is invited, must be as carefull to please the first inviter, as the feast-maker, his guest; and then acceptable shall hee be and welcome indeed, if not himselfe onely, but those also who come with him or for the love of him, be of good carriage and lovely behaviour. As for the third person, who remaineth to be spoken of, to wit, who is bidden and brought in by another; if he take pepper in the nofe, and cannot abide to be called a shadow; certeinely hee is afraid of his owne shadow: but in this case, there would be very great circumfpection had; for it is no point of honestie and good maners, to be foone intreated, and ready to follow every one indifferently at his call; confidered it would be, and that not flightly, what he is who moveth thee to go with him to fuch a feast; for if he be not a very familiar friend, but one of these rich magnificoes and portly personages, who would (as it 40 were upon a fcaffold) make a shew unto the world of a number of favourites and followers to guard and attend him at his heeles; or fuch an one as would feeme to doe much for thee, or to grace and honour thee greatly by taking thee in this order with him, thou oughtest flatly to denie him, and refuse such courtesse: well, say that he be a friend and familiar person, yet must not thou by and by for all that, bee ready and obey, but then onely, when there is some necessarie occasion for to commune or speake with the master of the feast or with the other partie, and that otherwise thou cannest meet with no good opportunitie for to doe it; or if he be newly returned from some long voiage, when he hath bene a great time away, or els about to depart, and fo feeme (for very good will) desirous of thy companie at supper; or if it appeare that he meaneth not to take with him many, nor those strangers and unknowen, but either thy selfe alone, or 50 some few others of his familiars; or after all these considerations, if thou maiest perceive, that by this occasion and opportunitie of thy companie, he doth practife to contract some beginning of farther acquaintance, friendship and amity, and namely, if he be reputed an honest man, and woorthy to be loved and regarded, who thus is defirous of thy companie, and earnest with thee to go with him; for wicked and leaud perfons, the more they feeme to claspe and take hold, and hang upon us, the more we ought to shake them off as burres, or els to leape over them as briers and brambles: nay, admit that they be honest enough, who would have our companie,

and bring us to a man that is is not honest, we ought not to go with them, left we chance to take poison with honie, that is to say, get the acquaintance of a naughtie man, by the meanes of an honest minded friend: moreover, absurd it is, to goe unto a mans house whom we know not as all, or with whom we never had any maner of dealing and acquaintance, unleffe he be a perfonage of great matke for fingular vertue, as we have before faid, or that this occasion may serve as a foundation or ground-worke of fome farther love and amitie; for then it were not amiffe to be eafily intreated, and to go willingly without any ceremoniall complement unto him, under the wing and shadow of another. As for those who be already our familiars, unto such above all others we may be bolde to goe at the motion of another; for by that meanes we give reciprocall 10 libertic and leave unto them for to repaire likewife unto us at the request of others. There was one Philip indeed, a buffon and fourrile jefter, who was wont to fay: That to go unto a fealt, formally invited, was fimply more ridiculous, than to come as a shadow by the bidding of another: but in trueth, more honourable and pleafant it is for honest men and good friends, to refore unto their friends, who belikewise honest and vertuous, in seasonable time (without being invited or expected) with other friends; for thereby they both rejoice the heart of those that enterteine them, and doe honour unto fuch as bring them; but above all, most undecent it is, to goe unto princes, rulers, rich men and great States, when we are not invited by themselves, but brought by others; for in any cale avoid we mult, the imputation and note not undeferved, of impudencie, incivilitie, want of good maners, or ambitious infolence.

The seventh Booke.

THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

Whether it be a lawfull and decent thing, to admit minstrell-wenches to a feast, for to play and sing?

T N our citie Cheronea, there was held a great discourse one day at the table, where Diogenianus I the Pergamian was present, as touching the eare-sports which were to be admitted at a banquet; and much adoe we had to defend our felves, and to confute a long bearded philosopher that was there, one of the Stoicks feet for footh, who alledged againft us, Plato, blaming and condemning those who brought into their feasts, minstrell-wenches, to pipe and sing, and to be 30 heard, as if they were notable themselves to enterteine good speeches one with another; and yet present there was, a scholar, out of the same schoole, Philip a Prusian, who said: That such personages were not to be named in this question, who are brought in as speakers at Agathons boord, for that their speeches sounded more sweetly and melodiously, than all the flutes and cithrons in the world: no marvell it was therefore, that these minstrels had no audience at such a feast, but rather, that the guests sitting there at the table, forgot not altogether to eat and drinke, for the great pleasure and contenument which they tooke in hearing such discourses. And yet Xenophon was not ashamed to endure in the presence of Socrates, Amisthenes, and other such personages, a pleasant conceited jester named Philippus; no more than Homer to teach men: That an onion was a good fauce to draw on wine: And Plato having inferred in manner of an 40 interlude or comedie within his Banquet, the speech of Aristophanes as touching love : at the last setting as it were the backe doores of the hall wide open, brings in a pagent, fuller of varietie and vanitie than all the rest, to wit, Alcibiades little better than drunke, crowned with chaplets and garlands of flowers, and marching in a maske or mummerie: then follow the altercations and debates with Socrates as touching Agathon, and that encomiasticall praise of Socrares (ô bleffed faint Charites!) that even Apollo himfelfe (were it lawfull fo to fay) if he had entred in place with his harpeready ftrung and tuned for to play, the company would have requested him to flay his hand, untill the foredaid speech had beene finished and brought to an end: And did these personages indeed (quoth hee) notwithstanding they had so great grace in their discourses, use neverthelesse these pleasant sports and passimes betweene, garnishing their 50 feafts therewith, and all to make the companie to laugh and be merry? And shall wee being intermingled with persons managing affaires of State, with merchants, occupiers, and with many (it may so fall out) altogether unlestered; and somewhat rusticall, banish out of our feasts and banquets this amiable delight and pastime; or else rise from the table and begone, as if we would flie from fuch Sirenes as foone as ever wee fee them comming? It was thought a strange and woonderfull matter in Clitomachus the campion and professiour of performing games of prife; that fo foone as ever there was any talke begun of love matters, hee would leave the com-Panie and depart: and when a grave philosopher avoideth the found of the flute, and goeth out

of the feaft, and as if hewere afraid of a minstrell wench, preparing her-felse to found and fing, * For they far * putteth on his shoes, and calleth incontinently to his page for to light his torch; shall he not upon pallets in so doing be thought woorthie to bee hissed at, and laughed of every one, for taking offence, and beds at the southern which slie from persumes and meat, and did and abhorring these harmelesse pleasures; like as these bettils which slie from persumes and of their thors sweet odors? For if there be any time or place allowed for these disports, it is at feasts and banquets principally: Then (I say) and there are wee to give our minds to such delights; all while we factifice unto Bacchus: For mine own part Euripides, howfoever otherwise he pleaseth me verie well, doth not fatisfie me heerein, when he ordeineth as touching mulicke, that transferred it should be from feasts and banquets, unto sorrowes and pensive sadnesse: for in these cases, there would be some good, sober and wife remonstranceau hand (like as a physitian with 10 ficke folke) to helpe al: but otherwise we are to mingle these delights of musick with the gifts of Baschus, in manner of a sport and recreation: Certes a pretie speech it was of a Lacedæmonian, who being at Athens one time, when new tragedies were to be acted, and the authours of them to contend for the best game; seeing the sumptuous furniture and provision of those who were the mafters of the revils, and fuch pattimes, together with the painfull labour in teaching and prompting of parts, and what adoe there was in ordering of the dances and shewes thereto belonging: whiles one strived to goe beyond another: Oh, what a foolish citie is this (quoth he) to imploy so much travell and serious studie in idle plaies and disports! For to say a truth, when we are at our plaies, we must doe nothing else but play, and not to buy so deare (with such cost and dispences, yea, and with the losse of time, which were better bestowed about other 20 good affaires) an idle sport: marie at the table, when our spirit is sequestred from other busineffe, we may tafte a little of fuch delights, and in the meane while, confider withall, what profit fuch solace may affoord.

THE EIGHTH QUESTION.

What Acroames or Ear-sports, are especially to be used at supper time ?

Hen these words had passed, the sophister above-said, would gladly have replied againe: but I for to interrupt and stay his speech, began first and said: Nay rather Diogenianus, 30 I thinke it better to confider upon this point; that feeing there bee many eare-delights to content our hearing, which of them is most meet and fit ? and if you thinke so good, let us referre the matter to this wife man heere in place, and request him to give his judgement: for being as he is, inflexible, and a man subject to no passions, we shall never need to feare that he wil fo much trip, as to preferre a thing that is more pleasant, before that which is better. Then he at the request and exhortation of Diogenianus and us, without any delay: As for other pastimes (quoth he) at theaters, exhibited upon the stage and scaffold of plaiers and dauncers, I reject and banish them all; onely I admit one kinde of sport to delight the eare, which not long fince came to be taken up at Rome, in feafts and banquets, and it is not yet divulged abroad in every place: For youknow well (quoth he) that among the dialogues of Plato, Tome there be 40 which conteine a continued narration, of a thing done or faid, others againe confift of certein devised personages, talking and discoursing together: of these personal dialogues, those that be casiest, children use to learne, and con them without booke, together with expressing the gestures agreeable to the qualitie, manners, and nature of the persons, who are feigned and brought in a confirmation also and framing of the voice, yea, and a countenance and disposition every way answerable to the words that they pronounce: this manner of pastime hath beene woonderfully well accepted among grave persons, and men of honours but such as bee effeminate or have daintie & delicate eares, by reason that they are rude, illiterate, and ignorant what is good and honest; and who, as Aristoxenus was wont to say, will be ready to cast up their gorge, and vomit yellow choler, when they heare any good harmony, mislike them and 50 would not abide the hearing and I would not marvell verily if they reject and condemne them utterly, being so possessed with womanith deintinesse. Philip then perceiving some there in place, not to take these words well: Stay there (quoth he) my good friend, and forbeare in this wife to raile upon us, for we were the first, who were offended with this manner and fashion, when it began at Rome, yea, & we reprooved those who would have Plate serve the turne, for to make folke merry at the boord, and laboured; all they could, that Platees dialogues for footh should bee rehearled and heard, amidearts, march-paines, comfitures, and sweet perfumes: confidering

confidering, that if some verses of Sappho, or Anacreous odes should be rehearfed : Me thinks I ought for very shame and reverence, fet the cup downe out of my hand, if I were about to drinke: many more things to this effect I have in my head, which I am afraid to utter for feare I might be thought of purpose to make head, and to dispute against you: and therefore to this friend heere of ours, together with the cup as you fee, I give the charge, for to wath a fallith eare (as they fay) with potable liquor of pleafant speech: then Diogenianus receiving the cuppe at his hand; But (quoth hee) I heare no other yet but all good lober speeches; so that it seemeth that the wine doth not worke in our heads, nor overcome our braines; and I feare mee, that I my felfe shall bee capitulated and articled against; howbeit, if I must speake no my minde, I am of opinion, that many of these matters which are presented unto our eares, for to tickle and pleafe them, ought to bee cut off; and namely, tragedies above all others, as being a thing (iwis) not very well befitting a feast, for that it speaketh in too grave and base a voice, representing besides, such arguments and acts, as moove the hearers to pitie and compassion. I reject also, out of our daunces, that which is called Pyladion, as being over-stately, and too full of pompe, exceeding patheticall besides, and requiring many persons and actours: but if we may admit any of those countrey kinds, which Socrates recounteth, when hespeaks of daunces, I receive that which is called Bashyllion, which of it selfe beareth a lower port, and foundeth much like to the rufticke daunce, called Cordax, or refembling Echo Pan, or Iome Satyre dancing amoroully and wantonly with Cupid: as for the comedic, that which was 20 called Petro, that is to fay, the ancient kinde first used, it forteth not well with the table, nor would be acted before men when they be drinking and merriclin regard of the inequalitie thereof : for that earnestnesse and libertie of speech, used in those grancing digressions, called mendators, is too free and over vehement; also, the facilitie and readineffe to scoffe, flour and jibe, is too rife and common, over-broad and plaine befides; full of undecent and unhonest verbs, and as full of filthichnollassivious nownes. Moreover, like as at the feasts of great princes and potentates, there flandeth alwaies waiting by every one of them that fit at the boord, a cuppe-bearer, to give him drinke when he calleth for it; even to there had need to be fome Grammarian or other at hand continually, for to expound ever and anon, the meaning of divers tearmes used in these comedies, to wit, what fignifieth in Eupolisthe poet, this word Lasmodias; also, what the poet Plato 30 meanes by Cinefin, in his comedies ; and what is meant by Lampon, in Cratinus; likewife one or offier for the purpose, to give the hearers to understand, who they be whom the actours let slie their scurrile scoffes at: so that by this meanes, our feast must be like a Grammar schoole, or els all the frumps and mocks that be flung and discharged, will light in vaine, and lose their grace, for want of being understood. But to come unto the new comedie, what should a man fay any thing of it but this, that it is so incorporate in feasts and banquets, that a man may better make a supper without wine; that without Menander? for why? the phrase or maner of speech in these comedies is sweet, pleasant, and familiar, the matter such, as neither can be despised of the sober, nor offensive to the drunken; befides, the vertuous and fententious fayings therein, delivered in fimple and plaine tearmes, tunne fo fmooth, that they are able to foften and make pliable everic 40 ways the Wiffelt and hardest natures that be, by the meanes of wine, like as barres of yron in the fire, and to reduce them to humanitie. To be short, the temperature thorowout of mirth and gravitietogether, is such, as it feemeth that this comedie was devised first for nothing els, but both to pleafure and profit those who had taken their wine liberally, and were now well disposed to mirch's moreover, even the amarotrous objects therein presented, are not without a singular use and benefit, for those who being already set in an heat with wine, are within a while after to goe to bed and fleepe with their wedded wives: neither shall you finde among all his comedies, as many ashe hath written, any filthy love of a yoong faire boy; and as for the deflowing of yong timedens and virgins, about which there is fuch adoe in his comedies, they ordinarily doe end in marriages and all parties be pleased. As touching the love of harlots and professed cour-50 tefans, if they be proud, disdainfull and presumptuous queanes, certeinly our wanton affection that way, is well cooled and danted, by certeine chastisements or repentances of yong men, who are represented in these comedies, to come againe unto themselves, and acknowledge their follies; bur as for those kinde harlots, which are of good natures, and for their parts doe answere againe in true love, either you shall have in the end their owne fathers found, who may provide them husbands, or els there is some measure of time set out for to gage their love, which at the laft, after a certeine revolution and course run, turneth unto civill and bashfull behavior. I know well, that all these matters and observations, unto those who are otherwise occupied and busied in affaires, be of no importance; but at a table, where men are fet of very purpose to be merrie and to solace themselves, I would wonder, if their dexteritie, delight, and good grace, doth not bring with it some amendment and ornament into the minds and conditions of those who take heed unto them, yea, and imprint a certeine zeale and emulation, to frame and conforme themselves unto those that be honest and of the better fort.

At these words, Diegenianse paused a while, were it for that he had made an end of his speech. or to take his winde, and breathe himfelfe a little : and when the fophifter beganne to replie and came upon him againe, faying, that in his opinion there should have bene some places and verfes recited out of Aristophanes. Philip speaking unto me by name: This man (quoth he) hath his defire fatisfied, now that he hath fo well recommended his friend Menander, in whom he ta- 10 keth fo great delight, and in comparison of whom, he seemeth to have no care nor regard at all of any other: but there remaine yet, many other matters, which wee are woont to heare for our pleafure, which hitherto have not bene examined; and yet very willing I am, to heare some difcourse of the as for the prety works of imagers, who cut out & grave small living creatures, if it pleafe this stranger here & Diogenianus, we wil put over the controversic & the decision thereof untill to morow morning, when we are more fober. Then began I to speake, and said: There be yet, other kinde of sports and plaies, named Mimi, of which, some they call Hypotheses, as it were moralities and representations of histories; others, Pagma, that is to wit, ridiculous fooleries; but neither of them both, doe I take meet for a banquet; the former, both because they require fo long time in the acting, and also, for that they require so costly furniture and preparation; 20 the other, are too ful of ribaudry, of filthy and beaftly speeches, not wel befeeming the mouthes of pages and lackies, that carry their mafters flippers and pantofles after them, especially, if their mafters be honeft and wife men : and yet many there are, who at their feafts, where their wives fit by their fides, and where their young children be prefent, cause such foolish acts and specches to be represented, as trouble the spirits and disorder the passions of the minde more, than any drunkennesse whatsoever. But for the play of the harpe, which is of so great antiquitie, and ever fince before Homers time, hath beene a familiar friend and companion with fealts, and alwaies enterteined there, it were not meet nor honest for to dissolve that ancient friendship, and of fo long continuance; but we would request those minstrels that play and sing to the harpe, to take out of their fongs those dolefull plaints, dumps, and forrowfull lamentations, which be fo 30 ordinarie in them, and to chaunt pleafant ditties and fresh galliards, meet for those who are met to be merrie and jocund. Moreover, as touching the flute and hautboies, they will not be kept our, do what a man will, from the table; for if we do but offer our libations, by powring out wine in the honour of the gods, we must needs have our pipes, or els all were marred, yea, and chaplets of flowers upon our heads; and it feemeth that the gods themselves doe sing thereto and accord: moreover, the found of the flute doth dulce the spirits, it entreth into the cares with so milde and pleafant a tune, that it carrieth with it a tranquillitie and pacification of all motions, even unto the foule, in fuch fort, that if there did remaine in the understanding and minde, any gricte, any care or anxietie, which the wine had not discussed and chased away, by the gracious and anniable noise thereof, and the voice of the musician singing thereto, it quieteth it, and brin- 40 geth it affecpe: provided alwaies, that this instrument keepe a meane and mediocritie, so that it move not the foule too much, and make it passionate, with so many tunes and notes that it hath, at what time as the faid foule is fo drenched and wrought foft with wine, that it is readie to be affeeted therewith: for like as sheepe and other cattell, understand not any articulate language of a man, carrying a fenfe and understanding therewith; howbeit, with certaine whistles or chirts, done by lips or hands, or with the found of fome pipe or shell, the shepheards and other heardmen can tell how to raise them, or make them lie downe and couch; even so, the brutish part of our foule, which hath no understanding, nor is capable of reason, may be appealed, ranged and disposed as it ought to be, by songs and sounds, by measures, tunes and notes, as if it were charmed and enchanted by them: but to speake what I thinke, this is my conceit, that neither found 50 of flute, nor lute and harpe, by it felfe, without mans voice and fong to it, can make merrie the companie met together at a feast, so much as a good speech, well and properly fitted; for so we mult accustome our selves in good earnest, to take our principall pleasure and delight in speech, and to spend the most part of that time in discourse and communication : as for song and harmonie, we are to make (as it were) a fauce to our freech, not to licke them up and fwallow them downe alone by themselves: for like as no man will reject and resuse the pleasure that commeth by wine & viands taken for the necessitie of our nouriture, and bringing therewith commoditie

of our health; but that which entreth by fweet fents and perfumes is not necessarie, but superfluous & delicate, Soerates sent away (as it were) with a box of the eare; even so we ought not to heare the sound of a flute or psalterie, which striketh and beateth upon our eares onely, but if it follow or accompanie our speech, which doth feast and exhilarat the reason that is in our soule, we may well admit and receive the same. And verily, for mine owne part, I thinke, that then he had eleft on why in old time. Apollo punished that prefumptuous Marsyas, was this, that when he had eleft dup his mouth with his pipe and muzzle together; he presumed to contend and strive (having nothing but the bare sound of thenaked stute) against him; who together with the sound of the harpe, had the song also and musicke of the voice: let us therefore in this one thing espectorially, beware and take heed, that in the companie of those men, who by their speech and learned discourses are able to delight and pleasure one another, we bring not in any such thing to enter in at their eares, which may be an impeachment and hinderance rather of their delight, than a delectation it selfe: for not onely they be so olish and ill advised, as Euripides saith:

Who having of their owne at home enough them (elvesto fave, Will feeke els where, and from abroad, their remedie to have.

but also, that they being provided sufficiently of meanes in themselves, to make their recreations of, and to folace their hearts, labour nevertheleffe all that ever they can, to have their delights 20 from others. For the magnificence of that great king of Persia, wherewith he meant to enterteine Amalcides the Lacedæmonian, seemed (I affure you) very groffe, ablurd and impertinent, namely, when he dipped and wet a chaplet of roses, saffron, and other odoriferous flowers, intermingled together, in a precious oile, and fo fent it unto him, doing injurie by that meanes to the flowers, and utterly quenching and marring that native beautie and fragrant sweetnesse of their owne; femblably, no leffe abfurditie it were, when a feaft hath mirth and muficke enough in it felfe, to goe about for to enchant and encharme it with other minstrelsie from abroad, and fo for a strange and borrowed delight, to bereave the guests of their owne and proper, and as one would fay, change the principall for the accefforie. I conclude therefore, that the fittest feafon for fuch amadement and occupying of the eares is, when the feaft beginneth a little to grow 30 turbulent, and to fall into fome contentious debate and braule, by heat of opinionative arguing, for to alay and quench all, that it breake not out, to opprobrious tearmes; or to represse a disputation, which is like to paffe the bounds of reasoning, and to grow unto an unpleasant and sophiflicall alteration; yea, and to flay all litigious wrangling and vehement invectives, beforming rather pleas at barre, or the orations in the publicke hall of a city, untill such time as the banquer be reduced into the former calme and tranquillitie.

THE NINTH QUESTION.

That to confult at the table, while men are drinking wine, was an ancient custome among the Greeks as well as Persuns.

Neitratus upon a time invited us to a supper; and when we were set, there arose some special stouching certains matters, upon which the Athenians were the morrow after to sit in councell, and to debate in a generall affemblie of the citie: now, as one of our companie cast out this word, and said: This is the Persian fashion, my masters, thus to consult and holde a councell at the boord. And why Persian rather than Grecian (quoth Glaucias?) for a Grecian I am sure he was, that said:

Taseis केन में मोर्टामड़ दिक्रों में प्रभाव केंप्रटीस्वर.

That is to fay,

From bellie full, be st counsell doth arise,

And surest plots men in that case devise.

And Greeks they were, who under the conduct of Agamemmon held Troy befieged; who as they were eating and drinking together,

The good old Neltor first began,
Wisely upon the point to scan.

who also was himselfe the author of this meeting, and advised the king to invite his nobles, and the principall captaines of the armie to a dinner, for to fit in counsell in these tearnes:

SII 3

Make

Make now a feast, I you advise my lord, And bid your auncient peeres; who when as bord They be all set; marke who gives counsell best, Obey his reed, and see therein yourest.

And therefore the most nations of Greece which were ruled under the best lawes, and most constantly reteined their auncient ordinances and customes, laid the first foundation of their government and counsell of State upon wine: for those guilds and societies in Candy, which they called Andreia, as also the Phidinia in Sparta, were instituted and held for privie counsels and assemblies of senators; like unto that, if I be not deceived, which even in this citie heere of Anthens goeth under the name of Prytaneion, and These short helion; and not farte different from these, to in that night assemblie of the principall personages, and most politicke States-men whereof Plato speaketh in his books, unto which he referreth the causes and affaires of most importance, which require greatest consultation: those counsellers of State also in Homer:

Who offer wine to Mctcutic, the last of others all, What time as now, bed-time it is, and them to fleepe dosh call.

doe not they I pray you joine wine and words together? when they are about therefore to depart, and retire themselves into their bed-chambers, the first thing that they do, is to make their praiets, and power out their libations of wine, unto the wifest God of all others, as if he were 20 is, a wife and present with them, and their superintendent to overset them: but they who were indeed the present of all others, called even Bacchus himselse * Eubulus, as if they had no need at seller, a light of Mercurie, and in regard also of him, they attributed unto night the name of * Euconomic phrone.

THE TENTH QUESTION.

Whether they did well who fat in consultation at the table?

7 Hen Glaucius had spoken these words, we all thought that these turbulent and litigious 30 debates had beene well appealed and laid alleepe; but to the end that they might fo much the rather die and be buried in oblivion; Nicestratus provided another question and faid: At the first (quoth he) I made no great matter of this custome, nor regarded it much, taking it to be a meere Persian fashion; but now seeing it is discovered to be an order also among the Greeks, requifite and necessarie it is to render some reason thereof, for to defend it against an evident abfurditie, which at the first fight presenteth it selfe; for that the discourse of reason in manner of the eie, is hardly to be governed by us, and untoward for to be brought to performe her worke in a great quantitie of moisture, and the same as yet stirring and waving: and besides, all odious griefes, which on every fide appeare and come foorth to wine, like as fnakes, lizards, and fuch like ferpents, are brought to light and fhew themselves to the funne, cause the minde 40 to be wavering, inconstant, and irresolute: as therefore a bed or pallet is better than a chaire, for them that are disposed to drinke and make merry, for that it conteineth the body at full, and exempteth it from all maner of motion; even so the best way is, to keepe the soule quiet and in repose altogether; and if that may not be, to do by it as men doe by children that can rest and fland on no ground, but be evermore flirring; namely to give unto it, not a fword or a javelin, but a rattle or a ball, like as Bacchus putteth into the hands of drunken folke the ferula stalke (a most light weapon and instrument either to offend or defend withall) to the end that as they be readielt to strike, so they might be least able for to hurt: for the faults that bee committed in drunkennesse ought to passe lightly in mirth, and go away with a laughter, and not to bee lamentable tragicall, and bringing with them great calamities. Moreover, that which is the 50 chiefe and principall thing in confultation of great affaires, to wit, that hee who for want of wit and knowledge in the world, should follow the opinion of those who are of great conceit, deepe judgement, and long experience, this meanes wine bereaveth us of; infomuch as it feemeth hecreupon to have taken the name owes in Grecke; because as Plate saith, it causeth them drinke it freely, * isso; that is to fay, to have a good conceit and weening of themselves, as if they were very witty and wife: for how ever they take themselves to be eloquent, faire, or rich, as ordinarily they doe all of them; yet they effecine better of their owne wit and wife-

dome, than of any thing elfe: and this is the reason that wine is talkative and full of words; it filleth us with lavish speech, and the same unseasonable; yea, it maketh us to have a marvellous good opinion of our felves in ech respect, as if we were woorthy to commaund and prescribe unto others, more meet to be heard than to heare, and fitter to leade and goe before, than to follow & come after: But (quoth Glaucian then) an eafie matter it is for any man to collect and alledge much tending unto this point, confidering how evident and plaine the thing is: it were good therefore to heare a discourse to the contrary, if haply any person, young or old, will itand up in defence of wine. Then our brother, full cunningly and fliely, like a crafty fophitter: Why (quoth he) thinke you that any man is able fo prefently and upon a fudden to devife and 10 speake unto the question in hand, all that may be faid probably thereto? And why (quoth Nicoftratus) should not I fo thinke, considering so many learned men in place, and those who love wine well enough? at which word the other fmiled and faid: Are you in deed fufficient, even in your owne conceit, to discourse upon this point before us, and yet indisposed, and altogether unable to confider upon State matters, and affaires of government, because you have taken your wine well? and is not this all one, as to thinke that he who hath drunke freely, feeth well enough with his eies, and howfoever he heareth not perfectly with his cares those whom hee speaketh and talketh with, yet for all that he hath the perfect hearing of those who either sing or play upon the flute? for as it is likely, and standeth to great reason, that good and profitable things should affect and draw the outward sences more unto them, than those which are 20 gaudie onely and fine; even fo no doubt, fuch matters make the minde also more intentive: and if a man for that he hath plied his drinking overmuch, cannot haply comprehend well the difficult subtilities of some high points in philosophic, I nothing marvell thereat; but if the queftion be of matters and affaires of State, great likelihood there is, that if he be called away thereto, he should gather his wits more close together, and be more vigorous; like as Philip king of Macedona, who having plaied the foole, and made himselfe ridiculous at Charonea, after the battell there, both in word and deed, upon his liberall drinking, prefently affoone as hee fell to treatie of peace and articles of agreement, hee composed his countenance to gravitie, knithis browes, and cast behinde him all vaine fooleries, wanton gestures and unfeemly behaviour, and fo gave unto the Athenians a fober, differeet, and well advifed au-30 fwere. And verily one thing it is to drinke well, and another thing to be starkedrunke : such as be so farre gone and overseene with drinke, that they know not what they do or fay, ought as we thinke, to take their beds and fleepe; as for those who have taken their wine in deed too much, and be fearfe fober (howbeit, otherwise men of wit and understanding) we shall never need to feare that they will faile in judgement, yea, and forget their experience, confidering that wee daily see these dancers, singers and ministrels performe their parts no worse at feasts, for all their liberall drinking, than in the publicke theaters: for the skill and knowledge, whereof they have gotten the habit, is evermore so present and readie with them, that it maketh their bodies active and nimble, able to performe those parts and functions directly, yea, and to answere the motions of the minde accordingly with confidence. Many there be also, in whose heads and hearts 40 wine so worketh, that it putteth into them an affured boldnesse and resolution, which helpeth them much to the performance of any great actions, and the fame is nothing infolent and outragious, but milde and gracious. And thus we reade of Aefebylas the poet, that he endited and wrote his tragedies when he was thorowly fet in an heat with wine; in fuch fort, as that they all were conceived by the influence of Bacchau, and not as Gorgias faith, that one of them, and namely, the greatest (intituled, The seven princes before Thebes) was begotten (as it were) by Mars. For winebeing of power to enchafe the bodie and minde both, according as Plato faith, causeth the bodie to be perspirable, quicke and active, opening all the pores and passages thereof, giving way unto the fantalies and imaginations eafily to runne forth, drawing out together with them, the affurance of reason and boldnesse of speech : for you shall have men, whose in-50 vention naturally is good enough, in whom (when they be fober and fasting) the same is colde, timorous, and in maner frozen; let them once be well plied with wine, cup after cup, you shall fee them evaporate and smoake out, like as frankine ensed of h by the heat of fire. Furthermore, the nature of wine, chafeth away all feare, which is as contrarie unto those who lit in confultation, as any thing in the world; it quencheth alfo, many other base and vile passions, such as malice and rancour; it openeth the double plates and folds of the minde, displaying and discovering the whole disposition and nature of a man, by his very words; yea, it hath a vertue to give franke and liberall speech; and consequently, audacitie to utter the trueth; without which, nei-

* Wine of weening.

ther experience nor quickeneffe of wit availeth ought: for many there be, who putting in practife, and making use of that which commeth quickely into their heads, speed better, and have greater fuccesse, than those who warily, cautelously, and with much subtilitie, seeme to conceale and keepe in that which presenteth it selfe unto them, and be very lateward in delivering their opinion: we are not therefore to feare wine in this regard, that it stirreth up the passions of the minde; for it inciteth not the worft, unleffe it be in the wickeddeft men, whose counsell is at no time fober: but as Theophrastus was woont to call barbars shoppes, drie bankets without wine; even fo, there is akind of winelesse drunkennesse, and the same, sowre and unpleasant, dwelling continually within the mindes of men that be vicious and without good bringing up; troubled and vexed alwaies with fome anger, with grudge, malice, envie, emulation, contention, or illibe- 10 ralbafeneffe; of which vices, wine abating the edge of a great part, tather than tharpning them, maketh men not sottith fooles, and blockish dolts, but ready and apt, and yet circumspect, cautelous, and wary; not supine and negligent in matters concerning their profit; but yet industrious, and making choise of that which is good and honest: but such as tearme wily-craftinesse, by the name of fine wit, and take erroneous opinion and mechanicall nigardile, for wifedome, may even aswell and with as good reason say, that as many as when they be drinking at the table, speake their mindes roundly, and utter with libertie what they thinke, be senselesse fooles: but contrariwife, our ancients called Bacchus, Endosies and Aviner, which is as much to fay, as Deliverer and Freer; being of opinion, that there was to be ascribed unto him, a great part of divination, not for that he was furious, raging & mad, as Euripides faid, but because he delivereth the minde, 20 and freeth it from all fervile feare, diffidence and cowardife, giving us freedome and libertie to speake the trueth, and use franknesse of speech one to another.



THE EIGHTH BOOKE 3 OF SYMPOSIAQUES OR TABLEDISCOURSES.

The Summaric.

F those daies, upon which were borne certaine notable and famous persons; and withall, as touching that progenie, which is said to descend from the gods.

In what sense Plato said, that God alwaies exerciseth Geometrie.

What is the reason that sounds be more audible in the night, than in the day.

What is the cause, that of the sacred games, some have this garland, and others that; but all, the date-tree branch; as also, why the great dates be called Nicolai.

5 Wherefore they that faile upon the river Nilus, draw up water for their ufe, before it be day.
6 Of those that come date to Japper; and therewith, whereupon came these names of refessions, and δάπνου.

7 Of certeine Pythogorean precepts, by which forbidden we are to enterteine finallowes within our how/es; and when we are newly rifenout of our beds, to ruffle the clothes.

8 What might be the motive that induced the Pythagoreans among all other living creatures, to abflaine most from fish.

9 Whether it be possible, that by our meats there should be engendred new diseases. 10 What is the cause that we take least heed of our dreames in Autumne.

THE

THE EIGHTH BOOKE OF

Symposiaques or table-discourses.

The Proëme.



Hey that chafe philosophie out of feasts and banquets (ô Sossus Senetio) do not the same, but worse farre, than those who take away the light from thence; for that when the lampe is gone; such persons as be made temperate and well disposed, will be nothing the woorse therefore, making as they doe, more account of a reverent regard, than of the mutual sight one of another; whereas, if rudenesse, is norance and leauthesse be joined with wine, the very golden lampe of Minerva, if it were there, could not possibly make the feast or banquet lovely, gracious, modest, and well ordered: for that men should feed and fill themselves together in silence; without a word

faying were the fashion that favoured very much of still swine at their draffe, and perhaps a thing impossible: but who loever referveth speech in a feast, and withall, admitteth not the wife and 20 profitable use thereof, is more worthy to be laughed at, than he who thinketh verily, that guests thould be ever eating and drinking at a supper, but not filleth unto them, wine undelaied, unseafoned, and which is meere of it felfe; or fetteth before them, viands unfeafoned, without falt or fauce, and the fame not cleanly dreffed; for that there is no meat or drinke fo unfavorie, unpleafant and hurtfull, for want of good and orderly handling, as words carried unfeemly, and without discretion, at a banquet: which is the reason, that philosophers when they reproove drunkennesse, call it a dotting by wine; and furely, this dotage is no other thing, but raving or vaine, foolish and undifereet using of words: now when difordinate babling and foolish talke, meeteth once with wine in a banquet, it can not chuse but the iffue thereof will be reprochfull contumelie, infolencie, brainficke follie and villanie, which of all others, is a most unpleasant end, and far-30 theft from all muses and graces: and therefore it is no foolish ceremonie and absurd fashion. which the women in our countrey observe at their feasts called Agrenia, where they make semblance for a while, as if they fought for Bacchin, being fled out of the way, but afterwards give over feeking, and fay that he is gone away, and run to the mufes, and there lurketh, and lieth hidden among them : and anon, when supper is ended, they use to put forth darke riddles, and propose questions one to another, hard to be solved: the mysterie whereof, teacheth us thus much, that both we, ought at the table, to use such speech as doth conteine some good learned speculation and erudition; and also, that when those discourses are joined with wine and drunkennesse, then they be the muses who hide and cover all furious outrage and enormitie, which also is willing to be deteined and kept by them.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

As touching those dates which are enmobled by the nativitie of some renowmed persons; and withall of that progenie or racewhich is faid to be derived from the gods.

This book then, which is the eighth in order of our fympossaques or discourses at the table, shall conteine in the first place, that which not long since we chanced to heare and speake, that day whereon we celebrate the seast of Places nativity: for having solemnized the birth day of Secrates upon the fixth of February; the morow after, which was the seventh of that moneth, so we did the like by Plato; which gave us occasion, and ministred matter first to enter into a began first in this maner: 10m the poet (quoth he) said not amisse of tortune, that being as she was, different from wisdome in many things, yet she brought soorth effects not a sew like unto her; and as for this, it seemeth that she hath caused it to fall out very well and fitly, and not without some skill, (rash though she be otherwise) not only for that these two birth-daies jumpe so nere one unto the other, but also because, that of the master who was of the twaine more ancient, commeth also in order before the other. Whereupon it came into my head also to alledge many

many examples of occurrents happening likewife at one and the fame time; and namely, as rouching the birth and death of Euripides, who was borne that very day whereon the Greeks tought the navall battell of Solamis at fea with the king of Perfia, and whole fortune it was to die the Jame day that Denys the elder tyrant of Swille was borne; as if fortune of purpole (as Timeus faith) had taken out of the world a poet, who represented tragicall calamities, the very same day that the brought into the world the actour thereof. Mention also was made of the death of king Alexander the Great, which fell out just upon the same day that Diogenes the Cynicke philosopher departed this life; and by one generall voice accorded it was, that king Attalus left his life, the very day that hee celebrated the memoriall of his nativitie : and fome there were who faid, that Pompey the Great died in Aegypt, the fame day of the yere that he was born 3 though others 10 affirmed that it was one day fooner: femblably, there came into our remembrance at the fame time Pinda us, who being borne during the folemnutie of the Pythicke games, composed afterwards many hymnes in the honour of that god, for whom those games were solemnized. Then Florus faid, that Carneades was not unworthy to be remembred upon the day of Platoes nativity, confidering he was one of the most famous pillers that supported the schoole of Academy; and both of them were borne at the festivall times of Apollo; the one in Athens, what time as the feast Thargellawas holden; and the other, that very day when as the Cyrenians folemnized it, which they call Carnea; and both of them fell out just upon the feventh day of Februarie; on which day you my mafters, who are the prophets and priefts of Apollo, doe fay that himfelfe was borne, and therefore you call him Hebdomagenes: neither doe I thinke, that they who attribute 20 unto this God, the fatherhood of Plato, doe him any dishonour, in that he hath begotten and provided for us a physician, who by the meanes of the doctrine of Socrates, even another Chrion, cureth and healeth the greater infirmities and more grievous maladies of the foule. Moreover, it was not forgotten, how it was held for certeine, that Apollo appeared in a vision by night, unto Ariston the father of Plato, and a voice befides was heard, forbidding him expresly not to lie with his wife, nor to touch her for the space of ten moneths. Hereupon Tyndares the Lacedæmonian (econded these words, and said, that by good right we were to sing and say thus of Plato:

He seemed not the sonne of mortall wight; Some god for fire, he may avouch by right.

Howbeit, for my part, I am afraid, that to beget repugneth no leffe with the immortalitie of the 30 deitic, than to be begotten; for furely, even the act of generation, implieth also a mutation and pullion; and king Alexander the Great fignified no leffe one time, when he faid, that he knew himselfe principally to be mortall and subject to corruption, by having companie with a woman, & by his fleep: for that fleepe is occasioned by a relaxation proceeding from feebleneffe; and as for all generation, performed it is by the passage of some portion of ones selfe into another; and to much therfore is loft & gone from the principall; and yet on the other fide, I take heart againe, and am confirmed, when I heare Plato himfelfe to call the eternall God, who never was borne nor begotten, Father and Creatour of the world, and of other things generable; not that God doth engender after the maner of men, by the meanes of naturall feed; but by another power doth ingenerate and infuse into matter, a vertue generative, and a principle, which alter-40 eth, moveth, and transmuteth the same:

For even by windes that female birds inspire, Conceiv'd they be, when they to breed defire.

Neither doe I thinke it any abfurditie, that a god companying with a woman, not as man, but after another fort of touching & contractation, and by other meanes, altereth and replenisheth her, being a mortall creature, with divine and heavenly feed: And this is (quoth he) no invention of mine: for the Aegyptians hold that their Apis is in that manner engendred by the light of the moone, firiking upon his dam, whereby the is conceived; and generally they admit thus much, that a god of the male fex, may deale with a mortall woman: but contrariwife, they think not that a mortall man is able to give unto any goodesse the beginning of conception or birthsforthey are of opinion, that the fubltance of these goddesses, consisteth in a certeine aire, and spirits, yea and in certeine heats and humors. THE

profit die t

THE SECOND QUESTION.

How Plato is to be under stood, when he sath: That God continually is exercised in Geometry.

Free these words, there ensued some filence for a while; and then Diogenianus beginning Aagaine to speake: How thinke you masters (quoth he) are you contented & well pleased, confidering that we have had some speech already of the gods, and that on the day wherein we folemnize the nativitie of Plato, that we make him partaker also of our conference, and take octo casion thereby, to consider upon what intention and in what sense hehath said, that God continually practifeth Geometrie, at leastwife if we may presuppose and set down, that he it was who was the author of this sentence: Then said I: Written it is not in any place of al his books; howbeit , held to be a faying of his, and it favoreth much of his stile and maner of phrase. Whereupon Tyndares immediately taking the words out of his mouth: Thinke you (quoth he) ô Diogemianus, that this sentence covertly and in mysticall tearmes, signifieth any darke subriltie, and not the very fame, which Plate himselfe hath both said and written in praising and magnifying Geometrie, as being the thing which plucketh those away who are faltened unto sensible objects, and averteth them to the confideration of such natures, as be intelligible and eternall 5 the contemplation whereof is the very end of philosophie, even as the view and beholding of 20 fecret facred things, is the end of religious mysteries: for the naile of pleasure and paine, which fasteneth the soule unto the bodie, among other mischieses that it doth unto man, worketh him this displeasure as it should seeme above all, that it causeth sensible things to be more evident unto him, than intellectuall, and forceth his understanding to judge by passion more than by reason: for being accustomed by the sense and feeling of extreame paine, or exceeding pleafure of the body, to be intentive unto that wandring, uncerteine, and mutable nature of the bodie, as seeming a thing substittent, blinded hee is, and loseth altogether the knowledge of that which is effentiall indeed, and hath a true being, forgoing that light and inflrument of the foule, which is better than ten thousand bodily eies, and by which organe alone, he might see the deitie and divine nature: for fo it is, that all other sciences which we name mathematicall, as 30 in fo many mirrors, not twining and warping, but plaine, smooth, and even, there appeare the very tracts, prints, and images of the truth of things intelligible: but Geometric especially which Philo calleth the mother citie, and mistressecommaunding all the rest, doth divert and gently withdraw by little and little, the minde purified & clenfed from the cogitation of fenfuall things: and this is the reason that Plate himselfereprooved Eudox su, Archit as, and Menachmus, who went about to reduce the duplication of the cube or folide square into mechanicall instruments, and artificiall engines, as if it had not beene possible, (if a man would set unto it) by demonstration of reason to finde our and comprehend, two middle lines proportionall; for he objected unto them: That this was as much as to destroy and overthrow the best thing in Geometrie, when by this meanes they would have her turne backe againe unto fensible things, 40 and keepe her from mounting up aloft, and embracing those eternall and incorporall images; upon which God being continually intentive, is therefore alwaies God.

After Tyndares, Floras a familiar friend of his, and one who made femblant alwaies by way of fport and gave it out in word, that he was timorous of him: Well done of you (quoth hee) in that you would not have this speech to be your owne, but a common saying of every man, and you would feeme to argue and proove, that Plato howeth how Geometric is not necessary for the gods, but formen for God hath no need of any mathematicall science, as an engine or inftrument to turne him from thingsingendred, and to bring about and direct his intelligence and understanding unto those that be of an eternal effence: For why? Inhim, with him, and a, bout him they be alibut take heed rather, & fee whether Plato hath not covertly under these dark 50 words lifted and fignified for curtar that is pertinent and proper unto you, which you have not marked and observed, in that hee joineth Lyoungan with Socrates, no leffe than Pythagoras, as Dicearchus was of opinion: for Lycurgus as you know very well, chaled out of Lacedamon, arithmeticall proportion as a popular thing, turbulent and apt to make commotions; but hee brought in the Geometricall, as befitting the civill and modest government of some sew wife fages, and a lawfull rotaltic and regall dominion: for the former giveth equally unto all according to number; but the other unto every one, by reason and with regard of desert and woorthinesse; this proportion (I say) maketh no confusion of all together, but in it there is an appa-

rent discretion and distinction betweene the good and the bad, dealing alwaies unto every one their owne, not by the balance or lot, but according to the difference of vice and vertue: God therefore useth this proportion, and applieth it unto things and the same it is (my good friend Tyndares) which is called Dice and Nemefit; teaching us there by, that we ought to make of juflice, equalitie, and not of equallity, justice; for the equalitie which the common fort seeketh after, and is indeed the greatest injustice that may be, God taketh out of the world, and as much as possibly may be, observeth that which is fit and meet for every one according to desert and worthinesse, going heerein Geometrically to worke, by reason and law defining and distributing

accordingly.

When we had praised this exposition and interpretation of his, Tyndares said: That he en- 10 vied fuch commendation, exhorting Autobulus to fet against Florus, to consute him, and correct that which he had delivered. That he refused to do; howbeit, he opposed and brought forth a certeine opinion and conceit of his owne: Thus it is (quoth he) Geometrie is not a speculative skill of mens manners and behaviour, nor yet occupied about any subject matter whatsoever, but the symptomes, accidents, and passions of those extremities or termes which accomplish bodies: neither hath God by any other meanes framed and made the world, but onely by determining or making finit that matter which was infinit in it felfe, not in regard of quantititie, greatneffe, and multitude; but for that being as it was, inconstant, wandering, disorderly, and unperfect, our auncients were wont to call it infinit, that is to fay, undetermined and unfinithed: for the forme and figure is the terme or end of every thing that is formed and thapen; 20 the want whereof made it of it selfe to be shapelesse and dissignred : but after that numbers and proportions come to be imprinted upon the rude and formelesse matter, then being tied and bound (as it were) first with lines, and after lines, with superficies and profundities, it brought foorth the first kinds and differences of bodies, as the foundation and ground-worke for the generation of aire, earth, water, and fire: for impossible it had beene, and absurd, that of matter fo wandring, fo errant, and diforderly, there should arife equalities of fides, and similitudes of angles, in those solide square bodies, which were called Ottaedra and Eicosaedra, that is to faie, with eight and twentie bases: likewise in pyramidals and cubes, unlesse there had been some worke-man to limit, ordeine, and dispose everything Geometrically; thus a limit or terme being given unto that which was infinit; all things in this univerfall world, composed, ordered, and contempered accordingly in excellent manner, were first and made, and are made now every day 3 notwithstanding the said matter striveth and laboureth daily to returne unto her infinit estate, as very loth and refusing to be thus geometrized, that is to say, reduced to some finit and determinate limits; whereas reason on the contraristide, restreineth and comprehendeth her; distributing her into divers Ideaes, from which all things which are ingendred, take their generation and constitution.

He had no sooner thus said, but he requested me to contribute somewhat also of mine owne unto this discourse and question in hand but I for my part, commended highly their opinions, thus delivered, as being naturally and directly devised by themselves and their owne proper inventions, faying withall: That they caried with them fufficient probabilitie: But for that (quoth I) you should not be displeased and offended with your selves, nor altogether have your sie abroad and looke unto others, liften and heare what meaning and interpretation of the faid fentence, was most approoved unto our masters and teachers: for there is among the propositions, or positions rather, and theoremes geometricall, one above the rest, to wit; When two formes or figures are given and put downe, to let a third thereto, equall to the one, and femblable to the other; for the invention whereof, it is faid, that Pythagorus facrificed unto the gods: for this Theorem without all doubt is more gallant, witty, and learned, than that, by which he did demonstrate, and proove that the slope line Hypotinusa, availeth as much as the two laterales, which make a right angle in a triangle : Well faid of you (quoth Diogenianus) but what ferveth this for the matter now in question? You shall understand soone (quoth 1) 50 in case you will call to memory that division in Timau, whereas the philosopher made a tripartite distribution of those principles, whereby the world had the beginning of generation; of which, the one he called by a most just name, God; the second Matter; and the third Forme or Idea: So the matter of all subject things is most disordinate; the Idea of all mouldes and patterns, most beautifull; but God of all causes simply the best: Thus would not he admit, or leave anything, as farre foorth as possibly might otherwise be, infinit and undeterminate; but adorne nature with proportion, measure, and number, making of all subjects one thing, in

quantity equall to the matter, & in quality femblable to the forme, fetting therefore before him this proposition, having already twain, a third to it hemade, doth make and preserve for ever, equal to the matter, & semblable to the forme, to wit, the world; which being alwaies in regard of that inbred necessitie of a bodie, subject to generation, alteration, & allkinds of passion, is aided and fuccoured by the creatour and father thereof, who determineth the substance by reason of just proportion, according to the image of the patron, whereby the pour prile and circuit of this univerfall world is more beautifull, being thus vast and great, than if it had beene leffe and competent,

THE THIRD QUESTION.

What is the reason that the night is more resonant or resounding than the day?

S we fat at supper one evening in Athens with Ammonius, we heard a great tumult & noise which rangall the house over, of people in the street without, crying aloud; Captaine, captaine: now was Ammonius then the third time prætor or captaine of the citie: Hee fent foorth immediately some of his men about him, to see what the matter was; who presently appeafed the hurry, and difmiffed those who had raised this outcry: upon which occasion wee in the meane while entred into question: Why those who are within house heare them very well 20 that cry without; but they that are abroad heare not fo eafily those within, crying as loud? Ammonius incontinently made answer and faid, that this question had already beene solved by Ariflotte in this wife: For that the voice of those within being once gotten foorth and flowen into a wide place of much aire, vanisheth away, and is diffipated immediately; whereas the voice of them without, when it is entred in, doth not the like, but is reteined and kept close, and so by consequence more easie to be heard: But there is another thing (quoth hee) which require the rather to have a reason rendred thereof; namely: Why in the night season all voices due refound greater than in the day time, and befides the greatnesse, are more cleere, distinct, articulate, & audible ? For mine owne part(quoth he) I am of this minde, that the divine providence hath in great wisedome ordeined, that our hearing should be more fresh and quicke, when as 30 our fight ferveth us in little or no ftead at all; for feeing that the aire of the night which accorcording to Empedocles,

Wandreth alone, and folitary,

And doth blind eies about her cary. is obscure and darke, looke how much detect it maketh in our fight, so much it supplieth and requiteth in our eares: but for that of things also which necessarily are done by nature, the causes ought to be fought out, and the proper & peculiar office of a philosopher and naturalist, is to buffe himfelfe in feeking after the materiall causes, & instrumentall principles; which of all you will first come forth with some probable reason, as touching this matter? whereupon there being fome paufe & filence for a time, Boethus faid thus: When I was my felfe a yong man, and a 40 student, I made use otherwhiles of those principles which are in Geometrie called Positions: and certaine propositions I supposed as undoubted truthes, without any need of demonstration: but now will I use some of those which hecretosore have beene prooved by Epicurus, as for example: Those things which be, are caried in that which is not, nor hath any being: for much vacuitie or voidnesse there is stored as it were, and intermingled among those atomes or indivifible little bodies of the aire, which when it is fpred abroad in spacious capacitie, and by reafon of the raritie and thinnesse thereof, runneth too and fro round about: there be a number of small, void, and emptie places, among those little motes or parcels scattered here and there, and taking up the whole region: but contrariwife, when they are pent in, and a restreint and compression made of them, being thrust together into a little space; these small bodies being 30 hudled perforce one upon another, leave a large voide space, to vague and range abroad: and this doth the night by reason of cold; for heat doth loosen, difgregate, scatter and dissolve all thicke things, which is the reason why those bodies which either boile, thaw, or melt, occupie more roome: contrariwife, such which gather, congeale, and beefrozen, come together close, and be united, leaving an emptie place in those vessels wherein they were conteined, and from which they be retired: The voice therefore comming among, and lighting upon many of these bodies thus scattered and dispersed thicke everie where, either is drowned altogether at once or difgregated and broken as it were in pieces, or elfe meeteth with many impeach-

ments to withstand and stay it: but where there is a space void, and wherein there is not a bodie, it having a free and full course, and the same not interrupted, but plaine and continued, commeth fo much the fooner unto the care, and together with that fwiftnesse, reteineth still the articulate, expresse, and distinct found of every word in speech for you see how emptie vessels, if a man knocke upon them, answere better to every stroake, and carrie the found and noise a great way off, yea, and many times they yeeld a found that goeth round about, and continue tha good while, redoubling the noise; whereas let a veffell be filled either with folid bodies, or els with fome liquor, it is altogether deafe and dumbe, if I may fo fay, and yeeldeth no found againe; for that it hath no place nor way to passe thorow. Now among solid bodies, gold and stone, because they be full and massie, have a very small and seeble found, that will be heard any way, and 10 that little which they doc render, is soone gone: contrariwise, brasse is verie vocall, resonant, and (as one would fay) a blab of the tongue; for that it hath much emptineffe in it, and the fubstance or masse thereof, is light and thinne, not compact of many bodies, hudled together, and thrust one upon another; but hath foilon and plentie of that substance mingled together, which is foft, yeelding and notrefifting the touch or the stroake, which affoordeth easinesse unto other motions, and so enterteining the voice gently and willingly, sendeth it untill it meet fourthing in the way which stoppeth the mouth; for then it staieth and ceaseth to pierce any surther, because of the stoppage that it findeth. And this is it (quoth he, in mine opinion) that caufeth the night to be more resonant, and the day, lesse; for that the heat in day time which dissolveth the aire, caufeth the intervalles betweene the atomes or motes above faid, to be the smaller: 20 this onely I would request, that no man here doe oppose himselfe to contradict the premisses and first suppositions of mine. Now when as Ammonius willed me to say somewhat, and replie against him: As touching your formost supposals, friend Boethus (quoth I) about the great emptinesse, let them stand, fince you will have it so; but whereas you have set downe, that the said emptinesse maketh much for the motion and easie passage of the voice, I like not well of that supposition; for surely, this qualitie not to be touched, simitten, or made to suffer, is rather proper unto filence and ftill tacitumitie; whereas the voice is the firiking and beating upon a founding bodie; and a founding bodie is that which accordeth and correspondeth to it felfe, moveable, light, uniforme, simple and pliable, like as is our aire; for water, earth and fire, be of themfelves dumbe & speechlesse; but they found & speake all of them, when any spirit or aire is got- 20 ten in, then (I fay) they make a noise: as for brasse, there is no voidnesse within it; but for that mixed it is with an united and equall spirit, therefore it answereth against o claps and knocks, and therewithall refoundeth: and if wee may conjecture by that which our cie feeth and judgeth, yron feemeth to be spongeous, and as it were worme-eaten within, full of holes, and hollowed in maner of hony combs; howbeit, a mettall it is of all other, that hath the woorst voice, and is most mute: there was no need therfore to trouble the night so much in restreining, compreffing, and driving in the aire thereof fo close of the one fide, and leaving fo many places and spaces void on the other fide; as if the aire impeached the voice, and corrupted the substance thereof, considering it selfe is the very substance, forme and puissance of it: over and besides, it fhould follow thereupon, that unequall nights, namely, those that be foggie and mistic, or ex- 40 ceeding colde, were more resonant than those that be faire and cleere; for that in such nights, those atomes are clunged close together, and looke where they come, they leave a place void of bodies: moreover, (that which is easie and evident to be seene) the colde Winter night ought by this reckoning to be more vocall and fuller of noise, than the hot Summers night; whereof neither the one nor the other is true : and therefore (letting this reason, such as it is, goe by) I will produce Anaxagoras, who faith: That the funne caufeth the aire to move and ftirre after a certaine trembling motion, as if it did beat and pant; as it may appeare by those little motes and shavings (as it were) in maner of dust, which flutter and flie up and downe thorow those holes; whereas the funne-thine paffeth, fuch as some Greeks call naz: which (faith he) chirming (as it were) and making a humming in the day time, cause by their noise, any other voice or found 50 not to easie to be heard; but in the night season, as their motion ceaseth, so consequently, their noise also is gone.

After I had thus faid, Ammonius began in this wife: We may be deemed haply ridiculous (quoth he) to thinke that we can refure Democritus, or to go about for to correct Anaxogor as; howbeit, we mult of necessitie take from these little bodies of Anaxogor as his devising, this chirming noise beforefaid, which is neither like to be so, nor any waies necessarie: sufficient it wil be to admit the trembling motion and stirring of them, dancing as they doe, in the same light, and but

by that meanes difgregating and breaking the voice many times, and featter it to and fro: for the aire (as hath bene faid already) being the very body and fubthance of the voice, if it be quiet and fetled, giveth a direct, united and continued way unto the finall parcels and movings of the voice, to paffe along a great way: for calme weather and the tranquillitie of the aire, is refonant, whereas contrariwise, tempettuous weather is dumbe and mute: according to which, Simondes hath thus written:

For then, no blasts of winde arose on hie, Shaking tree-leaves; that men need once to seare Lest they might breake sweet songs and melodic, Stopping the sound from passage to their care.

For often times the agitation of the aire, permitteth not the full, expresse and articulate forme of the voice, to reach unto the sense of thearing; howbeit, somewhat it carrieth alwaies thorow from it, if the same be multiplied much and forced aloud: as for the night, in it selse it hath nothing to thire and trouble the aire; whereas the day hath one great cause thereof, to wit, the sun,

as Anaxagoras himselfe hath said.

Then Then John the forme of Ammonius, taking his turne to speake: What should we meane by this I pray you in the name of Jupiter (quoth he) to attribute this cause unto an invisible motion of the aire; and leave the agitation, to sing and divulsion thereof, which is to manifest and evident to our cies? for this great ruler and commander in the heaven, Jupiter, doth not after an imperceptible maner, nor by little and little, stirre the smallest parcels of the aire, but all at once, so so so she she sheweth his sace, exciteth and movethall things in the world.

Giving foorthwith a signall in such wise, As men thereby unto their works may rise.

which they no fooner fee, but they obey and follow; as if together with the new day, they were regenerate againe, and entred into another manner of life, as Democritus faith; fetting themfelves unto their bufineffe and affaires, not without fome noife & effectual cries: in which fenfe Ibyeu called not impertinently the morning, or dawning of the day Clytus, for that now we begin **Autor, that is to fay, to heare others, yea, & to fpeake aloud our felves: whereas the aire of the night being for the most part calme and still, without any waves and billowes, for that everice 30 thing is at rest and repose, by all likelihood conveigheth the voice entier and whole unto us, not broke nor diminished one jot. At these words, Aristodemus of Cypres, who was one of our companie: But take heed Thrasyllus, (quoth he) that this which you say be not convinced and resuted by the battels and marches of great armies in the night feafon, for that upon fuch an occafion the noise and outcries be no leffe relounding and cleere, how troubled and waving soever the aire be, than otherwife: and peradventure there is some cause thereof, proceeding also from our selves; for the most part of that which we speake in the night season, is of this nature, that either we commaund fome body after a turbulent manner, as if a paffion urged us thereto, or if we demaund and aske ought, we cric as loud as we can; for that the thing which wakeneth and maketh us to rife at fuch a time (when as we should sleepe and take our repose) for to speake or 40 doe any thing, is no fmall matter or peaceable, but great and important, halting us for the urgent necessitie thereof unto our businesse, in such fort, that our words and voices which then we utter, go from us in greater force and vehemency.

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

How it comes to passe, that of the sacred games of prize some use one maner of chaplet, and some another, yet all have she branch of the date tree? Also why the great dates bee called Nicolai?

During the folemnitie of the Isthmick games, at what time as Sospis was the judge and directour thereof now the second time: other feasts of his I avoided; namely, when as hee invited one while many strangers together; and otherwhiles a number of none else but citizens, and those one with another; but one time above the rest, when as hee scatted those one-ly who were his greatest friends, and all, men of learning, I my selfe also was a bidden guest, and present among them; now by that time that the first service at the table was taken awaie, there came one unto the prosessed contains and rhetorician Herodes, who brought unto him from a scholar and familiar of his, who had wonne the prize, for an encomiasticall or laudatoric

torie orazion that he had made, a branch of the date tree, together with a plaited and broided coronet of flowers; which when he had curteoufly received, he returned them backe to him again. faying withall: that hee marvelled why fome of thele facred games had for their prize this crowne, and others that, but generally all, a branch of date tree: For mine owne part (quoth he) I cannot perswade my selfe that this ariseth upon that cause which some alledge; namely, the equality and uniformitie of the leaves, foringing and growing our as they doe, alwaies even and orderly, one just against another directly, wherein they seeme to contend and strive a vie. refembling thereby a kinde of combat; and that victorie it selfe tooke the name in Greeke Nuc, as it were and cheen, that is to say, not yeelding nor giving place: for there be many other plants which as it were by weight and measure, distribute nourishment equally unto their boughes 10 and branches growing opposite in that manner, and heerein observe exactly a woonderfullorder and equality: but in my conceit, more probabilitie and apparence of reason they alledge, who imagine & suppose, that our auncients made shoice of this tree, because they tooke a love to the beautic, talneffe, and ftreight growing thereof, and namely Homer, who compareth the beautic of Mausicaa the Phæocian queene, unto the plant or stem of a faire date tree: for this you all know verie well, that in old time they were wont alwaies to cast upon those victorious champions who had wonne the prize, roses, and rose champion flowers; yea and some otherwhiles apples and pomegranates, thinking by this meanes to recompence and honour them: but there is nothing effeto much in the date tree, to commend it to evidently above other trees: for in all Greece fruit it beareth none that is good to be eaten, as being unperfect and not ripe 30 enough; and if it bare heere as it doth in Syria and Aegypt, the date which of all fruits for the lovely contentment of the cic, is of all fights most delightsome, and for the sweetnesse of talle, of all banquetting diffies most pleasant, there were not a tree in the world comparable unto it: and verily the great monarch and emperour Augustus by report, for that he loved fingularly well, one Micolaus a philosopher Peripatetick, in regard that he was of gentle nature and sweet behaviour, tall and flender withall of stature, and besides of a ruddy and purple colour in his vilage, called the fairest and greatest dates, after his name, Nicolai, and to this day they beare that denomination.

In this discourse, Herodes pleased the company no lesse with the mention of Nicolaus the philosopher, than he did with that which he had spoken to the question: And therefore (quoth 30 Sossi) to much the rather ought we every one to devise for to conferre unto this question propounded, whatsoever hee is persuaded concerning it: Then I for my partiss, brought foorth mine opinion as touching the superioritie of this date tree at the facred games, because the glorie of victours and conquerors, ought to endure and continue incorruptible, and as much as possibly may be not age and waxe old: for the date tree liveth as long as any plant whatsoever that is longest lived: and this is testified by these verses of Orpheus:

Living as long as plants of date trees tall, Which in the head be greene and spread withall.

And this is the onely tree in manner, which hath that propertie indeed, which is reported though not fo truely, of many others: And what is that ? namely, to carie the leaves firme and 40 fait, so as they never tall off; for we do not fee, that either the lawrell or olive tree, nor the myrtle, nor any other trees which are said to shed no leafe, keepe alwaies the same leaves still; but as the first fall, others put foorth, and by this meanes they continue alwaies fresh and greene, living evermore as cities and great townesdoe; whereas the date tree never loseth any of those leaves which once came foorth, but continues thill clad with the same leaves; and this is that vigour as I take it which men dedicate and appropriat especially to the force or strength of victorie.

When Soffish had made an end of this speech, Protogenes the Grammarian calling by name unto Praxiteis, the discourser and historian: Shall wee suffer these oratours and rhetoricians (quoth he) after their usuall maner and profession, to argue thus by conjectures and likely probabilities; and can we alledge nothing out of histories pertinent directly unto this matter? and verily for mine owne part, if my memoric faile me not, have not read long since in the Attique annales, that These which since the outgames of prize in the sile Delos, brake & plucked from the facted date tree, a branch, which thereupon was called Spadis; and Praxitelist said as much: But some onen (quoth he) might aske of These winniesse, what reason induced him (when he proposed the prize of victorie) to pull a branch from the date tree, rather than from the laurell or olive tree? and what will you say, if this be a Pythicke prize? for that the Amphistiones honored

first at Delphos, the victours, with abranch of date tree and laurell, in honour of Pythius Apello, considering that the maner was not to consecrate unto that God, the laurell or olive onely, but also the date tree; like as Niesa did, when in the name of the Athenians, he defiated the charges of games, in Delpis; and the Athenians, at Delphi; and before them, Cypselus the Corinthian; for otherwise, this God of ours hath evenmore loved those games of prize, yea, and was desirous to win the victorie, having strove personally himselse in playing upon the harpe, in singing, and slinging the coit of brassle; yea; and as some some say, at hurl-bass and sift-sight; savouring men also, and taking theirpart at such combats; as Homer seemeth to testisse, when he bringeth in Abbilles, speaking in this wise:

Two champions now, who simply are
of all the armie best,
Myplessare is shall forth advance;
and sooke who us so blest,
And sovured at busset fight,
by god Apollocs grace,
As for to win the victoric,
and honour, in that place.

Also when he speaketh of archers, he saith expresly, that one of them who invocated upon pollo, and praied unto him for helpe, had good fucceffe, and carried away the best prize; but the 20 other, who was fo proud, and would not call upon the god for his aid, miffed the marke & scope whereat he shot. Neither is it likely or credible, that the Athenians dedicated their publicke place of exercise, unto Apollo, for nothing, and without good cause; but surely thus they thought, that the fame God unto whom we are beholden for our health, giveth us also the force and strong disposition of bodie, to performe such games and feats of activitie. But whereas, fome combats there be, fleight and easie; others, hard and grievous: we finde in writing, that the Delphians facrificed unto Apollo, by the name of Pyctes, that is to fay, the champion at fiftfight: but the Candians and Lacedæmonians offered facrifice unto the fame God, furnamed, the Runner. And feeing as we do, that the maner is to prefent in his temple within the citie of Delphos, the primices or dedications of the spoiles and bootie gained from the enemies in war, 30 as also to confectate unto him the Trophees; is not this a great argument and testimonie, that in this God it lieth most to give the victorie and conquest? And as he went forward, and was minded to fay more, Cephil we the fonne of Theon, interrupted his speech, saying: These allegations (beleeve me) favour not of histories, nor of Cosmographicall books; but being fetched immediatly out of the minds of those Peripateticall discourses, are handled and argued probably to the purpole: and befides, whiles you take up the fabricke or engine, after the maner of tragedian plaiers, you intend as it thould feeme, to afright by intimating the name of Apollo, those that contradict and gainfay your opinions: and yet (as well beformeth his goodnesse and bountie) he is indifferent and alike affected unto all; in clemencie and benignitie: but we following the tracts & steps of Sofpin, who hathled us the way very well, keepe our felves to the date 40 tree, which afoordeth us sufficient matter to discourse thereof againe: for the Babylonians doc chaunt and fing the praises of this tree; namely, that it bringeth unto them three hundred and threescore forts of fundrie commodities; but we that are Greeks, have little or no profit thereby: howbeit, good philosophie may be drawen out of it, for the better instruction of champions and fuch as are to performe combats of prize, in that it beareth no fruit with us: for being a right goodly, faire, and very great tree, by reason of the good habit and disposition thereof, yet is it not here among us, fruitfull; but by this strong constitution that it hath, it imploieth and spendeth all nouriture to feed and fortifie the bodie, after the maner of champions, by their exercise, so as there remaineth but a little behinde, and the fame not effectuall for feed: over and above all this, one qualitie it hath, proper, and peculiar to it felfe alone, and that which agreeth not to any 50 other tree, the which I intend to thew unto you: For the woodie fubstance of this date tree aloft, if a man feeme to weigh and preffe downe with any heavie burden, it yeeldeth not, nor floupeth under the poise, but curbeth upward archwise, as withstanding that, wher with it is charged and preffed; and even fo it is with those combatants in facred games: for such as through feeblenesse of bodie, or faintnesse of heartseeme to yeeld, those, the said exercises doe bend and keepe under; but as many as froutly abide, not onely with their strong bodies, but also with magnanimous courage, these bethey that are raised up on high, and mount unto honour.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

What is the cause that they who saile upon the river Nilus, draw up water for their use, before day light?

Ne there was, who demanded upon a time the reason, why the water-men who saile and row upon the river Nilse, provided themselves of that water which they drinke, in the night, and not by day. Some faid, it was, because they feared the sunne, which by enchasting and heating the water, maketh it more subject to corruption and putrifaction : for whatsoever is 10 warmed or made hot, the fame is alwaies more ready and disposed to mutation, and doth soone alter, by relaxation of the proper and native qualitie that it hath: whereas colde, by reftreining, feemeth to conteine and keepe each thing in the owne kinde or nature; and water, especially. Now, for the trueth of this, that the coldnesse of water hath vertue to preserve, the snowe is a sufficient testimonic, which keepeth flesh a long time sweet, and without corruption; but contrariwife, heat causeth all things to goe out of their owne nature, yea, even honie it selfe; for being once boiled, marred it is; but if it continue raw, it not onely keepeth it selfe well enough, but helpeth to preserve other things; and for a further proofe of this matter, the water of lakes and pooles is a principall thing to confirme the same; for as potable it is, and as good to drinke in Winter, as any other waters; but in Summer, the same is starke naught, and breedeth diseases: 20 and therefore, fince the night answereth to Winter, and the day to Summer, those water men of Nilus abovefaid, are of this opinion: That water wil continue longer before it turne and corrupt, if it be drawen in the night feason. To these allegations, which of themselves seemed to catry probabilitie enough, reason also includeth as an evident & inartificiall proofe to strengthen and confirme the experience and beleefe of these water men; for they faid, that they drew water, whiles the river was yet still and quiet; for in the day time, many men either faile upon it, or otherwife, fetch water from it; many beafts also, passe to and fro in it; whereby it is troubled, thicke and muddie; and fuch water will foone putrifie: for whatfoever is mixed, more eafily taketh corruption, than that which is pure and fimple, confidering that mixture maketh a fight, and fight causeth change and alteration. Now, who knoweth northat putrifaction is a kinde 30 of mutation? which is the cause that painters call the mixtures of their colours, by the name of panen, that is to fay, corruptions; and the poet Homer, when he speaketh of dying, faith, they did μιθίναι, that is to fay, staine and infect: the common use also of our speech carrieth it, to call that which is unmixed and meere of it felfe, a esaprer to akneurer in akceurer, that is to fay, incorrupt and fincere: but principally, if earth be mingled with water, it changeth the qualitie, and marreth the nature of it quite for ever, for being potable and good to drinke: and therefore it is, that dormant and dead waters, which stand in hollow holes, are more subject to corruption than others, as being full of earthic fubftance; whereas, running streames escape this mixture, and repell the earth which is brought into them : good cause therefore, had Hesiodus to commend 40

The water of some lively spring, shat alwaies runnes his course, And which no muddie earsh among, doth trouble and make woorse.

For hollome we holde that which is uncorrupt; and uncorrupt we take that to be, which is all fimple, pure and unmixed: and hereto may be adjoined, for to confirme this opinion of theirs, the fundrie kinds and differences of earth: for those waters which run thorow hillie and stonic grounds, because they carrie not with them, much of the earth or soile, are stronger and more firme, than such as passe along marishes, plaines and state. Now the river Nilm keeping his course within a levell and soft countrey; and to speake more truely, being (as it were) bloud tempered and mingled with stell, is sweet doubtlesse, and full of juices that have a strong and nutrifered and disquieted; for the moving and agitation thereos, mixeth the terrestriall substance with the liquid humour; but when it is quiet and at repose, the same settleth downe to the bottome, by reason of the weight. Thus you see why they draw up their water in the night-season; and withall, by that meanes they prevent the sun-rising; which alwaies doth catch up and corrupt that which is in all waters most substille and light.

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THE SIXTH QUESTION.

Of those who come late to supper 3 where, discoursed it is, from whence be derived these names of refettions in Greeke daylanga, dusor, and disvor.

Y yonger fonnes upon a time had flaid longer at the theater, than they should, to see the Mights, and heare the eare sports which there were exhibited; by occasion whereof, they came too late to supper; whereupon Therm sonnes called them in mirth & sport xwavordtirres and to copperatus, as one would fay, supper-letting, and night-supping lads, with other such like names, but they, to be meet & quit with them againe, gave them the tearme of 35 5 xider 185, that is to fay, runners to supper. Heerewith one of the elder fort there present, said: That hee who came late to his supper, ought rather to be called 35 22 de 1700, because he maketh more haste with an extraordinary pace, for that he hath feemed to staic too long: to which purpose he related a pretie tearme of Battm, the buffon or pleasant jester to Casar, who was wont to call those, embrues distres, that is to fay, defirous of suppers, who at any time came tardie: For (quoth he) although they have businesse to call and keepe them away, yet for the love of good cheere and sweet morcels, they refuse not to come (late though it be) when soever they are invited. Heere came 1 in with the testimonie of Polycharmus, one of the great oratours, who managed the State of Athens: 20 in an oration of his, where making an apologie of his life unto the people in a frequent affembly he spake in this wise: Loe, my masters of Athens how I have lived: but besides manie other things which I have already alledged, take this moreover : that when loever I was bidden to any supper, I never came last, for this seemed to be very popular and plausible; whereas contrariwife, men are wont to hate them as odious persons, and furly lords, who come late, and for whom the rest of the companie are forced to staie. Then Sociarus willing to defend the young boies: But Alcaus (quothhe) called not Pittaeus, Zophodorpidas, because he supped late in the night, but for that it was ordinary with him to delight in none other guests, and table companions, but base, vile, and obscure persons; for to eat early or betimes, was in old time counted a reproch; and it is faid, that this word areanous, that is to fay, a breakefast, was derived of 30 alegna, that is to fay, intemperance. Then Theon intetrupting his speech : Not so (quoth he) but we must give credit rather unto those who report the auncient manner of life in old time: for they fay, that men in those daies being laborious, painfull, and temperate in their living withal, tooke for their repast early in the morning, apiece of bread dipped in wine, and no other thing, and therefore they called this breakfast of theirs, Acrasisma, of Acraton, which is meere and pure wine: and as for open, it fignifieth those viands which were prepared for repail in the evening; for 4, betokeneth late in the evening, at what time their manner was to suppe; namely, after they had dispatched their other affaires. Heere occasion was given to demaund from whence were derived these words Actavov, that is to say, supper, and exists, dinner: and thought it was that Arifon and Acratisma, fignified both one thing: and for proofe heereof, they repor-40 ted them to Homer, who faith: That Eumans provided Ariston by the breake of day, as appecreth by this verse:

No sooner did day light appeere, But they prepared their owne * dinner.

And it feemeth very probable that this repair deson, tooke the name of the morne-tide, and is as much to fay, as dupton, now for the refection called Act aron, that is to fay, supper, it was so called, in the name of the morne-tide, because it gave repose from their labours; for men used to take their supper after they had done some businesse, or else in the very time that they were about the same; this also may be showed by the tellimonie of Homer, who saith:

But what time as the woodman minding rest,

o From hewing trees, his supper some had drest.

unlesse a man wil haply say, that Ariston, that is to say, a dinner or breakfast, tooke that name, because solke solke use to dine or breake their fast, with that which first came to their hands, without any labour or dressing thereof in the kitchin and Actives, that is to say, supper was so called, because there was some labour emploied abour the dressing thereof; and therefore apress, is as much to say, as posses, that is to say, very easily, and some provided; but Actives, as one would say, a diamental was given to so, done with much paine and travell. But out brother Lampings, who naturally was given to scotling, and loved a life to be merry and to laught. Since that (quoth hee) we are

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allowed so great libertic for to prate thus and talke so idlely as we doe, I am able to proove unto you, that the Romane words are ten thousand times more properly devised, and expresse these things better than the Greeke: for they called a supper, Cana, which is as much as word; for the good fellowship and companie of those that supped (as it were) in common together: for the olde Romans, howfoever they dined or brake their fast ordinarily by themselves alone, yet they supped ever with their friends about them. Now their dinner, they called, Prandium, of the houre or time thereof, as if they would fay mer endion; for endion is as much as Sunavor, that is to fay, morning or noone-tide at the farthest; and to repose or rest after dinner, is expressed by the word or Jinkers or els perhaps, Prandium fignifieth a breakefast or morning repast, when as men do eat before they be enders, that is to fay, before they have any need or want of victuals : and 10 now to fay nothing of many things, which they expresse by meere Greeke words; as for example, how they call beds, Strata, of spolutar; wine, Vinum, of or o ; oile, Oleum, of water; hony, Mel, of μέλι; to tafte, Guffare, of γένουδς; to drinke one unto another, Propinare, of σεσπάν; who can denie, but their word, Comessatio, that is to say, Banqueting, is derived of our Greeke word κωμός; and Miscere, that is to say, to temper and mixe wine, of well ar in Greeke? for thus saith Homer: She tooke the cup, and once againe,

In it he tempered pleafant wine.

also a table, they called Mensa, because it stood is wise, that is to say, in the mids; and bread, Panis, for that it flaked reiver, that is to fay, hunger; also a chaplet or garland of flowers, Corona, of the word region, an helmet, or region, the head; for in one place, Homer called an helmet or 20 head piece, mean, that is to fay, Corona, a coronet; likewife, Cadere, that is to fay, to beat or kill, of New; and Dentes, that is to fay, teeth of odorres; and last of all, Labra, that is to fay lips, of raceir Boyder, that is to fay, receiving and taking in meat with them. To conclude therefore, either we are to heare such derivations as these, without laughing thereat; or els we must not give them to easic accesse (as it were by undermining) unto words, as unto walles; partly to overthrow and beat downe some, and in part to batter and breake others.

THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

Of certaine Pythagorean precepts, forbidding in any wife to admit swallowes into the house, and 30 commanding to ruffle the bed-clothes, so soone as aman is risen.

Tlla of Carthage,upon my returne to Rome, after I had bene long absent, invited me to a supper for my welcome home; for fo the Romans tearmed such a courtesie; and to beare mee companie, he bad other friends, and those not many in number; among who was one Lusius of Tuskane, a disciple of the Pythagorean philosopher, Moderatus: this Lucius perceiving that our Philinus did eat of nothing which ever had life (as the usuall maner of him and other Pythagoreans was to doe) fell into speech as touching Pythagoras himselfe, and affirmed that a Tuskane he was not as some others, because his father, and his ancestours, were Tuskans, from whom he was descended; but for that he was himselfe borne, reared, brought up, and taught in Tuf-40 kine; which he proved principally, by certeine fymbolicall and allegoricall precepts of his; as for example, among others, that he commanded those who were new risen out of their beds, to russile the clothes together; also that the print of a pot or cauldron, should not be left upon the afhes, after it is taken away, but that the afhes ought to be flirred together; item, that no swal-* For Philome- lowes should be admitted into the house; likewise, that no man should step over a besome, nor keepe within house; those creatures which had hooked clawes: For these rules, and such like fame) into a (quoth he) which the Pythagoreans deliver in word, and fet downe in writing, the Tuskans onfwallow who ly observe and keepe in deed. Which when Lucius had faid, strange it was thought, and absurd above the rest, to chase and keepe out of the house, fillie swallowes, harmelesse and gentle creato kel her own tures, as well as those that have crooked clees, which are the most bloudy and cruell of all others: 50 child, by Te- for whereas some ancient interpreters gave the solution and exposition onely, as if covertly it it up before implied thus much, that we should avoid the companie of secret whisperers, backbiters and slanhistas addh derers; Lucius himselte approoved not thereof; for the swallow whispereth not at all; it chattethe bond, for reth in deed and talketh (as one would fay) loud enough; and yet not more than pies, partridges and hennes. But what thinke you by this (quoth Sylla) that in regard of the tale that goes defloured the of Progne, who killed her young some Itys, they hate * swallowes for that abominable act, and therefore would feeme to cause us for to detestia fatte off, such infamouscales, for which they

fay, both Terem and the women, partly did perpetrate, & in part fuffered horrible and unlawfull things; whereupon, to this very day, these birds be called Daulides? But Gorgias the sophistics. by occasion that a swallow mewted over his head, and squirted her dung upon him, looking up unto her: Thefebe no faire casts (quoth he) Philomela; or is this also common to the rest a for the Pythagoreans doe not exclude or banish out of house the nightingale, * which bearetha * For Prope part in the fame tragedies, and is faultie with the rest. Peradventure (quoth I then) there is as (as the take much reason in the one as the other (ô Sylla;) but consider, and see whether the swallow be not included odious and infamous with them for the fame cause, that they reject and wil not enterteine those Sections u creatures which have hooked tallons; for the likewife feedeth upon fleth, and befides, killeth Comes Across 10 and devouresh especially, grashoppers, which are facred and musicall: moreover, the flieth between the close by the ground, hunting and catching little fillie creatures (as Aristotle faith) furthermore, the is the onely creature of all the other, that be under the fame rouse with us, which lodgeth there of free cost, living without contributing ought, or paying anyrent : yet the ftorke which hath no covert by our house, nor warmth by our fire, ne yet enjoieth any benefit, pleasure, or helpe at all by our meanes, giveth us otherwhiles some tribute and custome (as it were) for marching onely upon the ground; for up and downe fhe goes, killing toades and ferpents, mortall enemies to mankind, and lying in wait for our lives; whereas the fivallow having all those commodities at our hands, no tooner hath nourished her young ones, and brought them to fome perfection, but away the goes and is no more to beleene, to difloial and 20 unthankfull the is: and that which of all others is worst, the flie and the swallow bee the onely creatures haunting our houles as they doe, that never will be tamed, nor fuffer a man to touch and handle them, nay they will not admit any fellowship, societie, or communion with him, either in worke or play: the flie indeed hath some reason to be afraid of us, for that the sustaineth harme by us, and is chafed and driven away fo often: but the swallow hateth man naturally, the will not trust him, but remaineth alwaies suspicious and untained: now if wee are to take these and fuch like speeches, not directly according to the litterall sense, and as the words onely doe implie, but rather by way of an oblique reflexion, as the refemblances of things appearing in others: certes Pythagoras propofeth unto us heerein, the very pattern of an unthankfull and faithlesse person, admonishing us not to receive unto our familiar acquaintance and amitie, 30 those who for the time, and to serve their owne turne, draw necre unto us, and retire themselves under the roufe of our houfe, and that we ought not to make them inward with us, communicating with them, our house, our domesticall altar, and those things which are in stead of most facred obligations. When I had thus faid, it feemed that I had given the companie encouragement and affurance to speake, for they began boldly to apply unto the other symbolical precepts, their morall expositions: And Philinus for his part said, that in commaunding to confound the forme of the pot or cauldron imprinted in the albes, they taught us this leffon, not to leave any marke or apparent impression of anger; but after it hath once done boiling what it will, and is fetled and cooled againe, to ridde away all ranckor and malice, yea and to burie all in perpetual oblivion. As for the shuffling of the bed clothes together, when we are newly ri-40 fen, some thought there was no hidden matter meant thereby, but signified onely, that it was not feemely or honeft, that the marke or print in the bed should remaine as an expresse image to be seene, of the place, wherein man and wife had lien together: But Sylla guessed otherwise and conjectured that heerein was conteined a dehortation to divert us from fleeping on bed in the day time, when as even in the very morning the preparation and meanes to fleepe was fo immediately taken away: for that we ought to take our rest and repose in the night, but in the day time to be stirring and about our businesse, not suffring to remaine in our beds so much as the tract of our bodie; for a man lying affeepe, is good for nothing, no more than when he is dead: and heereto seemeth to allude and accord, another precept of the Pythagoreans which they give unto their friends, forbidding them not to ease any man of his burden, but rather to 50 lay on more, and feeme to furcharge him still, as not approoving any floth or idlenesse whatfoever: now for that during these discourses, Lucius neither approoved nor disprooved ought that was faid, but fat still, heard all, faid nothing, and pondered every thing in himselfe: Empedocles calling unto Sylla by name, faid as followeth! 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THE EIGHTH QUESTION.

Why the Pythagoreans, among all other troing creatures, absteine most from eating fish.

[1. Lucius our friend (quoth he)be offended, or take no pleafure in our fayings, it is high time I that we should give over and make an end : but if these things fall within the compasse of their precept for filence; yet this I thinke ought not to be concealed, but may well be revealed and communicated unto others, namely: What the reason is that the Pythagoreans absteined principally from eating fifth ? for for much we finde written of the auncient Pythagoreans: and 10 I my telle have fallen into the company and conference of certaine disciples of Alexierates, aman of our time; who fedde a little fometimes of other living creatures, yea and factificed them unto the gods; but for no good in the world would they fo much as tafte of a fifth: not as I take it for that cause which Tyndares the Lacedæmonian alledged, who thought that this was tione for the honour they had to filence 3 in regard whereof, the philosopher Empedocles whole name I heare, who was the first that ceased to teach Pythagorically, that is to say, to give rules and precepts of hidden wifedome, calleth fiftes Ellopas, as having ruin one to anagolius, that is to fay, their voice tied and shut up within; but for they thought, tacitum itie to be a singular and divine thing, and in one word, that even the gods themselves doe shew by deeds and effects, without voice or speech unto wife men, what their will and pleasure is: Then Lucius mildely and simply 20 antwered: That the true cause indeed might peradventure lie hidden still and not be divulged: howbeit, there is nothing to hinder or let us, but that we may render one reason or other which carieth with it fome likelihood & probability: fo Theon the grammarian began first to discourse upo that point faying: it was very difficult to shew & prove that Pythagoras was a Tuskan born 3 but for certaine knowen it was, that he had made his abode a long time in Acgret, & converted with the fages of that countrey, where he approoved, embraced, and highly extolled manie of their religious ceremonies, and namely, that astouching beanes: for Herodotus writeth, that the Aegyptians neither fowe, nor eat beanes, no nor can abide fo much as to looke upon them: and as for fitties, we are affured that their priefts, even at this day, absteine from them, and living as they doe, chalte and unmaried, they refule falt likewife; neither will they endure to eat 30 it as a meat by it lelfe, nor any other viands wherein any fea falt commeth; whereof divers men alledge divers & fundry reasons; but there is one true cause indeed, & that is the enmittie which they beare unto the fea, as being a favage element, a meere alien, & estranged frous, or to speak more truely, a mortall enimie to mans nature; for the gods are not nourished therewith, as the Stoicks were of opinion: that the flarres were fed from thence: but contrariwife, that in it was loft the father and faviour of that countrey of Aegypt, which they call the deflux or running out of Ofiris, and in lamenting his generation on the right hand, and corruption on the left, covertly they give us to understand, the end and perdition of Wilm in the sea: In which confideration, they are of opinion, that lawfull it is not, once to drinke of the water, as being not potable; neither docthey thinke, that any thing which it breedeth, bringeth foorth, or nourisheth, is 40 cleane and meet for man; confidering that the fame hath not breath and respiration common with us, nor food and patture agreeable unto ours; for that the very aire which nourisheth and mainteineth all other living creatures, is pernicious and deadly unto them, as if they were engendred first, and lived afterward in this world against the course of nature, and for no use at all: and marvell we must not, if for the hatred they beare unto the sea, they hold the creatures therein, as strangers, and neither meet nor worthy to be intermingled with their bloud or vitall spirits: feeing, they will not deigne so much as to falute any pilots or mariners when soever they meet with them, because they get their living upon the sea.

Sylla commending this diffeourfe, added moreover, as touching the Pythagoreans, that when they faculticed unto the gods, they would especially tast of the primices or parcels of siesh which 50 they hadkilled: but never was there any fifth that they facrificed or offred unto the gods. Now when they had finished their speech, I came in with mine opinion : As for those Aegyptians (quoth I) many men there be as well learned, as ignorant, who contradict them, & plead in the behalfe and defence of the fearrecounting the manifold commodities thereof, whereby our life is more plentifull, pleasant, and happie: as touching the furcease as it were of the Pythagoreans, and their fortearing to lay hand upon fishes, because they are such strangers unto us, it is a very abfurd and ridiculous device; or to fay more truely, it is a cruell and inhumane part, and

favoring much of a barbarous Cyclops, feeing that to other living creatures they render a reward and recompence, for their kinred, coulenage and acquaintance, by killing, eating, and confuming them as they doe: and verily reported it is of Pythagoras, that upon a time hee bought of the fifthers a draught of fifth; and when he had to done, commaunded that they should be all let out of the net into the sea againe: surely this was not the act of a man, who either hated or despised fishes as his enemies or strangers; considering that finding them prisoners as he did, he paid for their raunsome, and redeemed their liberty, as if they had bene his kinssolke & good friends: and therefore the humanitie, equitie, and mildnesse of these men, induceth us to thinke and imagine cleane contrary, that it was rather for some exercise of justice, or to keepe them-10 felves in ure and cultome thereof, that they spared and pardoned those sea-creatures, for that al others, give men cause in some sort to hurt them; whereas poore fishes offend us in no maner: and fay their nature and will were so disposed, yet cannot they execute the same: moreover, conjecture we may and collect, by the reports, records, and facrifices of our auncients, that they thought it an horrible & abominable thing, not onely to cat, but also to kill any beast that doth no hurt or damage unto us: but feeng in processe of time how much pestered they were, with a number of beafts that grew upon them, and overspred the face of the earth; and withall being as it is faid, commaunded by the oracle of Apollo at Delphos, to fuccour the fruits of the earth, which were ready to perish; they began then to kill them for facrifice unto the gods: yet in fo doing, they feemed to tremble and feare, as troubled in minde, calling this their action 20 Folew and figur, that is to fay, to doe or perpetrate, as if they did, and committed fome great deed in killing a creature having life; and even still at this day they observe a ceremony with all religious precisenesse, not to massacre any beast before it hath given a nod with the head, after the libations and effusions of wine upon it, in figure and token of confent; fo strict they were and wary to committo unjustact. Certes, to say nothing of other beatls, if all men had forborne to kill and eat no more, but pullen and conies, within short time they should not have been able to have dwelt within their townes or cities, nor enjoied any fruits of the earth: & therefore although necessitie at the first had brought in the use of eating stess; a very hard matter it were now, in regard of pleafure, to put down & abolifh the fame: whereas the whole kind of fea-creatures using neither the same aire and water with us, nor comming necre unto our fruits, but be-30 ing (as a man would faie) comprised within another world, & having diffinet bounds and limits of their owne, which they cannot paffe, but immediatly it collects them their life, for punishment of their trespasse, giveth unto our belly none occasion or pretence at all, more or lesse, to runne upon them: fo that the whole hunting, catching, and running after fifth, is a manifelt worke of gourmandife and daintie feeding; which without any just or lawfull cause, troubleth & disquieteth the seas, and descendeth into the very bottome of the deepe; for we have no reafon at any time to call the red fea-barbell мивотнея, that is to fay, corne devourer; nor the guilthead 2507 112 2005, that is to fay, vine wafter, or grape eater, nor yet any mullets, lubins, or feapikes, σπερμολόγωs, that is to fay, feed gatherers, as we name divers land bealts, noting them thereby for the harme and annoiance they doe unto us: neither can we impute unto the greatest fish 40 in the fea, the least wrong or shrewd turne, wherewith wee charge, in our exceeding neerenesse and parfimonie, some cator wezill, a * mouse, or rat which haunt our houses: in which regard, when a die. they precifely contemning themselves, not for feare of law onely, to doe wrong unto men, but also by the very instinct of nature, to offer no injurie unto any thing in the world that doth them no harme, nor displeasure, used to feed on fish lesse than on any other meat: & admit there were no injustice in the thing, all busic curiofitie of men in this point, being so needlesse as it is, bewraieth great intemperance and wastfull gluttony: and therefore Homer in his poeme deviseth this, that not onely the Greeks encamping upon the streight of Hellespont, absteined wholy from eating fish, but also that the delicate and daintie toothed Phæacians, the wanton and licorous woers likewise of lady Penelope, dissolute though they were otherwise, and all 50 islanders were never served at their tables with any viands or cates from the sea: no nor the companions of ul/fies in that great and long voiage of theirs which they had at fea, ever laid hooke, leape, or weele, or call net into the sea for fish, so long as they had a bit of bread, or handfull of meale left:

But when their ship had vittailes none, But all therein was spent and gone.

even a little before that they laid hands upon the kowes of the funne, then began they to fish; not iwis for any deintie dishes, but even for necessary food: With

With bended hookes, for now their maw, Great hunger bit, and guts did gnaw.

So that for extremenced they were forced to eat fifth, and to kill the funnes kine: whereby wee may perceive that it was a point of fanctimonic and chaftitie, not onely among the Aegyptians and Syrians, but the Greeks alfo, to forbeare feeding upon fifth; for that befide the injuffice of the thing, they abhorred as I thinke, the superfluous curiositie of such food.

Heereupon Neftor tooke occasion to speake : And why (quoth he) is there no reckoning made of my countrey-men and fellow-citizens, no more than of the Megarians? and yet you have heard me to fay often times, that the priests of Neptune, whom we call Hieromnemones, never eat fish : for this god is furnamed Phytalmios, that is to fay, the Prefident of breeding and 10 generation in the sea and the race descending from that ancient Hellen, sacrificed unto Neptune, by the name and addition of Patrogeneios, that is to fay, the flock-father and principall Progenitour, being of opinion, that man came of a moist and liquid substance, as also, be the Syrians; which is the very cause that they worship and adore a fish, as being of the same kinde, generation, and nouriture with themselves; philosophizing and arguing in this point, with more apparence and shew of reason, than Anaximander did, who affirmed not, that men and fishes were bred both in the same places; but avouched that men were first engendred within fishes themselves, and there nourished like their yoong frie; but afterward, when they became sufficient and able to thift and helpe them, they were cast footth, and so tooke land: like as therefore, the fire cateth the wood, whereby it was kindled and fet a burning, though it were father and mother 20 both unto it ; according as he faid, who inferted the marriage of * Ceyx among the works of Hefodus; even so Anaximander in pronouncing, that fish was both father and mother unto men, taxeth and condemneth the feeding thereupon.

THE NINTH QUESTION.

Whether it be possible, that new diseases may be engendred by our meats?

Philo the physician constantly affirmed, that the leprosie, called Elephantiasis, was a disease not known long since; for that none of the ancient physician and the second size of the second siz not knowen long fince; for that none of the ancient physicians made any mention of this 20 maladie; whereas they travelled and busied their braines, to treat of other small trisling matters, (I wot not what) and yet fuch fubrilties as the common fort could hardly comprehend. But I produced and alledged unto him for a witnesse out of philosophie, Athenodorus, who in the first booke of his Epidemiall or popular diseases, writeth, that not onely the said leprosie, but also Hydrophobie, that is to fay, the feare of water, occasioned by the biting of a mad dogge, were first discovered in the daies of Afelepiades: now as the companie there present, marvelled that these maladies should newly then begin, and take their consistence in nature; so they wondered as much on the other fide, how so great and grievous diseases could be hidden so long, and unknowen to men: howbeit, the greater part inclined rather to this fecond & later opinion, as being more respective and favourable to man; for that they could not be perswaded, that nature 40 in such cases thould in mans bodie (as it were in some citie) studie novelties, and be evermore inventing and working new matters. As for Diogenianus, he faid, that the passions and maladies of the foule, held on their common course, and went the accustomed way still, of their predeceffours: And yet (quoth he) wickednesse is very manifold in fundry forts, and exceeding audacious, to enterprise any thing: and the mind is a mistresse of herselfe, and at her owne command; having puissance to turne and change easily as she thinketh good: and yet that disordinate confusion of hers, hath some order in it; keeping a measure in her passions, and conteining herfelfe within certeine bounds, like as the fea, in the flowings and tides; in fuch fort, as that the bringeth forth no new kinde of vice, such as hath not bene knowen unto those in oldetime, and of which they have not written: for there being many different forts of lufts and defires; infinite 50 motions of feare, as many kinds of paine, and no fewer formes of pleasure; which would require great labout to reckon up, and not to give over.

These neither now nor yesterday

Began; but all have lived ay:

And no man knowes, nor can say well,

Since when they siyst so men befell.

nor yet wheteupon any new maladie or moderne passion hatharisen in our body; considering

it hath not of it felfe the beginning of motion properly as the foule hath, but is knit and conjuined with nature by common causes, and composed with a certeine temperature: the infinite varietie whereof, wandereth notwithstanding within the pourprise of set bounds and limits; like unto a veffell which lying at anchor in the fea, nevertheleffe doth wave, and is toffed within a round compasse: for neither the settled constitution of a disease is without some cause, bringing into the world irregularly and against all law of nature, a generation and power from that which hath no being at all: nor an easie matter is it for a man to finde out a new cause, unlesse withall, he do fet downe a new aire, strange water, and such meats as our forefathers never tasted of, imagining, that they are run hither to us now and never before, out of (I wot not what) other 10 worlds; or imaginatic inter-worlds and spaces betweene; for sicke wee fall by meanes of the fame things whereof we live; and no peculiar and proper feeds there be of diseases; but the naughtinesse and corruption of such things whereby wee live, in regard of us, and our owner faults and errours befides, about them, are they which trouble and offend nature: thefe troubles have perpetually the fame differences, though the fame many times take new names; for these names are according to the ordinance and custome of men; but the maladies themselves are the affections of nature: and to those diseases of themselves finite, being varied & diversified by these names infinite, have deceived and beguiled us: and as there is not lightly and upon a fudden, committed in the Grammaticall parts of speech, or in the Syntaxis, and construction thereof, any new barbarisme, solæcisme, or incongruitie; even so the temperatures of mens bo-20 dies, have their falles, errours and transgressions, which be certeine and determinate, considering that in fome fort, even those things which are against nature, be comprised and included in nature: and this is it, that the wittie inventers and devifers of fables, would fignific in faying: That when the giants made warre against the gods, there were ingendred certeine strange and monstrous creatures every way, at what time as the moone was turned cleane contrary, and arofe not as the was wont: and verily, their meaning was, that nature produced new maladies, like unto monsters, but withall, imagine and devise a cause of such change and alteration, that is neither probable nor yet incredible; but pronouncing and affirming, that the augmentation more or leffe of some difeases, causeth that newnesse and diversitie in them, which is not well done of them (my good friend Philo:) for this intention and augmentation may well adde 30 thereto frequencie and greatneffe; but furely it transporteth not the subject thing out of the first and primitive kinde: and thus I suppose the leprose or Elepantiasis to be nothing els, but the vehemencie of these scurvic and scabbie infections; as also the Hydrophobie, or vaine search of water, no other but an augmentation of the paffions of ftomacke or inclancholie: and verily, a woonder it were, that we should not know how Homer was not ignorant hereof; for this is certeine, that he called a dogge worn ries, of this raging accident whereto he is subject : and hereupon men alfo, when they are in a rage, be faid likewife Aussir. When Dingenianus had thus difcoursed, Philo himselfe, both seemed somewhat to answere and refute his reasons; and also requested me to speake in the behalfe of the ancient physicians, who were thus challenged and condemned for their ignorance or negligence in these principall matters, in case it were true, 40 that these maladies were not of a later breed and more moderne than their age. First therefore, it feemed unto me, that Diogenianus put not this well downe for a good supposall, that tensions and relaxations, according to more or leffe, make no differences, nor remove the fubject matters out of their kinde: for by this meanes we should likewise say, that vineger differed not from wine that is fouring, nor bitterneffe from flyplicitie or foureneffe, nor darnell from wheat, ne yet garden mints from the wilde mint: but evident it is, that these do degenerate, yea, and become altered in their very qualities; partly by relaxations, as the things doe languish and lose their heart; and in part, by tenfion, as they be reenforced, and take vigor: for otherwife, we must be forced to fay, that the flame differeth not from a white or cleere winde, nor a light from a flame, nor frost from dew, nor haile from raine; but that all these be but the inforcements onely and 50 tentions of the fame things; and to conftantly we shall be driven to affirme, that blindnesse and dimme fight differ not, and inordinate paffion of vomiting, called Cholera, is nothing different from a keckish stomacke and a defire to cast, but onely according to augmentation and diminution, more or leffe: and all this is nothing to the purpose; for if they admit and say, that this very tension and augmentation in vehemencie, came but now of late, as if this noveltie were occasioned by the quantitie and not the qualitie, yet the absurdation of the paradox remaineth nevertheleffe: moreover, seeing that Sophoeles (speaking of those things, which because they had not bene in times past, men would not beleeve to be at this present) said very well in this wife:

All kind of things both good and bad, Once at the fir ft their being had.

This also seemeth very probable and to stand with great reason, that maladies ran not forth all at once, asifthe barriers had bene fet open for the race, and they let out together: but some came alwaies successively behinde at the taile of others, and each one tooke the first beginning at a certaine time: And a man may well conjecture and gueffe (quoth 1) that fuch as a rose of want and indigence, as also those that came of heat and colde, were the first that affailed our bodies; but repletions, gluttonies, and delicate pleasures, came afterwards together with floth and idlenesse; which by reason of abundance of victuals, caused great store of superfluities and excrements, from whence proceeded fundry forts of maladies; the complication whereof and intermixture 10 one with another, bringeth evermore fome new thing or other: for every naturall thing, is orderly, and limited; because that nature is nothing els but order it selfe, or at leastwise the worke of order: whereas diforder (like to the same that Pindarus speaketh of) is infinit, and can not be comprised within any certeine number; so that whatsoever is unnaturall, the same immediatly is unlimited and infinit: for, the trueth we can not deliver but one way; marie to lie, a man may finde an infinit number of meanes, by occasion of innumerable occurrents; also accords muficall and harmonies, stand upon their certeine proportions; but the errours that men commit in playing upon the harpe or other instrument, in fong, and in dauncing, who is able to comprehend? although Phrynichus the tragedian poet said of himselfe thus:

20

Induunce I finde as many forts And formes of geftures and disports, As waves in fea, and billowes strong Arife by tempest all night long.

And Chrysippu writeth that the divers complications of ten profitions, which they call Axioms, and no more, furmount the number of ten hundred thousand but Hipparchus reprooved this, and taught that the affirmative doth conteine of connexed propolitions, one hundred thousand, and besides, one thousand fortie and nine; but the negative of the same propositions comprehendeth three hundred and ten thousand, with a surplusage of nine hundred, fiftie and two: and Xenocrates hath fet downe, that the number of fyllables, which the letters in the alphabet, being coupled and combined together, do affoord, amount to the number of one hundred 30 millions, and two hundred thousand over: why should it therefore bee thought strange and wonderfull, that our body having in it fo many faculties, and gathering still daily, by that which it eateth and drinketh, so many different qualities, considering withall, that it useth motions and mutations, which keepe not one time nor the fame order alwaies; the complications and mixtures of formany things together, bring evermore new and unufuall kinds of maladies, fuch as Thueydides wrot, was the peltilence at Athens, conjecturing that this was no ordinarie and usuall maladie, by this especially, for that the beasts of prey, which otherwise did eat of flesh, would not touch a dead bodie : those also who fell ficke about the red sea (as Agathireides maketh report) were afflicted with strange symptomes and accidents, which no man had ever read or seene, and among others, that there crawled from them certeine vermin like small serpents, which did eat 40 the calves of their legs and the brawnes of their armes 3 and looke whenfoever a man thought to touch them, in they would againe, and winding about the muskles of the flesh, ingendered inflammations and impostumes with intolerable paine. This pestilent disease, no man ever knew before, neither was it ever feene fince by others, but by them alone, like as many other fuch accidents; for there was a man who having beene a long time tormented with the diffurie or difficultie of his urine, delivered in the end by his yard, a barley straw knotted as it was with joints: and we know a friend and guest of ours, a yoong man, who together with a great quantitie of naturall feed, cast foorth a little hairie worme or vermin with many feet, and therewith it ranne very swiftly : Aristotle writeth also, that the nourse of one Timon of Cilicia, retired her selfe for two moneths space every yeere, and lurked in a certeine cave all the while, without drinke 50 or meat, or giving any other apparence of life, but onely that shee tooke her breath: certes recorded it is in the Melonian books, that it is a certeine figne of the liver diseased, when the ficke partie is verie busie in spying, seeking, and chasing the mice and rats about the house; a thing that now a daies is not seene: let us not marvell therefore, if a thing be now engendred that never was seene before, and the same afterward cease as if it had never beene; for the cause lieth in the nature of the bodie, which sometime taketh one temperature, and one while another: but if Diogemanus bring in a new aire, and a strange water, let him alone, seeing

he is so disposed: and yet we know well that the followers of Democritus both say, and write, that by the worlds which perith without this, and by the straunge bodies which from that infinitie of worlds runne into this, there arise many times the beginnings of plague and petitlence, yea and of other extraordinarie accidents: we will passe over likewise the particular corruptions which happen in divers countries, either by earthquakes, excessive droughts, extreme heats, and unufuall raines, with which it cannot be chosen, but that both winds and rivers which arise out of the earth, must needs be likewise infected, diseased, and altered: but howfoever those causes wee let goe by, yetomit we must not, what great alterations and changes be in our bodies, occasioned by our meats and viands, and other diet and usage of our selves; To for many things which before time were not wont to bee tafted or caten, are become now most pleafant dainties; as for example; the drinke made of honie and wine; as also the delicate dith of a farrowing fwines shape or wombe; as for the braine of a beast, it is faid, that in old time they were wont to reject and call it from them, yea, and so much to detest and abhorre it, that they would not abide to heare one to name it; and for the cucumber, the melon or pompion, the pomeeitron and pepper, I know many oldfolke at this day, that cannot away with their tafte: credible it is therefore ithat our bodies receive a woonderfull change and strange alteration by such things in their temperature, acquiring by little and little a divers qualitie, and superfluitie of excrements farre different from those before: semblably wee are to believe that the change of order in our viands, maketh much heereto; for the services at 20 the boord, which in times pastwere called the colditables, to wit, of oisters, sea-urchings, greene fallads of raw lettuce, & fuch other herbs, be as it were the light forerunners of the featt, as transferred now by Plate, from the rereward to the forefront, and have the first place, whereas before in old time, they came in last: a great matter there is also in those beavers or fore-drinkings called Propomata; for our ancients would not drinke fo much as water before they did eat; and now a daies, when as men are otherwise fasting & have eat nothing, they will be in maner drunke, & after they have well drenched their bodies, they begin to fall unto their meats, and whiles they be yet boiling, they put into the stomacke those things that bee attenuant, incifive and sharpe, for to provoke and stirre up the appetite, and still fill themselves up full with other viands: but none of all this hath more power to make mutation in our bodies, nor to breed new maladies, 20 than the varietie of fundry fashions, of bathing of flesh: for first & formost it is made soft, liquid, and fluid as iron is by the fire, and afterwards it receiveth the temper and tincture of hard fleele, by cold water: fo that me thinks if any one of those who lived a little before us should see the dore of our flouphes and baines open, he might fay thus:

Heere into runneth Acheron, And fire-like burning Phlegethon,

Whereas in our forefathers daies, they used their bathes and hot-houses, so milde, so kinde, and temperate: that king Alexander the Great, being in a fever, lay and slept within them: yea the Gaules wives, bringing thither their pots of pottage, and other viands, did eat even there with their children, who bathed together with them: but it seemeth in these daies, that those who are within the stouphes and baines, be like unto those that are raging madde, and barke as dogs, they pusse and blike sed swine, they lay about them and to sleevery way; the aire that they draw in, as it were mingled with fire & water, sufferent no piece nor corner of the body in quiet and rest, it shaketh, tosseth, and remooveth out of place, the least indivisible parcell thereof, until such time as we come to quench and allay the same thus instanted and boiling as they doe: There is no need therefore of Diogenianus (quoth I) of sorten and sare fetched causes from without, neither of those new worlds and intervals betweene: for to goe no further than to our selves, the very change onely of the sastion of our dier, is a sufficient meanes both to breed, and also to abolish and cause to ease any maladie in us.

THE TENTH QUESTION.

What is the reason that we take least heed of dreames in the end of Autumne, and give small credit unto them?

Florus lighting upon physicall problemes or naturall questions of Arislotle, which were brought to Thermopyle, for to passe the time away, filled both himselfewith many doubts, as ordinarily men do, who are by nature studious, and also put as many into the heads of others, giving testimony heerein to Arislotle who saith: That much knowledge breedeth many occa-

fions of doubt; as for other questions, they afforded unto us no unpleasant pastime and recreation, in the day time as we walked in the galleries abroad; but that probleme concerning dreams, (namely, that they be uncertein, lying, & falle, especially during those moneths whe trees shed their leaves) was let on foot again (I wot no thow) after supper by Phavorings, when he had done with other discourses: As for your familiar companions my children, they were of opinion, that Ariftotle, himselfe had fufficiently solved the question, & there needed no farther enquirie into the matter, nor any speech more to be made thereof, but even to attribute the cause, as he did, to the new gathered fruits of that feafon: for being as they were, fresh and greene still in their ftrength and full of vigour, they engendred in our bodies many ventofities and bred much trouble and agitation in the humours: for likely it is not, that new wine alone doth worke, 10 boile, and chaufe, nor that oile onely, being new drawen and preffed, yeeldeth a noife as it burneth in lampes, by occasion that the heat causeth the windinesse and spirit thereof to evaporate and walme out : but we fee that come also newly inned, & all fruits of trees presently upon their gathering, are plumpe, full, and swelled againe, untill such time as they have exhaled foorth all that is flatuous, and breathed out the crudities thereof: now that there be certeine meates that cause troublesome dreames, and engender turbulent visions and fansies in our sleepe, they brought in and alledged for their tellimony the instance of beanes, and the head of the pulpe or pour-cuttle fish, which they are bidden to absteine from, who would divine and foreshew things that come by dreames. As for Phavorinus, howfoever he was himfelfe at all times wonderfully affected & addicted to Aristotle, and one who attributed unto the Peripateticks schole 20 this fingular commendation, that their doctrine caried more probabilitie and refemblance of the truth, than other philosophers whatsoever; yet at this present he came out with an old rustie reason of Democritus, taken out of the smoake (where it had gathered a deale of thicke soot) for to furbish, scoure, and make it bright againe: for this was the vulgar opinion which Democritus put downe for a supposition: That certeine images doe enter and pierce deepe into our bodies thorough the pores, which as they rife againe from the bottome, cause those visions which appeare unto us as we fleepesthat these came out of al parts wandering, as presented from utenfils, habillements, & plants, but principally from living creatures, for that they moove & stir much, and befides are hot, having not onely the expresse similatudes and fundry formes of bodies imprinted in them, as Epicurus thinketh (who thus farre foorth followeth Democritus, and leaveth 30 him there) but also drawing therewith the apparences of the motions of the minde, of counsel, of usual milde affections, as also of vehement passions, wherewith they entring in, doe speake as if they were living things, and distinctly catie unto those that receive the same, the opinions, the words, the discourses and affections of such as transmit the same, if in their entrance they reteinestill the expresse and nothing confused; which they doe especially, all while that their way and paffage thorough the aire, cleere and united, is speedy, quicke, and not empeached by any hinderance: confidering than, that the aire of the Autumnall quarter, in the end when as trees doe cast their leaves, hath much asperitie and inequalitie, it turneth aside and putterth by divertly those images, causing their evidence to be feeble and transitorie, as being darkened by the tardity and flownesse of their pace in the way: whereas contrariwise, when they 40 runne foorthin great number, and swiftly out of those things that swell with fulnesse, and burne, as it were, with defire to be delivered of them, then as they passe they yeeld their resemblances all fresh and very significant. After this, casting his eie upon Autobulue, and smiling withall: Me thinks (quoth he) that I perceive you, and those about you, to addresse your selves alredy for to maintaine a kinde of fight against these images, & that you meane to fasten with your hands and catch hold of this old opinion, as if it were fome rotten picture, to doe it fome violence: Goe to (quoth Autobulus) will you never leave these fashions, to play with us in this manner? for weeknow well enough iwis, that you hold and approove the opinion of Arifortle, and that for to give a lustre thereunto, you have set this of Democritus by it, as a shadow and foile: that conceit therefore of Democritus, we will turne over and put by , and take in hand for to impugne this reason of Aristotles, which impute thall to these new fruits, and unjustly without al all reason, blaming & discrediting that which we all love so well; for both Summer & Autumne will beare wirmeffe, that when we cat these fruits, more fresh and greene, even at such time as they are most successent, and verdant: (as Antimachus said) our dreames are lesselying and deceitfull: but these moneths which we name, the Fall of the lease, pitching their tents as it were, and taking up their standings close to the Winter, have reduced already, both come of the field, and also the fruits of trees, which remaine uneaten by their perfect concoction, to

this paffe that they looke flender, and in fome for triveled, as having loft by this time, that violent, heady, and furious force which was in them. As touching new wine, they that drinke it foonest, doe it in the moneth * Anthisteren, that is to fay, Februarie, presently after winter, and foonelt, doe it in the moneth "Antonierom, was 1500 1893; Contain Spreading and since; and that day upon which they begin to tafte it, we in our countrey call daths distances, that is to fay, the November, November, day of good fortune; but the Athenians name it, of opening their tunnes or wine veffels, Pi-before wite thagia: but fo long as the Must or new wine is working still, and in the heat, we see, that all men ton, accor even the very artificers and labourers are affiraid to tafte of it, and to meddle withall: let us forbeare therefore to flander and blame the good gifts of the gods, and goe we rather another way to worke for the inquifition of the caule, unto which the very name of the feafon, and of thefe the leafe, to wit, the end of Autumne; when by reason of cold, and drinesse, trees shedde their leaves, unleffe it bee fome which are hot and fatty, by nature, as the olive, the lawrell, and the date trees, or very moift, as the ivie and myrtle; for fuch as these, their temperature of the street of the stree rature helpeth, others not, by reason that this glutinous humour which holdesh the leaves upon the tree, continueth not; because that their naturall humiditie is congealed with cold, or elfe dried up, being so feeble and little withall: to flourish therefore, to grow, and to be fresh, in plants, and much more in living creatures, commeth of moisture and heat; and contrariwife, cold & drinesse are deadly enemies: & therefore Homer very properly, is wont to call men who are fresh and lusty steps, that is to say, moist and succulent; as also to joy and be merry, he expresent by the verbe intrody, that is to say, to be hot; contrariwise, that which is dolorous and fearefull, he tearmeth einedender x) xpueeder, that is to fay, ftiffe & starke for cold; a bodie that is dead, he tearmeth axigus, that is to fay, without moisture; as also onesens, that is to fay, a verie anotomy, dried in the smoake, or against the sunne; which are two words devised to traduce & note their extreme drinesse: moreover, bloud which is the thing within us, of principall strength & vertue, is both hot and moist; but old age is destitute both of the one and the other: now it seemeth that the later end of Autumne is the very age of the yere, having performed his revolutio; for as yet the moisture is not come, but the heat is gone already, or at least wise is very feeble, & that (which is a great figne of cold & drineffe) this feafon caufeth bodies to be disposed unto difeases. This being laid (or a ground, necessary it is that the soule should have a sympathy & fel-30 low feeling of the indifpositions of the bodie, & that when the spirits be incrassate & thickned, and the powre and facultie of divination or forefeeing future things, must needs be dimmed and dulled, much like as a mirrour or looking glaffe, overcast with some thicke mist: no marvell therefore if it fend and transmit nothing in phantasie and imaginations, that is plaine, expresse, articulate, evident, and significant, so long as it is rough and unpolished, not smooth and resplendent.



THE NINTH BOOKE OF SYMPOSIAQUES OR BANQUET DISCOURSES

The Summarie or principall chapters thereof,

F ver fer which have beene cited and alledged fitly in good feason or other wife.

What is the samfe that the lesser Alpha, or A, familiesh first in the alphabet, or

A,b,ci

in what proportion hath beene composed and ordeined, the mamber of wowels

and semi-vowels?
Whether hand it was of Venus, that Diomedes wounded in

5 What

What was thereason of Plato, when hee said, that the soule of Ajax, came in the 20. place to

6 What is covertly signified by the fable wherin Neptune is feigned to be vanquished? and why the Athenians put out of their kalender the second day of August?

What is the cause that the accords in musicke are divided into a ternarie?

Wherein differ the intervals, melodious, and accordants in musicko? What is it that maketh accordor symphoni t and what is the reason that when a man striketh two

strings accordant together, the melodie is more base? 10 How it commeth to passe that the ecliptick revolutions of sunne and moone, being in number equal, yer the moone is seene to be oftner ecclipsed than the sunne?

11 That we continue not atwaies one and the same for that our substance evermore passesh still away.

12 Whether is more probable of the swaine, that the starres be in number evenor od.

13 A question of contrary lawes and covenants, drawen out of the third booke of the Rhapsodie of

14 Of the number of the Muses, certeine discourses and reasons, not after a vulgar and common ma-

That there be three parts of diuncing, * motion, sessure, and shem, 3 and what each of these is: also what communitie there is betweenethe art of poetrie, and the skill in dauncing.

THE NINTH BOOKE OF 20 Symposiaques or banquet-discourses.

The Proëme.



His ninth booke of Sympoliaques (& Softus Senecio) conteineth the discourses held at Athens, during the festivall solemnities of the Muses; for that this number of nine, forteth and agreeth well with the faid Muses. Now if the number of questions handled in this booke, surmount the ordinarie Decade of the former books, you 30 are nothing to marvell thereat, because we ought to render unto the Muses all that appertemeth unto the Muses, without taking away or deteining ought from them, no more than from holy facrifices; confidering that we owe unto them many things befides, and the fame more beautifull than this.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

Of verses eited and pronounced in season and to good purpose, or otherwise.

Mmonius being captaine of the citic of Athens, was desirous in favour of Diogenius, to take A view and knowledge, how the yoong men profited, who were students in Grammar, Geomettie, Rhetoricke and Musickes, whereupon he invited to supper, the most famous regents and mafters, that were thorowout the whole citie. There met also with them, and were prefent, many other learned and studious persons, in great frequencie, yea, and in maner all his friends and familiars: As for Achilles, verily, at the funerall games and folemnities of Patroelus, he bad onely those to sup with him, who had fought hand to hand in single combat to the utterance, with this intent (as it is faid) that if haply there had bene any choler or heat of revenge inkindled and inflamed betweene these men, whiles they were in armes, they should now lay downe and quit the same, meeting thus at one feast, eating and drinking together at one table: but it hapned 50 cleane contrary as this time unto Ammonias; for the jealousic, contention, and emulation of theie schoolemen and matters of art aforesaid, became the hotter, and grew to the heighth amid their cups; for by this time, they fell to argue, yea, and to challenge and defie one another, reafoning, and disputting without all order or judgement: whereupon, at the first he commanded the mulician Eraton, to fing unto the harpe; who began his fong in this wife, out of the works Of of Hesiodus:

Of quarell and contention, There were as then, more forts than one.

for which I commended him, in that he knew how to applie the dittie of his fong fo well unto the present time; which gave occasion afterwards unto Ammonius of this argument; namely, to discourse of verses in season, and to good purpose pronounced; saying: That herein there appeared not onely a good grace, but also ensued otherwhiles great commoditie thereof. And presently every mans mouth was full of that Rhapsodian poet; who at the marriage of king * Ptolemans, when he espoused his owne fifter, and was thought herein to commit a strange and

unlawfull act, began his fong with these verses out of Homer:

Great Jupiter, to Juno then, did call

His fifter deere and wedded wife withall. as also another, who being to sing after supper before king Demetria, at what time as he sent unto him his sonne Philip, being as yet a very infant, came readily forth with these verses:

I his childe, fee that you well bring up

in vertuous discipline; As fits the race of Hercules, and eke a fonne of mine.

Anaxarehus likewife, when Alexander at supper time slung apples at him, arose from the boord, rehearing this verse out of Euripides:

Some god one day, in veritie By mortall hand shall wounded be.

But most excellently of all others, a Corinthian lad, who being led away prisoner, as the citie was forced and loft, when Mummius taking a furvey of those children who were free borne, commanded as many of them as had any knowledge in literature, for to write before him, wrate ex

Thrice and fouretimes those Greeks were blest, I say,

Whose hap it was to die before this day.

And by report Mummius tooke such ruth and compassion heereat, that he shed teares, and for this youthes fake, fet at libertie as many as were of his kinted and alliance. There was remem-30 bred alfo, the wife of Theodorus the tragedian, who when the time drew neere, that fuch poets and actours were to strive for the best game, would not suffer him to lie with her; but after he was returned home from the theater, where he had gotten the victorie, and gained the prize, when he came toward her, the kiffed and welcomed him home with these verses:

O noble sonne of Agamemnon, now To do with me your will, good leave have you.

Semblably, fome there were in place, who heereupon inferred many other verfes as unfitly alledged, and altogether out of scason; for that it was not thought amisse or unprofitable, both to know the same, and to beware thereby; and namely, that which is reported concerning Pompeius Magnus, when he returned from a great expedition and warlike voiage; unto whom his little 40 daughter was presented by her schoolemaster; and for to shew unto him how the had profited in learning, when a booke was brought unto her, the faid schoolemaster opened it, and turned to this place for her to reade, which beginneth thus:

> From warrethou art returned (afe and found, Would God thou hadft bene there left dead on ground.

Alfo, when uncerteine newes (without any head or authour) was brought unto Cafeus Longinus, that his fonne was dead in a strange countrey, fo as he could neither know the trueth, nor yet do away the doubtfull suspition thereof, there came an ancient senatour to visit him, and said: What Longinus, will you not contemne and neglect this vaine bruit and headleffe rumor, raifed (no doubt) by some malicious person? as if you neither had known nor read this sentence:

No publicke fame, nor vox popli Was ever knowen in vaine to die.

As for him, who when a Grammarian in the ifle of Rhodes, called for a theame, to varie upon, and to thew thereby his learning before the people in a frequent theater, gave him this verse;

Avant out of this ifle, I do thee reed, Most wicked wretch that lives, and that with speed.

it is hard to fay, whether he did it of purpose, contumeliously, to deride this poore Gramma-

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rian, or committed an errour against his will? But to conclude this discourse of verses inserted aptly and otherwise alledged, did very pretily appease the stirre and tumult among the regents and masters of art above laid.

THE SECOND QUESTION AND THE THIRD.

What is the cause why Alpha, (or A) was raunged first of all other letters? as also, what proportion, the number of vowels and semi-vowels hath beene composed and ordeined?

Hereas the use and custome was at Athens, during the foresaid feasts in the honour of the Muses, that lots should be carried round about the city, and they that chaunced by drawing to be matched together, propound one unto another questions of learning : Ammomus fearing left some professours of one and the fame art, should be committed in opposition together, tooke this order, and ordeined, that without any lottery at all, a Geometrician might propose a question unto a Grammarian; the Rhetorician unto a Musician, and so reciprocally answere them againe by turnes: Heereupon Hermins the Geometrician put foorth first unto Protogener the Grammarian, a question, urging him to tell the cause, why, A was set formost of all the letters? who rendred unto him a reason which goeth for currant in the schooles: For this is certaine (quoth he) that vowels may claime by a most just title, the place before all con- 20 fonants, whether they be mute or femi-vowels: and feeing that of vowels fome be long, others fhort, and a third fort doubtfull, and as they fay, of adouble time: thele of the last kinde, ought by good right to be effected of greater woorth and puiffance than the rest; and of them, that is, to have and hold the place of a capitainnesse, which in composition and making of a diphthong, goeth alwaies before the other two, and never commeth behinde; and that is Alpha, which nether secondeth Joia, or upfilon so, as that it will in such composition yeeld or helpe to make one fyllable of those twaine: but in a kinde of anger and indignation, leape backe againe unto her proper place: contrariwife, fet Alpha with whether you will of the other two, fo as the may goe before, the will accord very well, and both together will make one entire fillable, as we may fee in these words, aupen, duren, as also in day, differ, and an infinit number of 20 others: thus in these three respects shee hath the victorie, and carieth the prize, like unto those champions who are winners in Quinquettium, or the five severall games, for she hath the vantage above the multitude of other letters, in that the is a vowell above vowels, because the hath two times, as being one while long, and another while fhort, and even of thefe double timed vowels she hath the preeminence, by reason that she standeth alwaies before, and never followeth or commeth behinde others.

When Protogenes had made an end of his speech, Ammonius called unto me by name and faid: How now Plut arch, wil not you aid Cadmus, being (as you are) a Boeotian as he was? for it is faid, that he placed Alpha before all other letters; for that Alpha in the Phænician language fignifieth a beefe, reputed amog them, not in the second or third place, according to He sound 40 even the very first and principall of necessarie mooveables belonging to a man: Not I (quoth he) for I am bound to fuccour (what I can) mine owne grand-father, rather than the very grandfire of Bacchus; for my grand-father Lamprias was wont to fay: That the first distinct and articulate voice which a man pronounceth, is by the power of Alpha; feeing that the breath and spirit within the mouth, is formed principally by the motion of the lips, which as they are opened and divided a funder, yeeld by that fimple overture this voice first, which of all others likewife is most simple, and performed with least adoe, calling neither for the tongue to helpe it, nor waiting for the use thereof, but iffueth foorth, even when it lieth still and stirreth not out of the owne place: and therefore it is the first voice that infants utter: heereupon also commeth this word dien in Greeke, which fignifieth as much as to heare any voice, for that al- 50 waies fuch a found as A is usually heard: yea, and many other like vocables, as alter, that is to fay, to fing; a when, that is to fay, to pipe; and what deer, to cric or holla; yea and these words copen to elevate or lift up, and conform, that is to fay to open : not without good cause tooke these names upon the deduction and lifting up of the lips, whereby such a found as A, is let foorth, and falleth out of the mouth, and therefore the names of other mute confonants, all fave one, are helped by this A, which ferveth as a light to cleare their blindnesse: for there is but Pi, or P

onely, wherein the power of this letter or found is not emploied: as for Ph and Chi, the one of them is P, and the other K, pronounced with (b) or an afperation.

Hecreto when Hemias faid, that he approved well of both reasons: Why doe not you then (quoth I) expound and deliver unto us, what is the proportion if there be any, in the number of letters; for in mine opinion there is, which I collect by this argument, in that the multitude of mute consonants and semicowels, in regard one of another, as also in respect of vowels, ariseth not so by channes, but according to to the first proportion which we call Arithmeticall, for there being 9. and 8. it commets to passe that the middle number betweene, as it summounteth one, so it is equally surmounted of the other, and the two extremes being brought roge-ther, the greater in respect of the lesse, so that of Apollo, for 9. is attributed to the muses, like as 7. to Apollo, which being joined together, that the surface of that which is in the middes, to wit, of 8. and that by good reason; for that the suminovowels betweene both, doe participate the power and efficacie of the extremes, to wit, mutes and vowels; according to the figure heere represented:

Mutes. Scmi-vowels. Vowel



20

Mercurie (quoth hee) was the first god who found out letters in Megypt: therefore the Aegyptians when they would represent the first letter, doe paint Ibis, a sowle dedicated to Mercurie: but not well in my judgement, thus to give the precedence and superioritie of all other letters unto a beast that uttereth neither voice nor found at all: Moreover, unto Mercurie is confecrated of all numbers, the quaternarie especially, and many there bee who have written, that borne he was upon the fourth day of the moneth: now if you multiply fowre by fower, you arise to fixteene, the just number of those first letters which were called Phænician, invented first by Cadmus. Of the other letters which afterwards were added to the rest, Palamedes devi-30 fed one fowre; and Simonides put thereto another fowre: moreover, the first perfect number of all others is 3, as having a beginning, a middle, and an end: after it the number of 6, because it is knowen very well to be equall in all the parts thereof: of these now, if 6.be multiplied by 4. and the first quadrat or cube (8) by the first perfect number (3) they bring foorth 24. the full number of all the letters in the alphabet. Whiles he thus spake still, Zopyrion the Grammarian was perceived evidently to laugh at him and mumble fomewhat betweene his teeth secretly: but so soone as he had made an end of speech, he could hold no longer but out hee spake and faid: That all this was nothing else but frivolous bibble-babble: For that (quoth Zopyrion) there can no found reason at all begiven, but even by adventure and chaunce it fell out, that so many letters there were, and those placed in such order as they be: Like as (quoth he) that the 40 first verse of Homers Ilias, should contain so many syllables just, as the first of his Odyssea: and againe, that the last of the one, should answer in number of syllables even, to the last of the other, is altogether a cafuall thing, hapning fo by meere fortune and not otherwise.

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

Whether hand it was of Venus that Diomedes wounded?

Feer this, when Hermias addreffed himselfe to propose unto Zopyrion a question, we inhibited and staied him. But Maximus the Rhetorician, came with a long steth a same of 50 out of Homer, and demanded of him: Whether hand it was of Venus that Diomedes wounded? With that Zopyrion to quit him againe, asked him presently: Of whether legge king Philip haulted? The case quoth Maximus is not all one and the same: for Domosthers hath left unto us no meanes for to answer this question: but if you confesse once that you know not; others there be who will shew you the very place where Homer telleth them who have any wit to conceive, which hand of hers was hun? Zopyrion at this speech seemed to be associated and stand in maze: whereupon whiles he held his peace, we requested Maximus, to point unto us the place as foresaid:

aforefaid: First and formost (quoth Maximus then) considering that the verses runne in this

Then leapt aside bold Tideus sonne, and traversing his ground, Stept to, and with sharpe pointed speare,

It is plaine and evident; that if he had meant to have finitten her left hand; her needed not to have leapt at one fide, for he had the left hand of Penns just opposite unto his owner ight hand, when he directly affronted her? and more propable it is, and stands to greater reason; that his when he directly affronted her? and more propable it is, and stands to greater reason; that his intent was to hurt the stronger hand, and that which held Aene as her sonne; whom shee see the med with violence to carteaway, and which being wounded, she might beforeed to forgoe her hold, and let his body goe. Secondly, when Penns was returned up into heaven, Mineros by way of scoffing, laughed at her, and said to Jupiter in this wise:

No doubt, faire V crius hath suborn'd fome Greekish dame to love,
And follow one of these Troy knights,
whom she affects above
All other wights: and whiles she stroubt this lady gentlysee,
Her soft hand met with some gold class.

ndmet with some gold class,

And verily I suppose, that even your selfe good fir, an excellent regent and professour as you are, if at any time you would seeme in making much of one of your scholars; to stroake and softly to handle him, will not doe it with your left hand, but with the right; and even so, verie like it is, that Venus, the most gentle and courteous goddesse of all others, in this manner dealt with the Grecian ladies, when she perswaded them unto her minde.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

What is the reason that Plato Said, how the Soule of Ajax came to the lot, in the 20. place.

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His prettie discourse aforesaid, pleased the whole company, and made them all metrie, but one Grammarian named Hylan, whom Sospis a professiour in Rhetoricke, seeing to sit all silent, sad and heavy, (for that in deed he had sped not very well, whensoever he made proofe of his scholars proceedings) came out with these verses aloud:

Ajax foule, the fonne of Tclamon,

Remained fill, and all alone.

and the rest of the verses following, he delivered in an higher note than ordinatie, and rehearfed them aloit unto him, in this wise:

But now good fir come bither, that my words you may well heare, Represse your ire, thu anger quench, and tame your moodie cheere.

But Hylus grumbling fill in anger, bewraied no leffeby his croffe and impertinent answer, saying: That the ghost of Ajax in hell, tooke het turne in the 20. place, and her lot was according to Plate, to be transmuted into the nature of a lion: But for mine owne part (quoth he) I thinke many times of the old mans saying in the comedie:

Retter is were an asse to bee Indeed, than for a manto see Those live preserd in worldy pelse, Who are for woorth behinde himselse.

Hecreat Soffis laughing heartily: But I befeech you good Hylas (quoth hee) meane while that we are turning into affes, and taking pack-faddles on our backs (if you regard and refpect any thing the honour of Plato) declare unto us the reason, why hee said: That the soule of Jax (him I meane who was Telamons sonne) came in the twentieth place to have her choice from the lottery? Which when Hylas stady refused to doe, (for he thought that they made a mocking

The ninth Booke.

ing stocke of him, because he had but bad successe in his former trials:) my brother tooke the matter in hand: And what say you (quoth he) to this? may it not bee, for that Ajax carried the

name alwaies for beautie, greatnesse and valour,

Next after Peleus sonne (Isan,)

Whom of the page for a remains.

Who was fant peere for prowesse ay? And you know that twentie makes up the fecond decade; and the decade or number of ten, is of all numbers principall and most puiffant, like as Achilles was among the princes of the Greeks. With that we al ferup a laughter: Then Ammonius, Well (quoth he) Lamprius, you are disposed thus to jest and play with Hylas, butfince of your owne accord, you have undertaken the charge, To to deliver the cause hereof, let us intreat you to impart it unto us, not by way of sport and meriment, but in good earnest. Lamprias was at the first not a little troubled at this chalenge, but after he had pauled, and thought upon the matter a while, in the end he spake to this effect: It is an ordinary thing (quoth he) with Place, to play with us many times merrily, by certaine devifed names that hee uleth: but when foever hee inferteth fome fable in any treatife of the foule, he doth it right foberly, and hath a deepe meaning, and profound fenfe therein: for the intelligent nature of heaven, he calleth, a Chariot volant, to wit, the harmonicall motion and revolution of the world: and heere in this place whereof we are now in question (to wit, in the end of the tenth books of his Common wealth) he bringeth in a meffenger from hell, to relate newes of that which he had there himselfe seene; and calleth him by the name of Era, a Pam-20 phylian borne, and the sonne of Armenius, giving us covertly (by an enigmatical conveiance) thus much to understand: That our foules are engendred by harmonie, and so joined to our bodies, but when they be disjoined, and separate from them, they runne together all into aire from every fide, and fo returne againe from thence unto fecond generations: what should himder then but this word * exastiv, was put downe by him, not to fhew a truth whereof he spake, but * Which figrather "wow, as a probable speech, and conjecturall fiction, or else, a thing spoken (as it should mifeth also feeme) to a dead bodie, and so uttered * vainly and at a venture in the aire: for Plato alwaies * dis elect. toucheth three canfes, as being the philosopher who either first knew, or principally underflood how fatall destiny is mingled with fortune; and againe, how our freewill is woont to bee joined with either of them, or is complicate with both: and now in this place before cited, hee 30 sheweth excellently well, what power each of these causes hath in our humane affaires, attributing the choice and election of our life unto free will, (for vertue and vice befree, and at the commaund of no lord) and tying to the necessitie of farall destinie, a religious life to Godward in them, who have made a good choife, and contrariwife in those who have made a choise of the woorst: but the cadences or chaunces of lots, which being cast at a venture, and lighting heere and there, without order, befall to every one of us, bring in fortune, and preoccupate or prevent much of that which is ours, by the fundry educations or governments of commonweale, wherein it hapneth each of us to live: for this I would have every one of you to confider, whether it bee not meere folly and without all reason, to seeke for a cause of that which is

40 puted no more to fortune or adventure, but all to fome fatall destinic or providence.

Whiles Lamprias delivered this speech, Mareus the Grammarian, seemed to count and number (I wot not) what upon his singers to himselfe apart: but when he had made an end, the said Mareus named aloud all those souls or spirits which are called out in Homers News. Among which (quoth he) the ghost onely of Elpenor wandering still in the middle confines, is not reckoned with those beneath in another world, for that his bodie as yet is not interred and committed to the earth: as for the soule of The said of the emeth not to be enumbred with the rest.

done by fortune and cafually; for if lot should seeme to come by reason, there were to be im-

To whom now dead Ptoferpina, above therest did give, This gift alone right wise to be, although he did not live.

as also the power to Ipeake with the living, and to understand their state and affaires, even before he had drunkethe bloud of sacrificed beasts: If then (quoth hee) of Lamppias you subtract these two, and count the rest, you shall find e that the soule of Ajax was just the twentieth of those which presented themselves to Unffer; and hereto alluded Plato, as it should seemely way of mirth, joining his sable together with that evocation of spirits, otherwise called Neepsa in Homers Odysses.

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THE SIXTH QUESTION.

What is covertly means by the fable, wherein Neptune is feigned to have beene vanquisted: as alfo, why the Athenians take out the second day of the moneth, August?

Ow when the whole company were growen to a certeine uprore, Menephyllus a Peri-patetickephilosopher calling unto Hylus by name: You see (quoth he) now, that this queftion was not propounded by way of mockerie and contumelious flouting: but you my good friend(leaving this froward and mal-contented Ajax, whose name as Sophoeles faith, is omi- 10 nous, and of ill presage) betake your selse unto Neptune, and side with him a while; who is wont to recount unto us himselfe, how he hath beene oftentimes overcome; to wit, in this city, by Mineron; at Delphi, by Apollo; in Argos, by Juno; in Aegina, by Jupiter; and in Auxus, by Bacebus: and yet in all his repulses, disfavors, and infortunities, he bare himselse alwaies mild, and gentle, carying no ranckor or malice in his heart: for proofe hecreof, there is even in this city a temple common to him and Minerva, in which there standeth also an alrar dedicated to Oblivion: Then Hylas who feemed by this time more pleafantly disposed: But you have forgotten (quoth he) o Menephyllu, that we have abolished the second day of the moneth, August, not in regard of the moone, but because it was thought to be the day upon which xeprune and Minerva pleaded for the seignorie of this territorie of Attiea. Now I affure you (quoth 20 Lamprias) N eptune was every way much more civill and reasonable than Thrasibulus, in case being not a winner as the other, but a lofer, he could forget all grudge and malice.

A great breach and defect there is in the Greeke originall, wherein wanteth the farther handling of this question, as also 5. questions entier following, and a part of the 6. to wit.

Why the accords in musicke are devided into three?

Wherein differ the intervals or spaces melodious, from those that be accordant?

What cause is it that maketh accord? and what is the reason that when one toucheth two strings accordant together, the melody is ascribed to the base?

10 What is the cause that the eclipticker evolutions of summe and moone being in number equall, yet we see the moone oftner ecclipsed than the sunne ?

II That we continue not alwaies one and the same, in regard of the daily deflux of our substance.

12 Whether of the twaine is more probable, that the number of flarres is even or odde?

Of this twelfth question thus much remaineth as followeth.

Tfander was wont to fay: That children are to be deceived with cockall bones, but men with Lothes: Then Glaucias, I have heard (quoth he) that this speech was used against Polycrates the tyrant; but it may be, that it was spoken also to others; But whereby do you demaund this of me ? Because verily (quoth Soffin) I see, that children fnatch at such bones, & the Academiques catch at words: for it feemeth unto me, that these stomacks differ in nothing from them, who holding out their clutched fifts, play at handy dandy, & aske whether they hold in their close hand even or odde? Then Protogenes, arose, and calling unto me by name: What aile we(quoth he) and what is come unto us that we fuffer these Rhetoricians and oratours thus to brave it out, and to mocke others, being demaunded nothing in the meane time, nor put to it for to contribute their skot and part unto this conference and these discourses? unlesse peradventure they 50 will come in with this plea, that they have no part of this table talke, in drinking wine, as being those who admire and follow Demosthenes, who in all his life time never dranke wine: This is not the cause (quoth I) but the reason is , because we have spurred them no questions: but if you have no better thing to aske, I will propose unto them acase of repugnancie in contrarie lawes or conditions, and the same drawen out of Homer.

THE THIRTEENTH QUESTION.

Aquestion as touching repugnant lawes, taken out of the third Rhapsodie or booke of Ho-

Nd what is that case, demaunded he againe? I will tell you (quoth I) and with all propose A it unto these here: and therefore let them give attentive eare: Alexander Paris, in the third booke of Homer's Ilias, giveth defiance to Menelaus, and chalengeth him to a lingle fight, 10 with certaine conditions protesting in this maner:

Let us betweene both armies meet without, My selfe Imeane and Menclaus stout : To try in single fight upon this plaine To which of us by right shall appertaine Dame Helene, with her goods : For looke who shall Make good his ground, and quit himselfe withall So bravely, that the victorie he gaine, Have he ber-felfe, and jewels in domaine.

Hetter againe publishing unto all, and declaring as well to Greeks as Trojanes the same cha-20 lenge and defiance of his brother Paris, ufeth in maner the verie fame words, faying:

His meaning is, that Greeks and Trojanes all Besides, should for the time surcease and quite Lay downe all armes upon the ground withall, Whiles he and Menelaus hardy knight, For Helen faire, and all her jewels fight: And he that shall the better hand obteine, With him both lady shall and goods remaine.

Nowwhen Menelaus had accepted of these conditions, and both sides were sworne to the articles accorded, Agamemnon to ratifie the same by his roiall affent, spake in this wise:

If Alexander in plaine fight, shall Menelaus kill: Dame Helene hemay leade away, and her goods at his will: But fay that Menelaus brave, doe Alexander flay The woman then and what she hath, let him streight have away.

Now for that Merielaus vanquished Paris indeed, but yet bereft him not of his life; either fide had good plea to defend their cause opposite unto their enemies: for the Greeks pretended a 40 right claime unto Helena, for that Paris was overcome : and the Trojanes impleaded and denied to redeliver her, because he was not left dead in the place : how shall this case then be decided and judged aright in fo great a difference and contrarietie? Certes it belongeth not to Philosophers nor Grammarians alone; but it is for Rhetoricians also to determine heereof, who are both learned in Grammar and good letters; and withall, well seene in Philosophic, as yoube. Then Soffis gave his opinion and faid: That the cause and plea of the defendant chalenged, was farre better and stronger, as having the law directly on his side: for the assailant and chalenger himselfe, denounced under what conditions the combat thould be performed; which feeing the defendant accepted of, and yeelded unto, it lieth not in their power any more to adde ought thereto: for the condition comprised in the chalenge, caried no words imply-50 ing flaughter or death of any fide; but the victory of the one, and the discomfiture of the other; and that with very great reason: for by right the lady belonged to the better man, and more valiant; and the more valorous man is he who vanquisheth: for otherwise it falleth out many times, that valiant and hardie men are flaine by very cowards; as afterwards Achilles himselfe chaunced to be killed by Paris with the shot of an arrow: neither will any man (I trow) say, that Achilles thus flaine, was the leffe valiant, or call this the victorie; but rather the good fortune of Paris unjustly dealt, whose happe it was to shoot so right; whereas on the other side, Heltor was vanquished by Achilles, before he was flaine, for that he would not abide his comming, but

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Of Symposiaques.

for feare abandoned his ground and fled: for he that refuse the combat and runneth away, is in plaine tearmes vanquished, & hath no excuse to palliate or closke his defeature; but flatly confession his enemie to be his better. And therefore Irun, comming at first to Helena for to give her intelligence of this combat, slatth unto her:

They will in combat fight it out with long speares now for thee: And looke who winnes the victory, his wife thou nam'd shalt be.

And afterwards Jupiter himselfe adjudged the prize of victorie unto Menelaus in these words:

Now plaine it is, the champion bold, fir Menclaus hight,

Hath quit himselfe a man, and wonne

For it were a ridiculous mockerie to fay: That Paris had coquered Achilles, because he stood behind a farre off, & with the shot of an arrow wounded him in the foote, who never was ware of him, nor fo much as looked for any fuch thing; & that now when he refuted combat, diffrufted himselfe, & ran out of the field like a coward, to shroud & hide himselfe within the bosome, & betweene the armes of a woman, being as a man would fay difarmed and despoiled of his weapons, even whiles he was alive, his concurrent should not deserve to carie away the victorie, thewing himselfe the conquerout in open field; even according to the conditions offred by 20 Paris the chalenger. Then Glaucus taking the matter in hand, impleaded and argued against him thus: First (quothle) in all edicts, decrees, lawes, covenants and contracts, the last are reputed alwaies of greater validitie, and doe stand more firme than the former: but the second covenants and the last, were they which were declared and published by Agamemnon; in which was comprised, expressly death for the end of the combat, and not the discomfiture or yeelding of the partie conquered: moreover the former capitulation of covenants, passed onely by parole & bare words, but the other which followed after, was fealed & confirmed with an oath, yea & a curse and execration was set therupon, for who sever should transgresse the same : neither was it approoved & ratified by one man alone, but by the whole army together:in fuch fort as this latter paction and covenant, ought properly and by right, to be so called; whereas the 30 former was nothing else but the intimation of a chalenge and defiance given; in testimonie whereof, Priamus also after the articles of combat were sworne unto , departed out of the field

Great Jupiter and other gods immortall now doe know, Whole destiny it is to die

For he wift well enough that the covenants of combat were capitulated and accorded upon this condition: and therefore it was, that a little while after, Hetter faith:

God Jupiter aloft in beaven who sits upon his throne, The covenants sworne hathnot perform d which were agreed and sworne.

For as yet the combat remained unatchived and unperfect, neither had it a certaine and doubtleffe conclusion, considering neither the one not she other of the champions was staine: so
that in mine opinion, there is no contrarietie heere at all, because the former articles and conditions were comprised in the second: for no doubt, he that killeth hath overcome; but it followeth not, that he who vanquisheth hath killed his enemie: but to say a truth, weemay well
loweth not, that he who vanquisheth hath killed his enemie: but to say a truth, weemay well
loweth not, but explaned and declared it; neither altered heir, but added rather the principall
by Hestor, but explaned and declared it; neither altered heir, but added rather the principall
opoint thereof, setting downe expressly, him for victour who killed his enemie; for this indeed
is a complet and absolute victory; whereas all others have evasions, pretended excuses and
oppositions, such as this of Mendaus, who wounded not his enemie, not so much as pursued
oppositions, such as this of Mendaus, who wounded not his enemie, not so much as pursued
oppositions, such as this sof Mendaus, who wounded not his enemie, not so much as pursued
oppositions of lawes indeed, the judges are wont to pronounce award and sentence, according to
that which is most expressly and claserely set downe, leaving that which is doubtfull and obscure;
even so in this present case now in question; that covenant which hath an evident conclusion,

The ninth Booke.

and admitteth no tergiversation at all, we ought to esteem more firme and essectivall: furthermore, that which is the chiefe and most principall point of all, even he himselfe who is supposed to be the victour, in that he retired not backe, nor gave over seeking for him that sled, but went up and downe, to and fro among the troupes seatching all about,

> If haply of this gallant knight Sir Paris he might have a light.

teflified plainly, that his victory was imperfect and of no validitie; confidering that his concurrent was escaped out of his hands, which put him in minde of the words which himselfe a little before had said:

The house of death, so whether of us twaine Is come, let him lie dead upon the plaine: As for the reft, see every one apart, And that with speed, you home in peace depart.

And therefore it ftood him upon necessarily, to seeke out Alexander, to the end, that having slaine him, he might accomplish the entire execution of the combat, and gaine the end thereof; whereas, neither killing him out of the way, nor taking him prisoner, without all right he demanded the prize of victorie: for in very trueth, he did not so much as vanquish him, if we may gather presumptions and conjectural arguments, even out of his owne words, complaining as he doth of Jupiter, and lamenting to himselse, that he missed of his purpose, in these words:

O Jupitet, in heaven above,
no God there is againe,
More fight full than thy selfetome,
nor exuell, to be plaine,
I made account, and so gave out,
of Paris in this place,
Reveng d to be for all his wrongs,
and working my disprace:
But now my fourd in hand is but st,
my javelin laune'd in vaine
With force of armes, hat h done no hurt,
nor wrought him amp paine.

For himfelfeconfeffeth, that it was to no purpofe, that he pierced thorow his enemies shield, and tooke away his armet that fell from his head, unlesse he had wounded him therewith, and slaine him outright.

THE FOURETEENTH QUETSION.

As touching the Muses and their number, ecreeine points not after a vulgar and common maner handled.

His discourse being thus finished, we performed our oblations and libaments to the Mufes; and after we had fung an hymne to Apollo, the lender and conductour of the Mufes, we chanted also to the found of the harpeya's Ernton plaied thereupon, those verses which Hesiodus wrote concerning the generation and birth of the Muses: when our fong was ended, Herodes the rhetorician began his speech in this wife: Listen lordings (quoth he) you that would diftrack and plucke from us, Callioge: they fay (for footh) that the converfeth with kings, and not with those who can skill of unfolding syllogismes, or who propose difficult questions to such as fpeake big, and are of magnificent speech; but those rather who do and effect great matters, the works I meane which concerne orators, politicians & Statelmen: and as for Cho, of all the Mu-50 fest the admitteeth and avowed the encomialtical orations, wherein are conteined the praifes of other arrizans; for the in old time; our ancestours called praises, Clea : and Polymneia enterteinetly histories which is nothing els, but the memoriall or remembrance of many antiquities : and it is reported, that in some places, and namely, in "Chios, they name all the Muses will so, that " Ot, Live. is to fay, memories: as for me, I challenge also to my selfe some part of * Euterpe, if it be as * Or, Terple Shay spone faith, that she it is, who hath allotted unto her the gift to enterteine meetings and diere. conferences, with pleafure, delectation and grace : for an oratour is no leffe affable in familiar convertation, than eloquent in pleading causes at the barte, or in opining and delivering his

minde in confultations at the counfell table; confidering that the art and profession of an oratour, conteineth the facultie and feat to win good will, do defend, mainteine, and justifie; but principally, and most of all, we imploy our greatest skill in praising and dispraising; which if we can order artificially and with dexteritie, we are able to bring about and effect no small matters: and contrariwife, if we do unskilfully, and without art, we faile of the marke which we shoot at: for this commendable title,

O God, this man how acceptable

agreeth in my judgement, to oratours, rather than to any other persons, who have the skill to speake well and to perswade : a gift most requisit, fit, and beforming those that are to converse 10 with men. Then Ammonius: It were not well done of as (quoth he) ô Herodes, if we should be offended and angry with you, although you feeme to comprehend all the Mules together in your hand: for that among friends, all things are common: and therefore it is, that Jupiter hath begotten many Mules, that every man might draw abundance from them of all good things, and make no spare: for we have not all of us need, of the skill in hunting, of militarie science, of the art of navigation, nor of the mechanicall handictafts of artizans; but we all stand in need of learning and erudition,

As many as on fruits do feed,

Which for our use the earth doth breed.

And hereupon it is, that Jupiter hath procreated one Minerva, one Diana, and one Vulcane; but 20 many Mules: now that there should be nine of them in number just, and neither more nor fewer, you will be fo good (will you not) as to yeeld us areason? for I suppose you are well studied in this point, being as you are, fo well affected unto them, and fo much adorned by their graces. And what great learning (quoth Herodes againe) should there be in that ? for every man hath in his mouth, the number of nine, and there is not a woman, but fingeth thereof, and is able to fay, that as it is the first square arising from the first odde number, so it is unevenly odde it felfe, as being divided into three odde numbers equall one to the other. Now furely (quoth Ammonius, and therewith finiled) this is manfully done of you, and flourly remembred: but why do you not adde thereto, thus much more, for a corollary and over-measure, that it is a number composed of the two first cubes, considering that it is made of an unitie and an octona- 30 rie: and after another maner likewise of composition, it standeth of two triangled numbers, to wit, a fenarie and a ternarie, whereof, both the one and the other is a perfect number: but what is the reason, that this novenatic or number of nine; agreeth better unto the Muses, than to any other gods or goddeffes; for nine Mules we have, but not nine Cerefes, nor nine Minervaes, nor yet nine Dianaes? you are not (I trow) perswaded that the cause hereof is, because the name of their mother Manuscuin, conteineth just so many letters ? Herodes laughed heartily heereat; and after some time of paule and filence, Ammonius sollicited us to take the matter in hand, and fearch the cause thereof. With that, my brother beganne, and said : Our ancients in olde time knew of no more than three Muses; but to proove so much by way of demonstration, before this company, where there be so many wife men and learned clerks, were a meere uncivill and 40 rufticall part, favouring of vanitie and oftentation but I affure you, the reason of this number, was not (as some affirme) the three kinds of musicke or melodie, towit, * Diatonique, * Chromatique, and * Harmonique; nor by occasion of the three termes or bounds which make the intervals in an octave or eight, of mulicke harmonicall, to wit, Nete, Mefe, and Hypate, that is to fay, the Treble, the Meane, and the Bale; and yet verily, the Delphians so called the Muses, wherein they did amiffe, in my judgement, to reftraine that generall name of them all, to one science, orrather to one part of a science, to wit, the harmonie of musicke : but our ancients and thinding (knowing well, thet all arts and sciences which are practifed & performed by reason and speech are reduced to three principall kinds, Philosophicall, Rhetoricall, and Mathematicall) reputed them to be the gifts and beneficiall graces of three deities or divine powers, which they called 50 Muses: howacit, afterwards, and about the time wherein Hestodan lived, when the faculties of thefe generall sciences were better revealed and discovered, they perceived that each of them had three differences; and so they subdivided them into three subalternall forts; namely, the Mai thematicks, into Arithmaticke, Musicke, and Geometrie; Philosophy, into Logicke, Ethicke of Morall, and Phylicke or Naturall; as for Rhetoricke, it had at the beginning for the first parts Demonstrative, which was imploied in praises; for the second, Deliberative, occupied in confultations; and for the third, Judiciall, uled in pleas and judgements: of all which faculties, they

* Plain-fong or naturall mulicke. * Full of defeant, quivers, and fained voices.

thought there was not fo much as one, that was invented, or could be learned without fome gods or Mules, that is to fay, without the conduct and favour of fome superiour pullance; and therefore they did not devile and make fo many Mules, but acknowledged and found that formany there were: like as therefore, the number of nine is divided into three ternatics, and every one of them subdivided into as many unites; even so the rectitude of reason in the precellent knowledge of the trueth, is one puissance, and the same common: but ech of there three kinds is subdivided into three other; and every of them hath their severall Muse, for to dispose and adorne particularly one of these faculties, for I doe not thinke, that in this division, poets and aftrologers can of right complaine of us, for leaving out their fciences; knowing 19 (as they do) as we can tell them, that Astrologie is contributed unto Geometric, & Poctrie to Mulicke. Upon this speech, Tryphon the physician brake out into these words : But what meane you (I pray you) and how hath our poore art offended you, that it is excluded thus our of the temple and focietie of the Mules? Then Dionyfine of Meliting, added moreover, and faid: Nay you have provoked many of us besides, to complaine upon our discontenument in the fame behalfe: for we that are gardeners and husbandmen imploied in agriculture, challenge a right and propertie in lady Thalia, afcribing unto her, the care and charge of plants and feeds, that they may come up, grow, flower, increase, and be preserved. But herein (quoth I) you doe the man manifelt wrong; for you have Ceres for your patroneffe, furnamed Anvoidage, for giving us fo many gifts; to wit, the fruits of the carth: yea, and Bacchus may goe for a patron in this re-

20 spect, who (as Pindarm faith) which had Taking the charge of trees that grow, Doth cause them for to bud and blow: The verdure fresh and beautie pure.

Of lovely fruits he doth procure.

an, bande And we know besides, that physicians have Aesculapius for their president and tutelar god. who ordinarily also use Apollo as he is furnamed, Pean, that is to say, the appealer of all paines and maladies, but never as he is, Musegetes, that is to say, the prince and guide of the Muses; True it is indeed, that according to Homer:

odbacile

i seljeli a tala, se

Allmortallmen of gods have need; That they in their affaires may speed.

Howheit all men require not the helpe of all gods: But I woonder much at this, that Lamprias should either forget or be ignorant of that common faying of the Delphians, who give out: That among them the Mules beare not the name, either of founds and notes, or of ftrings; but whereas the whole world is divided into three principall parts or regions; whereof the farft is of those natures which be fixed and not erraticall; the second of such as are wandering; and the third, of bodies under the sphære of the moone: these are every one distinctly digested, composed, and ordered by harmonicall proportions, and each of them (as they say) hath a Muse to their keeper and prefident, to wit, the first or highest region, Hypate; the last or lowest, Nete: & as for Mele which is in the middle betweene, the doth both comprehend and also turne a-40 bout mortall things, (as much as it is possible, considering they come after) with divine and immortall, yea, and earthly natures with heavenly and celettiall, according as Plato himfelfe after a covert & anigmaticall maner hath given us to understand, under the names of the three Destinies, calling one, Atropos; another, Lachesis; and a third, Clotho: for as touching the motions and revolutions of the eight heavenly Sphæres, hee hath attributed as prefidents

Then Menephylus the Peripateticke comming in with his speech: There is (quoth hee) some reason and probabilitie in the Delphians saying; but surely the opinion of Plate is abfurd, in that unto those divine and eternall revolutions of the heavens, he hath affigned in stead of Muses, the Syrenes which are dæmons, or powers not verie kinde and good, nor beneficiall; 50 either leaving out as he doth the Mules altogether, or els calling them by the names of the Destinies, and saying they be the daughters of Necessitie: for surely Necessitie is a rude thing and violent; whereas Perswasson is gentle and gracious; by the meanes of Muses amiable, ta-

ming what it will, and in my minde,

Detesteth more the duritie, And force of hard nece sitie.

unto them fo many Syrenes in number, and not Mules.

than doth that grace and Venus of Empedocles. That is true indeed (quoth Ammonius) it abhorreth that violent and involuntarie cause, which is in our selves, enforcing us to doe against Xxx 3

our evils: but the necessitie which is among the gods is nothing intollerable, nor violent, nor hard to be obeied or perswaded, but to the wicked, no more than the law of a citie, that unto good men is the best thing that is, & which they cannot pervert or transgresses not because it is impossible for them so to do, but for that they are not willing to change the same. Moreover as touching those Syrenes * of Homer, there is no reason that the sable of them should affright us for (after an anigmatical and covert fort) even he fignifieth very well unto us, that the power of their fong and mulicke, is neither inhumane, nor pernicious or mortall; but fuch as imprinteth in the foules which depart from hence thither, as also to such as wander in that other world after death, a vehement affection to divine and celestiall things, together with a certeine forgetfulnefle of those that be mortall and earthly, deteining and enchanting them as it were with 10 a pleasure that they give unto them; in such fort as by reason of the joy which they receive from them, they follow after and turne about with them: now of this harmonie, there is a little echo or obscure resonance commeth hither unto us, by the meanes of certeine discourses, which calleth unto our foule, and putteth into her minde, fuch things as then and there are, whereof the greatest part is enclosed and stopped up with the abstructions of the slesh, and passions that are not fincere: howbeit, our foule, by reason of the generositie wherewith it is endued, doth understand, yea, and remember the same, being ravished with so vehement an affection thereof, that her pattion may be compared properly unto most ardent and furious fits of love, whiles the still affecteth and defireth to enjoy, but is not able for all that, to loofen and free her-selfe from the bodie; howbeit, I doe not accord and hold with him altogether in these matters: but 20 it feemeth unto me, that Plato as he hath somewhat strangely in this place, called the axes and poles of the world and heavens, by the names of spindels, rocks, and diffaves, yea & tearmed the starres, wherves : fo, to the Muses also he hath given an extraordinarie denomination of Syrens, as if they related, and expounded unto the foules and ghosts beneath, divine and celestiall things: like as utyffes in Sophoeles faith, that the Syrenes were come:

The daughters who of Phorcis were,

As for the Mules they be affigued unto the eight heavenly sphæres: and one hath for her porti-That doth of hell the lawes declare. on the place and region next to the earth: those then which have the presidences & charge of the revolution of those eight sphares, do keepe, preserve and mainteine the harmony and con- 30 fonance, as also of themselves one to another; and that one which hath the superintendence of that space betweene the moone and the earth, and converfeth with mortall and temporall thinges, bringeth in and infufeth among them, by the meanes of her speech and song (so farre forth as they be capable by nature and apt to receive the same) the perswastive facultie of the Graces, of musicall measures and harmonie: which facultie is very cooperative with civile policie and humane societie, in dulfing and apeafing that which is turbulent, extravagant and wandering in us, reducing it gently into the right way, from blind by pathes and errors and there fetleth it : but according to Pyndarus:

Whom Iupiter from heaven above Vouchsafeth not his gracious love, amaz'd they be and flie for feare When they the voice of Mules heare.

Whereto when Ammonius had given acclamation, alluding (as his maner was) unto the verice of Xenophanes in this wife:

These things doe cary good credence

and withall mooved us every one to opine and deliver his advice: I my felfe after fome little Andto the trueth have reference, pause and silence, began thus to say: That as Plato himselfe by the etymologie of names (as it were by traces) thought to finde out the properties and powers of the gods; even so let us likewife place in heaven & over celestial things, one of the Muses, which seemeth of the heaven to 50 to be called Urania. Certes, it standeth to great reason, that these heavenly bodies require not much variety of governmet, for that they have but one simple cause, which is, nature: but whereas there be many errors, many enormities & trespasses, thither we must transfer those eight: one for to correct one fort of faults and disorders, and another for to amende & reforme another: and for that of our life, one part is bestowed in serious & grave affaires, and another in sport & game; & throughout the whole course thereof, it hath need of a moderate temperature & muficall confent: that which in us is grave & ferious shall be ruled and conducted, by Calliope, Clie

and Thalia, being our guides in the skill and speculation as touching gods and goddesses as for the other Mules, their office and charge is to support and hold up that which is inclined and prote to pleafure, place and different not to fuffer it through weaknesse and imbecillity to runne headlong into loofnesse and bestiality; but to keepe in, represse and hold it in good and decent order with danneing, finging and playing fuch as hath their measures, and is tempered with harmonie, reason, and proportion: For mine owne part, considering that Plato admitted and fetteth downe in every one two principles and causes of all our actions; the one inbred and naturall; to wit, a defire and inclination to pleasures: the other comming from withput foorth; to wit, an opinion which covereth the best; insomuch, as the one he calleth sometime, Reason, and the other, Passion; and seeing that either of these againe admitteth distinct differences; I see certainly, that both of them require a great government; and in verie truth, an heavenly and divine conduct: and first as touching Reason, one part thereof is civill and roiall; namely, that which medleth in policke government, and matters of State: over which is placed as Hefodus faith, Callispe; Clio is allotted for her part principally, to advance, colland, and encourage, ambition or defire of honour; Polymneia ruleth and preserveth the vertue memorative, and the defire of knowledge and learning, which is in the foule: and heereupon it is, that the Sicyonians of those three Muses which they honour, call one, Polymathia; and unto Euterpe, who attributeth not the skill and speculation of trueth in nature, as acknowledging no delights and recreations more pure, beautifull, and honest than it. To come now unto ap-20 petites and affections, that which concerneth eating and drinking, Thalia maketh civill, fociable, and honest: whereas, otherwise it would be inhumane, beastly, and disordered; which is the reason that we say; those men doe θαλιάζειν, when they meet together friendly and merily to make good cheere: but in no wife fuch as become drunke, and grow to exceffe and riotous missed missed and Venus, Erato is the that performeth them with her presence; perswading that the action thereof should respect reason and the opportunity of time, cutting off wantonnesse, and quenching the furious heat of lust and pleasure, making it for to determine and rest in faithfull love and amitie, and not to end in dissolute and lascivious intemperance. There remaineth yet the pleasure of hearing and seeing, whether the same belong to reason or to passion; or rather apperteine in common to both: the other two Muses, to 30 wit, Melpomene and Terpsichore, are regents over them, which they compose and order in such fort, that as the one becommeth an honest delight, and not an enchantment of the cares; so the other contenteth the eies as much, though it doe not be witch and corrupt the fame.

The ninth Booke.

The whole chapter following is so defective and faultie in the originall, that we know not by any conjectural meanes to supply or reforme it.

THE FIFTEENTH QUESTION.

That in dauncing there be three parts, Motions, Gesture, and Shew: what every of them is? also, what communitie there is betweene the art of Poetry and the feat of dauncing.

Fter this, there was proposed a tart or cake called Pyramu, as the prize of victory for L* children, who dannee best: and for umpiers & judges were chosen Meniffue the schoole- * THE OF TH mafter, and Lampryas my brother: for before time he had daunced the warlike moriske veric reade must pretily, and was held in the dauncing schooles and places of exercise, to have the best grace in that is to say gesticulation with his hands when he daunced, above all other boies whatsoever: now when as many had daunced and shewed therein more affection than elegancie, and more heart than art; fome there were of the companie, who having chosen two more expert than the rest, and who 30 affected greatly to observe the rules of art, praied them to daunce φοραν παρα. φοραν, as one would fay, motion after motion, or one bout after another. Heereupon Thrasibulus the sonne of Ammonius, demanded what this tearme over, that is to fay, motion, fignified in this place, which ministred matter, and gave occasion unto Ammonius to discourse more at large concerning the parts of dauncing; for he faid: That there were three parts thereof, namely, over, oxinua, and differ: For that (quoth he) a daunce is compounded of motions, gestures, or countenances, like as longs standeth upon sounds, and times, or rests betweene; for paules and staies are the ends of motions heerein; and verily those motions, professors call poeis; but the dispositions and habitudes,

A a corner

" BEXISTENDE

habitudes, yuara, unto which the motions doe tend, and wherein they rest and end a namely, when in the forme and gesture of their body, they represent Apalle or Ran , or, some of these raging Bacche, fo as a man at the first fight may acknowledge their part expectly refembled as for the third part called Jugs, it is not a feigned imitation, but adovely and true demonstration of the subject matters in the daunce; for like as the poets when they would plainly and barely name Achylles, uly/fes, the Earth or Heaven, ule their proper tearnes to expresse them, and even fuch as the vulgar know them by; but for the greater emphasis and representation as it were to the life of that which they meane to deliver, they use otherwhiles words of their owec making, and borrowed Metaphors; as namely, when they would fignifie the noise of running mates, they are wont to fay, they doe xxxapley, and rexxager and for to expresse the flight of re What hot defire and haste they make,

Of flesh and blouds beir fill to take. Some see and the Alfo to show a doubtfull battel, wherein it is hard to say whether part shall have the better hand; they come with these tearmes:

ίσας υσμίνη καφαλάς έχεν.

The fight two heads aloft in view,

Confronting equally did show.

Likewise to expresse that which they would say, they devise and coine many compositions of names in their verses, as for example: Euripides speaking of Perseus:

Then Gorgon-flayer mounting hie,

In aire of Jupiter did flie.

Semblably Pindarus writing of the horse:

What time as he with courage fout,

* Spur-leffe, his bodie gave so strong,

Torunne arace from bout to bout,

upon Alpheus banks along. Yea and Homer describing a course athorse-running:

I he chariots with braffe and tiv,

bedight upon the plaine,

And draw'ne by sure swift-footed steeds,

were feene to runne amaine.

Even foit is induncing, for that which they call gues, that is to fay, gesture, representeth the forme & the vilage: 002, that is to fay, the motion, expresset emphatically some affection, action, or power of the minde; but by the shewes, which they call differs, properly and promptly, the very things themselves; as for example: the earth, the heaven, the affistants or standers by; which being done in order, number, and measure, resemble those proper names which otherwhiles in poetric are used, running roundly with the ornaments of their attributes and epithits in this manner:

Themis modest, venerable:

Venus black-eicd, amiable:

Queene Juno with her gold crowne honoured,

Faire Dion and wel-favoured.

Alfo:

From Helen came renowned kings,

of * lawes protectors grave,

Sir Dorus, Xanthus, Acolus,

* who joied in horfes brave.

*irrnor accuse. for otherwife if poets thould not thus doe, their stile would be very base, and their verses starke naught, and without all grace, as if one should pen them in this fort simply without all epi- 50 thits:

From one descended Hercules, And from another Iphytus, This ladies fire, her husbandeke, And sonne were kings all in their course: Her breshren alfo were the like, And so were her progenitors.

Who fir ft to know what dame she was Greece cleaped her Olympias.

For the like faults and errours are committed at dauncing in the forefaid shewes, if they carry not a probable likelihood and a grace with them, and the fame accompanied with decencie and an unaffected fimplicitie: in one word, we may firly transferre the Apophthegme of Simonides, from painting unto dauncing, and fay thus: That adaunce is a mute poefie, and poefie a fpeaking daunce; infomuch (quoth hee) as neither painting dependeth upon poefie, nor poefie of painting, as having no need at all, one of the other: whereas betweene dauncing and poetrie, all things are common, are participating one with another in every thing, and representing, both 10 of them, one and the fame thing, especially in those songs to daunce, which they call Hyporchemata, wherein is performed the most effectuall and lively resemblance, of the one, by gesture, and of the other, by words and names: fo that poëmes feeme aptly to be compared unto the lines and pourfling in a picture, by which the formes of vilages are drawen; infomuch, as hee who hath proceeded well in those Hyporeliemata, and is become excellent in that feat, sheweth plainly, that these two arts, necessarily have need the one of the other: for he who chaunteth out this fong,

લેમાં ત્રલે છે મામારા, મેં માંગલ લેમામ ત્રલેલા લેગુલામાં છે, &c.

That is to fay: I play the horse of Theffaly, Or els the hound of Amycly.

following and pursuing with his foot, the measures, and expressing the winding and turning found of the voice; or this other fong,

> * δίος ἄ: α Ιωπον, ἀνθεμόεντε στιθίον πέτα ται θανάτον κερέσα ευρέμιλι μ**ανίων έ**λάρου

ται δ' επ' αυ χένι τρέφοιαν έτερον κά ο απάντα έπι μος δις.

" This place

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declareth thereby, that poëmes doe in maner provoke the disposition and gesture of dauncing, berestored, I drawing with the found of verfes, as it were with certeine cords, both hands & feet, of the whole thinken bootbodie rather, stretching out every member thereof in such fort, as when they be pronounced bout to interand chanted forth, there is not one of them that can rest in quiet; by occasion whereof, the par-pretit. 30 tie who fingeth fuch fongs, is not abathed to praise himselfeno lesse for his sufficiencie in the art of dauncing, than his accomplished skill in poefie; and as if he were rapt with some divine instinct, breaketh out into this note:

41

How olde soever that I be.

I can yet foot it merrily.

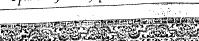
And this maner of danneing to the measures; they call the Candiot dannee; howbeit, now a daies there is nothing so ill taught, so badly practifed, and so much depraved and corrupted, as is this feat of dauncing : and therefore that is befallen unto it, which Ibycan the poet fearing, wrote of himfelfe in these verses with the verses

For honour lost among the gods, I dresd,

With men alone I shall be honoured. For having affociated her felfe to (I wot not what) trivial and vulgar poefie, & being fallen from that which was ancient, divine and heavenly, the ruleth and beareth fway onely in foolith and amaled theaters, where like a tyrannesse she hath in subjection a small deale of musicke (God wor)good enough to please and content the vulgar fort; but among wife men and divine indeed, it hath (to fay a trueth) loft all honour and reputation.

These were in maner the last philosophicall discourses (ô Sossim Senerio) which were held at that time, in good common his house, during the festivall solemnitic of the Mules.

THE



OPINIONS PHILOSOPHERS.

The Summarie.

Orasimuch as in the Preface to the second tome, conteining the Missellanes or mixe works of Plutarch, he shake of these gatherings out of naturall philosophie, and of the works of Plutarch, he shake of the season to discerning true opinions from file; we will not rebear seagaine here, that which was delivered in that place; but propose onely to the eices of the reader, the bare titles of every chapter thorowout these five books, which the authors has been season to the seas authour hath joined together, for to frew the opinions of the ancient philosophers, a touching the ex-

position of the principall points of natural philosophie.

which is the left.

Chapters of the first Booke.

15 Of Colours. What is Nature. What difference there is betweene a principle 16 Of the section of bodies, 17 Of Mixture and Temperature. and an element. Astouching Principles, what they be. 18 Of Voidnesse. How the world was composed. 19 Of Place. wins. 29 Of Special roll of state and present the 1.35385.38 Whether All be One. How also munes his hat men have a notion of a 21 Of Times and 24 Of the effence of Time. God diversion of the con-23 Of Motion and 15/15/6, 14 14 What is God. Of heavenly intelligences or powers called 24 Of Generation and Corruption: 25 Of Necessations and warms Damons, and of Demi-gods. 9 ... Of the firft Matter, , soon Ontiline sais 26. Of the effenen of Necestite. 10 Of the Forme called Idea. and har the librato Of Definite weith of guinon a so the rolch 28, Of she fuhltance of Deftime. II Of Causes. 29 Of Fortung Start of mistishada la work 12 Of Bodies. 130 Of Nature and the month will 13 Of the least indivisible bodies or Atomes. Post bearing in a food between de 14 Of Figures. For have a adoctated an italy to A worporwind and value Chapters of the lecond Bookeshive and interest of the lected emiles I caters, where the a tyranomic the harh in the 11 Of heaven, and what is the full kanca thereof. of the world. 12 The division of heavens and hemmanyour Of the figure of the world. clesis endivided internaision sind 3 Whether the world be endued with foule, they be composed? Whether the world be incorruptible. 14 The figure of the starres. Whereof the world is nourished. 15 The order and situation of the starres. With what element God began to frame the 16 The lation or motion of the starres. 17 Whence the starres have their light. For what cause the world bendethor copeth. 18 Of the flarres called Dioscuri, that is to say, The order of the worlds fabricke. Caftor and Pollux. 9 Whether there be any voidnesse without the 19 The signifiance of starres: bow commeth winter and Summer. 10 Which is the right side of the world, and 20 The substance of the sunne.

Opinions of Philosophers.

28 The illumination of the moone. 29 The eclipse of themoone.

30 The face or apparence of the moone; and why she seemeth earthly.

31 The distance that is betweene sunne and moone.

32 Of the yeere; and how much is the great yeere; & the revolution of each planet.

Chapters of the third Booke.

Of the circle Galaxia, or the milke way. Of comets or blasing starres; of starres that

23 The solftices or summe-steads, or the conver-

21 The greatneffe of the funne.

lions of the lumme.

22 The forme of the laune.

24 The esclypse of the summe.

25 The fub stance of the moone.

The forme of she moone.

26 The bignesseof the moone.

Seeme to shoot or fall; as also of the firekg bts, or meteores called beames.

3 Of thunders, lightnings, flashings, of the burning winds, called Presteres and

Typhons. Of clouds, raine, snowe, and haile.

Of the rainbowe.

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IO

21 The

Ofrods or strakes in the skie. 6

Of windes. Of winter and lummer.

true.

Of the earth: what is the substance thereof: 19 Of the circle called Halo: and how biggest is.

10 The forme of the earth.

II The positure or situation of the earth.

12 The bending of the earth. 13 The motion of the earth.

14 The devision of the earth.

15 The zones or climates of the earth, how many and how great they be.

16 Of earth quakes.

17 Of the sea: how it is concret; and how it comes to be bitter.

18 How come the tides, that is to say, the ebbing and flowing of the seas.

Chapters of the fourth Booke.

1 Oftherifing of Nilus. Of the foule. Whether the soule becorporall: and what is her substance. The parts of the loule. Which is the mistresse or principall part of the Soule , and wherein it doth consist. Of the Soules motion. Of the foules immortalitie.

Of the fenfes and fenfible things. Whether the senses and imaginations be

10 Howmany senses there be. 11 How sense and notion is performed, as also how reason is ingendred according to dis-

12 What difference there is betweene imaginati-

on, imaginable, and imagined. 13 Of fight, and how we doe fee.

14 Of the reflexions or refemblances in mir-

15 Whether darknesse be visible.

16 Of hearing. 17 Of [melling.

18 Oftasting. 19 Of the voice.

20 Whether the voice beincorporall : and how commeth the resonance called eccho.

21 How it is that the foule bath fense: and what is the principal & predominas part therof.

Of respiration.

23 Of the passions of the body: and whether the Soule have a fellow-feeling with it of

Chapters of the fift Booke. 7

Of divination or foreknowledge of future things. 50 How dreames come.

What is the substance of maturall feed. Whether naturall seed be a body.

Whether femals as well as males doe yeeld naturall feed.

After what maner conceptions are.

How males and females are engendred.

How monsters are ingendred.

What is the reason that a woman accompanying often times carnally with a man, doth not concerve.

10 How twinnes, both two and three at once, be occasioned.

11 How commeth the resemblance of parents

THE FIRST BOOKE OF

Philosophers opinions.

Opinions of Philosophers.

CHAP. I.

What is IX ature?

Ince then, our intent and purpose is to confider and treat of Naturall philosophic, I thinke

Sit needfull, to thew first, what is Nature: for abfurd it were, to enterprise a discourse of Natu-

rall things, and meane-while to be ignorant of Nature and the power thereof. Nature then (ac-

cording to the opinion of Ariftotle) is the beginning of motion and rest, in that thing wherein it

is properly and principally, not by accident: for all things to be seene (which are done neither

turall, as having a proper and peculiar nature of their owne; as the earth, fire, water, aire, plants,

and living creatures. Moreover, those other things which we do see ordinarily engendered, as

raine, hade, lightning, presteres, winds, and such like; for all these have a certeine beginning;

and every one of them was not fo for ever, and from all eternitie, but did proceed from some

originall: likewife, living creatures and plants, have a beginning of their motion; and this first

principle, is Nature : the beginning not of motion onely, but also of rest and quiet; for whatso-

ever hath had a beginning of motion, the same also may have an end; and for this cause, Nature

10 by fortune nor by necessitie, and are not divine, nor have any such efficient cause) be called Na-

and progenitours, in children.

- 12 What is the cause that infants be like to some other, and not to the parents. 13 How women proove barren, and men unable
- to ingender.
- 14 What is the reason that mules be barren. 15 Whether the fruit within the wombe, is to be
- accounted a living creature or no.
- wombe.
- 18 How it commeth to passe, that infants borne at seven moneths end, doe live, and are 27 Of nourishment and growth. livelike.
- 19 Of the generation of living creatures; how they be ingendred, and whether they be
- 20 How many kindes there be of living creatures; whether they all have sense and use of reason.

- 21 In what time living creatures receive forme within the mother's wombe.
- 22 Of what elements is every generall part in us composed.
- 23 How commesh fleepe and death; whether it is of soule or bodie.
- 24 When and bow a man beginnerh to come unto his perfection.
- 16 How such fruits be nourished within the 25 Whether it is soule or bodie, that either sleepethor dieth.
- 17 What part is first accomplished in the wombe. 26 How plants come to grow, and whether they be living creatures.
 - 28 From whence proceed appetites, lusts and pleasures in living creatures.
 - 29 How the feaver is ingendred; and whether is be an accessarie or symptome to another disease.
 - 30 Of health, sicknesse, and olde age.

Eing minded to write of naturall philosophie, we thinke it necessary

ry in the first place, and before all things els, to set downe the whole

disputation of Philosophie, by way of division; to the end that we

may know which is naturall, and what partit is of the whole. Now the Stoicks fay, that fapience or wisdom is the science of all things,

aswell divine as humane; and that Philosophie is the profession and exercise of the art expedient thereto, which is the onely su-

preame and fovereigne vertue; and the fame divided into three most generall vertues; to wit, Naturall, Morall, and Verball : by

reason whereof, Philosophie also admitteth a three-folde distribu-

is the beginning aswell of rest as of moving.

CHAP. II.

What difference there is betweene a principle and an element.

Ristotle and Plato are of opinion, that there is a difference betweene a Principle and an A Element; but Thales Milefus thinketh they be both one: howbeit, there is a great difference betweene the one and the other; for elements be compounded; whereas we holde, that the first Principles neither be compounded, norare any complet substance: and verily, earth, water, aire, and fire, we tearme Elements; but Principles we call other Natures in this respect, that there is nothing precedent or before them, where f they are ingendred; for otherwise, if they were not the first, they should in no wise be Principles, but that rather were to be so called, wher-30 of they be ingendred. Nowcerteine things there are precedent, whereof, earth and water, &cc. be composed; to wit, the first matter, without all forme and shape; as also the first forme it selfe, which we call Entelechia; and thirdly, Privation. Thales therefore is in an error, when he faith, that water was both the Element and Principle or first beginning of all things.

CHAP. III.

Of principles or first beginnings, what they be.

* HALES the Milelian affirmed, that Water was the first principle of the whole world: 40 and this man feemeth to have beene the first author of philosophie; and of him tooke the Ionique fect of Philosophers their name (for many families there were flicceffively of Philosophers) who having studied Philosophie in Aegypt, went to Miletum, when hee was farre stept in yeeres, where he mainteined this position: That all things were made of Water; so all things were to be refolved again einto Water. The reasons of this conjecture of his, were these: first, because naturall seed is the principle and beginning of all living creatures, and that is of a moift substance; therefore probable it is, that all other things likewise have humiditie for their principle: fecondly, for that all forts of plants be nourifhed by moifture, which if they want, they wither and fade away: thirdly, confidering that the fire or the finne it felfe, and the starres is nourished and mainteined by vapours proceeding from the waters, the whole 30 world also by confequence confilteth of the fame: which is the reason, that Homer (supposing all things to be engendred of water) faith thus:

The ocean fea, from whence ccb thing

But ANAXIMAND Exthe Milefian holdeth: that Infinitie is the principle of ale for every thing proceedeth from it, & refolveth into it againe; & therefore there be engendred infinit worlds; and those vanish againe into that whereof they bee engendred : and why is there this Infinitie? Because (quoth he) there should never faile any generation, but still have subfittence, howbeit,

Engendreckie, and hath beginning.

pateticks, in maner all, divide Philosophie in this maner; namely, into Contemplative and Active: For necessarie it is (say they) that a man (to atteine unto persection) should be a spectatour of all things that are, and an actour of fuch things as be feemely and decent, and may the better be understood by these examples: The question is demanded, whether the Sunne be a living creature, according as it feemeth to the fight to be, or no? He that fearcheth and enquireth into the trueth of this question, is altogether therein speculative, for he seeketh no far- 50 ther than the contemplation of that which is; femblably, if the demand bemade, whether the

world is infinit? or if there be any thing without the pourptile of the world? for all these questions be meere contemplative. But on the other fide mooved it may be, How a man ought to live? how he should governe his children? how he is to beare rule, and office of State? and lastly, in what maner, lawes are to be ordeined and made? for all thefe are fought into, in regard of

tion; to wit, into Naturall, Morall, Rationall or Verball: the Naturall part is that, when as we 49

enquire and dispute of the world and the things conteined therein: Morall, is occupied in in-

treating of the good and ill that concerneth mans life: Rationall or Verball, handleth that

which perteineth unto the discourse of reason and to speech, which also is named Logique

or Dialelectique, that is to fay, Disputative. But Aristotle and Theophrastus, with the Peti-

action, and a man conversant therein, is altogether active and practique.

CHAP

Which of natures eternity, Doth seed and root containe.

And our foule (as he faith) doth confift of the quaternary number; for there is in it, understanding, science, opinion, and sence; from whence proceedethall manner of art and knowledge, and whereupon we our felves are called reasonable: as for understanding, it is that unity; for that it conceiveth and knoweth not but by unitie; as for example: There being many men, they are not every one in particular subject to our senses, but incomprehensible and infinit; mary in our understanding we conceive and apprehend this one man alone, unto whom none is like: and so in our cogitation we consider one man onely; but if they bee considered particularly To apart, they are infinit: for all these genders and kindes are in unitie; and therefore when the question is asked of a particular man what he is? we yeeld a general definition and fay: He is a reasonable creature, apt to discourse by reason; and so likewise of this or that horse, wee must answer: That hee is a living creature, having a propertie to neigh. Thus you see how underflanding is unity, whereby we understand these things: but the binary or number of two, is by good right an indefinit science: for all demonstration and proofe of any science, yea and moreover, all manner of fyllogifme or argumentation, doth collect a conclusion which was doubtfull, of certaine premifed propositions, confessed as true: whereby it sheweth easily another thing, whereof the comprehension is science; and so it appeareth, that science by a likelihood is the binarie number: but opinion by good reason may be said, the ternary number by 20 comprehension; for that opinion is of many, and the ternaric number implieth a pluralitie or multitude, as we may fee by the poet when he faith:

Thrice happy men, Those Greeks were then.

And for this cause *Pythagoras* made no reckoning of three, whose seet he name of *Italique*, for that he (not able to endure the tyrannicall dominion of *Polygrates*) departed from *Samos*, his native country, and went to keepe his schoole in *Italy*.

HERACLYTUS, and HIPPASUS the Metapontine, were of opinion, that Fire was the principle and beginning of all: for of fire fay they, all things are made, and in fire they shall have an end; and when it is extrinct and quenched, the universal world is in this manner engendred and framed: for first and formost the grosest part thereof being condensate and thrust together into it selfe, becommeth earth, and afterwards, when the same earth is resolved by fire, it turneth to be water; which when it doth evaporate, is converted into aire: againe, the whole world, and all the bodies therein conteined, shall be one day consumed by fire in that generall constagration and burning of all: whereby hee concludeth, that fire is the beginning of all things, as that whereof all was made, and the end likewise, for that all things are resolved into it.

EPICURUS the Athenian, fonne of Neocles, following the philosophie of Democritus, faith: That the principles of all things be certeine Atomes, that is to fay, little bodies indivisible, and by reason onely perceptible, the same solide, and admitting no vacuitie, not engen-40 dred, immortall, eternall, incorruptible, such as neither can be broken, nor receive any forme of the parts, ne yet be otherwise altered: These (nboth he) being perceptible & comprehended by reason, moove notwithstanding in emptinesse, and by emptinesse; & as the same voidnesse is infinite, fo the faid bodies also bein number infinit; howbein these three qualities are incident unto them, figure, bigneffe, and waight: for DEMO CRITUS allowed them but twaine, to wit, bigneffe, and figure; but Epicurus added unto them a third, namely poile or ponderofitie: For these bodies (quoth he) must of necessitie moove by the permission of the weight; otherwise they could not possibly stirre: the figures also of their bodies, (line faid) were comprehensible and not infinit; and these were neither hooked nor three-forked, ne yet round in manner of a ring, for fuch formes are apt to breake: as for the Atomes themselves, they be impassible and 50 infrangible, having certeine figures, no otherwise perceptible, but by reason; and such a body is called Atomus, not in this regard, that it is the least of all, but for that it cannot be divided, as being impaffible, and admitting no vacuitie: and therefore he that nameth an Atome, faith as much, as infrangible, impaffible, and without vacuitie: now that there is such an indivisible body called Atomus, it is apparent, for that there be elements eternall, bodies void, and an

EMPEDOCLES, an Agrigentine, the fonne of *Meton*, faith: There be four eelements, fire, aire, water, and earth; also two principall faculties or powers, namely, accord, and discord, for Yung

even he also erreth heerein; for that he declareth not what is this Infinitie whereof he speaketh, whether it be aire, water, or any other body? he faileth likewise in this, that he putteth downe a subject matter, but overthroweth the efficient cause: for this Infinity whereof he talketh, is no subject matter; and matter cannot atteine to perfection, nor come into act; unless thing else but matter; and matter cannot atteine to perfection, nor come into act; unless there be some mooving and efficient cause. Anaximens the Milesan, mainteineth that aire is the principle of the world; for that all things come of it, and returne unto it. Like as, are is the principle of the world; for that all things come of pipit and aire mainteine the Being (quoth he) our sould essent aire; keepeth us alive; even so spirit and aire mainteine the Being of the whole world: for spirit and aire be two words, signifying both one thing. But this Philosofther is out of the way as well as the rest, in that hee thinketh that living creatures be composed of a simple spirit, or uniforme aire: and impossible it is that there should be but one printed of a simple spirit, or uniforme aire: and impossible it is that there should be but one printed of all things, to wit, matter; but there ought withall to be supposed an efficient cause: for ciple of all things, to wit, matter; but there ought withall to be supposed an efficient cause; for come not unto it, the efficient cause, to wit, the gold-smith: semblably we are to say of brasse, wood, and all other forts of matter.

ANAXAGORAS the Clazomenian, is perswaded, and so teacheth: That the principles of the world, and all that therein is, are finall like parcels; which hee tearmeth Homacomeries; for hee thought it altogether abfurd and impossible, that any thing should bee made of that which is not; or beed iffolved into that which hath no being; for how foever we take our nourishmentsimple and uniforme; as for example; eat bread of corne, and drinke water, yet with this nutriment, are nourified, haires, veines, atteries, finewes, bones, and other parts of 20 the bodie, which being to: Confesse wee must (quoth hee) likewise, that in this food which wee receive are all things which have their Being; and that all things doe grow and encrease of that which hath Being: so that in this nourishment be those parcels which breed bloud, sinewes bones, and other parts of our body, which may bee comprehended by discourse of reafon; for we are not to reduce all unto the outward fenfe, to shew and proove that bread and water effect these things: but it may suffice, that in them these parts are conceived by reason: Inalinuch therefore as in nourithment there be parcels semblable unto that which they breed, in that regard he called them Homeomeries, affirming them to be the principles of all things; and even so he would have these semblable parcels, to be the matter of all things; and for efficient cause, he setteth downe a Minde or understanding, that ordereth and disposeth al. And thus 30 beginneth he to goe to worke, and reasoneth in this wife. All things at first were consumed and hudled together pell mell; but that Minde or understanding doth sever, dispose, and set them in order: in this one thing yet he hath done wel, and is to be commended, that unto the matter he hath adjoined a workman.

ARCHELAUS an Athenian, the sonne of Apollodorus, affirmeth, that the principle of all things was the infinit aire, together with the condenfation, and rarefaction thereof, of which the one is fire, and the other water: and these Philosophers, following by continuall succession one upon another after Thales, made that feet which is called Jonique. But from another head, PYTHAGORAS the sonne of Minefarchus, & a Samian borne, the first author of the name of Philosophie: held that the principle of all things were Numbers, and their symmetries, that 40 is to (ay, the proportions that they have in their correspondency one unto another; which hee calleth otherwife Harmonies: & those elements that be composed of them both, are tearmed by him Geometricall: furthermore, hee reckoneth among Principles, unitie, and Twaine indefinit; of which, the one tendeth and halteneth to an efficient and specificall cause, to wit, a Minde, and the same is God; the other unto a passive and material cause, namely, the visible world: Moreover, he thought that the Denarie or Ten, was the absolute nature and perfection of numbers; for that all men, as well Greeks as Barbarians, count untillten, and when they be thither come, they returne backe againe unto unitie: over and besides hee said: That all the power of ten, confifted within fower, and in a quaternarie; the reason is this: that if a man begin at one, and reckon on ftill, numbring upright unto foure, hee shall make up ten; surpasse 50 he once the quaternarie, he is gone beyond the denarie; as for example; one and two make three, three thereto arise to fixe, put thereto foure, and you have ten: insomuch as number collected by unities, resteth in ten; but the force and puissance thereof lighth in soure. The Pythagoreans therefore were wont to sweare by the quaternario or numbers of foure, which they held to be the greatest oath that they could take, as appeareth by this Distiction:

I fweare by this quaternity, That yeeless our foules fountaine,

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amitie and enmitie, of which, the one hath puissance to unite, the other to dissolve: and these be his words:

Foure seeds and rootes of all things that you see, Now listen first, and hearken what they be: Lord Jupiter with his ignipotence, And lady Junoes vitall influence, Rich Pluto, and dame Neitis weeping ay, Who with her teares, our feed-four fe weets alway.

By Jupiter hee meaneth fierie heat, and ardent skie; by Juno giving life, the aire; by Pluto, the earth; by Nessis and this humane fountaine of naturall feed, water.

SOCRATES the sonne of Sophroniseus, and PLATO the sonne of Ariston, both Athenians, (for the opinions of them both, concerning the world and all things therein, be the same) have set downe three principles, God, Matter, and Idea, that is to say, Forme: God is an univerfall spirit or Minde: Matter is the first and principall subject of generation and corruption: Idea, an incorporall fubstance, resting in the thoughts and cogitations of God, which God; is the generall foule and intelligence of the world.

ARISTOTELES of Stagira the sonne of Nichomachus, hath put downe for Principles these three, to wit, a certaine forme called Eutelettus, Matter, and Privation: for elements, foure, and

for a fifth Quintessence, the heavenly bodie which is immutable.

ZENO the some of Manseas, a Citican borne, holdeth for two principles, God and Mtater. 20 whereof the one is an active and efficient cause, and the other passive; and besides, source elements.

CHAP. IIII.

How the the world was framed?

"His world then, became composed & formed in a round figure, bending and coping after this manner: those Atomes or indivisible bodies, having an accidentatie and inconsiderate motion, stirring continually, and most strictly, happen many of them to encounter one another and meet together; in which regard they differ in figures and magnitudes; now when they are thus gathered and heaped up together in one, the greater fort of them, and fuch as were 30 most ponderous, settled altogether downeward; as many of them as were small, round, even, fmooth, and flipperie, those being beaten upon by the encounter of these weightie bodies, were repulsed, driven backe, and forced upward; but when that force which drave them alost began to faile, and gave over once to fend them up higher, not being able to fall downward againe; for that they were empeached, they were of necessitie enforced to retire into those places which were able to receive them: to wit, such as were round about them; unto which, a mightic number of bodies being wound together in an heape, and by meanes of the repercuffion, enterlaced one within another, they engendred and brought forth the heaven; and afterwards others of the same nature; yet of divers formes (as hath been said before) being likewise driven up alost, accomplished the nature of Stars. Moreover, the multitude of those bodies yeelding a vapour 40 and exhalation, did beat forward and drive the aire; which by flitting and motion, being converted into wind, and comprising therewith the Starres, turned them about with it; and so maintaine unto this day, that revolution which they have aloft. Of those bodies then, which setled below, was made the earth; and of fuch as mounted on high, the heaven, the fire, and the aire: but round about the earth, by occasion that there was much matter yet left, and the same incrasfate and thickned, by the forcible driving of the winds, and the breathing of the starres: all that part thereof which was more fubtile, and of a thinner forme and confiftance, gathered round together, and engendred the element of water, which being of a liquid, and flowing nature ran downward to holow places lying low, which were able to receive and hold them: or else the water of it selfe where it stated and rested, made concavities and hollow places underneath. Thus 50 you fee after what manner the principall parts of the world were first engendred and made.

Whether All be one?

He STOIKE Philosophers held opinion that the world was one, which they called my, That is to fay, All, and the same of corporall substance. EMPEDOCLES

EMPEDOCLES affirmed, that the world indeed was one; but All and the world, were not both one: for the world quoth he, is but a small portion of All: and as for the rest beside, it is but an

PLATO proveth his opinion, that the world is but one, by conjecture; and gueffeth All to be one, by three prefumptions or probable arguments. First, for that otherwise the world were not perfect and accomplished, if it comprised not All within it felfe. Secondly, it should not be like unto the pattern, if it were not one and uniforme. Thirdly, it would not be incorruptible, in case there were any thing without it. But wee are to answere Plate and say against him, that the world is perfect, although it comprehend not all things: for man is perfect c-10 nough, and yet all things benot comprised in him. Moreover, there be many examples drawn from one pattern, as we may see in statues, houses, and pictures: and how is it persect, if any thing may turne without it? Finally, incorruptible neither is it, nor can it be, confidering it had a be-

Ms TRODORUS faith: That as it were an abfurd and impertinent speech to say, that in a great field there grew but one care of corne; so it were as strange a matter, that in this infinitic there should be but one world: and that there be in number infinite, it appeareth by this, that there be causes infinite: for if the world were finite, and all the causes infinite whereof it is made, it cannot chuse but of necessitie there should be likewise infinite: for where all the causes be, there must needs the effects follow: now the causes of the world, be either these Atomes or the

20 Elements.

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CHAP. VI.

From whence it came that Men had the notion of God?

"He Stoicke Philosophers define the Effence of God in this wife;namely, To be a spirit full 1 of intelligence, and of a fiery nature, having no forme, but transforming himselfe into whatfoever he will, and refembling all things. The notion and apprehension men had of him, first, by conceiving the beautie of those things which are object to their eies : for no beauti-30 full thing harh beene made by chaunce, and ar adventure, but composed & framed by some ingenious and operative Art: now that the heaven is beautifull, it appeareth by the forme, colour, and bigneffe thereof, by the varietie also of the starres disposed therein: moreover, the world is round in manner of a Ball, which figure of all other is principall and most perfect, for it alone resembleth all the parts; for being round it selfe, it hath the parts likewise round. For this cause Plato said, That our mind and reason (the most divine part of man) is lodged and seated in the head, which commeth neere unto a round figure: as for the colour, it is faire and lovely; for it flandeth upon the azure or blew, which being more darke than purple, hath notwithflanding a bright and resplendent qualitie, in such fort, as by the exceeding strength of that lightfome hew, it cutteth and pierceth thorow fo great an intervall and spaciousnesse of the aire, 40 as it may be evidently seene in so mightie a distance: in regard also of the greatnesse thereof, it is right beautifull; for; of all things that be of one and the fame kinde, that which invitoneth and conteineth the reft, is ever fairest; as we may see in a living creature, and a tree: besides, to confummate and accomplish the beautie of the world, there be the celestiall signes which appeare unto our cie; for the oblique circle of the Zodiake, is embelished with twelve divers and sundry

Wherein the CRAB is to be seene, the LION after it. The VIRGIN, and two forked * CIEES. the Scorpion with his bit, The ARCHER and the CAPRICORNE, upon which horned GOAT, There follow with the WATER-MAN, two Fishes all affoat; And after thefe, enfue in courfe, the RAM and sturdy Bull, But last of all, the double Twinnes, make up the douzen full.

Yyy 3

Besides

Befides an innumerable fort of other configurations of starres, which God hath made in the like arches and rotundities of the world; whereupon Euripides wrote thus:

The starrie splendour of the skie, which Leiver some do call, The woondrous worke of that most wife

Thus then we apprehended hecreby, the notion of God; for the sunne, the moone, and other Greatour, Lord of all. starres, after they have performed the course of their revolutions under the earth, come to rise againe all like in colour, equall in bigneffe, and reteining alwaies still the same places and times: whereupon, they who deliver unto us the maner of Gods service and worship, declare the same 10 unto us after three forts; the first, naturall; the second, fabulous; and the third, civill; that is to fay, restified by the statutes and ordinances of every city and State: the naturall is taught by philosophers; the fabulous, by poets; the civill and legall, by the customes of ech citie: but all this doctrine and maner of teaching, is divided into feven forts; the first confisteth in the celestiall bodies, appearing aloft in heaven; for men had an apprehention of God, by starres that thew above, seeing how they are the causes of great symphonic and accord, and that they keepe a certeine constant order of day and night, of Winter and Summer, of rifing and setting, yea, and among those living creatures and fruits, which the earth beneath bringeth forth: whereupon, it hath bene thought, that heaven was the father, and earth, the mother to thele; for that the powring downe of howers and raine feemed in flead of naturall feeds, and the earth as a mother, to 20 conceive and bring the same forth. Men also, seeing and considering the starres alwaies Storres, that is to fay, holding on their course, and that they were the cause that we did sweet, that is to fay, beholde and contemplate: therefore they called the funne and moone, &cc. Stile, that is to fay, gods, of the word 340, that is to fay, to run, and 340/40, that is to fay, to behold. Now they range the gods into a fecond and third degree; namely, by dividing them into those that be profitable, and tuch as are hurtfull, calling the good and profitable, Japater, Juno, Mercurie, and Ceres; but the noisome and hurtfull, mores, that is to say, maligne spirits, seerous, that is to say, furies, and Ares, that is to fay, Mars, whom they detelled, as badde and violent, yea, and devifed meanes to appeare and qualifie their wrath. Moreover, the fourth and fifth place and degree, they attributed unto affaires, passions and affections; namely, love, Venus, luft or defire: and as 30 for affaires, they had hope, jultice, good policie and equitie. In the fixth place, be those whom the poets have fained; for Hefodus being minded to let downe a father for the gods begotten and engendred, devised and brought in such progenitors as these,

Towit, fit Ceus and Crius, Hyperion, and Iaperus.

whereupon, all this kind is named Fabulous. But in the seventh place, are those who were adorned with divine honors, in regard of the great benefits and good deeds done unto the common life of mankind, although they were begotten and borne after the maner of men; and tuch were Hercules, Caftor, Pollux, and Bacehus; and thefe, they faid, had an humane forme: for that as the most noble and excellent nature of all, is that of gods; so of living creatures, the most beautiful, 40 is man, as adorned with fundry vertues above the relt, and fimply the belt, confidering the conflitution of his minde and foule: they thought it therefore meet and reasonable, that those who had done best, and performed most noble acts, resembled that which was the most beautiful and excellent of all other.

CHAP. VII.

What is God?

Ome of the philosophers, and namely, Diagor as of the isle of Melos, Theodor as the Cyrenze-Dan, and Euemer to of Teges, held resolutely, that there were no gods. And verily, as touching 50 Euemerus, the poet Callimachus of Cyrene, writeth covertly in Iambique verles, after this maner:

الم atroupe, into that chapell go, Without the walles, the city not far re fro; Whereas sometime that old vain-clorious affe, When as he had she image cast in broffe, Of Jupiter, proceeded for to write Those wicked books, which shame was to indite. Opinions of Philosophers.

And what books were they? even those, wherein he discoursed that there were no gods at all. And Euripides the tragaedian poet, although he durft not discover & fet abroad in open tearnies the same, for feare of that high court and councell of areopagus, yet he signified as much, in this maner; for he brought in Sifyphus as the principall authour of this opinion, and afterwards, favourizeth even that sentence of his, himselfe; for thus he saith:

The time was, when the life of man was rude, And as wilde beafts, with reason not endu'd, Disordinate, when wrong was done alway, As might and force in ech one bare the fway.

10 But afterwards, these enormities were laied away, and put downe, by the bringing in of lawes: howbeit, for that the law was able to repreffe injuries and wicked deeds, which were notorious and evidently seene, and yet many men notwithstanding, offended and finned secretly; then fome wife man there was , who confidered and thought with himfelfe , that needfull it was alwaies, to blindfold the trueth with fome devifed and forged lies, yea, and to perswade men, that AGod there is, who lives immortally,

Who heares, who sees, and knowes all woondrousty.

For away (quoth he) with vaine dreames and poeticall fictions, together with Callimach w, who faith:

If God thou knowest, wot well, his power divine, All things can well performe, and bring to fine.

For God is not able to effect all things: for fay there be a God, let him make fnow, blacke, fire, cold, him that fittethor lieth, to fland upright, or the contrary at one inflant: and even Plato himselfe, that speaketh so bigge, when he faith: That God created and formed the world to his owne pattern and likeneffe, finelleth heerein very strongly of some old *dotards soolerie: to *sourcesspeake according to the poets of the old comedie: For how could hee looke upon himselfe in forto. stri-(quoth he) to frame the world according to his owne fimilitude? of how hath he made it round keth m No. b. in manner of a globe, being himfelfe lower than a man?

ANAXAGORAS is of opinion, that the first bodies in the beginning stood still and stirred not: but then the minde and understanding of God, digested and aranged them in order, yea

30 and effected the generations of all things in the univerfall world. PLATO is of a contrary mind, faying: That there first bodies were not in repose but that they moved confutedly and without order: whereuppon God (quoth he) knowing that order was much better than disorder and confusion, disposed all these things; but as well the one as the other have hecrein faulted in common; for that they imagined and devifed, that God was entangled and encumbred with humane affaires; as also that he framed the world in regard of man, and for the care that he had of him: for furely (living (as he doth) happy & immortal, a complifhed with all forts of good things, and wholly exempt from all evill, as being altogether imploied and given to prefer and mainteine his owne bearitude and immortallity) he intermedleth not in the affaires and occasions of men; for so he should be as unhappy and miserable as some artizan, 40 mason or labouring workman, bearing heavie burdens travelling and sweting about the sabrick of the world Againe this god of who they speake, of necessity either was not before the creation of the world, at what time as those first bodies lay still unmoveable, or stirred consusedly; or else if he were before, he either flept or watched, or did neither the one nor the other: but as the former of these we may not admit, for that God is eternall; so the latter we cannot confesse: for if

and this vicinity to death, are much distant a funder and cannot stand both together: but if wee fay, that God was awake all that while; either he was defectuous in his bleffed state of felicity; or els he enjoyed the same complet : but in the first condition God is not happy; for what lo-50 ever wanteth ought offelitity cannot be happy ; and verily in the second state he is not better: for if he were detective in nothing before, to what purpose busied he himselfe in such vaine enterprises? moreover if there be a God, and that by his prudent care, mens affaires be governed, how commeth it to paffe that wicked men profeer in the world, and finde fortune their indulgent mother, but the good and honelf fuffer the contrary, and feele her to be a curft stepdame? for king Agamemnon, as the poet faith,

God slept from all eternity and time out of minde, he was no better than dead; for what is eter-

nal fleep, other than death? but firely God is not fubject to death: for the immortallity of God,

Aprinceriohi goood and gracious, A knight withall most valourous.

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was by an adulterer and adulteresse furprised and murdered trecherously: and Hereules one of his race and kinted, after he had tidde and purged the life of man from so many monsters that troubled his reposewas possened by Deianeira, and so by indirect meanes lost his life.

THALES faith, that God is the foule of the world.

ANAXIMANDER is of opinion, that the starres be celestiall gods.

DEMOCRITUS is perswaded, that God is a minde of a fierie nature, and the foule of the world.

PYTHAGORAS affirmeth, that of the two first principles, Unitie was God, and the soveraigne good; which is the very nature of one, and is Understanding it selfe: but the indefinite binatic, is the divell and evill, about which is the multitude materiall, and the visible world.

SOCRATES and PLATO doe hold, that he is one and of a fimple nature, begotten and borne of himselfealone, truly good: All which tearmes and attributes, tend unto a Minde: fo that, this minde is God, a forme separate apart, that is to say, neither mingled with any mat-

ter, nor entangled and joined with any thing passible whatsoever.

ARISTOTLE supposeth, that this supreme God is an abstract forme, seeled upon the round sphere of the universall world, which is an heavenly and celestiall body, and therefore tearmed by him, the sisth body or quinta essentia: which celestial body being divided into many spheres coherent by nature, but separate and distinct by reason and understanding, hee thinketh each of these spheres to be a kinde of animal, composed of body, and soule, of which twaine, the bodie is celestiall, mooving circularly; and the soule, reason, unmooveable in itselfe, but the cause 20 in effect of motion.

The Stoicksteach after a more generall manner, and define God, to be a working and artificiall fire, proceeding methodically and in order to the generation of the world, which comprehended in it felfe all the fipermaticall proportions and reasons of feed; according to which every thing by statall destinie, is produced and commeth foorth: also to be a spirit piercing and spreading through the whole world; howbeit, changing his denomination throughout the whole matter, as it passed by transition from the one to the other: Semblably that the world is God, the states likewise and the earth, yea, and the supreme minde above in heaven.

Finally, Epicurus conceiveth thus of the gods, that they all have the forme of man, and yet be perceptable onely, by reason and cogitation, in regard of the subtile parts, and fine nature 30 of their imaginative figures: he also affirmeth, that those other foure natures in generall be incorruptible, to wit, the atomes, vacuitie, infinitie, and resemblances, which also be called semblable parcels and elements.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Demons and demy-gods, otherwise named, Heroes.

To this treatile of the gods, meet it is to adjoine a discourse as touching the nature of Demones and Herees.

THALES, PYTHAGORAS, PLATO, and the STOICKS, hold that these Dæmons be spirituall substances: and the Heroes soule separate from their bodies; of which fort, there be good and bad: the good Heroes are the good soules, and the bad Heroes the bad soules; but EFICURUS admitteth none of all this.

CHAP. IX.

Of Matter.

Matter is the first and principall subject exposed to generation, corruption, and other mu- 50 trains.

The Sectaries of Thales and Pythagoras, together with the Stoicks, doe fay, that this Matter, is variable, mutable, alterable and fluxible, all wholly thorow the universall world. The disciples and followers of Democratus are of opinion, that the first principles be impassible; to wit, the small indivisible bodie, Atomos, Voidnesse, and Incorporall.

ARISTOTLE and PLATO doe holde, that Matter is corporall, without forme, shape, significant qualitie, in the owne nature and propertie; but when it hathreceived formes once, it becommeth

becommeth (as it were) a nurse, a molde, pattern, and a mother. They who set downes for this Matter, water, earth, fire or aire, do not say, that now it is without forme; but that it is a very bodie: but such as affirme, that these Atomes and indivisible bodies be the said Matter, make it altogether formelesse.

CHAP. X.

Of Idea.

Dea is a bodileffe fubftance, which of it felfe hath no fubfiftence, but giveth figure and forme to fhapeleffe matters, and becommeth the very cause that bringeth them into shew and evidence.

SOCRATES and PLATO suppose, that these Idea bee substances separate and distinct from Matter, howbeit, substisting in the thoughts and imaginations of God, that is to say, of Minde and Understanding.

Arts to the admitteth verily these formes and Idea, howbeir, not separate from matter, as being the patterns of all that which God hath made.

The Stoicks, fuch as were the scholars of Zeno, have delivered, that our thoughts and conceits were the Idea.

CHAP. XI.

Of Causes.

A Caufe is that whereupon dependent or followeth an effect, or by which any thing hap-

Plano hath fet downe three kinds of Causes, and those are diftinguished by these tearmes; By which, Of which, and For which; but he taketh the most principall to be that, By which; that is to say, the efficient cause, which is the minde or understanding.

PYTHAGORAS and ARISTOTLE do hold, that the principall Causes be incorporall; and as for other Causes, either by participation or by accident, they are of a corporal substance: and so the world is a bodie.

30 But the Stoicks are of opinion, that all Causes are corporall, inasmuch as they be spirits.

CHAP. XII

Of Bodies.

A Bodie is measurable, and hath three dimensions, length, bredth and depth or thicknesses. Or thus: A Bodie is a masse that resisteth, touching naturally of itselfe; or that which occupieth a place.

PLATO faith, that a Body is neither heavie nor light of it felfe naturally, folong as it abideth in the owne proper place; but being once in a strange place, it hath first an inclination, and up-40 on it a motion and impulsion, either to weight or lightnesse.

ARISTOTLE is of opinion, that earth fimply is most ponderous, and fire lightest: that aire and water be of a middle or doubtfull nature betweene both, sometime heavie and otherwhiles light.

The Storens hold, that of the four elements, two be light; namely, Fire and Aire; other two be heavie; to wit, Water and Earth: for, light is that, which of the owne nature, and not by any compulfion or infligation remove th from the proper middle where it is: heavy also is that, which naturally tendeth to the faid middle; but the middle it selfe; is in no wise heavie.

EPICURUS faith, that Bodies are not comprehensible; that the first Bodies be simple; but all the compositions of them have their weight and ponderositie: also, that the ATOMES doe 50 move, some plumbe right downe; others, at one side; and some againe, mount alost, and that by impulsion and concussion.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the smallest Bodies.

EMPRDOCLES is of opinion, that before the foure elements, there were certeine small parcels or fragments, as one would say, elements before elements 3 and those were of semblable parts, and the same all round.

HERACLITUS

that is to fay,

and conditi-

Opinions of Philosophers.

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HERACLLIUS cometh in with (Iknow not what) petie scrapings or shavings, exceeding small, and the same not divisible into parts.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of Figures.

A Figure is the superficies, circumscription, and accomplished lineament of a bodie.

The PYTHAGOREANS affirme, that the bodies of the source elements be of a sphericke or round figure; onely the highest of them (to wit, fire) is pyramidall, or sharpe pointed 10 above.

CHAP. XV.

Of Colours.

A Colour is the visible qualitie of a bodie.

The Pythagoreans called Colour, the outward superficies of the bodie.

Empedocles defined it to be that which is sit and agreeable to the waies and passages of

the fight. PLATO faith, it is a flame sent from bodies, having certaine parcels proportionable to the 20

ZENO the Stoicke holdeth, that Colours be the first figurations of any matter.

CHAP. XVI.

Concerning the Section of Bodies.

He fecturies of Thales and Pythagonas, are of opinion, that bodies bee paffible and divisible infinitely.

DEMOCRITUS and EFICURUS hold, that this fection stateth either at the Atomes indivisible, or at those small bodies which have no parts, neither doth this division (say they) passe infinitely.

ARISTOILE faith, that divided they be in infinitum, potentially, but actually not.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Mixture and Temperature.

He auncient philosophers affirme, that this mixture of Elements is by way of alteration: but ANAXAGORAS and DEMOCRITUS, say, sit is done by apposition.

EMPEDOCLES composeth the Elements of smaller massles, which he supposeth to be the least bodies, and as a man would say, the Elements of Elements.

PLATO would have the threebodies (for hee deigneth not them, either to be called or to be, Elements) to be convertible one into the other, to wit, water, aire, and fire: but as for the earth, it cannot be turned into any one of them.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of Voidnesse or Vacuntie.

The naturall philosophers of Thalbs his schoole, all untill you come to Plato, have generally disavowed and reprooved this Vacuitie: As for Empedocles thus he writeth:

In all the world so spacious,

Nought is void or superfluous.

Leucippus

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LEUCIPPUS, DEMOCRITUS, DEMERRIUS, METRODORUS, and EPICURUS, hold, that the Atomes be infinit in multitude, and Voidnesse infinit in magnitude.

The STOICES affirme, that within the world there is no Voidnesse, but without there is infinitie.

ARISTOTLE is of opinion, that without the world there is no fuch Voidnesse, as that the heaven by the meanes thereof, may draw breath, for that it is of the nature of fire.

CHAP. XIX.

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Of Place.

PLATO faith, that Place is that which is fusceptible of formes, one after another, which is by way of Metaphor or translation, to expresse the first matter, as a nurse receiving and embracing all.

ARISTOTLE taketh Place to be the extreame superficies of the continent, conjunct and contiguous to the content.

CHAP. XX.

Of Roome or Space.

THE STOTERS, and EPICURUS doe holde, that there is a difference betweene Voidnesse, and Roome: for Voidnesse (say they) is the solitude or vacuitie of a body: Place, that which is fully occupied and taken up with a body: but Roome or Space, that which is occupied but in part; as we may see in a rundlet or barrell of wine.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Time.

30 PYTHAOORAS faith, that Time is the sphære of that utmost heaven that comprise hall.
PLATO thinkethis to be the mooveable image of the exernitie, or the intervall of the worlds motion: but ERATOSTHENES affirmeth it to be the course of the sunne.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Effence of Time.

PLATO faith, that the Effence of Time is the mooving of heaven: but many of the Stotons hold it, to be the mooving it felte; and most of them affirme, that Time had no be-40 ginning of generation.

PLATO is of opinion, that engendred it is according to our conceit and capacitie.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of Motion.

PYTHAGORAS and PLATO affirme, that Motion is a certeine difference and alteration in matter.

ARISTOTLE giveth out, that it is the actual operation of that which is mooveable.

50 DEMOCRITUS faith, that there is but one kinde of Motion, to wit, that which tendeth obliquely.

EPICURUS maintaineth twaine, the one direct and plumbe, the other fide-long.

EROPHILUS is of opinion, that there is one Motion perceptible in realon, and another

EROPHILUS is of opinion, that there is one Motion perceptible in reason, and another object to sense naturall.

HERACLITUS excluded all flation, reft and repose out of the world: For this (quoth hee) belongeth unto the dead, but perpenual Motionagreeth to eternall substances; and perishable Motion to substances corruptible.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Of Generation and Corruption.

P ARMENIDES, MELISSUS, and ZENO, rejected wholy all Generation and Corrpution; for they thought the univerfall world to be unmooveable: but EMPEDOCLES and EPICURUS, and all those who held the world to be made of a masse and heape of small bodies hudled together, bring in and admit certeine concretions and diffipations; but in no wife Generations and Corruptions to Speake properly, saying, that these come not according to quali- 10 tic by way of alteration, but according to quantity by collection and heaping together.

PYTHAGORAS, and asmany as suppose matter to bee passible, hold, that there is properly indeed Generation and Corruption: for they fay that this is done by the alteration, mu-

tation and resolution of the elements.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Necessitie.

HALES faith, that Necessities most potent and forcible, for it is that which ruleth the 20

PYTHAGORAS held, that the world was possessed and comapsied with Necessitie. PARMENIDES, and DEMOCRITUS were of opinion, that all things were made by Necessitie, and that destinie, justice, providence, and the Creatour of the world, were all one.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Essence of Nesessitie.

P Lay o referreth some events to providence, and others he attributeth to Necessitie. EMPEDOCLES faith, that the Effence of Necessitie is a cause apt to make use of the

* 20pail. fome principles and elements. rende obpar, Democritus affirmethit to be the reliftance, the * lation, motion, and permiffion of

that is to fay, the matter.

PLATO holdeth it to be one while matter it felfe, and another while the habitude of that which is agent to the matter.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of Destinie.

I ERACLITUS affirmeth, that all things were done by fatall Destinie, and that it and Necefficie be both one.

 $P_{\mbox{\scriptsize LAT}}$ o admitteth willingly this Destinic in the soules, lives, and actions of men; but hee

inferreth withall a cause proceeding from our selves.

The STOICKES likewife according with the opinion of Plato, do hold, that Necessitie is a cause invincible, most violent and inforcing all things: also that Destinie is a connexion of causes interlaced & linked orderly: in which concatenation or chaine is therein comprised also that cause which proceedeth from us, in such fort as some events are destined, and others not.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the substance of Destinie.

TERACLITUS faith, that the substance of Destinie is the reason that pierceth throughout the fubitance of the univerfall worldgor has PLA TO affirmeth it to be an eternall reason, and a perpetual law of the nature of the

whole world. CHRYS IPPUS

Sò

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CHRYSIPPUS holdeth it to be a certaine puissance spirituall, which by order governeth and administreth all things. And againe in his booke of definitions hee writeth thus: Destinie is the reason of the world, or rather the law of all things in the world, administred and governed by providence: or elfe the reason whereby things past, have beene; things present, are; and future things, thall be.

The STOICKES are of opinion that it is the chaine of causes, that is to say, an order and connexion, which cannot be furmounted and transgressed

Posidonius supposeth it to be the third after Jupiter : for that Jupiter is in the sirt degree; Nature in the second; and fatall Destinie in the third.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of Fortune.

P Laro defineth Fortune to be (in things proceeding from mans counfell and election) a cause by accident, and a verie casual consequence

ARISTOTLE holdeth it to be an accidentall cause in those things which from some deliberate purpose and impulsion tend to a certaine end, which cause is not apparent, but hidden and uncertaine. And he putteth a difference between Fortune and rash adventure: for that all Fortune in the affaires and actions of this world is adventurous: but everie adventure is not by and 20 by Fortune; for that it confifteth in things without action: againe, Fortune is properly in actions of reasonable creatures; but adventure, indifferently in creatures, as well unreasonable as reasonable, yea, and in those bodies which have neither life nor soule.

E PICURUS faith, that Fortune is a cause, which will not stand and accord with persons,

times, and manners.

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ANAXAGORAS and the Stoicks affirme it to be a cause unknowne, and hidden to humane reason: for that some things come by necessitie, others by fatall destinie; some by deliberate counsell, others by Fortune, and some againe by casualitie or adventure.

CHAP. XXX.

Of Nature,

MPEDOCIES holdeth that Nature is nothing; only that there is a mixture and divultion. or separation of Elements: for in this manner writteh he in the first booke of his Phisicks:

This one thing more I will yet say, of things that be humane And Mortall, mature none there is. and deaths end is but vaine. Amixture and divulsion, of Elements and of all,

Onely there is, and thu is that, which men do Nature call.

Semblably ANAXAGORAS faith, that Nature is nothing else but a concretion and diffipation: that is to fay, generation and corruption.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF

Philosophers opinions.

The Proceme.

Aving now finished the Treatise of PRINCIPLES, ELEMENTS, and such other matters linked and concurring with them; I will turne my pen unto the discourse astouching their effects and works composed of them, beginning first at that which is most spatious and capable of all things.

CHAP.

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CHAP. I.

Of the World.

PYTHAOORAS was the first who called the Roundle that containeth and comprehendeth all, to wit, the World. Kinglish: for the orderly digestion observed therein.

THALE s and his disciples held, that there is but one World. DEMOCRITUS, EPICURUS, and their scholler METRODORUS affirme, that there be innumerable Worlds in an infinite space according to all dimensions and circumstances.

EMPEDOCLES faith, that the course and race of the Sunne, is the verie circumscription of the bounds and limits of the World; and that it is the verie confinement thereof,

SELEUCUS held the World to be infinite.

DIOGENES affirmed, the universalitie to be infinite: but the world finite and deter-

The Stoleks put a difference betweene univerfall and whole : for they fay, that the univerfall together with voidneffe is infinite; and that the whole without voidnes is the World: fo as these termes, the Whole and the World, be not both one.

CHAP. II.

Of the figure and forme of the World. "He S roces affirme the World to be round: fome fay it is pointed or pyramidal : others that it is falhioned in manner of an egge; but Epicukus holdeth, that his Worlds may be round, and it may be that they are apt befides to receive other formes.

CHAP. III.

Whether the World be animate, or endued with a foule.

 $LLother Philosophers \, agree, that \, the \, World is an imate, \& \, governed \, by \, providence: but$ ADEMOCRITUS, EFICURUS, and as many as maintaine ATONES, and with all bring 30 in Vacuity, that it is neither animate, nor governed by providence, but by a certaine nature void of reason.

ARISTOTIB holdeth, that it is not animate wholy and throughout all parts; nor fentitive, nor reasonable, nor yet intellectual or directed by providence : True it is (quoth he) thatceleftiall bodies be capable of all these qualities, as being compassed about with sphæres both animate and vitall; whereas bodies terrestriall and approching necreunto the earth, are endued with none of them: and as for the order and decent composition therein, it came by accident, and not by prepented reason and counsell.

CHAP. IIII.

Whether the World be incorruptible and eternall. PYTHAGORAS and PLAYO affirme, that the world was ingendred and made by God; and of the ownenature (being corruptible) shall perish: for sensible it is, and therefore corporall; howbeit, in regard of the divine providence, which preferveth and mainteineth it, perifh it

shall never. Ericunus laith, that it is corruptible, for that it is engendred, like as a living creature of a

XENOPHANES holdeth the world to be eternall, ingenerable, uncreated and incorruptible. ARISTOTIL is of opinion, that the part of the world under the moone, is paffible; where- 50 in the bodies also adjacent to the earth, be subject to corruption.

Whereof the World is nourished. RISTOY LE saith, that if the World be nourished, it is likewise corruptible, and wil perish, A but fo it is, that it hath no need of nouritire, and so by consequence it is eternall.

PLAT 0 is of opinion, that the world yeeldeth unto it felfe nouriture of that which perisheth,

PHILOLAUS affirmeth, that there is a two-folde corruption; one while by firefalling from heaven, and another while by water of the moone, powred foorth by the circumgyration and turning about of the aire; the exhalations whereof become the food of the world.

CHAP. VI.

At which element began God the fabricke of the world?

"He Naturalists doe holde, that the creation of the world began at earth, as the very center thereof; for that the beginning of a sphære or ball, is the center.

PYTHAGORAS faith, that it began at fire, and the fifth element.

EMPEDOCLES faith, that the first thing separate apart, was the skie or fifth essence, called Aether; the second, Fire; after which, the Earth; of which being thrust close and pressed together by the violence of revolution, sprang Water, from which Aire did evaporate : also, that heaven was made of that Skie or Quinteffence; the funne, of Fire; and of the other elements, were constipate and felted (as it were) terrestrial bodies, and such as be neere the earth.

PLATO is of opinion, that this visible world was formed to the molde and pattern of the in-20 tellectuall: that of the visible world, the soule was first made; and after it, that which is corpulent: that of the fire and earth, first; that which standeth of water and aire, second.

PYTHAGORAS affirmed, that of the five folid bodies, which are also called Mathematicall; the Cube (that is to fay, a square bodie, with fixe faces) went to the making of the earth; of the pointed Pyramis, was made fire; of Octoedra or folide bodie with eight bafes, the earth; of Icofiedra with twentie fides, the water; of Dodecaedra with twelve faces, the fupreame fphære of the univerfall world: and himfelfe herein also doth Pythagorize.

CHAP. VII.

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Of the order of the worlds fabricke.

PARMENIDES imagineth certeine coronets (as it were) enterlaced one within another, fome of a rare fubstance, others of a thicke, and the fame mixed of light and darknesse betweene; also that the bodie which conteined them all together, was as firme and solid as a wall.

LEUCIPPUS and DEMOCRIRUS enwrapped the world round about with a tunicle or membrane.

EPICURUS held, that the extremitie of fome worlds were rare; of others thicke; and that of them, fome were moveable, others immoveable.

PLATO setteth downe Fire first; secondly, the Skie; then Aire; afterwards, Water; and 40 last of all, Earth; but otherwhiles, he conjoineth the Skie unto Fire.

ARISTOTLE rangeth in the first place, the impassible Aire, which is a certeine fifth bodie; and after it, the Elements paffible, to wit, Fire, Aire, Water, and Earth the laft: of all which, unto the celestial bodies he attributeth a circular motion; and (of the others situate beneath them) unto the lighter kinde, the afcent or rifing upward; unto the weightier, defcent or fetling down-

EMPEDOCLES is of opinion, that the places of the elements are not alwaies steadie and certeine, but that they all interchange mutually one with another.

CHAP. VIII.

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What is the cause that the world bendethor copeth forward.

DIOGENES and ANAXAGORAS affirme, that after the world was made, and that living creatures were produced out of the earth, the world bowed (I wot not how) of it felfe, and of the owne accord, to the Southerne or Meridionall part thereof; haply by the divine providence fo ordering all, that fome parts of the world should be habitable, others inhabitable, according to exceffive colde, extreame heat, and a meane temperature of both.

EMPEDOCLES

EMPRDOCLES faith, that by reason that the aire gave place to the violence of the Sunne, the two Beares or Poles * bended, and inclined: as for those parts which were northerly, they * Artick and were elevated and mounted aloft; but the foutherne coasts were depressed and debated as much; and so accordingly the whole world.

CHAP. IX.

Whether without the world, there be any vacuitie?

"He schoole of Pythagoras holdeth that there is a voidnesse without the world, to which, to and out of which the world doth draw breath; but the Stoteks affirme that into it, the infinite world by way of conflagration is resolved.

POSIDONIUS admitteth no other infinitie, than as much as is sufficient for the dissolution

In the first booke of vacuitie, ARISTOTLE faith, there is voidnesse.

PLATO affirmeth, that there is no emprinesse at all, either without or within the world.

CHAP. X.

What be the right sides , and which be the left, in regard of the world.

 $\mathbf{P}_{ ext{Weft}}^{ ext{YTHAGORAS},\, ext{PLATO}, ext{and }}$ Aristotle dotake the East for the right part, and the

EMPEDOCLES faith, that the right fide bendeth toward the fummers Tropick; and the left toward the Tropick of winter.

CHAP. XI.

Of Heaven, and what is the substance thereof.

NAXIMENES affirmeth the exterior circumference of Heaven to be earthy. EMPEDOCLES faith, that Heaven is folid, being made of aire condenfate by fire, after the manner of chrystall; and that it conteineth the fierie and airie nature in the one and the other hemisphære.

ARISTOTLE holdeth, that Heaven is composed of the fifth body above fire, or else of the

mixture of heat and cold.

CHAP. XII.

Of the division of Heaven: and namely into how many Circles it is divided.

T Hales, and Pythagoras with his followers doe fay, that the sphære of the whole Heaven is parted into five circles, which they call certeine Zones cinctures or girdles; of which circles, one is called the Arctick, and is alwaies to bee feene of us; a fecond the fummer Tropick; a third Aequinoctiall; the fourth, winter Tropick; and the fifth the Antartick circle: which is evermore unfeene: as atouching the oblique or crooked circle, called the Zodiacke, which lieth under the other three middle circles above named, it toucheth them all three as it passeth, and every of them are cut in right angles by the Meridian, which goeth from pole to pole.

PYTHAGORAS was the first (men say) that observed the obliquity of the Zodiack: which invention nevertheleffe Oenopides the Chian, ascribeth to himselfe, as if he were the authour 50

of it.

CHAP. XIII.

What is the substance of the Starres, and how they were made and composed.

THALES affirmeth them to be terrestriall, and nathlesse fieric and ardent. EMPEDOCLES holdeth them to be enflamed by that fire, which the skie conteining within it felfe, did violently strike and fend foorth at the first excretion. An AXAGOR AS faith, that the sky which environeth, is indeed of the owne effence of a fiery nature; but by the violent revolution of it felfe, fnatcheth up ftones from the earth, and fetting them on fire, they become Starres.

Opinions of Philosophers.

DIOGENES thinketh, that Starresbe of the substance of a pumish stone, as be being the breathing holes of the world: and againe, the same philosopher saith, that they bee certaine blinde-stones not apparent; howbeit, falling often to the earth, are there quenched, as it hapneth in a place called aiges moraculis, that is to fay, Goats rivers, where there fell sometime a stoneflarre in forme of fire.

10 EMPEDOCLES holdeth, that the fixed Starres which wander not, be fastned to the christall skie; but the planets are loofe and at liberty.

PLAT o giveth out, that for the most part they be of fire, and yet neverthelesse they partici-

pate with other elements in maner of glue or foder.

XENOPHANES is of opinion, that they confift of clouds inflamed, which not with flanding are quenched every day, & afterwards againe be fiered in the night in maner of coles: as for the riling and setting of Starres, they be nothing else but their catching fire and quenching.

HERACLYDES and the PYTHAGOREANS hold, that every Star is a world by it felfe, conteining an earth, an aire, and a skie, in an infinit celeftiall nature; and these opinions goe current in the verfes of Orpheus, for they make of every Starrea world. EPICURUS reprooverh 20 none of all this, but holdeth still that old note of his: It may so be.

CHAP. XIIII.

The forme and figure of Starres.

T He Stoicks say, that the Statres be sphæricke or round like as the world, the sunne and moone. CLEANTHES holdesh them to bee pointed and pytamidall. ANXIMENES faith, they sticke fast in the christalline skie, like a number of nailes. Others imagine that they be fierie plates, like unto flat pictures.

CHAP. XV. Of the order and situation of Starres.

VENOCRATES supposed that the Starres moove upon one and the same superficies: but other Stoicks affirme that there be some afore others in height and depth. DEMOCRITUS raungeth the fixed Starres first; next the planets; and after them, the

funne, the moone, and the day-starre Lucifer.

PLATO after the fituation of the fixed Starres, fetteth in the first place that which is called 40 Phænon, to wit, the Starre of Saturne; in the second, Phaethon, which is the Starre of Jupiter; in the third, Pyroeis, that is to lay, fierie or ardent, and it is that of Mars; in the fourth Phofphorus, and that is Venus; in the fifth Stilbon, which is Mexewie; in the fixth, the Sunne; and laft, in the feventh, the Moone. Of the Mathematicians formeracoord with Place, others place the Sunne in the middles of them all it is the in all 4 welled as graved, three said

ANAXIMANDER, METRODORUS the Chian, and CRATES affirme, that the Sunne is placed highest of all, next to him the Moone, and under him the fixed Starres and the Planets. End wases holderly that the

South CHAP. XVI. dry v. re og engled the

Of the lation and motion of the Starres.

A NANAGORAS, DEMOCRITUS, and CLEANTHES, doe hold, that all Starres doe moove from east to west.

ALCM ARON and the Mathematicians fay, that the planets hold an opposite course to the fixed Starres, and namely from the well to the east.

Anaximander faith, they be caried by their sphæres and circles, upon which they are

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ANAXIMENES is of opinion, that they roll as well toward the earth, as turne about the

PLATO and the Mathematicians hold, that the course of the Sunne, of Venus, and of Mercurie, is the fame and equall.

CHAP. XVII.

From whence the Starres have their illumination

METRODORUS thinketh, that all the fixed Starres have their light from the funne.

HERACLYTUS, and the Stoicks fay, that the Starres bee nourifhed by exhalations 10 arising from the earth.

 $A_{RISTOTLE}$ opineth, that the celestiall bodies need no nouriture, for that they are not

corruptible but eternall.

 $P_{\,\textrm{LATO}}$ and the Stoicks hold , that all the world and the Starres likewise be nourished of themselves.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the two Starres named Dioscuri, to wit, Castor and Pollux.

X ENOPHANES doth mainteine that the lights like Statres which appeere otherwhiles upon fhips, are thinne and fubrill clouds, which after a kinde of motion doe fhine. METRODORUS faith, they be certeine glittering sparkels glauncing and leaping out of their eies who behold them with feare and aftonishment.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the fignification of Starres, and how commeth winter and summer.

P Laro faith, that the tokens & fignifications both of Winter and Summer, proceed from the rifing and ferring of Suna Manager 1 the rifing and fetting of Sunne, Moone, and other Starres, as well fixed as wandring. ANAXIMENES faith, that none of all this is occasioned by the Moone, but by the Sunne 30 onely. Eudoxus and Ararus affirme them to bee in common, by meanes of all the Starres: and ARATUS sheweth as much in these verses:

These radiant starres, and lights so evident, As fignes, God hath fet in the firmament, Distinct, in great foresight, throughout the yeere, To fhem how all the feafons ordered were.

o a head of Asked CHAP. XX.

Anne Sunnes substance.

Ly correspond to tracky de A NAXIMAND 18: affirmethy that the circle of the Sunne is eight and twentie times bigget than the earth, having an hollow apris about it, like (for all the world) unto a chariot wheele, and the fame full of fire a in one certeine place whereof, there is a mouth, at which the fire is feene, as our of the hole of a flute, or fuch like pipe, and the fame is the Sunne.

XENOPHANES holdeth, that there is a certeine gathering of small fires, which by occasion of moilt exhalations, meet together; and they all (being collected) make the bodie of the Sun,

or els (quoth he) is a cloud fet on fire.

*vosegy or yo redyafter

The STOICES fay, that the Sun is an inflamed body * intellectuall, or humour inflamed, 50 proceeding out of the fea.

PLATO imaginethit to confift of much fire;

ANAXAGORAS, DEMOCRITUS, and METRODORUS suppose it to be a masse of yeon,

ARISTOTLE is of opinion, that it is a sphære out of the fifth body.

PHILOLAUS the Pythagorean, is perswaded that it is in maner of a glasse, receiving the reverberation of all the fire in the world, and transmitting the light thereof unto us (as it were) thorow a tannife or streiner, in such fort, as that sierie light in heaven resembleth the Sun: then that which proceedeth from it, is in forme of a mirrour : and thirdly, there is a splendour, which by way of reflexion from that mirrour, is fpread upon us: and this call we the Sun, as it were the image of an image.

EMPEDOCLES is of this minde, that there be two Sunnes, the one an original and primitive fire, which is in the other hemisphære of the world; and the same filling this hemisphære of ours, as being alwaies fituate full opposit to the reflexion of the resplendent light thereof: as for this that we fee, it is the light in that other hemisphære, replenished with aire mixed with heat, & the same isoccasioned by refraxion from the earth, that is more round, entring into the Sun, 10 which is of a Crystalline nature, and yet is trained and caried away together with the motion of that fire. But to speake more plainly and succincily in sewer words, this is as much to say, as the Sunne is nothing els, but the reflexion of that light of the fire which is about the earth.

EPICURUS imagineth the Sun to be a terrestriall spissitude or thicknesse, yet spungeous (as it were) and hollow in maner of a pumish stone, and in those holes lightned by fire.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Sunnes magnitude.

 $\mathbf{A}^{\mathrm{Naximander}}$ is of opinion, that the Sunne is equall in bigneffe to the earth; but the circle from which he hath his respiration, and upon which he is caried, is eight and twentie times bigger than the whole earth.

ANAXAGORAS faid, it was by many degrees greater than all Peloponne fus.

HERACLITUS held, that it was a mans foot broad.

EPICURUS againe affirmed, that all above faid might be; or that it was as bigge as it appeared to be, at least wife a little under or over.

CHAP. XXII.

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Of the Summes forme.

NAXIMENES imagined that the Sunne was flat and broad, like unto a thinne plate of

HERACLITUS supposed it to be made like unto a boat, somewhat curbed downeward, and

The Stores suppose it to be round, like unto the whole world and other starres. Epicunus faith, that all this may be well enough.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Solfticies or Tropiques of the Sunne.

NAXIMENES thinketh that the Starres are beaten backe by the thicke aire, and the same Amaking refisfrance.

ANAXAGORAS faith, that they are occasioned by the repulse of the aire, about the Beares or Poles, which the Sunne himselfe (by thrusting and making thicke) causeth to be more pow-

EMPEDOCLES ascribeth the teason thereof to the sphere, that conteineth and impeacheth him from paffing farther; as also to the two Tropique circles.

DIOGENES imagineth, that the Sun is extinct by the cold, falling opposit upon the heat. The Srore is affirme, that the Sunne paffeth thorow the tract and space of his food and pafture lying under him, which is the Ocean fea or the earth, upon the vapours and exhalation whereof he feedeth.

PLATO, PYTHAGORAS and ARISTOTLE holde, that this is occasioned by the obliquitie of the Zodiacke circle, thorow which the Sunne paffeth biase; as also, by reason of the Tropicke circles, which environ and guard him about: and all this, the very sphære it selfe doth evidently shew.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Of the Sunnes eclipse.

"HALES was the first who observed the Sunnes eclipse, and said, that it was occasioned by the Moone, which is of a terrestrial nature, when as in her race, she comment to be just and plumbe under him; which may be plainly seene as in a mirrour, by setting a bason of water

ANAXIMANDER faid, that the Sun became eclipfed, when the mouth or tunnill (at which

the heat of his fire commeth forth) is closed up.

 $H_{\text{HRACLITUS}}$ is of opinion, that this hapnesh, when the bodie of the Sun which is made like a boat, is turned upfide downe, so as the hollow part thereof is upward, and the keele down-

ward to our fight.

XENOPHANES affirmeth, that this commeth by extinction of one Sun, & the riling of another againe in the East: he addeth moreover, and reporteth, that there is an eclipse of the Sun, during one whole moneth; as also one entire and universall eclipse, in such maner, as the day feemeth to be night.

Others ascribe the cause thereof, to the thickenesse of clouds, which suddenly and after an

hidden maner, overcast the rundle and plate of the Sunne.

ARIST AR CHUS reckoneth the Sunne among the fixed Starres, faying, that it is the earth 20 which rollethand turneth round about the Sunnes circle, and according to the inclinations

thereof, the Sunnes lightfome bodie commeth to be darkened by her shade.

XENOPHANES holdeth, that there be many Sunnes and Moones, according to the divers Climats, Tracts, Sections, and Zones of the earth: and at a certeine revolution of time, the rundle of the Sunne falleth upon some Climate or Section of the earth, which is not of us inhabited; and so marching (as it were) in some void place, he suffereth eclipse : he also affirmeth, that the Sun goeth indeed infinitly forward stil, but by reason of his huge distance and retract from us, feemeth to turne round about.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the Moones substance.

NNAXIMANDER faith, that the Moone is a circle, xix, times bigger than the earth, and like as that of the Sunne, full of fire; that the fuffereth eclipse when her wheele turneth: for that he faith, that circle relembleth the wheele of a chariot, the movature or felly whereof, is hollow and full of fire; howbeir, there is an hole or tunnell, out of which the fire doth exhale.

XENOPHANES faith, that the Moone is a thicke, compact, and felted cloud.

The STOICKS hold, that the is mixed of fire and aire.

PLATO affirmeth, that the standeth more of afferie substance.

ANAXAGORAS and DEMOCRITUS do hold, that the Moone is a folid and firmebodie all fiery, containing in it, champian grounds, mountaines and vallies.

HERACLITUS is of opinion that it is earth overspred with mists.

PYTHAGORAS also thinketh that the bodie of the Moone is of the nature of fire.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Moones magnitude.

He Storeks pronounce flatly that the Moone is bigger than the Earth, like as the

PARMENIDE saffirmethit to be equall in brightneffe to the Sunne, and that of him the hathher light.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the Moones forme. He STOICKS fay, the Moone is round as a globe, like as the Sunne. EMPEDOCLES would have it to refemble abason or platter.

HERA

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HERACLITUS compareth it to a boat; and others to a round cylinder; *[that the is thaped * That which feven manner of waies; at her first birth as it were she appeareth horned or tipped; then divided is instead beor quartered; afterwards growing fornewhat together; and foone after full: from which time two marks [] by little and little the waneth by degrees; first bending somewhat close, then quartered, and limite neither after that tipped and homed, untill at the change she appeareth nor at all: and they say this va. Greeks, nor in rietie of her configurations, is occasioned by the earth fladowing her light more or leste, accor- the French, ding as the convexitie of the earth commeth betweene.]

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the Moones illuminations.

A NAXIMANDER faith, that she hath a light of her owne, but the same very rare and

ANTIPHON affirmeth, that the thineth with her owne light: and whereas the is otherwhiles hidden, it proceedeth from the opposition of the sunne; namely, when a greater fire commeth to darken a leffe, a thing incident to other flarres.

THALES and his followers hold, that the Moone is lightned by the funne.

HERACLITUS supposeth, that the case of the sunne and Moone is all one, for that both of 20 them being formed like a boat, and receiving moult exhalations, they feeme in our fight illuminate; the funne brighter of the twaine, for that he goeth in a more cleere and pure aire, and the Moone in that which is more troubled, which is the reason that she seemeth more darke and muddy.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of the Moones Ecclipse.

 $\mathbf{A}^{ ext{NAXIMENES}}$ faith, that the Moone is Ecclipfed, when the mouth of venting hole **Anaximumlet* whereout iffueth her fire, is flopped.

BEROSUS is of opinion, that it is when that face and fide of hers which is not lightned, turneth toward us.

HERACLITUS would have it to be, when the convexitie or swelling part of the boat which the doth represent, regardeth us directly.

Some of the PYTHAGOREANS doe holde the ecclipse of the Moone to be partly a reverberation of light, and in part an obstruction; the one in regard of the earth, the other of the Antipodes, who tread opposite unto us. But the moderne writers are of opinion, that it is by occasion of the augmentation of the Moones stame, which regularly and by order is lightned by little and little, untill it represent unto us the full face of the Moone, and againe doth diminish and wane in proportion, untill the conjunction, at what time it is altogether extinct.

40 PLATO, ARISTOTLE, the STOICES, and MATHEMATICINAS, do all with one accord fay, that the occultations of the Moone every moneth, are occasioned by reason that she falleth in conjunction with the funne; by whose brightnesse the becommeth dimme and darkned: but the Ecclipses of the Moone be cansed when the commeth within the shadow of the earth, situate directly betweene both Starres, rather for that the Moone is altogether obstructed therewith.

CHAP. XXX.

Of the Moones apparition, and why she seemeth to be earthly.

He Pythagoreans affirme, that the Moone appeareth terrestriall, for that she is I inhabited round about, like as the earth wherein we are, and peopled as it were with the greatest living creatures, and the fairest plants; and those creatures within her, be fifteene times ftronger and more puiffant than those with us, and the same yeeld foorth no excrements, and the * day there, is in that proportion fo much longer.

ANAXAGORAS faith, that the inequalitie which is feene in the face of the Moone, pro-reade wires, that is to fay, ceedeth from the coagmentation of cold and terrestring mixed together, for that there is a $\frac{max}{n}$

certaine tenebrositie medled with the fierie nature thereof: whereupon this starre is said to be Pseudophores, that it to fay, to have a false light.

The STOICES are of opinion, that by reason of the diversitie of her substance, the composition of her bodie is not subject to corruption.

CHAP. XXXI.

The distance betweene Sunne and Moone.

 $E_{\rm the\ earth.}$ Mpg DOC LBs thinketh, that the Moone is twice as far off from the Sunne as the is from 10

The MATHEMATICIAN'S fay, that the distance is eighteen e times as much. ERATOSTHENES givethout, the Sunne is from the earth 408, thousand stadia, ten times told: and the Moone from the earth 78. thouland stadia, ten times multiplied.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of the yeeres: And how much the yeere of every Planet conteineth the great yeere.

Herevolution or yeeere of Saturne comprehendeth thirtie common yeres: Of Jupiter 20 twelve: of Mars two: of the Sunne, twelve moneths: those of Mercurie and Venus be all one, for their course is equall: of the Moone thirtie daies: for this we count a perfect moneth, to wit, from the apparition to the conjunction. As for the great yeere; some fay, it compriseth eight yeeres: others ninteen, and others againe fixtie wanting one. HERACLI-Tus faithit confliteth of 80000. folare yeeres. DIOGENES of 365. yeeres, fuch as Heraclitus speaketh of: and others of 7777.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF

Philosophers opinions.

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The Proame.

Aving summarily, and after a cursorie manner treated in the former bookes, of ceeletiall bodies, and refting in the confines thereof, which is the Moone, I will addresse my selfe in this third booke, to discourse of Meteores, that is to say, of such impressions as be engended in the aire above, to wit, betweene the circle of the Moone and the situation of the earth: the which men hold generally to

be in stead of the prick or center in that compasse of the universall Globe. And heereat will 40 I beginne.

CHAP. I.

Of the Milke way or white circle Galaxia.

His Galaxia is a cloudie or miltie circle, appearing alwaies in the skie; and called it is the Milke way, of the white colour which it doth represent.

Of the Pythagoreans some say, it is the inflammation or burning out of some starre remooved, and falling out of his proper place, which hath burnt round about all the way as it paffed, from the verietime of Phaethon his conflagration.

Others hold, that in old time the race and course of the Sun was that way. Some are of opinion, that it is a specularie apparition, only occasioned by the reflexion of the Sun-beames against the cope of heaven, even as we observe it to fall out betweene the rainbow and thicke clouds.

METRODORUS affirmeth it to be caused by the passage of the Sunne: for that this is the so-

PARMENIDES is of opinion that the mixture of that which is thicke, with the rare or thin, engendreth this milkie colour. ANAXAGORAS

A NAX AGOR AS faith, that the shadow of the earth resteth upon this part of heaven, at what time as the Sunne being underneath the earth, doth not illuminate all throughout,

DEMOCRITUS is perswaded, that it is the resplendent light of many small starres, and those close together, shining one upon another, and so occasioned by their spissing and astriction.

ARISTOTLE would have it to be an inflamation of a drie exhalation; the fame being great in quantitie and continued: and so there is an hairy kind of fire under the skie, and beneath the

POSSED ONEUS Supposethit to be a confishence of fire, more cleere and subtile than a starre, and yet thicker than a splendeur or shining light.

CHAP. II.

Of Comets, or Blazing starres: of Starres seeming to shoot and fall: as also of fierie beames ap-

Ome of Pythagoras scholars affirme, that a Comet is a starre of the number of those Which appeare not alwaies, but at certaine prefixed feafons after some periodicall revolution

Others affirme it to be the reflexion of our fight against the Sunne, after the manner of those 20 refemblances which shew in mirrours or looking glasses.

ANAXAGORAS and DEMOCRITUS fay, that it is a concurse of two starres or more mecting with their lights together.

ARISTOTLE is of opinion, that it is a confishence of a drie exhalation enflamed.

STRATO faith, that it is the light of a starre enwrapped within a thick cloud, as we see it ordinarily in our lamps and burning lights.

HERACLIDES of PONTUS holdeth it to be a cloud heaved and elevated on high, and the fame illuminated by fome high light alfo : and the like reason giveth he of the bearded blazing flar called Pagonias. Others (like as all the Perepateticks) affirme, that the beame, the columne, and fuch other meteors or impressions are made after the same manner by divers congurations 30 of clouds in the aire.

EPIGENES supposeth a Cometto be an elevation of spirit or wind mixed with an earthly Substance, and set on fire.

BORTHUS imagineth it to be an apparition of the aire, let loofe as it were, and spred at large,

DIOGENES is perfwaded that Comets be starres. ANAXAGORAS faith, that the starres which are said to shoot, be as it were sparckles falling

from the elementarie fire: which is the cause that they are quenched and gone out so quickly. METRODORUS supposeth, that when the Sunne striketh violently upon a cloud, the beames or raies thereof do sparkle, and so cause this shooting of starres as they tearme it.

XENOPHANES would beare us in hand, that all fuch Meteors and Impressions as these, be 40 conflictions or motions of clouds enflamed.

CHAP. III.

Of shunders, lightnings flashes, presters or fierie blastes, and tempstuous whirlwinds.

WAXIMANDER supposeth, that all these come by wind: for when it hapneth that it is A conceived & inclosed within a thicke cloud, then by reason of the subtilitie and lightnesse thereof, it breaketh forth with violence: and the rupture of the cloud maketh a cracke; and the divultion or cleaving, by reason of the blacknesse of the cloud, causeth a shining light.

METRODORUS faith, when awind chanceth to be enclosed within a cloud gathered thick and close together, the faid windby bursting of the cloud maketh a noise; and by the stroke and breach it shineth; but by the quicke motion catching heat of the Sunne, it shooteth forth lightning; but if the faid lightning be weake, it turneth into a Prester or burning blase.

ANAXAGORAS is of opinion, that when ardent heat falleth upon cold, that is to fay, when a portion of celestial fire lighteth upon the airie substance; by the cracking noise therof is caused thunder; by the colour against the blacknesse of the cloud, a slashing beame; by the plentie and greatnesse of the light, that which we call lightning : and in case the fire be more grosse and

is to tay, indi-

vitible bodies.

Opinions of Philosophers.

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corpulent, there arifeth of it a whirlwind; but if the same be of a cloudie nature, it engendreth a burning blaft called Prefter.

The STOICES hold thunder to be a combat, and finiting together of clouds: that a flathing beame, is a fire or inflammation proceeding from their attrition: that lighning is a

more violent flashing, and Prester, lesse forcible.

ARISTOTLE supposeth, that all these meteores come likewise of a dry exhalation, which being gotten enclosed within a moist cloud, seeketh meanes, and striveth forcibly to get foorth; now by attrition and breaking together, it caufeth the clap of thunder; by inflammation of the drie substance, a flashing beame; but Presters, Typhons, that is to say, burning blasts and whirlwindes, according as the store of matter is, more or lesse, which the one and the other draweth zo toit; but if the same be hotter, you shall see Prester, if thicker, looke for Typhon.

CHAP. IIII.

Of Clouds, Raine, Snowe, and Haile.

NAXIMENES faith, that clouds are engendred when the aire is most thicke, which if A they coagulate still more and more, there is expressed from them a shewer of raine : but in case this matter as it falleth, doe congeale, it turneth to be snow; but say it meet with a colde moist wind and be surprized therewith, it prooveth haile.

METRODORUS supposeth, that clouds be composed of a waterish evaporation elevated. * 471/16 hap- Epicurus of meere * vapours : also that as well the drops of raine as haile-stones, become round

ly it thould be by the long way of their descent. a rouar, that

CHAP.

Of the Rainbow.

Mong those meteors or impressions engendred in the aire, some there be which have A a true substance indeed, as raine and haile: others againe, have no more but a bare appa- 30 rence, without any reall substitence, much like as when we are within a ship, we imagine that the continent and firme land doth moove: and among those which are in apparence onely, we must range the Rainbow, Plato faith, that men derive the genealogic of it from Thaumas, as one would fay, from wonder, because they marvelled much to see it according as Homer sheweth in this verse:

Like as when mightie Jupiter the purple rainbow bends, Thereby to mortall men from heaven, a wondrow soken sends, Which either tempe st sterrible, or wofull warre pretends.

And hereupon it is, that fome have made thereof a fabulous device, and given out, that fhehaving a bulles head, drinketh up the rivers. But how is this Rainbow ingendred, and how commeth it to to appeare? Certes, we fee by lines, either direct and streight, or crooked, or els rebated and broken; which though they be obscure, and appeare not evidently, yet are perceived by cogitation and discourse of reason, as being bodilesse. Now by rightlines we beholde things, fome in the aire, and others thorow transparent stones and hornes; for that all these consist of very subtile parts: by crooked and curbed lines, wee looke within the water; for our eie sight doth bend and turne againe perforce, by reason that the matter of the water is more thicke; which is the cause, that we fee the mariners oare in the fea a farre off, as it were crooked. The third maner of feeing, is by refraction, and so we beholde objects in mirrours; and of this fortis the Rainbow: for we must consider and understand, that a most vapour being listed up alost, is converted into a cloud; and then within a while by little and little, into small dew-drops: whenas therfore, the Sun descendeth Westward, it can not chuse, but every Rainbow must needs appercopposit unto it in the contrary part of the sky; and whe our fight falleth upon those drops, it is rebated and beaten backe; and by that meanes there is presented unto it a Rainbow: now those drops are not of the forme and figure of a bow, but represent a colour onely : and verily, the first and principall hew that this bow hath, is a light and bright red; the second, a deepe vermillion or purple; the third, blue and greene: let us confider then, whether the faid red colour appeare not, because the brightnesse of the Sunne beating upon the cloud, and the sincere light

thereof reflected & driven back, maketh a ruddy or light red hew; but the fecond part more obfoure, and rebating the faid fplendon through thole down drops, cause tha purple tincture, which is(as it were)an abatement of red; and then as it becommeth more muddle ftill,& darkning that which diffinguisheth the fight, it turneth into a greene: and this is a thing which may be proved by experience; for if a man take water directly against the Sunne beames in his mouth, and spit the fame forward, in fuch fort, as the drops receive a repercussion against the faid raics of the Sunne, he shall finde that it will make (as it were) a Rainbow. The like befalleth unto them that are bleere-eied, when they looke upon a lampe or burning light.

ANAXIMENES supposeth, that the Rainbow is occasioned by the Sunshining full against to a groffe, thicke and blacke cloud, in fach fort, as his beames be not able to pierce and ftrike tho-

row, by reason that they turne agains upon it, and become condensate.

ANAXAGORAS holdeth the Rainbow to beather afraction or repercussion of the Sunnes round light against a thicke cloud, which ought alwaies to be opposit full against him, in matter of a mirrour : by which reason, in nature it is said, that there appeare two Sunnes in the coun-

MET RODORUS faith, when the Sunne shineth thorow clouds, the cloud seemeth blue, but audquie resignatione a personal et la partie a qui l'

the light looketh red.

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CHAP. VI.

Of Water-galles or streaks like rods, somewhat resembling Rainbowes.

"Hefe rods and opposit apparitions of Sunnes, which are seene otherwhiles in the skie, happen through the temperature of a subject matter and illumination; namely, when clouds are seene, not in their naturall and proper colour, but by another, caused by a divers irradiation; and in all these, the like passions fall out both naturally, and also are purchased by accident.

te CHAP. VII.

Of Winds.

NAXIMANDER is of opinion, that the Winde is a fluxion of the aire; when as the most fubtile and liquid parts thereof be either stirred, or melted and resolved by the Sunne.

The STOICES affirme, that every blaft is a fluxion of the aire, and that according to the mutation of regions, they change their names; as for example, that which bloweth from the darknesse of the night and Sunne setting, is named Zephyru; from the East and Sunne rising, Apeliotes; from the North, Boreau; and from the South, Libs.

METRODORUS supposeth, that a waterish vapour being inchased by the heat of the Sun, produceth and raileth these winds: and as for those that be anniversary, named Etesia, they blow, when the aire about the North pole is thickened and congealed with cold, and so accompanie 40 the Sunne, and flow (as it were) with him, as he retireth from the Summer Tropicke, after the Activall Solftice.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Winter and Summer.

MPEDOCLES and the STOICES do hold, that Winter commeth, when the aire is pre-dominant in thickeneffe, and is forced upward; but Summer, when the fire is in that wife predominant, and is driven downward.

Thus having discoursed of the impressions alost in the aire, we will treat also (by the way) of

50 those which are seene upon and about the earth.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Earth: the substance and magnitude thereof. HALES with his followers affirme, there is but one Earth. Once The the Pythagorean, mainteineth twaine; one heere, and another opposit a-

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gainst it, which the Antipodes inhabit. The STOICEs fay, there is one Earth, and the fame finite.

XENOPHANES holdeth, that beneath reisfounded upon an infinit depth; and that compac it is of aire and five.

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Mis A RODORUS is of opinion, that Earthig the very fediment and ground of the waters like as th Stinnesis therefidence of the aire.

adgi CHARUX. 21. di le qui se

conq and son 'Theforme of the Earth inch

and the control of the control of the conduction HALES, the Stolens and their schoole affirme the Earth to be round, in maner of a

ANAXIMANDER resembleth the Barth unxo a columne of pillar of stone, such as are seene upon the superficies thereof.

ANAXIMEN'ES comparethic to a flactable; Laucippus, unto a drum or tabour. De-MOCRITUS faith, that it is in forme, broad in maner of a platter, hollow in the mids.

CHAP. VI. CHAP. XI.

resided to the former that of although The sunation of the Earth.

THe disciples of THALES: maintaines that the Earth is feated in midft of the world, XENOPHANES afformeth, that it was first founded and recorded in X BNOPHANES affirmeth, that it was first founded and rooted as it were to an infinite ger a jar jardi<mark>ntansat</mark>a farde

PHILOLAUS the Pythagorean faith, that fire is the middle, as being the hearth of the world, in the fecond place he raungeth the Earth of the Antipodes: and in the third, this wherein wee inhabit, which lieth opposite unto that counter earth, and turneth about it: which is the reason (quoth he) that those who dwell there, are not seene by the inhabitants heere.

PARMENIDES was the full Philosopher, who set out and limited the habitable parts of the 30 Earth; to wit, those which are under the two Loues, unto the Tropicks or Sulfticiall circles. and see the trade of about a fee of terms of a

ger and C.H.A.P. XII. symbol and

Of the bending of the earth.

 $P_{\text{tonof the ratite}}$ which is in those South coasts: for that the Septembrionall tracts are confond the ratite which is in those South coasts: gealed, and frozen with cold, whereas the opposite regions be inflamed and burnt,

D. B.M. O.C.R. LT. 118 yeeldeth this reasons because of the ambient aire is weaker toward the South 40 (quoth hee) the Earth as it grow thand encreaseth, doth bend to that side: for the North parts be intemprate; whereas contrariwise the Southeren parts are temperate: in which regard it weigheth more that way, whereas indeed it is more plentifull in bearing fruits, and those growing to greater augmentation.

CHAP. XIII:

Themotion of the Earth.

COme hold the Earth to be unmoveable and quiets but PHILOLAUS the Pythagorean 50 Maith, that it moveth round about the fire, in the oblique circle, according as the Sunne and

HERACLIDES of Pontus, and Ecphantus the Pythagorean, would indeed have the Earth to Moone do. move, howbeit not from place to place, but rather after a turning manner like unto a wheele upon the axell tree, from West to East, round about her owne center.

DEMOCRITUS faith, that the Earth at first wandred to and sto, by reason as well

of imalnesse as lightnesse: but waxing in time thicke and heavie, it came to rest unmoveable.

CHAP. XIIII.

The division of the Earth, and how many Zones it hath.

To The univerfall heaven; to wit, the Artick circle, the Tropick of Summer, the Tropick of Winter, the Acquinoctiall and the Antartick. Of which the middlemost doth determine and fet out the verie mids and heart of the earth: and for that cause it is named Torrida Zona, that is to fay, the burnt climat: but that region is habitable, as being temperate, which lieth in the mids betweene the fummer and the winter Tropick.

CHAP. XV.

Of Earthquakes.

HALES and DEMOCRITUS attribute the cause of Earthquakes unto water. The STOICES thus define and fay, Earthquake is the moisture within the earth subtiliated and refolved into the aire, and fo breaking out perforce.

A NAXIMENES is of opinion, that raritic and drineffe of the earth together, be the causes of Earthquake: wherof the one is engendred by excessive drougth, the other by gluts of raine. AN AXAGORAS holdeth, that when the aire is gotten within the earth, and meeteth with

the superficies thereof, which it findeth tough and thicke, so as it cannot get forth, it shaketh it in manner of trembling.

ARITSTOTLE alledgeth, the Antiperistass of the circumstant cold which environeth is 30 about on everie fide, both above and beneath: for heat endevoreth and maketh hast to mount aloft, as being by nature light. A drie exhalation, therefore finding it felfe enclosed within and staied, striveth to make way through the cliffs and thicks of the Earth, in which busines it cannot chuse but by turning to and fro, up and downe disquiet and shake the earth.

METRODORUS is of mind, that nobodiebeing in the owneproper and naturall place can stirre or moove, unlesse some one do actually thrust or pull it. The earth therefore (quoth he) being situate in the owne place, naturally mooveth not: howsoever some placesthereof may remove into others.

PARMENIDES and DEMOCRITUS reason in this wife: for that the earth on everie side is of equall diffance, and confineth ftill in one counterpoife, as having no cause wherefore it 40 should incline more to the one fide than to the other: therefore well it may shake onely, but not stirre or remoove for all that.

ANAXIMENES faith, that the Earth is caried up and downein the aire, for that it is broad

Others fay, that it floteth upon the water, like as planks or boords, and that for this cause it mooveth.

 $P_{\text{LATO}} \ \text{ affirmeth, that of all motions there be fix forts of circumstances, above, beneath, on}$ the right hand, on the left, before and behind. Also that the earth cannot possibly moove according to any of these differences: for that on everie side it lieth lowest of all things in the world, and by occasion thereof resteth unmooveable, having no cause why it should encline 50 more to one part than to another, but yet fome places of her because of their raritie do jogge and shake.

EPICUR us keepeth his old tune, faying, it may well be, that the earth being shogged, and as it were rocked and beaten by the aire underneath, which is groffe and of the nature of water, therefore mooveth and quaketh. As also, it may be (quoth he) that being holow and full of holes in the parts below, it is forced to tremble and shake by the aire that is gotten within the caves and concavities, and there enclosed.

Aaaa 2

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Sca, how it was made and commeth to be bitter.

NAXIMANDER affirmeth, that the Sea is a refidue remaining of the primitive humidity, A whereof the Sunne hauing burntup and confumed a great part, the rest behind he altered and turned from the naturall kind by his excessive ardent heat.

ANAXAGORAS is of opinion, that the faid first humiditic being diffused and spred abroad in manner of a poole or great meere, was burnt by the motion of the funne about it: and when to the oileous substance thereof was exhaled and consumed, the rest setled below, and turned into a brackish and bitter-saltnesse, which is the Sea.

EMPEDOCLES faith, that the Sea is the sweat of the earth, enchased by the sunne, being ba-

thed and washed all over aloft. Antiston thinkethittobe the sweat of heat, the mosture whereof which was within, being by much feething and boiling fent out, becommethfalt; a thing ordinary in all fweats. M B TRO DORUS supposeth the Sea to be that moisture, which running thorough the earth,

reteined some part of the densitie thereof, like as that which passeth through ashes.

The disciples of PLATO imagine, that so much of the elementarie water which is congealed of the aire by refrigeration, is sweet and fresh; but whatsoever did evaporate by burning and 20 inflammation, became falt.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Tides, to wet, the obbing and flowing of the sea, what is the cause thereof?

RISTOTLE and HERACLITUS affirme, that it is the funne which doth it, as who stir-A RISTOTLE and FIRRACLITUS annumentation in the most part of the windes, which comming to blow upon the Ocean, caufe the Atlanticke fea to swell, and so make the flux or high water, but when the fame are allaied and cleane downe, the fea falleth low, and so causeth a reflux and ebbe 30

PYTHEAS of Marfeils, referreth the cause of Flowing to the full moone, and of Ebbing

to the moone in the wane.

PLATO attributeth all to a certeine rifing of the waters, faying, There is fuch an elevation, that through the mouth of a cave carieth the Ebbe and Flow to and fro, by the meanes whereof,

the leas doe rife and flow contrarily. TIMAEUS alledgeth the cause hereof to be the rivers, which falling from the mountaines in Gaule, enter into the Atlantique sea, which by their violent corruptions, driving before them the water of the sea, cause the Flow, and by their ceasing and returne backe by times, the Ebbe.

SELBUCUS the Mathematician, who affirmed also, that the earth mooved, saith, that the 40 motion thereof is opposit and contrary to that of the moone: also that the winde being driven to and fro, by these two contrary revolutions, bloweth and beateth upon the Atlanticke ocean, troubleth the fea also (and no marvell) according as it is disquieted it selfe.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the round circle called Halo.

This Halo is made after this manner: betweene the body of the moone, or any other statte, and our cie-fight, there gathereth a croffe and millioning. and our eie-fight, there gathereth a groffe and miftie aire, by which aire, anon our fight 50 commeth to be reflected and diffused; and afterwards the fame incurreth upon the said starre, according to the exterior circumference thereof, and thereupon appeareth a circle round about the starre, which being there seene is called Halo, for that it seemeth that the apparent impression is close unto that, upon which our fight so enlarged as is before said, doth fall.

THE

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

Philosophers opinions.

The Proame.



Aving runne through the generall parts of the world, I will now passe unto the particulars.

CHAP. I.

Of the rising and inundation of Nilus.

HALES thinketh that the anniverfarie windes called Eteliae blowing directly against Aegypt, cause the water of Nilus to swell, for that the sea being driven by these windes, entreth within the mouth of the faid river, and hindereth it, that it cannot discharge it selfe freely into the fea, but is repulfed backward.

EUTHYMENES of Marfeils, supposeth that this river is filled with the water of the ocean, and the great fealying without the continent, which he imagineth to be fresh and sweet.

ANAXAGORAS faith, that this hapneth by the snowe in Aethiopia, which melteth in sum-20 mer, and is congealed and frozen in winter.

DEMOCRITUS is of opinion, that it is long of the snowe in the north parts, which about the æstival folstice and returne of the sunne, being diffolved and dilated, breedeth vapors, and of them be engendred clouds, which being driven by the Etefian windes into Aethiopia and * Megypt toward the fouth, cause great and violent raines, wherewith both lakes, and the river also 2 ilus, be filled.

HERODOTUS the Historian writeth, that this river hath as much water from his fources and fprings, in winter as in fummer; but to us it feemeth leffe in winter, because the funne being then neerer unto Aegypt, causeth the said water to evaporate.

EPHORUS the Historiographer reporteth, that all Aegypt doth resolve and runne at it were 30 wholly into fwet in fummer time: whereunto Arabia and Libya doe conferre, and contribute also their waters, for that the earth there is light and sandy.

Eupox us faith, that the priefts of Aegypt affigne the cause hereof to the great raines and the Antiperistasis or contrarie occurse of seasons; for that when it is Summer with us, who inhabit within the Zone toward the Summer Tropicke, it is Winter with those who dwell in the opposit Zone under the Winter Tropicke, whereupon (saith he) proceedeth this great inundation of waters, breaking downe unto the river 2V ilau.

CHAP. II. Of the Soule.

THALES was the first that defined the Soule to be a nature moving alwaies, or having mo-

PYTHAGORAS faith, it is a certeine number moving it selfe; and this number he taketh for intelligence or understanding.

PLAT o supposeth it to be an intellectuall substance mooving it selfe, and that according to harmonicall number.

ARISTOTLE is of opinion, that it is the first Entelechia or primitive act of a naturall and organicall bodie, having life potentially.

DICE ARCHUS thinketh it to be the harmonic and concordance of the four elements. Asclepiades the Physician, defineth it to be an exercise in common of all the senses

CHAP. III.

Whether the Soule be a body, and what is the substance of it.

LI these Philsosophers before rehearsed, suppose that the Soule is incorporall, that of the owne nature it mooveth and is a spirituall substance, and the action of a naturall bodie, composed of many organs or instruments, and withall having life.

But the Sectaries of ANAXAGORAS, have given out, that it is of an airie fubstance, and a very body.

The STOICKS would have the Soule to be an hot spirit or breath.

DEMOCRITUS holdethit to be a certeine fierie composition of things perceptible by reason, and the same having their formes sphæricall and round, and the puissance of fire, and

withall to be a body. EPICURUS faith, it is a mixtion or temperature of foure things, towit, of a certeine fire, of (I wot not what) aire, of an odde windie substance, and of another fourth matter, I cannot tel

what to name it, and which to him was fenfible.

Heraclitus affirmeth, the Soule of the world to be an evaporation of humors within it: as for the Soule of living creatures, it proceedeth (quoth he) as well from an evaporation of humors without, as an exhalation within it felfe, and of the same kinde,

CHAP. IIII.

The parts of the Soule

 $\mathbf{P}_{\text{that GORAS}}$ and Plato, according to a more generall and remote divition, hold, that the Soule hath two parts, that is to fay, the Reafonable & the unreafonable; but to goe 20 more necre and exactly to worke, they fay, it hath three; for they subdivided the unreasonable part into Concupiffible and Irascible.

The Stoicks be of opinion, that composed it is of eightparts, whereof five be the senfes naturall, to wit, fight, hearing, fmelling, tafting, and feeling; the fixt is the voice; the feventh generative or spermaticall, and the eight, understanding, which guideth and commaundeth all the rest by certeine proper organs and instruments, like as the Polype fish by her cleies and hairy branches.

DEMOCRITUS and EPICURUS fet downe two parts of the Soule; the Reasonable seated in the breft, and the Unreasonable spred and dispersed over all the structure of the body besides.

As for DEMOCRITUS, he affirmeth, that all things what foever, have a certeine kinde of 20 Soule, even the very dead bodies, for that alwaies they doe manifefuly participate a kinde of heat and sensitive facultie, notwithstanding the most part thereof be breathed foorth, and yeelded up.

CHAP. V.

Which is the Mistreffe and commanding part of the Soule, and wherein it is.

PLAYO and DEMOCRITUS place it in the head throughout: STRAYO betweene the two cie browes: ERASISTRAYUS in the membrane or kell that enfoldeth the braine, and it he calleth Epieranis: HEROPHILUS within the ventricle or concavitie of the braine, 40 which also is the basis or foundation of it: PARMENIDES over all the brest, and with him accordeth EPICURUS: the STOICKS all with one voice hold it in the whole heart, or elfe in the spirit about the heart: DIOGENES in the cavitie of the great arterie of the heart, which is full of vitall spirit : EMPEDOCLES in the consistence or masse of bloud: others in the verice necke of the heart: some in the tunicklethat lappeth the heart: and others againe in the midriffe: some of our moderne philosophers hold, that it taketh up & occupieth all the space from the head downward to the Diaphragma or midriffe above faid: PYTHAGORAS supposeth that the vitall part of the Soule is about the heart, but the reason and the intellectuall or spirituall part, about the head. 50

CHAP. VI.

The motion of the Soule.

PLATO is of opinion, that the foule mooveth continually; but the intelligence or understanding is immooved by in record of the continually. standing is immooveable, in regard of locall motion from place to place. ARISTOTLE faith, that the foule it felfe moveth not, although it be the author that rules &

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directeth all motion; howbeit, that by an accident, it is not devoid of motion, according as di-

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CHAP. VII.

Of the Soules immortalitie.

 ${
m PYTHAGOR}$ as and Plato affirme the Soule to be immortall; for in departing out of the bodie, it retireth to the Soule of the univerfall world, even to the nature which is of the

To The Stores hold, that the Soule going from the bodie, if it be feeble and weake, as that is of ignorant persons, settleth downward with the grosse consistence of the bodie; but if it be more firme and puissant, as that is of wise and learned men, it continueth * even unto the conflagration of all.

DEMOCRITUS and EPICURUS fay, that it is corruptible, and perisheth together with Some inter-

the bodie. PYTAGORAS and PLATO are of opinion, that the reasonable part of the Soule is im- up to the re-

mortall and incorruptible; for that the Soule, if it be not God, yet the worke it is of eternall gion offire. God: as for the unreasonable part, it is mortall and subject to corruption.

CHAP. VIII. Of the Senses and sensible objects.

He STOICKS thus define Sense: Sense (say they) is the apprehension of the sensitive organ. But Sense is taken many waies; for we understand by it, either an habitude or facultie naturall, or a fensible action, or elsan imagination apprehensive; which all are performed by the meanes of an instrument sensitive : yea, and the very eighth part of the Soule abovenamed, even that which is principall, to wit, the discourse of reason, by which all the rest doe confist: Againe, the spirits intellectuall, are called sensitive instruments, which from the said principall understanding reach unto all the organs.

The Sense (quoth EPICURUS) is that parcell of the soule which is the sensitive power it felfe, and the effect which proceedeth from it, so that he taketh Sense in two fort, for the power,

vers forts of bodies do move.

PLATO defineth Sense to bee the societie of the body and soule, as touching externall objects; for the facultie and power of Sense is proper to the soule, the instrument belongeth to the body; but both the one and the other apprehendeth externall things, by the meanes of the imaginative facultie, or the phantafie.

LEUCIPPUS and DEMOCRITUS doesay, that both Sense and intelligence are actuated by the meanes of certeine images represented from without, unto us, for that neither the one nor the other, can be performed without the occurrence of some such image,

CHAP. IX. Whether Senses and Fansies betrue or no?

"He Store ks hold, that the Senses be true; but of Imaginations, as some betrue, so o-

EPICURUS supposeth that all Senses and Imaginations be true; mary of opinions, some be true, others false: and as for the Sense it is deceived one way only, to wit, in things intelligible: but Imagination after two forts: for that there is an Imagination as well of sensible things, as of intelligible.

EMPEDOCLES and HERACLIDES fay, that particular Senses are effected according to the proportion of their pores and paffages; namely as the proper object of each Sense is well disposed and fitted.

CHAP. X. How many Senses there be?

"He Stoteks hold, that there be five proper Senfes, Sight, Hearing, Smelling, Taft, and

ARISTOTES

* eavrastv.

* файтагии.

Opinions of Philosophers.

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ARISTOTLE faith not, that there is a fixt, howbeit he putteth downe one common Sense, which judgeth as touching the compound kinds: whereunto all the other particular and fingle Senses bring and present their proper imaginations: wherein the transition of the one to the other, as of a figure or motion doth shew.

Damocritus affirmeth, that there bee more Senses in brute beasts, in the gods, and in

wife men.

CHAP. XI.

After what maner is effected Senfe, Notion and Resson, according to disposition or affection.

10 He STOICKS are of opinion and fay, that when a man is engendred, hee hath the prinipall part of his foule, which is the understanding, like for all the world unto a parchment or paper ready to be written in; and therein he doth register and record every several Notion and cogitation of his: for those who have perceived any thing by sense, (as for example fake, have feene a white thing) when the fame is gone out of their eie, reteine it still in memorie: now after they have collected together many femblable memories of the fame kinde, then they say, they have experience; for experience is nothing else but an heape or multitude of like forts: but of notions and thoughts, some be naturall, which are caused in manner aforesaid, without any artificiall meanes, others come by our studie, and by teaching, and such alone properly and indeed are called Notions; the other be named rather conceptions or anticipations; 20 and Reason for which we beare the name of Resonable, is accomplished by those anticipations in the first seven yeares: and intelligence is the conception in the understanding of a reasonable creature: for phantalie when it lighteth upon the reasonable soule is then called Intelligence, taking the denomination of understanding, which is the cause that these imaginations are not incident unto other creatures; but fuch as are presented unto gods and us both, those are onely and properly imaginations; whereas those which offer themselves unto us, are imaginations in generall, and cogitations in special! like as Deniers, Testons, or Crownes being confidered apart in themselves, are Deniers, Testons, & Crownes; but if you give them for the hire of a ship, then besides that they are Deniers, &c. they be also the fare, for ferry or passage.

CHAP. XII.

What difference there is betweene Imagination, Imaginable, Imaginative, and Imagined. HRYSIPPUS faith, there is a difference betweene all these fower : and first, as for * Imagination, it is a paffion or impression in the soule, shewing the selfe same thing that made and imprinted it: as for example; when with our cies we behold a white, it is a paffion or affection engendred by the fight in our foule, and we may well fay, that the faid white is the fubject or object that mooveth & affecteth us: femblably in finelling and touching, and this is called Phantafie, a word derived of odos or sos, which fignifieth light or electenesse; for like as the light the weth it felfe, and all that is comprised in it, so the Phantasie or imagination represent 40 teth it felfe, and that which made it.

*Imaginable is that which maketh imagination, as white, cold, and whatfoever is able to

moove or affect the foule, is called Imaginable.

*Phantalticke or Imaginative, is a vaine attraction; even an affection or passion in the soule, which commeth not from any object imaginable; like as we may observe in him that fighteth with his owne shadow, or in vaine flingeth foorth his hands : for in true phantasse or imagination, there is a subject matter named Imaginable: but in this Phantasticke or Imaginative there is no fuch object or subject at all.

Phantalme or * Imagined, is that unto which we are drawne by that vaine attraction; a thing usuall with those who are either furious, or surprized with the maladie of melancholy: for 50

Orestes in the tragedie of Europides when he uttereth these speeches,

O mother mine, againft me raife not thus, I thee befeech thefe * wenches furious: * x664.5,01 WO Whom now I (ce alas, with bloudy eies,

And dragon like, how they against me rise: These me beset, and charge on every part, Thefe strike on still, thefe wound me to the hart.

doth

doth speake them as enraged and in a phranticke fit; for he seeth nothing, but onely imagineth and thinketh that he feeth them: and therefore his fifter Electra replieth thus upon:

Lie still poore wretch, restin thy bed, for why? Thou feest not that which feemes so verily. The fame is the case of Theoclymenu in * Homer.

ward the end,

CHAP. XIII.

Of Sight, and how we doe fee.

EMOCRITUS, and EPICURUS supposed, that Sight was caused by the intromission of certeine images: others by an infinuation of beames, returning to our eie-fight, after the occurrence of an object. EMPEDOCLE's hath mingled the faid images and beamestogether, calling that which is made thereof, the raies of a compound image. HIPPARCHUS holdeth, that the beames fentour and launced from the one eie, and the other comming to be extended, in their ends meet together, and as it were by the touching and clasping of hands, itaking hold of externall bodies, carie backe the apprehension of them unto the visive power.

 $\bar{P}_{\,L\,A\,T}\,o$ attributeth it to the corradiation or conjunction of light, for that the light of the cies reacheth a good way within the aire of like nature, & the light likewife iffuing from the vifi-20 ble bodies, cutteth the aire betweene, which of it felfe is liquid and mutable, and fo extendeth it together with the fierie power of the eie; and this is it which is called the conjunct light or

corradiation of the Platonickes.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of the Resemblances represented in mirrours.

E MPEDOCLES faith, that these apparitions come by the meanes of certeine defluxions, gathered together upon the superficies of the mirrour, and accomplished by the fire that 30 ariseth from the said Mirrour, and withall transmuteth the airethat is object before it, into which those fluxions are caried.

DEMOCRITUS and EPICURUS are of opinon, that these apparences in Mirrours, are caused by the subfishence and stay of certaine images, which passing from us, gather together

upon the Mirrour by way of rebounding and refultation.

The PYTHAGORE ANS attribute all this to the reflexion of the fight: for that the fight is extended and carried as farre as to the Mirrour of braffe or whatfoever, where refting and staying upon the thicke folditie thereof, and beaten backe by the polifhed smoothnesse of the Mirrour object against it, the same returneth againe upon it selse; much like as when our hand is firetched out and brought backe againe unto the shoulder.

All these points and opinions may serve very well, and be accommodate to that chapter and

question, carying this title: How we doe see.

CHAP. XV.

Whether Darknesse be visible.

He Storex's hold, that Darkneffe is visible; for that from the sight there is a splendeure going foorth that compaffeth the faid Darkneffe; neither doth the cie-fight lie and deceive us, for it feeth certeinly and in truth that there is Darkneffe *.

50 CHRYSIPPUS faith, that we doe fee by the tenfion of the aire betweene, which is pricked I reade thus by the vifuall fpirit, that paffeth from the principall part of the foule into the apple of the eie: much more and after that it falleth upon the aire about it, it extendeth the fame in a pyramidall forme, Darkneffe namely, when as it meeteth with an aire of the fame nature with it; for there flow from out of the domaggeeies certeine raies resembling fire, and nothing blacke or missie, and therefore it is that Dark-thermise nesse may be seene.

thereby make it dim : contrariwife, light doeth difgregate and conveyit as faire as to the visible objects, thorough the aire between, and therefore it feeth not in the darke, but is able to fee Darkneffe.

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Treatmagn coming and the Action

CHAP. XVI.

Of Hearing.

MPRDOCLES is of opinion, that Hearing is performed by the meanes of a spirit or winde gotten within the concavitie of the eare, writhed or turned in manner of a vice or fcrew, which they fay is fitted and framed of purpose within the eare, hanging up alost, and beaten upon in manner of a clocke.

ALCMAEON affirmeth, that we doe Heareby the void place within the eare; for he faith, 10 that this is it that resonndeth, when the said spirit entreth into it; because all emptie things do make a found.

DIOGENES supposeth, that Hearing is caused by the aire within the head, when it commeth to be touched, stirred, and beaten by the voice.

 P_{LATO} and his scholars hold, that the aire within the head is sinitten, and that it rebound deth and is caried to the principall part of the foule, wherein is reason, and so is formed the fense of Hearing.

CHAP. XVII.

of Smelling.

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LCMARON affirmeth, that reason, the principall part of the soule, is within the braine, and that by it we Smell, drawing in fents and fmels by respirations.

EMPEDOCLES is of this advice , that together with the respiration of the lights, odours alfo are intromitted and let in; when as then the faid respiration is not performed at libertic and case, but with much adoe, by reason of some asperity in the passage, we Smell not at all, like as we observe in them who are troubled with the pose, murre, and such like rheumes.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of Taste.

LCM ABON faith, that by the moisture and warmth in the tongue, together with the softneffe thereof, all fmacks and objects of tafte are diftinguished.

DIOGENES attributeth the same to the spungeous raritie and softnesse of the tongue; and for that the veines of the body reach up to it, and are inserted and graffed therein, the favors are spread abroad and drawen into the sense and principal part of the soule, as it were with a spunge.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Voice.

PLAYO defineth the Voice to be a spirit, which by the mouth is brought and directed from the understanding; also a knocking performed by the aire, passing through the eares, the braine, and the bloud, as farre as to the foule; after an unproper maner & abusively we attribute Voice to unreasonable creatures, yea & to such as have no soule or life at al, namely, to the neighing of horses, and to other founds; but to speake properly, there is no voice but that which is articulate, and called it is com in Greeke, for that it declareth that which is in the thought,

EPICURUS holdeth the Voice to beea fluxion fent foorth by fuch as speake and make a noile, or otherwise doe found; which fluxion breaketh and crumbleth into many fragments of 50 the same forme and figure, as are the things from whence they come; as for example, round to round, and triangles whether they have three equall sides or unequall, to the like triangles: and these broken parcels entring into the cares, make the sense of the Voice, which is hearing; a thing that may be evidently seene in bottles that leake and runne out, as also in fullers that blow upon their clothes.

DEMOCRITUS faith, that the very aire breaketh into small fragments of the same figure,

that is to fay, round to round; and roll together with the fragments of the Voice: for according to the old proverbe:

One chough neere to another chough, loves alwaies for to pearch, And Godhath fo appointed aie; that all their like should search.

For even upon the shores and sea-sides, stones are eventwore found together semblable, to wit, in one place round, in another long; in like manner when as folke doe winnow or purge come with the vanne, those graines alwaies are ranged and forted together, which be of one and the 10 fame forme; informach as beanes goe to one fide by themselves & rich peafe to another a part by their felves: but against all this it may be alledged and objected: How is it possible that a tew fragments of spirit and winde should fill a theater, that receiveth ten thousand men?

The STOICKS fay, that the aire doth not confift of small fragments; but is continuall throughout, and admitteth no voidnesse at all : howbeit, when it is smitten with spirit or winde, it waveth directly in circles infinitly, untill it fill up all the aire about, much after the manner as we may perceive in a pond or poole, when there is a flone throwen into it; for like as the water in it mooveth in flat circles, fo doth the aire in roundles like to bals.

ANAXAGORA'S faith, that the Voice is formed by the incursion and beating of the Voice against the solide aire, which maketh resistance, and returneth the Broke backe againe to the 20 eares, which is the mannerallo of that reduplication of the Voice or resonance called Eccho.

CHAP. XX.

Whether the Voice be incorporall? and how commeth the Ecchoto be formed.

PYTHAGORAS, PLATO, and ARISTOTLE do hold the Voice to be bodileffer for that it is not the aire but a forme in the aire, & a fuperficies therof, & that by a certaine beating which becommeth a Voice. Now this is certaine that no superficies hath a bodie. True it is indeed that it moveth and remove th with the bodie, but of it felfe without all doubt it hath no bo-30 dieat all: like as in a wand or rod that is bent, the superficies thereof suffereth no alteration, in respect of it selfe, but it is the verie matter and substance that is bowed. Howbeit the Stoicks are of another opinion and fay, that the Voice is a bodie: for what foever is operative and worketh ought, is a bodie: but certaine it is that the Voice is active and doth fomewhat: for we do heare and perceive when it beateth upon our eare, and it giveth a print, no leffe than a feale upon wax. Moreover, all that moveth or troubleth us, is a bodie: but who knoweth not that in Mufick, as good harmony affectth us; fo diffonance and difcord doth difquiet us; and that which more is; all that stirreth or moveth is a bodie: but the Voice stirreth and hitteth against smooth and polithed folid places, by which it is broken and fent backe againe, in manner as we do fee a tennis ball when it is smitten upon a wal: infomuch as in the Pyramides of AEgypt, one Voice di-40 livered within them, rendereth foure or five refonances or Echoes for it.

CHAP. XXI.

How the Soule commeth to be sensitive; and what is the principall and predominant part thereof.

"He STOICES are of opinion, that the fupreme and highest part of the Soule is the principall and the guide of the other: to wit, that which maketh imaginations, caufeth affents, performeth fenfes, and mooveth appetite: and this is it which they cal the difcourfe of reason. Now of this principall and foveraigne part, there be seven others springing from it, and which 50 are spred through the rest of the bodie, like unto the armes or hairie braunches of a poulp fish: of which seven the natural senses make five; namely, Sight, Smelling, Hearing, Talting, and Feeling. Of these, the Sight is a spirit passing from the chiefest part unto the eies: Hearing, a spirit reaching from the understand, to the eares: Smelling, a spirit issuing from reason to the nosethirls: Tasting, a spirit going from the foresaid principall part unto the tongue : and last of all Feeling, a spirit stretching and extended from the same predominant part, as farre as to the sensible superficies of those objects which are eafie to be felt and handled. Of the twaine behind, the one is called generall feed, and that is likewife a spirit transmitted from the principall part unto the genetories or members of generation: the other which is the seventh and last of all, Zeno calleth Vocall, and wee, Voice; a spirit also, which from the principall part passeth to the windpipe, to the tongue and other instruments appropriat for the voice. And to conclude, that misstresse her selse and ladie of the rest is seated (as it were in the midst of her owne world) within our round head, and there dwelleth.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Respiration.

In MPEDOCLES is of opinion, that the first Respiration of the first living creature was occaled flored, when the humiditie in young ones within the mothers wombe, retired, and the outward aire came to succeed in place thereof, and to enter into the void vessels one open to receive the same: but afterwards the naturall heat driving without forth, this aeric substance for to evaporate and breath away, caused exspiration; and likewise when the same returned in again, there ensued inspiration, which gave new entrance to that aerious substance. But as touching the Respiration that now is, he thinketh it to be when the blood is carried to the exterior superficies of the bodie; and by this suxion doth drive and chase the aeric substance through the nosethicles, and cause exspiration; and inspiration when the blood the aeric substance through the aire reentreth withall through the rarities which the blood hath lest void and emptie. And for to make this better to be understood, he bringeth in the example of a Clepsidre or water 20 houre-glasse.

As CLEPIADES maketh the lungs in manner of a tunnel, supposing that the cause of Respiration, is the aire, smooth, and of subtil parts which is within the breast, unto which the aire without, being thicke and grosses showed and runneth; but is repelled backe againe, for that the brest is not able to receive any more, nor yet to be cleane without. Now when as there remaineth still behind, some little of the subtile aire within the breast, (for it cannot all be cleane driven out) that aire without rechargeth againe with equall force upon that within, being able to support and abide the waight thereof; and this compareth he to Phiscians ventoses, or cupping glafes. Moreover as touching voluntarie Respiration, he maketh this reason, that the smallest holes within the substance of the lungs are drawen together, and their pipes closed up. For these 30

things obey our will.

HEROPHILUS leaveth the motive faculties of the bodie, unto the nerves, arteries and muskles: for thus he thinketh and faith, that the lungs only have a naturall appetite to dilation, and contraction, that is to fay, to draw in and deliver the breath, and fo by consequence other parts. For this is the proper action of the lungs, to draw wind from without; wherewith when it is filled, there is made another attraction by a second appetition; and the breast deriveth the faid wind into it: which being likewife repleat therewith, not able to draw any more, it transmitteth backe againe the superfluitie thereof into the lungs, whereby it is sent forth by way of exspiration; and thus the parts of the bodie reciprocally fuffer one of another, by way of interchange. For when the lungs are occupied in dilatation, the breaft is bufied in contraction; and thus they 40 make repletion and evacuation by a mutuall participation one with the other; in fuch fort as we may observe about the lungs foure manner of motions. The first, whereby it receiveth the aire from without; the secondaby which it transfuseth into the breast that aire which it drew and received from without; the third, whereby it admitteth againe unto it felfe that which was fent out of the breft; and the fourth, by which it fendeth quite forth that which fo returned into it. And of these motions, two be dilatations, the one occasioned from without, the other from the breaft: and other two, contractions; the one when the breft draweth wind into it: and the other when it doth expell the aire infinuated into it. But in the breaft parts there be but two onely, the one dilatation when it draweth wind from the lungs, the other contraction, when it rendreth it againe.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Passion of the body; and whether the soule have a fellow-feelling with it, of paine and dolour.

THE STOICES fay, that affections are in the passible parts, but senses in the principall part of the soule.

EPICURUS is of opinion, that both the affections and also the senses, are in the passible places: for that reason which is the principall part of the soule, he holdest to be unpussible.

STRATO contrariwife affirmeth, that as well the Paffions of the foule, as the fenses, are in the said principall part, and not in the affected and grieved places; for that in it constiteth patience, which we may observe in terrible and dolorous things, as also in searcfull, and magnanimous persons.

THE FIFTH BOOKE OF

10

Philosophers opinions.

CHAP. I.

Of Divination.

PLATO and the STOICES bring in a fore-deeming and fore-knowledge of things by infipiration or divine inflinct, according to the divinity of the foule; namely, when as it is ravished with a fanaticall fpirit or revelation by dreames: and these admit and allow many kinds of divination.

20 XENOPHANES and EPICURUS on the contrary fide abolish and annull all Divination what foever.

 $\mathbf{P}_{\,\mathrm{Y\,T\,H\,AG\,O\,R\,AS}}$ condemneth that onely which is wrought by facrifices.

ARISTOTLE & DICEAR CHUS receive none but that which commet by Divine inspiration, or by dreames; not supposing the soule to be immortall, but to have some participation of Divinitie.

CHAP. II.

How Dreames are caused.

DEMOCRITUS is of of opinion, that Dreames come by the representation of images.

STRATO faith, that our understanding is I wot not how, naturally, and yet by no reafon, more sensative in sleepe than otherwise, and therefore sollicited the rather by the appetit and desire of knowledge.

HEROPHILUS affirmeth, that Dreames divinely infpired, come by necessitie; but natural Dreames by this meanes, that the soule formeth an image and representation of that which is good and commodious unto it, and of that which must be necessary to the sould be a mixt nature of both, they fall out casually by an accidentall accesse of images; namely, when we imagine that we fee that which wee desire; as it falleth out with those who in their sleepe thinke they have their paramours in their armes.

CHAP. III.

What is the substance of Matwall seed.

A Ristotle defineth Seed to be that which hath power to moove in it selfe for the effecting of some such thing, as it was from whence it came.

PYTHAGORAS taketh it to be the foame of the best and prinest bloud; the superfluitie and excrement of nouriture; like as bloud and marrow.

ALCMARON faith, it is a portion of the braine.

PLATO supposeth it to be a decision or deflux of the marrow in the backe bone.

50 E FIGURUS imagineth it to be an abstract of soule and body.

DEMOCRITUS holders, that it is the generate of the flethy nerves proceeding from the whole body, and the principall parts thereof.

CHAP. IIII.

Eucippus and Zeno take it to be a body; for that it is an abilitact parcell of the foulc.

Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle, acknowledge indeed and confesses, Bbbb.

that the power and force of Seed is bodileffe; like as the understanding, which is the author of motion; but the matter thereof fay they, which is shed and sent foorth, is corporall.

STRATO and DEMOCRITUS affirme thevery puillance thereof to be a body, howbeit, spirituall.

CHAP. V.

Whether femals send foorth Seed as well as males.

PYTHAGORAS, EPICURUS, and DEMOCRITUS hold, that the Female likewise dischargeth Seed: for that it hash seminaria was all a summed Levi chargeth Seed; for that it hath seminarie vessels turned backward; which is the reason that 10 the hath luft unto the act of generation. .

ARISTOTLE and Zeno be of opinion, that the Female delivereth from it a moilt matter, refembling the sweat which commets from their bodies, who wrestle or exercise together:

but they will not have it to be Seed.

HIPPON avoucheth that Femals doe ejaculate Seed no leffe than males, howbeit the fame is not effectuall for generation, for that it falleth without the matrix: whereupon it commeth to passe that some women, though very few, and widdowes especially, doe cast from them Seed without the company of men: and he affirmeth that of the male Seed, are made the bones, & of the female the flesh. 20

CHAP. VI.

The maner of Conception.

RISTOTLE thinketh, that Conceptions come in this maner: when as the matrix drawn A RISTOTLE thinketh, that Conceptions come in this maner; when as the matrix drawn before from the naturall purgation, and therewithall the monthly tearmes fetch some part of pure bloud from the whole maffe of the body, so that the males genetall may come to it, and to concurre to engender: Contrariwife, that which hindereth conception is this, namely, when the matrix is impure or full of ventolities; as it maybe by occasion of searc of forrow, or weaknesse of women; yea and by the impuissance and defect in men.

CHAP. VII.

How it commath that Males are engendred, and how Females.

 $\mathbf{E}_{\text{ADOCLES}}$ fupposeth, that Males and Females are begotten by the meanes of heat and cold accordingly: and hecreupon recorded it is in Histories, that the first Males in the world, were procreated and bome out of the earth, rather in the East and Southern parts; but Females toward the North.

PARMENIDES mainteineth the contrary, and faith; that Males were bred toward the Northern quarters, for that the aire there is more groffe and thicker than else where: on the other 40 fide, Females toward the South, by reason of the raritie and subtilitie of the aire.

HIPPONAX attributeth the cause heereof unto the seed, as it is either more thick or power-

full, or thinner and weaker.

ANAXAGORAS and PARMENT DES hold, that the feed which commeth from the right fide of a man, ordinarily is cast into the right side of the matrix; and from the left side likewise into the fame fide of the matrix: but if this ejection of feed fall out otherwise cleane crosse, then Females be engendred.

LEOPHANES of whom ARISTOTLE makethmention, affirmeth that the Males be en-

gendred by the rights generory; and females by the left, he had

LEUCIPPUS alcribeth it to the permittation of the naturall parts of generation, for that ac- 50 cording to it, the manhath his yerd of one fore, and the woman her matrix of another: more than this he faith nothing.

DEMOCRITUS faith, that the common parts are engendred indifferently by the one and the other, as it falleth out, but the peculiar parts that make distinction of sex, of the party which

HIPPONAXTE folveth thus, that if the feed be predominant, it will be a Male; but if the food and nourishment, a Female, handle and the control

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CHAP. VIII. How Monsters are engendred.

the diftraction and division of the feed into fundry parts; or else through the declination there-some reads of out of the right way: and thus he feemeth to have preoccupated in maner all the answers to

STRATO alledgeth for this part, addition, or fubltraction, transposition or inflation and ventofities. And fome physicians there be, who fay, that at such a time as monsters be engen-

dred, the matrix fuffereth diffortion, for that it is diffended with winde.

green group to a regional of the formation Durtha CHAP. IX.

What is the reason that a woman though oftentime she companieth with a man doeth not conceive.

IOCLES the Phylician rendreth this reason, for that some doe send soorth no seed at all; 20 Dor leffe in quantity than is fufficient, or fuch in quality, which hath no vivificant or quickning power; or elfe it is for defect of heat, of cold, of moilture, or drineffe; or last of all, by occasion of the paralysic or resolution of the privy parts and members of generation.

The Srore Raday the cause hereof upon the obliquitie or crookednesse of the mans memberyby occasion whereof, the cannot shoot foorth his feed directly; or else it is by reason of the disproportion of the parts, as namely when the matrix lieth to farre within, that the yerd cannonreach untolks and so a ybodines.

ERASISTRATUS findeth fault in this cafe with the matrix, when it hath either hard callo. fitieszor too much carnolities or when it is more rare and spungeous, or else smaller than it ought to be, direit a faction, white

CHAP. X.

ger bed astro-fillia How it commeth that two Twinnes and three Twinnes are borne.

MPBDOCLES faith, that two Twinnes or three, are engendred by occasioneither of the abundance, or the divulsion of the seed.

A S C L E P I A D E S affigneth it unto the difference of bodies, or the excellence of feed: after which manner we see how some barly from one root beareth two or three stalkes with their cares upon them, according as the leed was most fruitfull and generative.

ER ASISTRATUS attributeth it unto divers conceptions and superfactations, like as in brute 40 beafts; for when as the matrix is clenfed, then it commeth foone to conception and fuper-

The Services alledge to this purpose the cels or conceptacles within the matrix; for as the feed falleth into the first and second, there follow conceptions and superfætations, [and after the fame fortmay three Twinnes be engendred. luseruse, i finnigered.

- (CHAP. XI. in a same control of the control of th

tow commethis to paffe that children refemble their parents or progenitour's before them:

TO LE MPEDOCLE saffirmeth, that as similitudes are caused by the exceeding force of the genetall feed; so the diffimilitudes arise from the evaporation of naturall heat conteined within the fame feed.

PARMENIDES is of opinion, that when the feed descendeth out of the right side of the matrix, the children be like unto the fathers, but when it passeth from the left side, unto the

The Store is opine thus; from the whole body and the foule paffeth the feed, and fo the similitudes doe forme of the same kinds, the figures and characters, like as a painter of the Bbbb 2

like colours draweth the image of that which he feeth before him: also the woman for her pare doth conferre generall feed, which if it be prevalent, then the infant is like unto the mother; but if the mans feed be more predominant, it will refemble the father.

CHAP. XII.

How it fallethout that children resemble others, and not their fathers and mothers.

He most part of the Physicians affirme this to happen by chaunce and aventure, but upon this occasion, that the feed, as well of the man as the woman waxeth cold, for then the 10 infants resemble neither the one nor the other.

EMPEDOCLES attributeth the forme and refemblance of young babes in the wombe. unto the strong imagination of the woman in time of conception; for many times it hath beene knowen, that women have beene enamoured of painted images and statues, and so deli vered of children like unto them.

The Storeks fay, that by a sympathic of the minde and understanding, through the insinuation of beames, and not of images, these resemblances are caused.

CHAP. XIII.

How it commet hthat some women be barren, and men likewise unable to get children.

PHYSICIANS hold, that women be barren by reason that the matrix is either too streight, overrare, or too hard; or else by occasion of carreins called the second of the se overrate, or too hard; orelie by occasion of certeine callosities or carnosities: or for that the women themselves be weaklings and heartlesse, or doe not thrive but millike; or else because they are fallen into some Cachexia and evill habit of body; or by reason that they are distorted, or otherwise in a convulsion.

Dioches faith, that men in this action of generation are impotent, for that some send foorth no feed at all, or at least wife in quantitie lesse than is meet, or such as hath no generative power; or because their genetals be paralyticall or relaxed; or by reason that the yerd is croo- 20 ked, that it cannot cast the seed forward; or for that the genetall members be disproportioned and not of a competent length, confidering the distance of the matrix.

The STOICKS lay the fault upon certeine faculties and qualities, discordant in the parties themselves that come together about this businesse; who being parted one from another, and conjoined with others, uniting well with their complexion, there followeth a temperature according to nature, and a childe is gotten betweene them.

CHAP. XIIII.

Why Mules be barrain.

LCMAEON is of opinion, that Mulets, that is to fay, male Mules be not able to engender for that their feed or geneture is of a thin fubltance which proceedeth from the coldnesse therof. The Females also, because their shaps do not open wide enough, that is to say, the mouth therof doth not gape sufficiently; for these be the verie tearmes that he useth.

EMPEDOCLES blameth exilitie or fmalneffe, the low positure and the over streight conformation of the matrix, being so turned backward and tied unto the belly, that neither seed can be directly cast into the capacitic of it, nor if it were caried thither would it receive the same. Unto whom DIOCLES also beareth witnesse faying, Many times (quoth he) in the dissection of Anatomics we have seene such matrices of Mules; and it may be therefore, that in regard of 50 fuch causes some women also be barrain.

CHAP. XV.

Whether the Infant lying yet in the mothers wombe, uto be accounted a living creature or no?

DLATO directly pronounceth that fuch an Infant is a living creature: for that it moveth, and is fed within the bellie of the mother.

Opinions of Philosophers.

The Stocks lay, it is a part of the wombey and not an animall by it felfe. For like as fruits beparts of the trees, which when they be ripe do fall a even to it is with an Infant in the mother's wombered recommend a same of the brightness and no seek to take a surject to

and E at PE D dows a denieth it whe a creatine animall, how beighat it hath life and breath within the bellic mary the first time that it bathyrespiration, is at the birth's namely when the superfatous humiditie which is in fuch unborne fraits is retired and gone, fo that the aire from withontentreth into the void veffels bying open with their order of the second

DIOGENES faith, that fuch Infants are bred within the matrice inanimate, howbeit in heat: whereupon it commeth that mainfall hear? To foone as ever the Infant is turned out of the moto theis wombe jis drawen into the langes with o ome of the doing .

or file we want us leaveth to unborne bubes amooving naturall; but not a respiration; of which motion the finewes be the instrumentall cause; but afterwards they become perfeet living animaltereaures, when being conse forth of the wombe they take in breath from the public combined and bear considering and be the meditariandly and the action performed freely as that the control of the case of

CHAP. XVI.

20 DEMOCRITUS and EFFCURUS Hold; that this imperfect fruit of the wombe receiveth nourifly ment at the mouth; and thereupon'st comment, that so soone as ever it is borne it feeketh and nuzzeleth with the mouth for the breft head, or nipple of the pappe: for that within the matrice there be certaine teats, yea and mouths too, whereby they are nou-- 19 หรือ (Banotalide Britan ให้เกิดเมื่อ (Banear Periode)

The STOICKS fay, that it is fed by the fecundine and the navell; whereupon it is that Midwives prefently knit up and tie the navell fitting fall, but open the Infants mouth; to the end that it be acquainted with another kind of nourishment.

A L C MAE ON affirmeth, that the Infant within the mothers wombe, feedeth by the whole body throughout: for that it fucketh to it and draweth in manner of a fpunge, of all the food, that which 30 is good for nourishmenr.

CHAP. XVII.

What part of the Child is fir st made perfect within the mother's bellie.

"He Stoicks are of opinion that the most parts are formed all at once; but Aristo-I TE E faith the backe bone and the loines are first framed, like as the keele in a ship. A L C M AB O N affirmeth, that the head is first made, as being the seat of reason. PHYSICIANS will have the heart to be the first, wherein the veines and arteries are. Some thinke the great toe is framed first, and others the navill.

CHAP. XVIII.

What is the cause that Infants borne at seven moneths end, be livelike.

E MPEDOCLES thinketh, that when mankind was first bred of the earth, one day then, by reason of the slow motion of the Sunne was full as long, as (in this age of ours) tenne moneths: and that in processe of time, and by succession it came to be of the length of seven moneths: And therefore (quoth hee) infants borne either at ten or seven moneths end, doe ordina-50 rily live: the nature of the world being fo accustomed in one day to bring that fruit to maturitie after that night, wherein it was committed into the wombe thereof.

TIMABUS faith, that they bee not ten moneths, but are counted nine, after that the monethly purgations stay upon the first conception: and so it is thought that infants be of seven moneth whichs are not : for that he knew how after conceptio many women have had their menstruall flux.

POLYBUS, DIOCLES and the EMPIRICKS know, that the eight monethschilde also is vitall; howbeit in some fort feeble, for that many for feeblenesse have died so borne: in ge-Bbbb 3

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nerall and for the most part ordinarily, none are willing to reare and feed the children borne at the feven moneth; and yet many have beene so borne and growen to mans estate.;

ARISTOTLE and HIPPO CRATES report, that if in feven moneths the matrix be growen full, then the infant feeketh to get foorth; and fuch commonly live and doe well enough; but if it incline to birth, and be not sufficiently nourished, for that the navill is weake, then in regard of hard travell, both the mother is in danger, and her fruit becommeth to millike and thriveth not : but in case it continue nine moneths within the matrix, then it commeth soorthac-

complithed and perfect.

POLYBUS affirmeth it to be requisite and necessarie for the vitalitie of infants, that there should be 182, daies and a halfe, which is the time of fix moneths compleat; in which space 10 the funne commeth from one Solitice or Tropicke to another: but such children are said to be of seven moneths, when it falleth out that the odde daies left in this moneth, are taken to the feventh moneth. But he is of opinion, that those of eight moneths live not; namely, when as the infant halfneth indeed out of the wombe, and beareth downward, but for the most part the navell is thereby put to stresse and reached, & so cannot feed, as that should, which is the cause of food to the infant.

The MATHEMATICIANS beare us in hand and fay, that eight moneths be diffociable of all generations, but feven are fociable. Now the diffociable fignes are fuch as meet with fuch starres and constellations which be lords of the house: for if upon any of them falleth the lot of mans life and course of living, it fignifieth that such shall be unfortunate and short lived. These 20 diffociable figues be reckonned eight in number: namely . Aries with Scorpius is infociable; Taurus with Scorpius is fociable; Gemini with Capricorn; Cancer with Aquarius; Leo with Pifces; and Virgo with Aries: And for this caule infants of feven moneths and ten moneths be livelike, but those of eight moneths for the insociable diffidence of the world, perish and come to naught.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the generation of animall creatures ; after what maner they be engendred; and whether they be corruptible.

Hey who hold that the world was created, are of opinion, that living creatures also had their creation or beginning, and shall likewife period and state of their creation or beginning.

The Epicure ans according unto whom Animals had no creation, doe suppose that by mutation of one into another, they were first made; for they are the substantiall parts of the world like as ANAXAGORAS and EURIPIDES affirme in these tearmes: Nothing dieth, but in changing as they doe one for another, they shew fundry formes.

ANAXIMANDER is of opinion, that the first Animals were bred in moisture, and enclosed within pricky and sharpe pointed barks; but as age grew on, they became more drie, and in the end, when the faid barke burst and clave in funder round about them, a small while after they

furvived.

EMPEDOCLES thinketh, that the first generations as well of living creatures as of plants, were not wholy compleat and perfect in all parts, but disjoined, by reason that their parts did not cohare and unite together: that the second generations when the parts begun to combine and close together, seemed like to images: that the third generations were of parts growing and arifing mutually one out of another: and the fourth were no more of femblable, as of earth and water, but one of another; and in some the nourishment was incrassfate and made thicke, as for others the beautie of women provoked and pricked in them a lust of spermatike motion. Moreover, that the kinds of all living creatures were distinct and divided by certeine temperatures; for fuch as were more familiarly enclined to water, went into water; others into the aire, for to draw and deliver their breath to and fro, according as they held more of the nature of 50 fire; fuch as were of a more heavie temperature were bestowed upon the earth; but those who were of an equal temperature, uttered voice with their whole breafts.

CHAP. XX.

How many forts of living creatures there beswhether they be all sensitive and endued with reason. Here is a treatife of ARISTOTLE extant, wherein he putteth downe fower kinds of A-👢 nimals, to wit, Terrestriall, Aquaticall, Volatile, and Celestiall: for you must thinke, that he calleth heavens, starres, and the world, Animals; even as well as those that participate of earth: yea and God he defineth to be a reasonable Animall and immortall.

DEMOCRITUS and ETICURUS doe fay, that heavenly Animals are reasonable.

ANAMAGORA'S holdeth, that all Animals are endued with active reason, but want the pasfive understanding, which is called the interpreter or truchment of the minde,

PYTHAGORAS and PLATO do affirme, that the foules even of those very Animals which are called unreasonable & brute beasts, are endued with reason; howbeit they are not operative with that reason, neither can they achieve it, by reason of the distempered composition of their bodies, and because they have not speech to declare and expound themselves; as for example, 10 apes and dogs, which otter a babling voice, but not an expresse language and distinct speech.

DI OGENES supposeth that they have an intelligence; but partly for the groffe thicknesse of their temperature, and in part for the abundance of moisture, they have neither discourse of reason nor sense, but fare like unto those who be furious; for the principall part of the soule, to wit, Reason is defectuous and empeached.

CHAP. XXI.

Within what time are living creatures formed in the mothers wombe.

20 MPEDOCLES faith, that men begin to take forme after the thirtie fixed day; and are fini-fled and knit in their parts within 50. daies wanting one.

A SCLEPIADES faith, that the members of males, because they be more hot, are jointed. and receive shape in the space of 26, daies, and many of them sooner; but are finished and complet in all limbes within 50.daies: but females require two moneths ere they be fashioned. and fower before they come to their perfection; for that they want naturall heat. As for the parts of unreasonable creatures, they come to their accomplishment sooner or later, according to the temperature of the elements.

CHAP. XXII.

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Of how many elements is composed ech of the generall parts which are in us.

MPEDOCLES thinketh, that flesh is engendred of an equall mixture and temperature of the fower elements; the finewes, of earth and fire, mingled together in a duple proportion; the nailes and cleies in living creatures come of the nerves refrigerat and made colde in those places where the aire toucheth them; the bones, of water and earth within : and of these fower medled and contempered together, fweat and teares proceed.

CHAP. XXIII.

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When and how dot h man begin to come to his perfection.

ERACLITUS and the Stoic us suppose, that men doe enterinto their persection about the second septimane of their age, at what time as their natural seed doth moove andrunne: for even the very trees begin then, to grow unto their perfection; namely, when as they begin to engender their feed; for before then, unperfect they are, namely, folong as they be unripe and fruitleffe: and therefore a man likewife about that time is perfect: and at this septenarie of yeeres he beginneth to conceive and understand what is good and evill, yea, and to learne the fame.

*Some thinke that a man is confummate at the end of the third septimane of yeeres, what * This I find time as he maketh use of his full strength.

in the latin tranflation.

CHAP. XXIIII.

In what manner Sleepe is occasioned or death?

LCMEON is of this mind, that Sleepe is caused by the returne of blood into the conflu-Cant veines; and Waking is the diffusion and spreading of the said blood abroad: but

Death the utter departure thereof.

EMPEDOCLES holdern that Sleepe is occasioned by a moderate cooling of the natural heat of blood within us : and Death by an extreme coldnesse of the laid blood in the act

DIOGENES is of opinion, that if blood being diffused and spred throughout, fill the veines, and withall drive backe the aire feeled morabout into the break, and the interior belly under it, then ensuch Sleepe, and the breast with the precordiall parts are horser thereby : but with at acreous fubftanee in the veines exfpire altogether, and exhale forth, prefently followeth Death.

Prayoundthe Sreger Saffirme, that the caufe of Sleep is the remiffion of the first fenfirive, not by way of relaxation and different downward las in there to the earth; burrather by elevation aloft, namely, when it is carried to the marfile or place between the brower, the very feat of Lo reason : but when there light entire resolution of the spirit sensitive pines of necessitie Death doch enfuer ... regent or the but to cook in the contract regently regarded to the series of the partial graduation of the series of the se

Whether of the twaine it is, that Bopeth or dieth, the Soule or the Bodie?

RISTOTES verely supposed that Sleepe is common to Bodie and Soule both: and A the cause thereof is a certaine humiditie which doth steeme and arise in manner of a vapour out of the stomack and the food therein, up into the region of the head, and the natu- 20 rall heat about the heart cooled thereby. But death he deemeth to be an entire and totall refrigeration; and the same of the Bodie onely, and in no wife of the Soule, for it is immortall.

ANAXA GORAS faith, that Sleepe belongeth to corporall action; as being a paffion of the Bodie and not of the Soule: also that there is likewise a certaine death of the Bodie, to wit, the feparation of it and the Bodie afunder, which was a standard and the Bodie afunder.

L + u c 1 P Pus is of opinion, that Sleepe pertaineth to the Bodie onely, by concretion of that which was of fubtile parts; but the excessive excretion of the animall hear is Death; which both (faith he) be passions of the Bodie, and not of the Soule.

EMPEDOCLES faith, that Death is a separation of those elements whereof mans Bodie is compounded according to which polition, Death is common to Soule and Bodie: and Sleep 20 a certaine diffipation of that which is of the nature of fire.

CHAP. XXVI. How Plants come to grow and whether they be animate.

PLATO and EMPEDOCLES hold, that Plants have life, yea and be animall creatures which appeareth (fay they) by this, that they wag to and fro, and stretch forth their boughs like armes; also, that when they be violently strained and bent, they yeeld; but if they be let loofe they return again, yea in their growth are able to overcome waight laid upon them.

ARISTOTLE granteth that they be living creatures, but not animall: for that animal crea-

tures have motions and appetites, are sensitive and endued with reason.

The STOICKS and the EPIGURE ANS hold, that they have no foule or life at all: for of animallereatures some have the appetitive & concupsicible soule, others the reasonable : but Plants grow after a fort cafually of their owne accord, and not by the meanes of any foule.

EMPEDOCLES faith, that Trees forang and grew out of the ground before animall creatures; to wit, ere the Sunne desplaied his beames, and before that day and night were distinct. Also that according to the proportion of temperature, one came to be named, Male, another, Female; that they thoot up and grow by the power of heat within the earth; in such fort, as they be parts of the earth, like as unborne fruits in the wombe, be parts of the matrice. As for 50 the fruits of trees, they are the superfluous excrements of water and fire: but such as have defect of that humiditie, when it is dried up by the heat of the Summer, lofe their leaves: whereas they that have plentic thereof, keepe their leaves on still, as for example, the Laurell, Olive, and Date tree. Now as touching the difference of their juices and fapors, it proceedeth from the diversitie of that which nouritheth them, as appeareth in Vines: for the difference of Vine trees, maketh not the goodnesse of Vines for to be drunke, but the nutriment that the territorie and foile doth affoord. CHAP,

CHAP. XXVII. Of Naurishment and Growth.

E MPRDOCLES is of opinion, that animall creatures are nourifhed by the substance of that which is proper and familiar unto them; that they grow by the presence of naturall heat; that they diminish, fade and perish through the default both of the one and the other. And as for men now a daies living, in comparison of their auncestos, they be but babes new borne.

CHAP. XXVIII.

How Animall creatures came to have appearte and pleasure.

MREDOCLES supposeth, that Lust and Appetites are incident to animall creatures, through the defect of those elements which went unto the framing of echone: that pleafures arise from humiditie: as for the motions of perils and such like, as also troubles and himderances, &cc. * * * *

CHAP. XXIX.

After what fort a Fewer is engendred, and whether it is an accessary to another malady?

RASISTRATUS defineth a Fever thus: A Fever (quoth he) is the motion of bloud, which is entred into the veines or veffels proper unto the fpirits, to wir, the atteries; and that against the will of the patient; for like as the sea when nothing troubleth it, lieth still and quiet; but if a boifterous and violent winde be up and bloweth upon it, contrary unto nature it furgeth and rifeth up into billowes even from the very bottom; fo in the body of man, when the bloud is mooved, it invadesh the vitall and spirituall vessels, and being set on fire, it enchasesh the whole body. And according to the fame phylicians opinion, a Fever is an accessary or consequent comming upon another discase.

But DIOCLES affirmeth, that Symptones apparent without foorth, doe Thewthat which 20 lieth hidden within: Now we fee that an Ague followeth upon those accidents that outwardly appeere; as for example, wounds, inflammations, impostumes, biles and botches in the share

and other emunctories.

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CHAP. XXX.

Of Health, Sicknesse, and old age.

LCM ABON is of opinion, that the equall dispensing and distribution of the faculties in A the body, to wit, of moisture, heat, drinesse, cold, bitter, sweer, and the rest, is that which holdeth & maintaineth Health: contrariwife, the monarchie, that is to fay, the predominant fo-40 veraignty, of any of them causeth sicknesse: for the predomination and principality of any one, bringeth the corruption of all the other, and is the very cause of maladies; the efficient in regard of excessive heat or cold; and the materiall in respect of superabundance, or defect of humors; like as in some there is want of bloud or brain; whereas Health is a proportionable temperature of all these qualities.

Diocins supposeth, that most diseases grow by the inequality of the elements, and of the

habit and constitution of the body.

ERASISTRATUS faith, that fickneffe proceedeth from the exceffe of feeding, from crudities, indigeftions, and corruption of meat: whereas good order and fuffifance is Health.

The STOICES accord heereunto and hold, that Oldage commeth for want of natural 50 heat; for they who are most furnished therewith, live longest, and be old a great time.

ASCLEPIADES reporteth, that the Aethiopians age quickly, namely, when they be thirtie yeeres old; by reason that their bodies bee over-heat, and even burnt againe with the sunne: whereas in England and all Britaine, folke in their age continue 120. yeeres; for that those parts be cold, and in that people the naturall hearby that meanes is united and kept in their bodies: for the bodies of the Aethiopians are more open and rare, in that they be relaxed and refolved by the funnes heat. Contrariwife their bodies who live toward the North pole, bee more compact, knit and fast, and therefore, such are long lived.

ROMANE



ROMANE QUESTIONS,

THAT IS TO SAY,

AN ENQUIRIE INTO THE CAUSES OF MANIE FASHLONS

AND CUSTOMES OF ROME.

A Treatise fit for them who are conversant in the reading of Romane histories and antiquities, giving a light to many places otherwise obscure and hard to be understood.

It hat is the reason that new wedded wives are bidden to touch fire and water?



S it because that among the elements and principles, whereof are composed naturall bodies, the one of these twaine, to wit, fire is the male, and water the female, of which, that infuseth the beginning of motion, and this affoordeth the propertie of the fubject and matter?

2 Or rather, for that, as the fire purgeth, and water washeth; fo a wife ought to continue pure, chafte and cleane all her life.

Or is it in this regard, that as fire without humidity yeeldeth no nourishment, but is dry; and moisture without heat is idle, fruitlesse and barren; even so the male is feeble, and the fe-

male likewife, when they be apart and fevered a funder: but the conjunction of two maried folke

yeeldeth unto both, their cohabitation and perfection of living together.

4 Or last of all, because man and wife ought not to forsake and abandon one another, but to take part of all fortunes; though they had no other good in the world common betweene them, but fire and water onely.

How is it that they use to light at weddings five torches, and neither more nor lesse, which they 40 call Wax-lights.

7 Hether is it as Parro faith, because the Prætours or generals of armies use three, and the Aediles two: therefore it is not meet that they should have more than the Prætours and Aediles together: confidering that new maried folke goe unto the Aediles to light their fire?

2. Or, because having use of many numbers, the odde number seemed unto them as in all other respects better, and more perfect than the even: so it was fitter and more agreeable for mariage I for the even number implieth a kinde of discord and division, in respect of the equal parts in it, meet for fiding, quarrell, and contention: whereas the odde number cannot be dividedio justes. equally, but there will remaine form what still in common for to be parted. Now among al odditionabers, it feemeth that Cinque is most nuprial, & best besteming mariage; for that Trey is the first odde number, & Deuz the first even; of which twaine, five is compounded, as of the male and the temale.

3 Onisitrather, because light is a figne of being and of life: and a woman may be are at the most five children at one burden; and so they used to cary five tapers or waxe candels?

4 Or lastly, for that they thought, that those who were maried had need of five gods and goddeffes: Romane questions.

goddeffes: namely, Jupiter * genial, Juno genial, Venu, Suade, and above all Diana; whom * Or, nuptrall. (last named) women in their labour and travell of childe birth, are wont to call upon for helpe.

What is the cause that there being many Temples of Dianain Rome, into that onely which standeth in the Parrician Street, men enter not.

I S it not because of a tale which is told in this maner: In old time a certeine woman be-I ing come thither for to adore and worthip this goddeffe, chaunced there to bee abused 10 and fuffer violence in her honor : and he who forced her, was torne in pieces by hounds: upon which accident, ever after, a certeine superstitious feare possessed mens heads, that they would not prefume to goe into the faid temple.

Wherefore wit, that in other temples of Diana men are woont ordinarily to fet up and fasten Harts hornes; onely in that which is upon mount Aventine; the hornes of oxen and other beefes are to be feene.

May it not be, that this is respective to the remembrance of an ancient occurrent that fometime befell? For reported it is that long since in the Sabines countrey, one Antion 20 Coratino had a cow, which grew to be exceeding faire and woonderfull bigge withall above any other: and a certeine wizard or foothfaier came unto him and faid: How predestined it was that the citie which facrificed that cow unto Diana in the mount Aventine, should become most puissant and rule all Italy: This Coratius therefore came to Rome of a deliberate purpose to facrifice the faid cow accordingly: but a certaine houshold fervant that he had, gave notice fecretly unto king Servine Tulline of this prediction delivered by the abovefaid foothfaier: whereupon Servius acquainted the priest of Diana, Cornelius, with the matter : and therefore when Antion Coratins presented himselfe for to performe his facrifice, Cornelius advertised him, first to goe downe into the river, there to wash; for that the custome and maner of those that facrificed was fo to doe: now whiles Antion was gone to wash himselfe in the river, Ser-30 vim steps into his place, prevented his returne, facrificed the cow unto the goddesse, and nailed up the hornes when he had so done, within her temple. Juba thus relateth this historie, and Varrolikewise, faving that Varro expressely setteth not downe the name of Antion, neither doth he write that it was Cornelius the priest, but the sexton onely of the church that thus beguiled the Sabine.

Why are they who have beenefally reported dead in a strange countrey, although they returne bome alive, not received nor suffred to enter directly at the dores, but forced to climbe up to the tiles of the house, and so to get downe from the rouse into the house?

40 Arro rendreth a reason heereof, which I take to be altogether fabulous: for hee writeth, that during the Sicilian warre, there was a great battell fought upon the fea, and immediately upon it, there ranne a rumour of many that they were dead in this fight; who notwithftanding, they returned home fafe, died all within a little while after: howbeit, one there was among the rest, who when he would have entred into his owne house, found the dore of the owne accord falt shut up against him; and for all the forcible meanes that was made to open the same, yet it would not prevaile: whereupon this man taking up his lodging without, just before his dore, as he flept in the night, had a vision which advertised and taught him how he should from the roofe of the house let himselfe downe by a rope, and so get in: now when he had so done, he became fortunate ever after, all the rest of his life; and hee lived to be a very aged man : and 50 heereof arose the foresaid custome, which alwaies afterwards was kept and observed.

But haply this fashion may feeme in some fort to have beene derived from the Greeks for in Greece they thought not those pure and cleane who had been carried foorth for dead to be enterred; or whose sepulchre and funerals were solemnized or prepared: neither were such allowed to frequent the company of others, nor fuffred to come neere unto their facrifices. And there goeth a report of a certaine man named Arithinus, one of those who had been epossessed with this superstition, how he sent unto the oracle of Apollo at Delphos, for to make supplication and praier unto the god, for to bee delivered out of this perplexed anxietie that troubled him by

occasion of the faid custome or law then in force: and that the prophetesse Pythia returned this

Looke what foever women doe in childbed newly laid,
Unnotheir babes, which they brought foorth, the verie fame I flay
See that be done to thee againe:
and after that be fure,
Unto the belifted goods with hands to facilite, most pure.

Which oracle thus delivered, \(\alpha \) is finus having well pondered and confidered, committed himselse as an infantnew borne unto women for to be washed, to be wrapped in swalling clothes, and to be suckled with the brest-head: after which, all such others, whom we call Hysteropotmus, that is to say, those whose graves were made, as if they had beene dead, did the semblable. Howbeit, some doe say, that before \(\alpha \) is flusure was borne, these creremonies were observed about those Historopumi, and that this was a right annotent custome kept in the semblable case: and therefore no marvell it is, that the Romans also thought, that such as were supposed to have beene once buried, and raunged with the dead in another world, ought not to enter in at the same porch, out of which they goe, when they purpose to facrifice tunto the gods, or at which they reenter when they returne from sacrifice: but would have them from above to de-20 seend through the tiles of the rouse into the close house, with the aire open over their heads: for all their purifications ordinarily they performed without the house abroad in the aire.

6 11 by doe women kiffe the lips of their kinsfolks?

Is a smolt men thinke, for that women being forbidden to drinke wine, the manner was brought up: That when foever they met their kinsfolke, they should kisse their lips, to the end they might not be unknowen, but convicted if they had drunke wine? or rather for another reason, which drisse the philosopher hath alledged? for as touching that occasion, which is so so so so and commonly voiced in every mans mouth, yea, and reported of divers and sindrie places; it was no doubt the hardy attempt executed by the dames of Troie, and that upon the coasts of Italy; for when the men upon their arrivall were landed; the women in the meane while set fire upon their ships, for very desire that they had to see an end once, one way or either of their long voiage, & to be delivered fro their tedious travel at seabut searing the sury of their men, when they should returne, they went forth to meet their kinssolke and friends upon the way, and welcomed them with amiable embracing & sweet kisses of their lips; by which means having appeased their angric mood, and recovered their favours, they continued ever after, the cultome of kindgreeting and loving salutation in this manner.

Or was not this a priviledge granted unto women for their greater honour and credit; name-40 ly, to be knowen and feen for to have many of their race and kinred, and those of good worth

and reputation?

Or because it was not lawfull to espouse women of their blood and kinred, therefore permitted they were to entertaine them kindly and familiarly with akiffe, so they proceeded no farther; infomuch as this was the onely marke and token left of their confanguinitie. For before time, they might not marrie women of their owne blood 3 no more than in these daies their aunts by the mothers fide, or their fifters : and long it was ere men were permitted to contract marriage with their coufin germains; and that upon fuch an occasion as this. There was a certaine man of poore estate and small living, howbeit otherwise of good and honest carriage, and of all others that managed the publike affairs of State most popular and gracious with the com- 50 mons: who was supposed to keepe as his espouled wife a kinswoman of his and cousin germain, an inheritreffe; by whom he had great wealth, and became verie rich: for which he was accufed judicially before the people; but upon a speciall favour that they bare unto him, they would not enquire into the cause in question; but not onely suppressed his bill of enditement, and let her go as quit of all crime, but also even they, enacted a statute; by vertue whereof, lawfull it was for all men from that time forward to marrie, as far as to their coulin germains, but in any higher or neerer degree of confanguinitie, they were expresly forbidden. Wherefore

Wherefore uit not lawfull either for the husband to receive a gift of his wife, or for the wife of her husband.

Ay it not be, for that, as Solon ordained that the donations and bequests, made by those that die shall stand good, unlesse they be such as a man hath granted upon necessitie, or by the inducement and flatterie of his wife: in which proviso, he excepted necessitie, as forcing and constraining the will; and likewise pleasure, as deceiving the judgement; even so have men suspected the mutuall gifts passing between the husband and the wise, and thought them to be to of the same nature.

Community and good wilk (for even firingers and fuch as beare no love at all use in that fort to be giving) and in that regard they would be different for the parties should be free and without respect to the parties should be free and without respect of falatic and gain even for it selfe and nothing else in the world.

in Orbecause wooner commonly admit and entertaine strainingers, as corrupted by receiving of presenting and gifts archeir hands, it was thought to stand more with honour and reputation, that wives should love their owne husbands, though they gave them nothing by way of gift.

Or rather, for that it was meet and requifit, that the goods of the husband (fould be common to the wife) and to the wife likewife of the husband; for the partie who receive that thing in gift, doth learner to repute that which was not given, to be none of his owne, but belonging to another in man and wife in giving never to little one to another; despoile and defraud themselves, of all that is beside.

What might be the cause that they were forbidden to receive any gift either of * Sonne in law, * Daughters

*Daughters husband. *Wives fa-

Fis Sonae in knw stor feare left the gifternight be thought by the meanes of the Father to ther.

This may paffe about the returne unto the wife: and of the Father in law, because it was supposed * This may seemen and just, that he who gave not, should not likewise receive ought.

feeme to have fome tellifee fome tellifee to the former quellion,

What should be thereason that the Romans when they returned from some voyage out of a sarre and sorraine countrey, or onely from their ferme into the citie; if their wives were at home, used to send a messenger unto them before, for to give warning and advertisement of their comming?

I ther it was because this is a token of one that beleeveth and is verily perswaded that his wise intendeth no lewdnesse, nor is otherwise busied than well: whereas to come upon her at unwates and on a sodain, is a kind of forlaying and surprize. Or for that they make haste to send to them good newes of their comming, as being affured that they have a longing desire, and doe expect such tidings.

Or rather because themselves would be glad to heare from them some good newes, to wit, whether they shall find them in good health when they come, and attending affectionately and

with great devotion, their returne.

Or elle because women ordinarily, when their husbands be away and from home, have many petie businesses and house affaires: and other whiles there fall out some little jarres and quartels within doores with their servants; menor maidens: to the end therefore all such troubles and inconveniences might be overblowen; and that they might give unto their husbands allowing and amiable welcome home, they have intelligence given unto them before hand of their 45 arrivall and approch.

What is the cause that when they adore and worship the gods, they cover their heads: but contravivise when they meet with any honourable or worshipfull persons, if their heads haplie were then covered with their cover, they discover the same, and are bare headed.

Por it feemeth that this fashion maketh the former doubt and braunch of the question more difficult to be affoiled: and if that which is reported of Aeness betrue; namely, that as Cccc Diomeder

" Kegyot.

• Xeóros.

Diomedes passed along by him whiles he sacrificed, he covered his head, and so performed his facrifice; there is good reason and consequence, that if men be covered before their enemies, they should be bare when they encounter either their friends, or men of woorth and honour: for this maner of being covered before the gods, is not properly respective unto them, but occasioned by accident, and hath, since that example of Aeneas, beene observed and continued.

But if we must fay fomewhat else beside, consider whether it be not sufficient to enquire onely of this point; namely, why they cover their heads when they worthip the gods, feeing the other consequently dependent heereupon: for they stand bare before men of dignitic and authoritie, not to doc them any more honor thereby, but contrariwise to diminish their envie, for feare they might be thought to require as much reverence and the fame honor as is exhibit 10 ted to the gods, or fuffer themselves, and take pleasure to bee observed and reverenced equally with them: as for the gods they adored them after this fort; either by way of lowlinefle and humbling themselves before their majestic, in covering and hiding their heads; or rather because they seared lest as they made their praiers, there should come tunto their hearing, from without, any finiter voice or inaufpicate and ominous offer; and to prevent fuch an object they drew their hood over their eares: And how trie it is that they had a carefull eie and regard to meet with all fuch accidents, it may appeare by this, that when they went to any oracle forto berefolved by answer from thence upon a scrupulous doubt, they caused a great noise to be made all about them, with ringing of pannes or brafen basons.

Or it may well be, (as Cafter faith, comparing in concordance the Romane fashions with the 20 rites of the Pythagoreans) for that the Damon or good angell within us; hath need of the gods helpe without, and maketh supplication with covering the head, giving thus much covertly to understand thereby, that the soule is likewise covered and hidden by the bodie, but and

The manufacture of the contraction of Why facrifice they unto Saturne bare-headed.

S it because Aeneas first brought up this fashion of covering the head at sacrifice; and the I facrifice to Saturnus is much more auncient than his time?

Or, for that they used to be covered unto the celestiall gods: but as for Saturne he is reputed 20 a Subterranean or terrestrial god?

Or, in this respect, that there is nothing hidden, covered, or shadowed in Trueth? For among the Romans, Saturne was held to be the father of Veritie.

Why doe they repute Saturne the father of Trueth.

S it for that (as some Philosophers deeme) they are of opinion that * Saturne is * Time? and Time you know well findeth out and revealeth the Truth.

Or, because as the Poets fable, men lived under Saturnes reigne in the golden age: and if 40 the life of man was then most just and righteous, it followeth confequently that there was much tructh in the world.

What is the reason that they sacrificed likewise unto the god whom they tearmed Honor, with bare head? now a man may interpret Honor to be as much as Glory and Reputation.

T is haply because Honor and glory is a thing evident, notorious, and exposed to the knowledge of the whole world: and by the fame reason that they veile bonet before men of worthip, dignitie, and honor, they adore also the deitie that beareth the name of Honor, with the headbare.

What may be the cause, that somes cary their Fathers and Monhers soorsh to be enterred, with their heads hooded and covered; but daughters bare beaded, with their haires detressed and hanging downe loofe.

S it for that Fathers ought to be honored as gods by their male children, but lamented and L bewailed as dead men by their daughters, and therefore the law having given and graunted unto either fex that which is proper, hath of both together made that which is beforming and

Or, it is in this regard, that unto forrow and heavineffe, that is best beseeming which is extraordinarie and unufuall: now more ordinarie it is with women to go abroad with their heads veiled and covered : and likewife with men, to be discovered and bare headed. For even among the Greeks when there is befallen unto them any publike calamitie, the manner and cuftome is, that the women should cut off the hayres of their head, and the men weare them long: for that otherwife it is usuall that men should poll their heads, and women keepetheir haire long, And to prove that somes were wont to be covered; in such a case, and for the said cause, a man may to alledge that which Parro hath written; namely, that in the solemnitie of funerals, and about the tombs of their fathers, they carry themselves with as much reverence and devotion as in the temples of the gods: in fuch fort, as when they have burnt the corps in the funeral fire, so soone as ever they meet with a bone, they pronounce, that he who is dead, is now become a god. On the contrary fide, women were no wife permitted to vaile and cover their heads. And we find upon record, that the first man who put away and divorced his wife was Spurius Carbilius, because she bare him no children; the second, Sulpition Gallon, for that he saw her to cast a robe over her head; and the third Publius Sempronius, for flanding to behold the folemnitic of the fu-

How it commeth to passe, that considering the Romans esteemed Terminus a god, and therefore in honour of him celebrated a feast called thereupon Terminalia, yet they never killed any beaft in sacrifice unto him?

T is because Romulus did appoint no bonds and limits of his countrey, to the end that he I might lawfully fet out & take in where pleafed him, and repute all that land his owne fo far as, (according to that laying of the Lacedamonian) his speare or javelin would reach? But Numa Pompilius a just man and politick withall, one who knew well how to govern, and that by the rule of Philosophie, caused his territorie to be confined betweene him and his neighbour nations, and called those frontier bonds by the name of Terminus as the superintendent, over-secrand keeper of peace and amitie between neighbours; and therefore he supposed, that this Terminus 30 ought to be preserved pure and cleane from all blood, and impollute with any murder.

What is the reason that it is not lawfull for any maid servants to enter into the temple of the goddeffe * Leucothea? and the Dames of Rome, bringing in thither one alone and no more * Or Maura. with them, fall to cuffing and boxing her about the eares and cheeks.

S for the wench that is thus buffered, it is a fufficient figne and argument, that fuch as Ashe, are not permitted to come thither: now for all others they keepe them out in regard of a certaine poeticall fable reported in this wife: that ladie Inobeing in times past jealous of her husband, and suspecting him with a maid servant of hers, sell mad, and was enraged against 40 her owne sonne: this servant the Greeks say, was an Actolian borne, and had to name Antiphera: and therefore it is that heere among us in the citie of Charonea, before the temple or chappell of Matuta, the fexton taking a whip in his hand crieth with a loud voice: No man fervant or maid fervant be so hardie as to come in heere; no Aetolian hee or thee presume to enter into this place.

What is the cause that to this goddesse, folke pray not for any blessings to their owne children, but for their nephewes onely, to wit, their brothers or fifters children?

Ay it not be that Ino being a ladic that loved her fifter wonderous well, in fo much as the Muckled at her owne breaft a sonne of hers: but was infortunate in her owne children? 50 Or rather, because the said custome is otherwise very good and civill, inducing and moving folks hearts to carie love and affection to their kinreds:

For what cause were many rich men want to consecrate and give unto Hercules the Disme or

Hy may it not be upon this occasion, that Hercules himselfe being upon a time at placewhere * Rome, facrifice the tenth cow of all the drove which he had taken from Gerion?

* By Prolepfis,

Or for that he freed and delivered the Romans from the tax and tribute of the Difmes which they were wont to pay out of their goods unto the Tuskans.

Or in case this may not go current for an authenticall historie, and worthie of credit; what and if we say that unto Hereules as to some great bellie god, and one who loved good cheere,

they offered and facrificed plenteoufly and in great liberalitie? Or rather, for that by this meanes they would take downe and diminish alittle, their excessive riches which ordinarily is an eie-fore and odious unto the citizens of a popular state, as if they meant to abate and bring low(as it were) that plethoricall plight and corpulency of the bodie, which being growen to the height is daungerous : supposing by such cutting off, and abridging of superfluities, to do honour and service most pleasing unto Hercules, as who joied to highly in frugalitie: for that in his life time he flood contented with a little, and regarded no delicacie or excesse whatsoever.

Why begin the Romans their yeere at the moneth Januarie?

 ${f F}^{
m Or}$ in old time the moneth of March was reckoned first, as a man may collect by many other conjectures, and by this especially, that the fift moneth in order after March was called ${\it Qain}$ tilis, and the fixt moneth Sextilis, and all the rest consequently one after another until you come to the last, which they named December, because it was the tenth in number after March: which giveth occasion unto some for to thinke & say, that the Romans (in those daies) determined and accomplished their compleat yeere, not in twelve moneths but in ten: namely, by adding unto 20 everie one of those ten moneths certain daies over and above thirtie. Others write, that December indeed was the tenth moneth after March; but Januarie was the eleventh, and Februarie the twelfth: in which moneth they used certaine expiatorie and purgatorie facrifices, yea, and offered oblations unto the dead(as it were) to make an end of the yere. Howbeit afterwards they transposed this order, and ranged Januarie in the first place, for that upon the first day thereof, which they call the Calends of Januarie; the first Confuls that ever bare rule in Rome were enstalled. immediatly upon the deposition and expulsion of the kings out of the citie. But there seemeth to be more probability & likelihood of truth in their speech, who say, that Romalus being a martiall prince, and one that loved warre and feats of armes, as being reputed the sonne of Mars, set before all other moneths, that which caried the name of his father: howbeit Wuma who fuccee- 30 dednext after him, being a man of peace, and who endevored to withdraw the hearts and minds of his subjects and citizens from warre to agriculture, gave the prerogative of the first place unto Januarie, and honoured Janus most, as one who had beene more given to politick government, and to the husbandrie of ground, than to the exercise of warre and armes.

Confider moreover, whether Numachofe not this moneth for to begin the yeere withall, as best forting with nature in regard of us; for otherwise in generall, there is no one thing of all those that by nature turne about circularly, that canbe faid fust or last, but according to the feverall inflitutions and ordinances of men, some begin the time at this point, others at that. And verely they that make the Winter folftice or hibernall Tropick the beginning of their yeere, do the best of all others: for that the Sunne ceasing then to passe farther, beginneth to 40 returne and take his way againe toward us: for it feemeth, that both according to the course of nature, and also in regard of us, this season is most besitting to begin the yeere: for that it increafeth unto us the time of daie light, and diminisheth the darknesse of night, and causeth that noble starre or planet to approch neerer and come toward us, the lord governour and ruler of all

substance transitorie and fluxible matter whatsoever.

Why do women when they dreffe up and adorne the chappell or shrine of their feminine goddesse; whom they call Bona, never bring home for that purpose any branches of Myrtle tree: and yet otherwise have a delight to employ all sorts of leaves and flowers?

Ay it not be, for that, as fome fabulous writers tell the tale, there was one* Flavius a footh-Or Phaulius. Majer had a wife, who used secretly to drinke wine, and when she was surprised and taken in the manner by her husband, the was well beaten by him which myrtle rods: and for that cause they bring thither no boughs of myrtle: marry they offer libations unto this goddesse of wine, but forfooth they call it Milke.

Or is it not for this cause, that those who are to celebrate the ceremonies of this divine ser-

vice, ought to be pure and cleane from all pollutions, but especially from that of Penus or lechery? For not onely they put out of the roomewhere the service is performed unto the said goddesse Bona, all men, but also whatsoever is besides of masculine sex; which is the reason that they fo detest the myrtle tree, as being consecrated unto Venue, infomuch as it should feeme they called in old time that Venus, Myrtea, which now goeth under the name, of Murcia.

What is the reason that the Latines doe so much bonour and reverence the Woodpecker, and sorbeare altogether to doe that bird any harme?

S it for that Pieus was reported in old time by the enchantments and forceries of his wife, to have changed his owne nature, and to be metamorphozed into a Woodpecker; under which forme he gave our oracles, and delivered answeres unto those who propounded unto

him any demaunds? Or rather, because this seemeth a meere fable, and incredible tale: there is another storie reported, which carieth more probabilitie with it, and foundeth necrer unto trueth. That when Ronnilus and Remus were cast foorth and exposed to death; not onely a female woolse gave them her teats to fucke, but also a certeine Woodpecker flew unto them, and brought them food in her bill, and fo fedde them: and therefore haply it is, that ordinarily in these daies wee 20 may fee, as Nigidius hath well observed; what places foever at the foot of an hill covered and flaadowed with oakes or other trees a Woodpecker haunteth, thither customably you shall have a woolfe to repaire.

Or peradventure, sceing their maner is to consecrate unto every god one kinde of birde or other, they reputed this Woodpecker facted unto Mars, because it is a couragious and hardy bird, having abill so strong, that he is able to overthrow an oke therewith, after he hath jobbed and pecked into it as farre as to the very marrow and heart thereof.

How is it that they magine Janus to have had two faces, in which maner they use both to pains and also to cast him in mold.

Sit for that he being a Græcian borne, came from Perrhæbia, as we finde written in histo-I ries; and paffing forward into Italy, dwelt in that countrey among the Barbarous people, who there lived, whose language and maner of life he changed?

Or rather because he taught and perswaded them to live together after a civil and honest fort, in husbandry and tilling the ground; whereas before time their manners were rude, and their fashions savage without law or justice altogether.

What is the cause that shey use to sell at Rome all things perteining to the furniture of Funerals, within the temple of the goddesse Libitina, supposing her to be Venus.

His may feeme to be one of the fage and philosophicall inventions of king Numa, to the end that men should learne not to abhorre such things, nor to slie from them, as if they

40

did pollute and defile them? Or else this reason may be rendred, that it serveth for a good record and memoriall, to put us in minde, that what loever had a beginning by generation, shall likewife come to an end by death; as if one and the same goddesie were superintendent and governesse of nativitie and death: for even in the city of Delphos there is a pretic image of Venus, furnamed Epitymbia; that is to say sepulchrall: before which they use to raise and call foorth the ghosts of such as are 50 departed, for to receive the libaments and facred liquors powred foorth unto them.

Why have the Romans in every moneth three beginnings as it were, to wit certaine principall and prefixed or preordeined * dates, and regard not the same intervall or space of dates be fay, Kalends,

S it because as Juba writest in his chronicles, that the chiefe magistrates were wont upon the A first day of the moneth to call and summon the people; whereupon it tooke the name of Ca-

lends; and then to denounce unto them that the 20 ones should be the fift day after; and as for

the Ides they held it to be an holy and facred day?

Or for that they measuring and determining the time according to the differences of the moone, they observed in her every moneth three principall changes and diversities: the first, when the is altogether hidden, namely during her conjunction with the funne; the fecond when the is fomewhat remooved from the beames of the funne, & beginneth to thew herfelfe croissant in the evening toward the West whereas the sunne setteth; the third, when she is at the full: now that occultation and hiding of hers in the first place, they named Calends, for that in their tongue whatfoever is secret & hidden, they fay it is [Clam] and to hide or keepe close, they expresse by this word [Celare;] and the first day of the moones illumination, which wee 10 heere in Greece tearme Noumenia, that is to fay, the new-moone, they called by a most just name Nona, for that which is new and young, they teatme Novum, in manner as wee doe PAN. As for the Ides, they tooke their name of this word dobs, that fignifieth beautie; for that the moone being then at the full, is in the very perfection of her beautie: or haply they derived this denomination of Dios, as attributing it to Jupiter: but in this we are not to fearch out exactly the just number of daies, nor upon a small default to flander and condemne this maner of reckoning, seeing that even at this day, when the science of Astrologie is growen to so great an increment, the inequalitie of the motion, and course of the moone surpasseth all experience of Mathematicians, and cannot be reduced to any certeine rule of reason, 20

What is the cause that they repute the morrowes after Calends, Nones, and Ides, disasterous or dismall dates, either for to set forward upon any journey or voiage, or to march with an

army into the field?

Sit because as many thinke, and as Titus Livius hath recorded in his storie; the Tribunes 1 militarie, at what time as they had confular and foveraigne authoritie, went into the field with the Romane armie the morrow after the Ides of the moneth Quintilis, which was the same that July nowis, and were discomfitted in a battell by the Gaules, neere unto the river Allia: and colequently upon that overthrow, loft the very city it felfe of Rome: by which occasion the morrowafter the Ides, being held and reputed for a finister and unluckie day; superstition entring 20 into mens heads, proceeded farther, (as the loveth alwaies to to doe) and brought in the cuftome for to hold the morrow after the Mones yea, and the morrow after the Calends, as unfortimate, and to be as religiously observed in semblable cases.

But against this there may be opposed many objections: for first and formost, they lost that battell upon another day, and calling it Alliensis, by the name of the river Allia, where it was strucken, they have it in abomination for that cause. Againe, whereas there be many daies reputed difmall and unfortunate, they doe not observe so precisely and with so religious seare, other daies of like denomination in every moneth, but ech day apart onely in that moneth wherein fuch and fuch a difafter, hapned; and that the infortunitie of one day should draw a superflitious feare fimply upon all the morrowes after Calends, Nones, and Ides, carieth no con- 40

gruitie at all, nor apparence of reason.

Confider moreover and see, whether, as of moneths they used to consecrate the first to the gods celeftiall, the second to the terrestriall, or infernall, wherein they performe certeine expiatoric ceremonies and facrifices of purification, and prefenting offrings and fervices to the dead : fo of the daies in the moneth, those which are chiefe and principall, as hath beene said, they would not have to be kept as facted and festivall holidaies; but such as follow after, as being dedicated unto the spirits, called Damons, and those that are departed , they also have estecmed colequently as unhappy, & altogether unmeet either for to execute or to take in hand any businesses for the Greeks adoring and serving the gods upon their new moones and first daies of the moneth, have attributed the second daies unto the demi-gods and Damons: like as at 50 their fealts also they drinke the second cup unto their demi-gods, and demi-goddesses. In fumme, Time is a kinde of number, and the beginning of number is (I wot not what,) fome divine thing, for it is Unitie: and that which commeth next after it is Deuz or two, cleane opposite unto the said beginning, and is the first of all even numbers: as for the even numberit is delective, unperfect, and indefinit, whereas contrariwife, the uneven or oddenumber it felfe is finite, complet, and absolute: and for this cause like as the Nones succeed the Calends five daies after; fo the Ides follow the Nones nine daies after them; for the uneven

and odde numbers doe determine those beginnings, or principall daies; but those which prefently enfue after the faid principall daies being even, are neither ranged in any order, nor have power and puissance: and therefore men doe not enterprise any great worke, nor set foorth voiage or journey upon such daies: and heereto wee may to good purpose annex that prese speech of Themislocles: For when the morrow (quoth he) upon a time quarrelled with the festivall day which went next before it, faying, that herfelfe was bufied and tooke a great deale of pains, preparing & providing with much travel those goods which the feast enjoied at her case, with all repose, rest, and leifure: the Festivallday made this answer: Thou saidst true indeed; but if I were not, where wouldst thoube? This tale Them flotles devised, and delivered unto the 10 Athenian captaines, who came after him; giving them thereby to understand, that neither they nor any acts of theirs would ever have been efeene, unleffe hee before them had faved the citie of Athens. For a funch then, as every enterprise and voiage of importance hath need of provision, and some preparatives; and for that the Romans in old time upon their festivall daies, dispensed nothing, nor tooke care for any provision; being wholy given and devoted at fuch times to the fervice & worship of God, doing that, & nothing else, like as even yet at this day, when the priefts begin to facrifice, they pronounce with a loud voice before all the companie there affembled Hoc AGE, that is to fay, Minde this, and doe no other thing: verie like it is, and standeth to great reason, that they used not to put themselves upon the way for any Jong voiage, nor tooke in hand any great affaire or businesse presently after a sestivall day, but 20 kept within house all the morrow after, to thinke upon their occasions, and to provide all things necessarie for journey or exploit: or we may conjecture, that as at this very day the Romans after they have adored the gods, and made their praiers unto them within their temples, are woont to flay there a time, and fit them downe ; even fo they thought it not reasonable to cast their great affaires fo, as that they should immediately follow upon any of their festivall daies; but they allowed some respit and time betweene, as knowing full well, that businesses carie with them alwaies many troubles and hinderances, beyond the opinion, expectation, and will of those who take them in hand.

What is the cause that women at Rome, when they mourne for the dead, put on white robes, and likewise weare white camles, coifes and kerchiefs upon their heads.

Ay it not be that for to oppose themselves against hell and the darkenesse thereof, they My it not be triated to opposite the colour which is cleere and bright?

Or doe they it not rather for this: that like as they clad and burie the dead corps in white clothes, they suppose, that those who are next of kin, and come neerest about them, ought also to weare their liverie? Now the bodie they doe in this wife decke, because they cannot adorne the foule fo; and it they are willing to accompanie as lightforme, pure and net, as being now at the last delivered and set free, and which hath performed a great a variable combat.

Or rather, we may gueffe thus much thereby: that in fuch cases, that which is most simple 40 and least costly, is best beseeming; whereas clothes of any other colour died, do commonly bewray either superfluitie or curiositie: for we may fay even aswell of blacke, as of purple: These robes are deceitfull; these colours also are counterfeit. And as touching that which is of it selfe blacke, if it have not that tincture by diers art, furely it is so coloured by nature, as being mixed and compounded with obscuritie: and therefore there is no colour els but white, which is pure, unmixt, and not stained and fullied with any tincture, and that which is inimitable; in which regard, more meet and agreeable unto those who are interred, considering that the dead is now become fimple, pure, exempt from all mixtion, and in very truth, nothing els but delivered from the bodie, as a staine and infection hardly scowred out and rid away. Semblably, in the citie of Argos, when soever they mourned, the maner was to weare white garments, washed 50 (as Socrates faid) in faire and cleere water.

What is the reason that they esteeme all the walles of the citie sacred and inviolable, but not the

Sit (as Varro faith) because we ought to thinke the walles holie, to the end that we may fight I valiantly, and die generously in the defence of them? for it seemeth that this was the cause, why Romulus killed his owne brother Romu, for that he prefumed to leape over an holy and inviolable place: whereas contrariwife, it was not possible to confecrate and hallow the

gates, thorow which there must needs be transported many things necessary, and namely, the bodies of the dead. And therefore, they who begin to found a citie, environ and compaffe first with a plough all that pourprise and precinct wherein they meant to build, drawing the said plough with an oxe and a cow coupled together in one yoke: afterwards, when they have traced out all the faid place where the walles should stand, they measure out as much ground as will ferve for the gates, but take out the plough-share, and so passe over that space with the bare plough, as if they meant thereby, that all the furrow which they cast up and cared, should be facred and inviolable.

What is thereason, that when their children are to sweare by Hercules, they will not let them to dost within doores, but cause them to go forth of the house, and take their oath abroad?

TS it because (as some would have it) that they thinke Hercules is not delighted with keeping Lclose within house and litting idlely, but taketh pleasure to live abroad and lie without?

Or rather, for that of all the gods, Hercules is not (as one would fay) home-bred, but a stranger, come amongst them from a farre? For even so they would not sweare by Bacchus, under the roofe of the house, but went forth to do it; because he also is but a stranger among the gods.

Or haply, this is no more but a word in game and sport, given unto children: and besides (to fay attueth) it may be a meanes to withholde and restraine them from swearing so readily and rashly, as Phavorinus saith: for this device causeth a certeine premeditate preparation, and gi- 20 verh them (whiles they goe out of the house) leasure and time to consider better of the matter, And a man may conjecture also with Phavorinus, and say with him: That this fashion was not common to other gods, but proper to Hercules: for that we finde it written, that he was foreligious, so respective and precise in his oath, that in all his life time he never sware but once, and that was onely to Phileus the sonne of Augius. And therefore, the prophetissicat Delphos, named Pythia, answered thus upon a time to the Lacedæmonians:

When all these oaths you once for fend, Your state (be sure) shall dayly mend.

What should be thereason, that they would not permit the new wedded bride to passe of herselfe over the doore-fill or threshold, when she is brought home to her husbands house, but they that accompanie her, must lift her up bet weene them from the ground, and so convey her in.

TS it in remembrance of those first wives whom they ravished perforce from the Sabines, who Lentred not into their houses of themselves with their good will, but were carried in by them, in

Or is it perhaps, because they would be thought to goe against their willes into that place

where they were to lose their maidenhead?

Or haply it may be, that a wedded wife ought not to goe foorth of her doores, and abandon 40 her house, but perforce, like as she went first into it by force. For in our countrey of Baotia, the maner is, to burne before the doore where a new married wife is to dwell, the axel tree of that chariot or coatch in which the rode when the was brought to her husbands house. By which ceremonie, thus much the is given to understand, that will she nill she, there she must now tarrie, considering that it which brought her thither, is now gone quite and consumed.

Wherefore do they at Rome, when they bring a new espoused bride home to the house of her hus-band, force her to say these words wnto her spouse: Whete you are Cajus, I will be Cajus?

S it to tellifie by these words, that the entreth immediately to communicate with him in 1 all goods, and to be a governeffe and commaunder in the house as well as he? for it implieth as much, as if the should say; where you are lord and master, I will be lady and mistres. Now these names they used as being common, and such as came first to hand, and for no other reafon else : like as the Civill lawiers use ordinarily these names, Cajus, Seius, Lucius, and Tittus: the Philosophers in their schooles, Dion and Theon.

Orperadventure it is in regard of Caia Cacilia a beautifull and vertuous lady, who intimes

Romane questions.

past espoused one of the sonnes of king Tarquinim: of which dame there is yet to be seene even at this day one image of braffe, within the temple of the god Santtus: and there likewife in old time, her slippers, her distaffe and spindels laid up for to bee scene: the one to signific that the kept the house well, and went not ordinarily abroad; the other to shew how she busied her felfe at home.

3 I How commeth it, that they use to chaunt or dinarily at weddings, this word so much divulged,

S it not of Talafia, the Greeke word, which fignifieth yarne : for the basket wherein women use to put in their rolles of carded wooll, they name Talasos in Greeke, and Calathus in Latine? Certes they that lead the bride home, cause her to sit upon a sliece of wooll, then bringeth the foorth a diftaffe and a spindle, and with wooll all to hangeth and decketh the dore of her husbands house.

Or rather, if it be true which historians report: There was fometime a certeine young gentleman, very valiant and active in feats of armes, and otherwife of excellent parts and fingular wel conditioned, whose name was Talasius: and when they ravished and carried away the daughters of the Sabines who were come to Rome, for to behold the folemnitie of their festivall 20 games and plaies: certaine meane persons, such yet as belonged to the traine & retinue of Tala fine aforefaid, had chosen foorth & were carying away, one damosel above the rest most beautiful of vifage, and for their fafety and securitie as they passed along the streets, cried out aloud Talasio, Talasio, that is to say, for Talasion, for Talasion; to the end that no man should be so hardy as to approch neere unto them, nor attempt to have away the maiden from them, giving it out, that they caried her for to be the wife of Talafius; and others meeting them upon the way, joined with them in company for the honour of Talasius, and as they followed after, highly praifed their good choice which they had made, praying the gods to give both him and her joy of their marriage, and contentment to their hearts delire. Now for that this marriage prooved happy and bleffed, they were woont ever after in their wedding fongs to rechant and refound 30 this name, Talasius, like as the maner is among the Greeks to sing in such carrols, Hymenaus.

What is the reason that in the moneth of May, they use at Rome to cast over their woodden bridge into the river certaine images of men, which they call Argeos?

IS it in memoriall of the Barbarians who fometimes inhabited these parts, and did so by the Greeks, murdering them in that maner as many of them as they could take? But Hercules who was highly effeemed among them for his vertue, abolished this cruell fashion of killing of strangers, and taught them this custome to counterfet their auncient superstitions, and to sling 40 these images in stead of them: now in old time our ancestors used to name all Greeks of what countrey foever they were, Argeos: unlesse haply a man would say, that the Arcadians reputing the Argives to be their enemies, for that they were their neighbour borderers, fuch as fled with Evander out of Areadia, and came to inhabit these quarters, reteined still the old hatred and ranckor, which time out of minde had taken root, and beene fetled in their hearts against the said Argives.

What is the cause that the Romans in old time never went foorth out of their houses to supper, but they carried with them their young fonnes, even when they were but in their very infancie and childhood.

As not this for the very fame reason that Lycurgus instituted and ordeined, that yoong children should ordinarily be brought into their halles where they used to eat in publicke, called Phidina, to the end that they might be inured and acquainted betimes, not to use the pleasures of eating and drinking immoderately, as brutish and ravenous beasts are wont to doe; confidering that they had their elders to overfee them, yea, and to controll their demeanour: and in this regard haply also, that their fathers themselves should in their cariage be more fober, honeft, and frugall, in the prefence of their children: for looke where old

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folke are shamelesse, there it can not chuse but (as Plato faith) children and youth will be most gracelesse and impudent.

What might the reason be, that whereas all other Romans made their offrings, ceremonies, and facrifices for the dead, in the moneth of February: Decimus Brutus as Cicero faith, was went to doe the same in the moneth of December: now this Brutus was he who first invadeathe country of Pottugall, and with an armie passed over the river of Lethe, that is to

Ay it not be, that as the most part of men used not to performe any such services for the 10 Ay it not be, that as the more hand a little before the flutting in of the evening; dead, but toward the end of the moneth, and a little before the flutting in of the evening; even so it seemeth to catie good reason, to honour the dead at the end of the yeere; and you wot well that December was the the last moneth of all the yeere.

Or rather, it is because this was an honour exhibited to the deities terrestriall; and it seemeth that the proper season to reverence and worship these earthly gods, is when the fruits of

the earth be fully gathered and laid up.

Or haply, for that the husband men began at this time to breake up their grounds against their feednesse: it was meet and requisite to have in remembrance those gods which are un-

Or haply, because this moneth is dedicate and consecrated by the Romans to Sasurne; for 20 der the ground. they counted Saturne one of the gods beneath, and none of them above : and withall, considering the greatest and most solemne feast, which they call Saturnalia, is holden in this moneth, at what time as they feeme to have their most frequent meeting, and make best cheere, he thought it meet and reasonable that the dead also should enjoy some little portion thereof.

Or it may be faid, that it is altogether untrue that Desimus Erutus alone facrificed for the dead in this moneth: for certeine it is that there was a certeine divine fervice performed to Acea Larenia, and folemne effusions and libaments of wine and milke were powred upon her sepulchrein the moneth of December.

Why honoured the Romans this Acca Latentia fo highly, confidering shew as no better than a strumpet or courtifan?

Or you must thinke, that the histories make mention of another Acca Larentia, the nurse of Romulus, unto whom they do honour in the moneth of Aprill. As for this courtizan Lareneta, the was (as men fay) furnamed Fabula, and came to be fo famous and renowmed by fuch an occasion as this. A certeine sexton of Hereules his temple, having littleels to doe, and living at ease (as commonly such fellowes doe) used for the most part to spend all the day in playing at dice and with cokall bones: and one day above the rest, it fortuned, that meeting with none of his mates and play-fellowes who were woont to beare him company at fuch games, and not 40 knowing what to do nor how to paffe the time away, he thought with himfelfe to challenge the god whose servant he was , to play at dice with him , upon these conditions : That if himselse woon the game, Hereules should be a meanes for him of some good lucke and happy fortune; but in case he lost the game, he should provide for Hercules a good supper, and withall, a pretie wench and a faire, to be his bedfellow: these conditions being agreed upon and set downe, he call the dice, one chance for himselfe, and another for the god; but his hap was to be the loser: whereupon minding to stand unto his challenge, and to accomplish that which he had promised, he prepared a rich supper for Hercules his god, and withall, sent for this Acca Larentia, a profelled courtifan and common harlot, whom he feafted also with him, and after supper beltowed her in a bed within the very temple, shut the doores fast upon, and so went his way. Now the 50 tale goes forfooth, that in the night, Hereules companied with her, not after the maner of men, but charged her, that the next morning betimes the should go into the market place, and looke what man the first met withall, him the should enterteine in all kindnesse, and make her friend especially. Then Larentia gat up betimes in the morning accordingly, and chanced to encounter a certeine rich man and a stale bacheler, who was now pass his middle age, and his name was Taruntim; with him the became to familiarly acquainted, that to long as he lived, the had the command of his whole house; and at his death, was by his last will and testament instituted inheritresse of all that he had. This Larentia likewise afterward departed this life, and left all her riches unto the citie of Rome; whereupon this honour abovefaid was done unto her.

What is the cause, that they name one gate of the citie Fenestra, which is as much to say, as window; neere unto which adjoineth the bed-chamber of Fortune?

TS it for that king Servine a most fortunate prince, was thought & named to lie with Fortune, I who was woont to come unto him by the window? or is this but a devised tale? But in trueth, 10 after that king Tarquinius Priscus was deceased, his wife Tanaquillis being a wife ladie, and enduedwith a rotall mind, putting forth her head, and bending forward her bodie out of her chamber window, made a speech unto the people, perswading them to elect Servins for their king. And this is the reason that afterwards the place reteined this name, Fenestra.

whole to the state of all the feshings which be dedicated and conferred to the gods, the cuflome is at Rome, that onely the foiles of enemies conquered in the warres, are negletted and suffered to runto decay in processe of time: neither uthere any reverence done unto them, nor repaired be they at any time, when they wax olde?

1.231 Hether is it, because they (supposing their glory to sade and passe away together with these first society seeks evermore new meaners to winne some fresh marks and reasons. these first spoiles) seeke evermore new meanes to winne some fresh marks and monuments of their vertue, and to leave them fame behinde them, applied to the second of their vertue.

Or rather, for that feeing time doth waste and consume the fefigues and tokens of the enmity which they had with their enemies; it were an odious thing for them, and very invidious, if they should refresh and renew the remembrance thereof: for even those among the Greeksy who first erected their trophes or pillars of braffe and stone, were not commended for so doing besteild.

What is the reason that Quintus Metellus the high priest, and reputed besides a wife man and a politike forbad to observe auspices, or to take presages by flight of birds, after the moneth Sextilis, now called August.

I Sit for that, as we are woont to attend upon such observations about noone or in the begin-ling of the day, at the entrance also and toward the middle of the moneth: but we take heed and beware of the daies declination, as inaufpicate and unmeet for fuch purposes; even so Metellus supposed, that the time after eight moneths was (as it were) the evening of the yeere, and the latter end of it, declining now and wearing toward an end.

Or haply, because we are to make use of these birds, and to observe their slight for presage, 40 whiles they are entire, perfect and nothing defective, such as they are before Summer time. But about Autumne some of them moult, grow to be fickly and weake; others are over young and too small; and some againe appeare not at all, but like passengers are gone at such a time into another countrey.

What is the cause, that it was not lawfull for them who were not prest soldiors by oth and enrolled, although upon some other occasions they conversed in the campe, to strike or wound an enemie? And verely Cato himselfe the elder of that name signified thus much in a letter missive which he wrote unto his some: wherein he straitly charged him, that if he had accomplished the full time of his Service, and that his captain had given him his conge and discharge, he should imme diatly returne: or in case he hadleifer stay still in the campe, that he should obtaine of his captaine permission and licence to hart and kill his enemie.

TS it because there is nothing else but necessitie alone, doeth warrantize it a killing of a Iman: and he who unlawfully and without expressed commaundement of a superiour (unconftrained)doth it, is a moere homicide and manflaier. And therefore Cyrus commended Chry-Jantas, for that being upon the verie point of killing his enemie, as having lifted up his cemiter for to give him adeadly wound, presently upon the found of the retreat by the trumper, let the

man go, and would not finite him, as if he had beene forbidden fo to do. Or may it not be, for that he who presenteth himselfe to fight with his enemie, in case he firink, and make not good his ground, ought not to go away electe withal, but to be held faulty and to fuffer punishment: for he doth nothing so good service that hath either killed our wounan enemie, as harme and domage, who reculeth backe or flieth away : now he who is discharged from warfare, and hath leave to depart, is no more obliged and bound to militarie lawes: but he that hath demanded permiffion to do that fervice which fworne and enrolled fouldiers performe, putteth himfelle againe under the subjection of the law and his owner captaine and it

How isst, that the priest of Jupitet, is not permitted to annount himselfe abroadinable open aire?

TS it for that in old time it was not held honest and lawfull for children to do off their clothes before their fathers; nor the fonne in law in the presence of his wives father; neither used they the flouph or Buth together : now is Jupiter reputed the priefts of Flamines father; and that which is done in the openaire, seemeth especially to be in the verice eie and sight of Supiter?

Or rather, like as it was thought a great finne and exceeding irrevetence, for a manto turne himfelie out of his apparrell naked, in any church, chappell, or religious and facted place; even fo they carried a great respect unto the aire and open skie, as being full of gods, denti-gods, and 20 faints. And this is the verie caule, why we do many of our necessarie businesses within dostor, enclosed and covered with the roofe of our houses, and so remooved from the cies as it were of the deitie. Moreover, some things there be that by law are commaunded and enjoined unto the priest onely; and others agains into all men, by the priest: as for example, heete with us in Bæotias to be crowned with chaplets of flowers upon the head; to let the haire grow long; to weare a fword, and not to let foot within the limits of Phoeis, pertaine all to the office and dutie of the captaine generall and chiefe ruler : but to tail of no new fruits before the Autumnall Aequinox be pall; nor to cut and prune a vine but before the Acquinox of the Spring, be intimated and declared unto all by the faid ruler or captaine generall: for those be the verie seasons to do both the one & the other. In like case, it should seeme in my judgement that among the Romans 30 it properly belonged to the prieft; not to mount on horseback; not to be above three nights out of the citic; not to put off his cap, wherupon he was called in the Roman language, Flamen. But there be many other offices and duties, notified and declared unto all men by the priest, among which this is one, not to be enhuiled or anointed abroad in the open aire: For this inaner of anointing drie without the bath, the Romans mightily suspected and were afraid of and even at this day they are of opinion, that there was no fuch cause in the world that brought the Greeks under the yoke of fervitude and bondage, and made them fo tender and effeminate; as their halles and publike places where their yong men wrestled & exercised their bodies naked: as being the meanes that brought into their cities, much losse of time, engendred idlenesses, bred lazie flouth, and ministred occasion & opportunity of lewdnesse and vilany; as namely, to make 40 love unto faire boies, and to spoile and marre the bodies of young men with sleeping, with walking at a certaine measure, with stirring according to motions, keeping artificiall compasse, and with observing rules of exquitit dier. Through which fashions, they see not, how (erethey beawate) they be fallen from exercifes of armes, and have cleane forgotten all militarie difcipline: loving rather to be held and efteemed good wreftlers, fine dauncers, conceited pleafants, and faire minions, than hardie footmen, or valiant men of armes. And verely it is an hard matter to avoid and decline these inconveniences, for them that use to discover their bodies naked before all the world in the broad aire : but those who annoint themselves closely within doores, and looke to their bodies at home are neither faultie nor offenfive.

What is the reason that the auntient coine and mony in old time, caried the stampe of one side of Ianus with two faces: and on the other fide the prower the poope of a boat engraved therein.

As it not as many men do fay, for to honour the memorie of Saturne, who passed into Italy by water in fuch a veffell? But a man may fay thus much as well of many ciners; for Janus, Evander, and Meneus, came thither likewife by fea; and therefore a man may per-

adventure gesse with better reason; that whereas some things serve as goodly ornaments for cities, others as necessarie implements: among those which are decent and seemely ornaments. the principall is good government and discipline, and among such as be necessary, is reckoned, plentic and abundance of victuals: now for that Janus instituted good government, inordeining hollome lawes, and reducing their manner of life to civilitie, which before was rude and brutilh, and for that the river being navigable, furnished them with store of all necessary commodities, whereby some were brought thither by sea, others from the land; the coine caried for the marke of a law-giver, the head with two faces, like as we have alteady faid, because of that change of life which he brought in; and of the river, a ferrie boate or barge: and yet to there was another kinde of money currant among them, which had the figure portraied upon it, of a beefe, of a sheepe, and of a swine; for that their riches they raised especially from such cattle, and all their wealth and substance confisted in them. And heereupon it comment, that many of their auncient names, were Ovily, Bubulci and Pore ; that is to fay, Sheepe-reeves, and Neat-herds, and Swineherds according as Fenestella doth report.

What is the cause that they make the temple of Saturne, the chamber of the cive, for to keepe therein the publicke treasure of gold and silver: as also their arches, for the custodic of all their writings, rolles, contracts and evidences what soever.

S it by occasion of that opinion so commonly received, and the speech so universally cur-I rantin every mans mouth, that during the raigne of Saturne, there was no avarice nor injuflicein the world; but loialtie, truth, faith, and righteoufneffe caried the whole fway among

Or for that he was the god who found out fruits, brought in agriculture, and taught husbandry first; for the hooke or fickle in his hand fignifieth so much, and not as Antimachus wrote, following therein and beleeving Hesiodus:

Rough Saturne with his hairy skinne, against all law and right, of Aemons fonne, fir Ouranus, or Coelus sometime hight, Those privy members which him gat, with booke a-flant off-cut. And then anon in fathers place

30

of reigne, himselfe did put. Now the abundance of the fruits which the earth yeeldeth, and the vent or disposition of them, is the very mother that bringeth foorth plentie of monie: and therefore it is that this same god they make the author and mainteiner of their felicitie: in testimonic whereof, those affemblies which are holden every minth day in the comon place of the city, called Nundine, that is to fay, 40 Faires or markets, they efteeme confecrated to Saturne : for the store & foilon of fruits is that which openeth the trade & comerce of buying and felling. Or, because these reasons seeme to be very antique; what and if we fay that the first man who made (of Saturns temple at Rome) the treasurie or chamber of the citie, was Valerius Poplicola, after that the kings were driven out of Rome, and it feemeth to stand to good reason that he made choise thereof, because he thought it a fafe and secure place, eminent and conspicuous in all menseies, and by consequence hard to be furprised and forced.

43 What is the cause that those who come as embassadours to Rome, from any parts what seever, go first into the temple of Saturne, and there before the Questors or Treasurers of the citie, enter their names in their registers.

S it for that Saturne himfelfe was a stranger in Italy, and therefore all strangers are welcome 1 unto him?

Or may not this question be solved by the reading of histories? for in old time these Queflors or publick Treasurers, were wont to fend onto embassadors certeine presents, which were called Lautia: and if it fortuned that fuch embaffadors were ficke, they tooke the charge of them for their cure; and if they chanced to die, they enterred them likewife at the cities char-Dddd

ges. But now in respect of the great resort of embassadors from out of all countries, they have cut off this expense: howbeit the auncient custome yet remaineth, namely, to present themselves to the said officers of the treasure, and to be registred in their booke.

44 Why it is not lawfull for Jupiters priest to sureare?

S it because an oth ministred unto free borne men, is as it were the racke and torture tendred unto them? for certeine it is, that the foule as well as the bodie of the prieft, ought to continue free, and not be forced by any torture what foever.

Or, for that it is not meet to distrust or discredit him in small matters, who is beleeved in

great and divine things?

Or rather because every oth endeth with the detestation and malediction of perjurie: and confidering that all maledictions be odious and abominable; therefore it is not thought good that any other priefts whatfoever, should curfe or pronounce any malediction: and in this respect was the priestresse of Minerva in Athens highly commended, for that she would never curse Aleibiades, notwithstanding the people commanded her so to doe: For I am (quoth the) ordeined a priestresse to pray formen, and not to curse them.

Or last of all, was it because the perill of perjurie would reach in common to the whole common wealth, if a wicked, godleffe and for fworne person, should have the charge and super- 20

intendance of the praiers, vowes, and factifices made in the behalfe of the citie.

45 What uthereason that upon the festivall day in the honour of Venus, which solemnitie they call Veneralia, they use to power foorth a great quantitie of wine out of the temple of Venus.

Sit as some say upon this occasion, that Mezentius sometime captaine generall of the Tuscans, sent certeine embassadors unto Aeneas, with commission to offer peace unto him, upon this condition, that he might receive all the wine of that * yeeres vintage. But when Acreas refused so to doe, Mezentius (for to encourage his souldiers the Tuskans to fight man- 30 fully) promifed to bestow wine upon them when he had woon the field : but Aene as understanding of this promife of his, confectated and dedicated all the faid wine unto the gods: and in tructh, when he had obteined the victorie, all the wine of that yeere, when it was gotten and gathered together, he powred forth before the temple of Venus.

Or, what if one should say, that this doth symbolize thus much: That men ought to be sober upon festivall daies, and not to celebrate such solemnities with drunkennesse; as if the gods take more pleasure to see them shed wine upon the ground, than to powre overmuch thereof

downe their throats?

What is the cause that in ancient time they keps the temple of the goddesse Hotta, open alwaies. 40

Whether was it (as *Intiffim Labeo* hath left in writing) for that, feeing *Hortars* in the Latine tongue fignifieth to incite and exhort, they thought that the goddeffe called Horta, which stirreth and provoketh men unto the enterprise and execution of good exploits, ought to be evermore in action, not to make delaies, nor to be shut up and locked within dores, neyet to fit still and do nothing?

Or rather, because as they name her now a daies Hora, with the former syllable long, who is a certeine industrious, vigilant and busic goddesse, carefull in many things: therefore being as the is, to circumfpect and to watchfull, they thought the thould be never idle, nor rechleffe of

Or els, this name Hora (as many others belides) is a meere Greeke word, and fignifieth a deimens affaires. tie or divine power, that hath an eie to overlooke, to view and controll all things; and therefore fince the never fleepeth, nor laieth her eies together, but is alwaies broad awake, thererfore her

church or chapel was alwaies standing open. But if it be fo as Labeo faith, that this word Hora is rightly derived of the Greeke verbe span or meenum, which figuifieth to incite or provoke; confider better, whether this word Orator also, that is to say, one who stirrith up, exhorteth, encourageth, and adviseth the people, as a

prompt and ready counseller, be not derived likewise in the same fort, and not of according that is to fay, praier and supplication, as some would have it.

Wherefore founded Romulus the temple of Vulcane without the citie of Rome?

TS it for the jealousie (which as fables do report) Vulcane had of Mars, because of his wife Venus: and so Romulus being reputed the sonne of Mars, would not youch safe him to inhabit and dwell in the fame citie with him? or is this a meere foolerie and fenfeleffe conceit?

But this temple was built at the first, to be a chamber and parlour of privile counsell for him and Tatim who reigned with him; to the end that meeting and fitting there in confultation together with the Senatours, in a place remote from all troubles and hinderances, they might deliberate as touching the affaires of State with case and quietnesse.

Or rather, because Rome from the very first foundation was subject to fire by casualtie, hee thought good to honour this god of fire in some fort, but yet to place him without the walles of

48
What is the reason, that upon their festivall day called Consualia, they adorned with garlands of slowers as well their assessments as horses, and gave them rest and repose for the time?

TS it for that this folemnitie was holden in the honour of Neptune furnamed Equastris, that is Lto fay, the horfeman? and the affe hath his part of this joyfull feaft, for the horfes fake?

Or, because that after navigation and transporting of commodities by sea was now found out and showed to the world, there grew by that meanes (in some fort) better rest and more case to poore labouring beafts of draught and carriage.

How commethit to paffe, that those who stood for any office and magistracie, were woont by an old custome (as Cato hath written) to present themselves unto the people in a single robe or loose gowne, without any coat at allunder it?

As it for feare left they should carrie under their robes any money in their bosomes, for to corrupt, bribe, and buy (as it were) the voices and suffrages of the people?

Or was it because they deemed men woorthy to be are publicke office and to governe, not by their birth and parentage, by their wealth and riches, ne yet by their flew and outward reputation, burby their wounds and searces to be seene upon their bodies. To the end therefore, that fuch scarres might be better exposed to their fight whom they met or talked withall, they went in this maner downe to the place of election, without inward coats in their plaine gownes.

Or haply, because they would seeme by this nuditie and nakednesse of theirs, in humilitie to 40 debase themselves, the sooner thereby to curry favor, and win the good grace of the commons, even aswell as by taking them by the right hand, by suppliant craving, and by humble submission on their very knees.

What is the cause that the Flamen or priest of Jupiter, when his wife was once dead, used to give up his Priesthood or Sacerdatall dignitie, according as Accius hathrecorded in his historie.

As it for that he who once had wedded a wife, and afterwards buried her, was more infortunate, than he who never had any? for the house of him who hath maried a wise, is entire and perfect, but his house who once had one, and now hath none, is not onely unper-50 feet, but also maimed and lame?

Or might it nother that the priests wife was confectated also to divine service together with her husband; for many rites and ceremonies there were, which he alone could not performe, if his wife were not prefent : and to espoule a new wife immediately upon the decease of the other, were not peradventure possible, nor otherwise would well stand with decent and civill honesty: wherupon neither in times past was it lawful for him, nor at this day as it should seem, is he permitted to pur away his wife: and yet in our age Domitian at the request of one, gave licence so to doe: arthis dissolution and breach of wedlocke, other priests were present and

* enirciovoirevior,a certeine quantitie of wine veerely, as tome interpret it.

affiltant, where there passed among them many strange, hideous, horrible, and monstrous ce-

But haply a man would leffe wonder at this, if ever he knew and understood before, that when one of the Censors died, the other of necessity must likewise quit & resigne up his office. Howbeit, when Livius Drussus was departed this life, his companion in office Aemylius Seasus, would not give over and renounce his place, untill such time as certeine Tribunes of the people, for his contumacie commanded, that he should be had away to prison.

Vhat was thereason that the idols Lares, which otherwise properly be called Præstices, had to the images of a dogge standing hard by them, and the Lares themselves were portrased cladin dogges skinnes?

I S it because this word Presides signifies has much as a person, that is to say, Presidents, or standing before as keepers: and verily such Presidents ought to be good house-keepers, and terrible unto all stangers, like as a dogge is; but gentle and loving to those of the house.

Or rather, that which some of the Romans write is true, like as Chryspppus also the philosopher is of opinion; namely, that there be certeine evill spirits which goe about walking up and downe in the world; and these be the butchers and tormentors that the gods imploy to punish unjust and wicked men: and even so these Larges are held to be maligne spirits, & no better than unjust and wicked men: and even so these Larges are held to be maligne spirits, & no better than unjust and wicked men: and even so these Larges are held to be maligne spirits, & no better than unjust and wirely spirits into ments lives, and prying into their families; which is the cause that they now divels, spiring into ments lives, and a logge they have sitting hard by them, whereby thus much in effect is given to understand, that quicke sented they are; and of great power both to huntout, and also to chastice leud persons.

What is the cause that the Romans sacrifice a dogge unto the goddesse called Genita-Mana, and withall make one praier unto her, that none borne in the house might ever come to good?

I Sit for that this Genita-Mana is counted a Damon or goddeffe that hath the procuration and charge both of the generation and also of the birth of things corruptible? for furely the 30 word implies has much, as a certeine fluxion and generation, or rather a generation fluent or fluxible: and like as the Greeks facrificed unto Proferpina, adog, fo do the Romans unto that Genita, for those who are borne in the house. Secrates also faith, that the Argives facrificed a doggeunto Ilinhya, for the more easie and safe deliverance of child-birth. Furthermore, as toudoggeunto that Praier, that nothing borne within the house might ever proove good, it is not haply ching that Praier, that nothing borne within the house might ever proove good, it is not haply ching that Praier, that nothing borne within the house might ever whelped there; which ought to be, not kinde and gentle, but curst and terrible.

Or peradventure, for that they * that die (after an elegant maner of speech) be named Good or quiet: under these words they covertly pray, that none borne in the house might die. And this need not to seeme a strange kinde of speech; for Arisforle writeth, that in a certeine treatie of peace betweene the Arcadians & Lacedemonians, this stricte was comprised in the capitulations: That they should make none of the Tegeates, Good, for the aid they sent, or favour that they bare unto the Lacedamonians; by which was meant, that they should put none of them

to death.

* purdéra yenstr

What is the reason, that in a solemne procession exhibited at the Capitoline plaies, they proclame (even at this day) by the woice of an herald, port-sale of the Sardians t and before all this solemnisse and pompe, there is by way of mockeric and to make a langthing slocke an oldeman led in a shew, with a sewell or brooch pendant about his necke; such as noble mens children are woont to weare, and

Is it for that the Veientians, who in times past being a puissant State in Tuscane, made ware a long time with Romalus: whose citie being the last that he woonne by force, he made sale of many prisoners and captives, together with their king, mocking him for his supplicate and groff-follie. Now for that the Tuscans in ancient time were descended from the Lydians, and the capitall citie of Lydia is Sardis, therefore they proclamed the sale of the Veientian prisoners the capitall citie of Lydia is Sardis, therefore they proclamed the sale of the Veientian prisoners under the name of the Sardians; and even to this day in scorne and mockerie, they reteine still the same custome.

54 Whence came it, that they call the shambles or buscherie at Rome where slesh is to be solde, Macellum?

Sit for that this word Macellum, by corruption of language is derived of Majoress, that in the Greeke tongue fignifieth a cooke? like as many other words by usage and custome are come to be received; for the letter C. hash great affinitie with G. in the Romane tongue: and long it was set they had the use of G. which letter Sparius Carbillus first invented. Moreover, they that masse and tammer in their speech, pronounce ordinarily L. in stead of R.

Or this question may be resolved better by the knowledge of the Romane historie: for we reade therein, that there was sometime a violent person and a notorious thiese at Rome, named Macellus, who after he had committed many outrages and robberies, was with much ado in the end taken and punished: and of his goods which were sorfeit to the State, there was built a publike shambles or market place to sell sless means in, which of his name was called Macellum.

\$5 Why upon the Ides of Januarie, the minstress at Rome who plaied upon the hautboies, were permitted to goe up and downethe city disguised in womens apparell?

Rose this fashion upon that occasion which is reported? namely, that king Numa had A granted unto them many immunities and honorable priviledges in his time, for the great devotion that hee had in the service of the gods? and for that afterwards, the Tribunes militarie who governed the citie in Confular authority, tooke the same from them, they went their way discontented, and departed quite from the citie of Rome: but soone after, the people had a miffe of them, and befides, the priefts made it a matter of confcience, for that in all the facrifices thorowout the citie, there was no found of flute or hauthoies. Now when they would not returne againe (being fent for) but made their abode in the citie Tibur; there was a certeine afranchifed bondflave who fecretly undertooke unto the magistrates, to finde some meanes for to fetch them home. So he cauled a fumptuous feaft to be made, as if he meant to celebrate fome 30 folemne facrifice, and invited to it the pipers and plaiers of the hauthoies aforefaid; and at this feafthe tooke order there should be divers women also; and all night long there was nothing but piping, playing, finging and dancing : but all of a fudden this matter of the feast caused a rumor to be raifed, that his lord and mafter was come to take him in the maner; whereupon making femblant that he was much troubled and affrighted, he perswaded the minstrels to mount with all speed into close coatches, covered all over with skinnes, and so to be carried to Tibur. But this was a deceitfull practife of his; for he caused the coatches to be turned about another way, and unawares to them; who partly for the darkenesse of the night, and in part because they were drowlie and the wine in their heads, tooke no heed of the way, he brought all to Rome betimes in the morning by the breake of day, difguifed as they were, many of them in light co-40 loured gownes like women, which (for that they had over-watched and over-drunke themselves) they had put on, and knew not therof. Then being (by the magistrates) overcome with faire words, and reconciled agains to the citie, they held ever after this cultome every yeere upon fuch a day: To go up and downe the citie thus foolifhly difguifed.

56 What is the reason, that is is commonly received, that certein matrons of the city at the first sounded and built the temple of Casmenta, and to this day honour it highly with great reverence?

For it is faid, that upon a time the Senathad forbidden the dames and wives of the city to to define coatches: whereupon they tooke fuch a flomacke and were fodefpighteous, that to be revenged of their husbands, they confpired altogether not to conceive or be with child by them, nor to bring them any more babes: and in this minde they perfifted fill, untill their husbands began to bethinke them felves better of the matter, and let them have their will to ride in their coatches againe as before time: and then they began to breed and beare children afresh: and those who foonest conceived and bare most and with greatest ease, founded then the temple of Carmenta. And as I suppose this Carmenta was the mother of Evander, who came with him into Italy; whose right name indeed was Themis, or as some say N isostrata: now for that Dddd g

she rendred propheticall answeres and oracles in verse, the Latins surnamed her Carmenta; for verses in their tongue they call Carmina. Others are of opinion; that Carmenta was one of the Destinies, which is the cause that such matrons and mothers sacrifice unto her. And the Etymologic of this name Carmenta, is as much as Carens mente, that is to say, besside her right wits or bestraught, by teason that her senses were so ravished and transported: so that her verses gave her not the name Carmenta, but contrativise; her verses were called Carmina of her, because when she was thus ravished and caried beside herselfe, she chanted certeine oracles and prophesies in verse.

What is the cause that the women who sacrifice unto the goddesse Rumina, doe power and cast store 10 of milke upon their sacrifice, but no wine at all do they bring thisher for to be drunke?

Is it, for that the Latins in their tongue call a pap, Ruma? And well it may fobe, for that the wilde figge tree neere unto which the she wolfegave such with her teats unto Romulus, was in that respect called Ficus Ruminalis. Like as therefore we name in our Greeke language those milch nourfes that suckleyoong infants at their brests, Thelona, being a word derived of 1 hele, which fignifieth a pap; even so this goddesse Rumina, which is as much to say, as Nurse, and one that taketh the care and charge of nourithing and rearing up of infants, admitted hor in her sacrifices any wine; for that it is hursfull to the nouriture of little babes and sucklings.

58
What is thereason that of the Romane Senatours , some are called simply, Patres; others with an addition. Patres conscripti?

Sit for that they first, who were instituted and ordeined by Romulus, were named Patres & Patriti, that is to say, Gentlemen or Nobly borne, such as we in Greece, tearme Eupatrides?

Or rather they were so called, because they could avouch and shew their fathers; but such as

were adjoined afterwards by way of supply, and enrolled out of the Commoners houses, were Patres conscripti, thereupon?

Wherefore was there one altar common to Hercules and the Muses?

30

Ay it not be, for that Hercules taught Evander the letters, according as Juba writeth? Certes, in those daies it was accounted an honourable office for men to teach their kindefolke and friends to spell letters, and to reade. For a long time after it, and but of late daies it was, that they began to teach for hire and for money: and the first that ever was knowen to keepea publicke schoole for reading, was one named Sparius Carbilius, the freed servant of that Carbilius who first put away his wife.

What is the reason, that there being two aliars dedicated unto Hercules, women are not partakers of the greater, nor task one whit of that which is offered or sacrificed thereupon? 4

Is it, because as the report goes Carmenta came not soone enough to be affishant unto the sacrifice: no more did the samily of the Pinarÿ, whereupon they tooke that name? for in regard that they came tardie, admitted they were not to the seast with others who made good cheere; and therefore got the name Pinarÿ, as if one would say, pined or samished?

Or rather it may allude unto the tale that goeth of the Thirt empoisoned with the blood of Neffus the Centaure, which ladie Deianira gave unto Hercules.

How commeth it to pssse, that it is expressly forbudden at Rome, either to name or to demaund 50 ought as touching the Tutelar god, who hath in parsicular recommendation and patronage, the safetie and preservation of the citie of Rome: nor so much as to enquire whether the said dettie be male or semale? And verely this prohibition proceedes by from a superstitious seare that they have; for that they say that Valerius Soranus died an ill death, because he presumed to utter and publish so much.

Is it in regard of a certaine reason that some latin historians do alledge; namely, that there becertaine evocations and enchantings of the gods by spels and charmes, through the power whereof

wherof they are of opinion, that they might be able to call forth and draw away the Tutelar gods of their enemies, and to cause them to come and dwell with them: and therefore the Romans be assaud they may do as much for them? For, like as in times past the Tyrians, as we find upon record, when their citie was besieged, enchained the images of their gods to their shrines, for seare they would abandon their citieand be gone; and as others demanded pledges and surfices that they should come againe to their place, whensoever they sent them to any bath to be washed, or let them go to any expiation to be clensed; even so the Romans thought, that to be altogether unknowen and not once named, was the best meanes, and surest way to keepe with their Tutelar god.

10 Or rather, as Homer verie well wrote:

Theearth to men all, is common great and small:

That thereby men should worship all the gods, and honour the earth; seeing she is common to them all: even so the ancient Romans have concealed and suppresse the god or angell which hath the particular gard of their citie, to the end that their citizens should adore, not him alone but all others likewise.

What is the cause that among those priests whom shey name Faciales, signifying an much as in gecke eighwording that is to say, Officers going between to make treatic of peaces or and aboven, that is to say, Agents for truce and leagues, he whom they call Pater Patratus is the swhose this spill Patra Patratus is he, whose father is yet living, who hath children of his owne: and in truth this chiefe Facial or Herault has still at this day acertain prevocative, or speciall readis above the rest. For the emperous shemselves, and general captains, if they have any persons about them who in regard of the prime of youth, or of their beautifull bodies had need of a faithfull, diligent, and trustic guard, commit them ordinarily into the hands of such as these, for safe custodie.

IS it not, for that these Patres Patrais, for reverent searce of their fathers of one side, and for modes of seandalize or offend their children on the other side, are ensorted to be wise and distress?

Or may it not be, in regard of that cause which their verie denomination doth minister and declare: for this word PATRATUS signifieth as much as compleat, entire and accomplished, as if he were one more perfect and absolute every way than the rest, as being so happie, as to have his ownefather living, and be a father also himselfe.

Or is it not, for that the man who hath the superintendance of treaties of peace, and of othes, ought to see as Homer saith, the superintendance of treaties of peace, and of othes, ought to see as Homer saith, that is to say, before and behind. And in all reason such an one is he like to be, who hath a child for whom, and a father with whom he may consult.

63
What is the reason, that the officer at Rome called Rex factorum, that is to say, the king of factifices, is debarted both from exercising any magistracie, and also to make a speech unto the people in publike place?

Is it for that in old time, the kings themselves in person personmed the most part of sacred rites, and those that were greater, yea and together with the priests offered sacrifices; but by reason that they grew insolent, proud, and atrogant, so as they became intollerable, most of the Greeke nations, deprived them of this authoritie, and left unto them the preheminence onely to offer publike facrifice unto the gods: but the Romans having cleane chased and expelled their so kings, established in their stead another under officer whom they called King, unto whom they granted the oversight and charge of facrifices onely, but permitted him not to exercise or execute any office of State, not to intermedle in publick affaires; to the end it should be knowen to the whole world, that they would not suffer any person to raigne at Rome, but onely over the ceremonies of facrifices, nor endure the veriename of Roialtie, but in respect of the gods. And to this purpose upon the verie common place neere unto Comition; they use to have a solemn facrifice for the good estate of the citie; which so so one as ever this king hath personned, he taketh his legs and runnes out of the place, as fast as ever he can.

Why suffer not they the table to be taken cleane away, and woided quite, but will have somewhat alwaies remaining upon it?

Nee they not hecreby covertly to understand, that wee ought of that which is present to I referve evermore fomething for the time to come, and on this day to remember the

Or thought they it not a point of civill honesty and elegance, to represse and keepe downe their appetite when they have before them enough still to content and satisfie it to the full; for leffe will they defire that which they have not, when they accustome themselves to absteine from that which they have.

Or is not this a custome of courtesie and humanitie to their domesticall servants, who are not fo well pleafed to take their victuals fimply, as to partake the fame, supposing that by this meanes in some fort they doe participate with their masters at the table.

Or rather is it not, because we ought to fuffer no facred thing to be emptie; and the boord you wot well is held facred.

What is thereason that the Bridegrome comment the first time to lie with his new wedded bride, not with any light but in the darke?

S it because he is yet abashed, as taking her to be a stranger and not his owne, before he hath companied carnally with her?

Or for that he would then acquaint himselfe, to come even unto his owne espoused wife with

Thamefacednesse and modestie? Or rather, like as Solon in his Statutes ordeined, that the new maried wife should eat of a quince before the enter into the bride bed-chamber, to the end that this first encounter and embracing, should not be odious or unpleasant to her husband? even so the Romane lawgiver would hide in the obscuritie of darkenesse, the deformities and imperfections in the person

of the bride, if there were any. Or haply this was inflituted to flew how finfull and damnable all unlawfull companie of man and woman together is seeing that which is lawfull and allowed, is not without some ble-30

mish and note of shame.

Why is one of the races where horses use to runne, called the Cirque or Flaminius.

IS it for that in old time an ancient Romane named Flaminius gave unto the citie, a certeine piece of ground, they emploied the rent and revenues thereof in runnings of horses, and chariots: and for that there was a furpluffage remaining of the faid lands, they bestowed the same in paying that high way or causey, called Via Flaminia, that is to say, Flaminia streets

67 Why are the Sergeants or officers who carie the knitches of rods before the magistrates of 40 Rome, called Lictores.

Sit because these were they who bound malefactors, and who followed after Romulus, as his I guard, with cords and leather thongs about them in their bosomes? And verily the common people of Rome when they would fay to binde or tie fast, use the word Alligare, and such as speake more pure and proper Latin, Ligare.

Or is it, for that now the letter C is interjected within this word, which before time was Literes, as one would say Activity, that is to say, officers of publike charge; for no man there is in a maner, ignorant, that even at this day in many cities of Greece, the common-wealth or publicke flate is written in their lawes by the name of Affron.

Wherefore doe the Luperci at Rome facrifice a Dogge? Now these Luperci arecerteine persons who upon a festivall day called Lupercalia, runne through the citie all naked, Saveshat they have apronsonely before their privy parts, earying leather whippes in their hands, wherewith they flappe and scourge whom soever they meet in the streets.

S all this ceremoniall action of theirs a purification of the citie? whereupon they call the I moneth wherein this is done Februarius, yea, and the very day it felfe Febraten, like as the maner of squitching with a leather scourge Februare, which verbe signifieth as much as to purge or purifie?

And verily the Greeks, in maner all, were wont in times past, and so they continue even at this day, in all their expiations, to kill a dogge for facrifice. Unto Heeate also they bring foorth among other expiatorie oblations, certeine little dogges or whelpes: fuch also as have neede of clenting and purifying, they wipe and scoure all over with whelpes skinnes, which maner of purification they tearme Perifeplacismos.

Or rather is it for that Lupius lignifieth a woolfe, & Luperealia, or Lyceal is the fealt of wolves: now a dogge naturally, being an enemie to woolves, therefore at fuch feafts they facrificed a

10 dogge. Or peradventure, because dogges barke and bay at these Luperci, troubling and disquieting them as they runne up and downe the city in maner aforefaid.

Or elic last of all, for that this feast and facrifice is solemnized in the honor of god Pan; who as you wot well is pleased well enough with a dogge, in regard of his flocks of goates.

What is the cause that in auncient time, at the feast called Septimontium, they observed precise ly not so use any coaches drawen with seeds, normore than those doe at this day, who are observant of old institutions and doe not despise them. Now this Septimontium is a festivall solemnity, relebrated in memorial of a seventh mountaine, that was adjoined and taken into the pourprise of Rome citie, which by this meanes came to have seven hilles enclosed within the precinct thereof?

Hether was it as some Romans doe imagine, for that the city was not as yet conjunct and composed of all her parts? Or if this may seeme an impertinent conjecture, and nothing to the purpose: may it not be in this respect, that they thought they had atchieved a great piece of worke, when they had thus amplified and enlarged the compaffe of the citic, thinking that now it needed not to proceed any further in greatnesse and capacitie: in consideration whereof, they reposed themselves, and caused likewife their labouring beasts of draught 30 and cariage to reft, whose helpe they had used in finishing of the said enclosure, willing that they also should enjoy in common with them, the benefit of that solemne feast.

Or else we may suppose by this, how desirous they were that their citizens should solemnize and honour with their personall presence all seasts of the citie, but especially that which was ordained and inflituted for the peopling and augmenting thereof: for which cause they were not permitted upon the day of the dedication, and festival memorial of it, to put any horses in geeres or harneffe for to draw; for that they were not at fuch a time to ride forth of the citie.

Why call they those who are deprehended or taken in thest, pilserie or such like servile trespasses, Furciferos, as one would fay, Fork bearers.

ITS not this also an evident argument of the great diligence and carefull regard that was in their Ancients? For when the mailter of the family had furprifed one of his fervants or flaves, committing a lewd and wicked pranck, he commaunded him to take up and carrie upon his necke betweene his shoulders a forked piece of wood, such as they use to put under the spire of a chatiot or waine, and so to go withall in the open view of the world throughout the street, yea and the parish where he dwelt, to the end that every man from thence forth should take heed of him, This piece of wood wein Greeke call signer, and the Romanes in the Latin tongue Furca, that is so fay, a forked prop or supporter : and therefore he that is forced to carie such an one, is by 50 reproch termed Fureifer.

has I Wherefore, use the Romans to tie a wift of her unto the bornes of kine, and other beefes, that are woont to book and be curst with cheir beads, that by the meanes thereof folke might take heed of them, and looke better to themselves when they come in their way?

Sitnot for that beefes, horles, affes, yea and men become fierce, infolent, and dangerous. Lifthey behighly kept and pampered to the full? according as Sophoeles faid:

Like

Like as the colt or jade doth winse and kick, In case he find his provender to prick: Even so doss thou: for lothy paunch is full Thy cheeks be pust, like to some greedie gull.

And thereupon the Romans gave out, that Marem Crassim caried hey on his horne: for howfoever they would feeme to let flie and carpe at others, who dealt in the affaires of State, and government, yet beware they would how they commersed with him as being a daungerous man, and one who caried a revenging mind to as many as medled with him. Howbeit it was said atterwards againe on the other side, that Casar had plucked the hey from Crassim his horne: for he was the first man that opposed himselse, and made head against him in the management of the Id State, and in one word fet not a straw by him.

11 but was the cause that they thought those priests who observed bird-slight, such as in old sime they called Aruspices, and now a daies Augures, ought to have their lanterns and lamps alwaies open, and not to put any lidor cover over them?

May it not be, that like as the old Pythagorean Philosophers by small matters signified and implied things of great consequence, as namely, when they forbad their disciples to sit upon the measure Chænix; and to stirre fire, or rake the hearth with a sword; seuen so the analysis and to stirre fire, or rake the hearth with a sword; seuen so the analysis of the lampe or lanterne, which symbolizeth in some fort the bodie that containeth our soule. For the soule within resembleth the light, and it behooveth that the intelligent and reasonable part thereof should be alwaies open, evermore intentive and seeing, and at no time enclosed and shut up, norblowen upon by wind. For looke when the winds be alost, sowless in their slight keepe no certaintie, neither can they yeeld affured presages, by reason of their variable and wandering instabilitie; and therefore by this ceremoniall custome they teach those who do divine and foretell by the slight of birds, not to get forth for to take their suspices and observations when the wind is up, but when the aire is still, and so calme, that a man may carie a lanteme 30 open and uncovered.

Why were these Southsaiers or Augures forbiddento go abroad for to observe the flight of birds, in case they had any sore or user upon their bodies?

VV As not this also a figuificant token to put them in minde; that they ought not to deale in the divine service of the gods, nor meddle with holy and sacred things if there were any secret matter that gnawed their minds, or so long as any private ulcer or passion setled in their hearts; slut to be void of sadnesse and griese, to be sound and sincere, and not distracted by any standard private over a second sound and sincere.

Or, because it standeth to good reason; that if it be not lawfull nor allowable for them to offer unto the gods for an oast or facrifice any beast that is scabbed, or hath a fore upon it, nor to take presage by the slight of such birds as are maungic, they ought more strictly and precisely to looke into their owne persons in this behalfe, and not to presume for to observe celestiall prognostications and signes from the gods, unlesse they be themselves pure and stoly, undefield, and not defective in their owne selves: for surely an ulcer seemeth to be in maner of a mutilation and pollution of the bodic.

Why did king Servius Tullus found and build a temple of little Fortune which they called in Latine Brevis fortune, that is to fay, of Short fortune?

As it not thinke you in respect of his owne selfe, who being at the first of assmall and base condition, as being borne of a captive woman, by the favour of Portune grew to so great an estate that he was king of Rome?

Or for that this change in him fleweth rather the might and greatnesse, than the debilitie and smallesse of Fortune. We are to say, that this king Servine desired Fortune; & attributed that the more divine power than any other, as having entituded and imposed her name almost moon

upon every action: for not onely he erected temples unto Fortune, by the name of Puiffant, of Diverting ill lucke, of Sweet, Favourable to the first borne and masculine; but also there is one temple besides, of private or proper Fortune; another of Fortune returned; a third of confident Fortune and hoping well; and a fourth of Fortune the virgine. And what should a man reckon up other furnames of hers, seeing there is a temple dedicated (for footh) to glewing Fortune, whom they called pricas; as if we were given thereby to understand, that we are caught by her afarre off, and even tied (as it were) with bird-lime to businesse and affaires.

But confider this moreover, that he having knowen by experience what great power she hath in humane things, how little soever she seeme to be, and how often a small matter in happing 10 or not happing hath given occasion to some, either to misse of great exploits, or to archeive as great enterprishes, whether in this respect, he built not a temple to little Fortune, teaching men thereby to be alwaies studious, carefull and diligent, and not to despise any occurrences how small soever they be.

Il locker they be.

What with eaufethat they never put foorth the light of a lampe, but suffered it to goe out of the owne accord?

As it not (thinke you) uppon a certeine reverent devotion that they bare unto that fire, as being either cousen germaine, or brother unto that inextinguible and immortall fire.

Orrather, was it not for some other secret advertissment, to teach us not to violate or kill any thing whatsoever that hath life, if it hurt not us first; as if fire were a living creature: for need it hath of nourishment and moveth of it selfe: and if a man doe squench it, furely it uttereth a kinde of voice and scricke, as if a man killed it.

Or certeinly this fashion and custome received so usually, sheweth us that we ought not to marre or spoile, either fire or water or any other thing necessarie, after we our selves have done withit, and have had sufficient use thereof, but to suffer it to serve other mens turnes who have need, after that we our selves have no imploiment for it.

Mow commeth it to passe that those who are desended of the most noble and auncient houses of Rome, caried little moones upon their shoes.

Is this (as Caffor faith) a figne of the habitation which is reported to be within the bodic of the moone?

Or for that after death, our spirits and ghosts shall have the moone under them?

Or rather, because this was a marke or badge proper unto those who were reputed most ancient, as were the Arcadians descended from Evander, who upon this occasion were called Proseleni, as one would say, borne before the moone?

Or, because this custome as many others, admonishesh those who are listed up too high, and 40 take so great pride in themselves, of the incertitude and instabilitie of this life, and of humane affaires, even by the example of the moone,

Who at the first doth new and young appeere, Where as before she made no shew at all: And so her light unerasteth faire and elecre, until her face be round and sull wishall: But shen anon she doth begin to fall, And backward wane from all this beautie gay, until ne sine she vanish cleane away.

Or was not this an holfome leffon and influction of obedience, to teach and advife men to 50 obey their superiors, & not to thinke much for to be under others: but like as the moone is willing to give eare (as it were) and apply her selfeto her better, content to be ranged in a second place, and as Parmenides saith,

Having aneie and due regard Alwaies the bright Sun beames toward;

even fo they ought to reft in a fecond degree, to follow after, and be under the conduct and direction of another, who fitteth in the first place, and of his power, authority and honor, in forme measure to enjoy a part.

deuseris.

finiftra.

77 Why think they the yeeres dedicated to Jupicer, and the moneths to Juno?

Ay it not be for that of Gods invisible and who are no otherwise seene but by the eies of Mour understanding : those that reigne as princes be Jupiter and Juno; but of the visible, the Sun and Moone? Now the Sun is he who causeth the yeere, and the Moone maketh the moneth. Neither are we to thinke, that these be onely and simply the figures and images of them: but beleeve we must, that the materiall Sun which we behold, is Jupiter, and this materiall Moone, Juno. And the reason why they call her Juno, (which word is as much to say as yoong or new) is in regarde of the course of the Moone : and otherwhiles they surname her also June-Lucina, that is to fay; light or thining : being of opinion that the helpeth women in travel of child-birth, bike as the Moone doth, according to these verses:

By starres that turne full round in Azur skie: By Moone who helps child births right speedily.

For it seemeth that women at the full of the moone be most easily delivered of childbirth.

78 What is the cause that in observing bird flight, that which is presented on the *left hand is reputed lucky and prosperous?

 $oldsymbol{\mathsf{T}}$ S not this altogether untrue, and are not many men in an errour by ignorance of the equivocation of the word Similtrum, & their maner of Dialect; for that which we in Greeke call 20 detrees, that is to fay, on the auke or left hand, they fay in Latin, Simflrum; and that which figurfieth to permit, or let be, they expresse by the verbe Sinere, and when they will aman to let a thing alone, they say unto him, Sine; whereupon it may feeme that this word Sinistrum is detived. That presigning bird then, which permitteth and suffreth an action to be done, being as it were Simiferion; the vulgar fort suppose (though not aright) to be simifrum, that is to say, on the left hand, and so they tearme it.

Or may it not be rather as Dionysus saith, for that when Assails the sonne of Aeness wanne a field against Mezentus as the two armies stood arranged one affronting the other in battel ray, it thundred on his left hand; and because thereupon he obteined the victory, they deemed even then, that this thunder was a token prefaging good, and for that cause observed it, 30 everafter to to fall out. Others thinke that this prefage and foretoken of good lucke hapned unto Aenera: and verily at the battell of Lendres, the Thebanes began to breake the ranks of their enemies, and to discomfit them with the left wing of their battel, and thereby in the end atchieved a brave victorie; whereupon ever after in all their conflicts, they gave preference and the honour of leading and giving the first charge, to the left wing.

Or rather, is it not as Juba writeth, because that when we looke toward the sunne rising, the North fide is on our left hand, and some will say, that the North is the right side and upper part

But confider I pray you, whether the left hand being the weaker of the twaine, the prefages of the whole world. comming on that fide, doe not fortifie and support the defect of puissance which it hath, and 40

fo make it as it were even and equall to the other? Or rather confidering that earthly and mortall things they supposing to be opposite unto those that be heavenly and immortall, did not imagine consequently, that whatsoever was on the left in regard of us, the gods fent from their right fide.

Wherefore was it lawfull as Rome, when a nobleperforage who sometime hadentred triumphant into the city, was dead, and his corps burnt (as the maner was)in a funerall fire to take pnans mother ery, was ucau, and the property of the city, and thereto strew them, according up the reliques of his bones, to care the same into the city, and there to strew them, according 50 as Pyrrho the Lyparean hath left in writing.

As not this to honour the memorie of the dead? for the like honourable priviledge they had oranged into other inleases. they had graunted unto other valiant warriors and brave captaines; namely, that not onely themselves, but also their posteritie descending lineally from them, might be enterred in their common market place of the city, as for example unto Valerius and Fabricius: and it is faid, that for to continue this prerogative inforce, when any of their posteritie afterwards were departed this life; and their bodies brought into the market place accordingly, the maner was, to put a burning torch under them, and doe no more but presently to take it away againe; by which ceremonie, they reteined still the due honour without envie, and confirmed it onely to be lawfull if they would take the benefit thereof.

What is the cause that when they feasted at the common charges, any generall captaine who made his entrie into the citie with triumph, they never admitted the Confuls to the feast; but that which more in fent unto them before hand meffengers of pur pofe requesting them not to come unto the supper?

As it for that they shought it interest and convenient to yeeld unto the triumpher, both the highest place to fix in and the most could your to drinke out of, as also the honour to be attended upon with a traine home to his houleafter supper? which prerogatives no other might enjoy but the Confuls onely, if they had beene present in the place.

8 r. Why is it that the Tribune of the commons onely, we are th no embrodered purple robe, considering that all other magistrates besides doe weare the same.

S it not, for that they (to speak properly) are no magistrates? for in truth they have no ushers 20 Lor vergers to carie before them the knitches of rods, which are the enfignes of magistracie; neither fit they in the chaire of estate called Sella turulis, to determine causes judicially, or give audience unto the people; norenter into the administration of their office at the beginning of the yeere, as all other magistrates doe: neither are they put downe and deposed after the election of a Dictatour: but whereas the full power and authoritie of all other magistrates of State, he transferreth from them upon himselse: the Tribunes onely of the people continue still, and furcease norto execute their function, as having another place & degree by themselves in the common-weale: and like as forme or atours and lawiers doe hold, that exception in law is no action, confidering it doth cleane contrary to action; for that action intendeth, commenceth, and beginneth a proceffe or fute; but exception or inhibition, diffolveth, undooeth, and abo-30 lisheth the same : semblably, they thinke also, that the Tribunate was an empeachment, inhibition, and restraint of a magistracie, rather than a magistracie it selfe: for all the authority and power of the Tribune, lay in opposing himselfe, and croffing the jurisdiction of other magistrates, and in diminishing or repressing their excessive and licentious power.

Or haply all these reasons and such like, are but words, and devised imaginations to mainteine discourse: but to say a trueth, this Tribuneship having taken originally the first beginning from the common people, is great and mighty in regard that it is popular; and that the Tribunes themselves are not proud nor highly conceited of themselves above others, but equall in apparell, in port, fare, and maner of life, to any other citizens of the common fort: for the dignity of pompe and outward shew, apperteineth to a Confull or a Prætour: as for the

40 Tribune of the people, he ought to be humble and lowly, and as M. Curio was woont to fay; ready to put his hand under every mans foot; not to carie a loftie, grave, and stately countenance, nor to bee hard of accesse, nor strange to be spoken with, or dealt withall by the multitude; but how foever he behave himselfe to others, he ought to the simple and common people, above the rest, for to be affable, gentle, and tractable: and heereupon the maner is, that the dore of his house should never be kept shut, but stand open both day and night, as a safe harbour, fure haven, and place of refuge, for all those who are distressed and in need: and verilie the more submisse that he is in outward appearance, the more groweth hee and encreaseth in puissance; for they repute him as a strong hold for common recourse and retrait, unto al commers, no leffe than an altar or priviledged fanctuarie. Moreover, as touching the honour that

50 he holdeth by his place, they count him holy, facred, and inviolable, infomuch as if he doe but goe foorth of his house abroad into the citie, and walke in the street, * the maner was of all, to * Isospect clense and sanctifie the body, as if it were steined and polluted.

What is thereason that before the Prators, generall Captaines and head Magistrates, there be in the original. caried bundels of roddes, together with batchets or axes fastned unto them?

Sit to fignifie, that the anger of the magistrate ought not to be prompt to execution, nor Lloofe and at libertie?

this place to

Or, because that to undoe and unbinde the faid bundels, yeeldeth some time and space for choler to coole, and ire to affwage, which is the cause otherwhiles that they change their mindes, and doe not proceed to punishment?

Now for a fmuch as among the faults that men commit, fome are curable, others remedileffe: the roddes are to reforme those who may be amended; but the hatchets to cut them off

who are incorrigible.

What is the cause that the Romanes having intelligence given outo them, that the Bletonesians, a barbarous nation, had facrificed unto their goods; a man; fent for the magifirates peremptority, as intending to pumify them: but after the force under flood, that they had so done 10 according to an ancient law of their countrey, they les them go againe without any hurt done unto them ; charging them onely; that from thence foorth they should not obey fuch a law; and yet they themselves, not many yeeres before had caused for so be buried quicke in the place, called the Beatt Market, two men and two women, that is to fay, two Greekes, and two Gallo-Greekes or Galatians? For this seemeth to be verie absurd, that they themselves should do those things, which they reprodued in others as damnable.

Ay it not be that they judged it an exectable superstition, to factifice a man or woman un-

to the gods, marie unto divels they held it necessarie?

Or was it not for that they thought those people, who did it by a law or custome, offended 20 highly : but they themselves were directed thereto by expresse commaundement out of the bookes of Sibylla. For reported it is, that one of their votaries or Vestall nunnes named Helbia, riding on horse-backe, was fmitten by a thunderbolt or blast of lightning; and that the horse was found lying along allbare bellied, and her felfelikewise naked, with her smocke and petticote turned up above her privie parts, as if the had done it of purpole: her shooes, her rings, her coife and head attire cast here and there apart from other things, and withall lilling the toong out of her head. This strange occurrent, the soothsayers out of their learning interpreted to fignific, that some great shame did betide the facted virgins, that should be divulged and notorioully knowen; yea, and that the same infame should reach also as far, as unto some of the degree of gentlemen or knights of Rome. Upon this there was a fervant belonging unto a cer- 30 taine Barbarian horseman, who detected three Vestal virgins to have at one time forseited their honor, & been naught of their bodies, to wit, Aemilia, Latinia, & Martia; and that they had companied too familiarly with men a long time; and one of their names was Buretiun, a Barbarian knight, and master to the said enformer. So these vestall Votaties were punished after they had beene convicted by order of law, and found guiltie: but after that this feenied a fearfull and horrible accident; ordeined it was by the Senate, that the priefts should peruse over the bookes of Stbyllacs propheties, wherein were found (by report) those very oracles which denounced and foretold this strange occurrent, and that it portended some great losse and calamitie unto the common wealth: for the avoiding and diverting whereof, they gave commaundement to a bandon unto (I wot not what) maligne and divelifth strange spirits, two Greekes, and two Ga-40 latians likewise; and so by burying them quicke in that verie place, to procure propination at Gods hands.

84. Why began they their day at midnight?

As it not, for that all policie at the first had the beginning of militarie discipline? and in war, and all expeditions the most part of woorthy exploits are enterprised ordinarily

in the night before the day appeare?

Or because the execution of desseignes, howsoever it begin at the sunnerising; yet the preparation thereto is made before day-light for there had need to be some preparatives, before a 50 worke betaken in hand; and not at the verie time of execution, according as Asylon (by report) answered unto Chilo, one of the seven sages, when as in the winter time he was making of a van.

Or haply, for that like as we fee, that many men at noone make an end of their bufinesse of great importance, and of State affaires; even fo, they supposed that they were to begin the same at mid night. For better proofe whereof a man may frame an argument hereupon, that the Roman chiefe ruler never made league, nor concluded any capitulations and covenants of peace after mid-day.

Or rather this may be, because it is not possible to set downe determinately, the beginning and end of the day, by the rifing and fetting of the funne: for if we do as the vulgar fort, who diffinguish day and night by the fight and view of eie, taking the day then to begin when the funne arifeth; and the night likewife to begin when the funne is gone downe, and hidden under our horizon, we shall never have the just Acquinox, that is to say, the day and night equal ! for even that verie night which we finall effeeme most equall to the day, will proove shorter than the day, by as much as the body or bigneffe of the funne containeth. Againe, if we doe as the Mathematicians, who to remedie this abfurditie and inconvenience, fet downe the confines and limits of day and night, at the verie inftant point when the funne feemeth to touch the circle of 10 the horizon with his center; this were to overthrow all evidence : for fall our it will, that while there is a great part of the funnes light yet under the earth(although the funne do fhine upon us) we will not confesse that it is day, but fay, that it is night still. Seeing then it is so hard a matter to make the beginning of day and night, at the riting or going downe of the funne, for the abfurdities abovefaid, it remaineth that of necessitie we take the beginning of the day to be, when the funne is in the mids of the heaven above head, or under our feet, that is to fay, either noon-tide or mid-night. But of twaine, better it is to begin when he is in the middle point under us, which is just midnight, for that he returneth then toward us into the East; whereas contrariwise after mid day he goeth from us Westward.

What was the cause that in times past they would not suffer their wives, either to grinde corne, or to lay their hands to dreffe meat in the kitchin?

VAs it in memoriall of that accord and league which they made with the Sabines? for after that they had ravished & carried away their daughters, there arose sharpe warres betweene them: but peace enfued thereupon in the end; in the capitulations whereof, this one article was expresly fet downe, that the Roman husband might not force his wife, either to turne the querne for to grinde corne, nor to exercise any point of cookerie.

Why did not the Romans marie in the moneth of May?

30

IS it for that it commeth betweene Aprill and June? wherereof the one is confecrated unto Lenus, and the other to Juno, who are both of them the goddesses which have the care and charge of wedding and marriages, and therefore thinke it good either to go somewhat before, or elie to flay a while after.

Or it may be that in this moneth they celebrate the greatest expiatorie facrifice of all others in the yeere? for even at this day they fling from off the bridge into the river, the images and pourtraitures of men, whereas in old time they threw downe men themselves alive? And this is the reason of the custome now a daies, that the priestresse of June named Flamma, should be al-40 waies fad and heavie, as it were a mourner, and never wash nor dresse and trim her selfe.

Or what and if we say, it is because many of the Latine nations offered oblations unto the dead in this moneth: and peradventure they do fo, because in this verie moneth they worship

Mercurie: and in truth it beareth the name of Maja, Mercuries mother.

But may it not be rather, for that as some do say, this moneth taketh that name of Majores, that isto fay, ancients: like as June is termed fo of Juniores, that is to fay yonkers. Now this is certaine that youth is much meeter for to contract marriage than old age : like as Euripides faith

As for old age it Venus bids farewell, and with old folke, Venus is not pleased well.

The Romans therefore maried not in May, but stated for June which immediatly followeth after May.

What is the reason that they divide and part the haire of the new brides bead, with the point of

S not this a verie figne, that the first wives whom the Romans espoused, were compelled to Amariage, and conquered by force and armes.

Or are not their wives hereby given to understand, that they are espoused to husbands, martiall men and foldiers; and therefore they should lay away all delicate, wanton, and costly imbelishment of the bodie, and acquaint themselves with simple and plaine attire; like as Lycurgus for the same reason would that the dores, windowes, and roofes of houses should be framed with the faw and the axe onely, without use of any other toole or instrument, intending thereby to chase out of the common-weale all curiositie and wastfull superfluitie.

Or doth not this parting of the haires, give covertly to understand, a division and separation, as if mariage & the bond of wedlock, were not to be broken but by the sword and warlike force?

Or may not this fignific thus much, that they referred the most part of ceremonies concerning mariage unto Juno, now it is plaine that the javelin is confecrated unto Juno, infomuch as 10 most part of her images and statues are portraied resting and leaning upon a launce or javelin, And for this cause the goddesse is surnamed Quiritis, for they called in old time a speare Quiris, upon which occasion Mars also (as they say) is named Quiru. v Salidoja

What is the reason that the monie emploied upon plaies and publike shewes is called among them,

Ay it not well be that there were many groves about the citie confectated unto the gods, Mwhich they named Lucos: the revenues whereof they bestowed upon the setting forthof 20 fuch folemnities?

Why call they Quirinalia, the Feast of fooles?

Hether is it because (as Juba writeth) they attribute this day unto those who knew not Hetner is it because as Juve mitted, in the last have not facrificed, as others have done ac-their ownellinage and tribe? or unto fuch as have not facrificed, as others have done according to their tribes, at the feast called Fornacalia. Were it that they were hindred by other affaires, or had occasion to be forth of the citie, or were altogether ignorant, and therefore this day was affigned for them, to performe the faid feaft.

What is the cause, that when they sacrifice unto Hercules, they name no other Godbut him, nor suffer a dog to be seene, within the purprise and present of the place where the sacrifice is 30 celebrated, according as Varro hath left in writing ?

IS not this the reason of naming no god in their factifice, for that they esteeme him but a demigod; and fome there be who hold, that whiles he lived heere upon the earth, Evander crected an altar unto him, and offered sacrifice thereupon. Now of all other beafts he could worst abide a dog, and hated him most: for this creature put him to more trouble all his life time, than any other: witnesse hereof, the three headed dog Cerberus, and above all others, when Oconus the fonne of Licymmus was flaine * by a dog, he was enforced by the Hippocoontides to give the battell, in which heloftmany of his friends, and among the rest his owne brother

dog by the Hippocoon-

* Or about a

Wherefore was it not lawfull for the Patricians or nobles of Rome to awell upon the mount

Ight it not be in regard of M. Manlius, who dwelling there attempted and plotted to Capitoll? Mbeking of Rome, and to usurpe tyrannie; in hatred and detestation of whom, it is faid, that everafter those of the house of Manly, might not have Marcus for their fore-name?

Or rather was not this an old feare that the Romans had (time out of mind)? For albeit Palerius Poplicola was a personage verie popular and well affected unto the common people; yet never ceased the great and mightie men of the citie to suspect and traduce him, nor the meane commoners and multitude to feare him, untill fuch time as himfelfe caufed his owne house to be de-50 molithed and pulled down, because it seemed to overlooke and commaund the common market place of the citie.

What is the reason, that he who saved the life of a citizen in the warres, was rewarded with a

As it not for that in everie place and readily, they might meet with an oake, as they coronet made of oake braunches? marched in their warlike expeditions. Or Romane questions.

Or rather, because this maner of garland is dedicated unto Jupiter and Juno, who are reputed protectors of cities?

Or might not this be an ancient custome proceeding from the Arcadians, who have a kind of confanguinitie with oakes, for that they report of themselves, that they were the first men that iffued out of the earth, like as the oake of all other trees.

93
Why observe they the Vultures or Geirs, most of any other fowles, intaking of presages by

S it not because at the foundation of Rome, there appeared twelve of them unto Romulus? Or because, this is no ordinarie bird nor familiar; for it is not so easie a matter to meete with an airie of Vultures; but all on a fudden they come out of some strange countrey, and therefore the fight of them doth prognosticke and presage much.

Orelie haply the Romains learned this of Hercules, if that betrue which Herodotsus reporteth: namely, that Hereules tooke great contentment, when in the enterprise of any exploit of his, there appeared Vultures unto him: for that he was of opinion, that the Vulture of all birds of prey was the justest: for first and formost never toucheth he ought that hath life, neither killeth hee any living creature, like as eagles, falcons, hauks, and other fowles do, that prey by 20 night, but feedeth upon dead carrions: over and besides, he forbeareth to set upon his owne kind: for never was there man yet who faw a Vulture eat the flesh of any fowle, like as eagles and other birds of prey do, which chase, pursue and plucke in pieces those especially of the same kind, to wit, other fowle. And verily as Aefchylus the poet writeth:

How can that bird, which bird doth eat,

Be counted cleanly, pure and neat. And as for men, it is the most innocent bird, and doth least hurt unto them of all other; for it destroieth no fruit nor plant what soever, neither doth it harme to any tame creature. And if the tale betrue that the Aegyptians doe tell, that all the kinde of these birds be semales; that they conceive and be with yoong, by receiving the East-wind blowing upon them, like as some trees 30 by the Western wind, it is verie profitable that the fignes and prognosticks drawen from them. be more fure and certaine, than from any others, confidering that of all, befides their violence in treading and breeding time; their eagernefle in flight when they purfue their prey; their flying away from some, and chasing of others, must needs cause much trouble and uncertaintie in their prognostications.

Why stands the temple of Aesculapius without the citie of Rome?

TS it because they thought the abode without the citie more holesome, than that within ? For Lin this regard the Greekes ordinarily built the temples of Aefculapius upon high ground, 40 wherein the aire is more pure and cleere.

Or in this respect s that this god Aesculapium was sent for out of the citie Epidaurus. And true it is that the Epidaurians founded his temple; not within the walles of their city, but a good

Or lastly, for that the serpent when it was landed out of the galley in the Isle, and then vanifhed out of fight, feeined thereby to tell them where he would that they should build the place of his abode.

95 Why doth the law forbid them that are to live chaste, the eating of pulse?

As Stouching beanes, is it not in respect of those very reasons for which it is said: That the
Pythagoreans counted them abominable? And as for the richling and rich pease, whereof the one in Greeke is called Address, and the other in sursor, which words feeme to be derived of Erebue, that fignifieth the darkneffe of hell, and of Lethe, which is as much as oblivion, and one befides of the rivers infernall, it carieth some reason that they should be abhorred therfore. Or it may be, for that the folemne suppers and bankets at funerals for the dead, were usually

ferved with pulfe above all other viands. Occather, for that those who are desirous to be chaste, and to live an holy life, ought to keepo their bodies pure and flender; but foit is that pulse be flateous and windy, breeding superfluous excrements in the body, which had need of great purging and evacuation.

Or lastly, because they pricke and provoke the fleshly lust, for that they be full of ventosities.

96 What is the reason that the Romans panish the boly Pestall virgins (who have suffered their bodies to be abused and desiled) by no other meanes, than by interring them quicke under the ground?

S this the cause, for that the maner is to burne the bodies of them that be dead: and to burie (by the meanes of fire) their bodies who have not devoutly and religiously kept or preserved to the divine fire, seemed not just nor reasonable?

Or haply, because they thought it was not lawfull to kill any person who had bene consecrated with the most holy and religious ceremonies in the world; not to lay violent hands upon a woman consecrated: and therefore they devised this invention of suffering them to die of their owne selves; namely, to let them downe into a little vaulted chamber under the earth, where they lest with them a lampe burning, and some bread, with a little water and milke: and having so done, cast earth and covered them alost. And yet for all this, can they not be exempt from a superstitutious seare of them thus interred: for even to this day, the priests going over this place, personne (I wot not what) anniversary services and rites, for to appease and pacific their ghosts,

What is the cause that upon the thirteenth day of December, which in Latine shey call the Ides of December, there is exhibited a game of chariots running for the prize, and the horse drawing on the right hand that winnet he wistorie, is sacrificed and consecrated unto Mars, and at the time thereof, there comes one behinds, that culteth off his taile, which he carrieth immediatly into the temple called Rogia, and therewish imbrueth the alter with blood: and for the head of the said horse, one troupe there is comming out of the street called Via sacra, and another from that which they name Suburta, who encounter and trie out by sight who shall have it?

Ay not the reason be (as some doe alledge) that they have an opinion, how the citie of 30 Troy was sometime woon by the meanes of a woodden horse; and therfore in the memorial thereof, they thus punished a poore horse?

As men from blood of noble Troy defeended, And by the way with Latins iffue blended.

Or because an horse is a couragious, martiall and warlike beast; and ordinarily, menuse to present unto the gods those facrifices which are most agreeable unto them; and fort best with them; and in that respect, they facrifice that horse which wan the prize, unto Mars, because strength and victorie are well besteming him.

Or rather because the worke of God is firme and stable: those also be welcorious who keepe Or rather because them, who make not good their ground but fly away. This beafet their tanke and vanquish them, who make not good their ground but fly away. This beafet there to ere is punished for running so swift, as if celeratie were the maintenance of cowardise it of give us thereby coversly to understand, that there is no hope of safetie for them who seeke to estape by slight.

What is the reason that the first worke which the Censors go in hand with, when they been falled in the posse shown of their magestracie, is to take order upon a certaine price for the keeping and feeding of the sacred geese, and to cause the painted statues and images of the gods to be refreshed?

Hether is it because they would begin at the smallest things, and those which are of 50 least dispense and difficultie?

Or in commemoration of an ancient benefit received by the meanes of thefecreatures; in the time of the Gaules warre: for that the geefe were they who in the the night feafon deferted the Barbarians as the skaled and mounted the wall that environed the Capitol fort (where as the dogs flept) and with their gagling raifed the watch?

or because, the Cenfors being guardians of the greatest affaires, and having that charge and office which enjoyneth to be vigilant and carefull to preserve religion; to keepe temples

and publicke edifices; to looke into the manners and behaviour of men in their order of life; they fet in the first place the consideration and regard of the most watchfull creature that is: and in shewing what care they take of these geese, they incite and provoke by that example their citizens, not to be negligent and retchlesse of holy things. Moreover, for refreshing the colour of those images and statues, it is a necessary piece of worke; for the lively red vermilion; wherewith they were woont in times past to colour the said images, soone sadeth and passet have.

Romane questions.

What is the case that among other priests, when one is condemned and banished, they degrade and deprive him of his priesthood, and choose another in his place; onely an Augur, though he be convicted and condemned for the greatest crimes in the world, yet they never deprive in that sort so long as he liveth? Now those priests they call Augurs, who observe the slights of birds, and foreshowed things thereby.

Is it as fome do fay, because they would not have one that is no prices, to know the secret myliteries of their religion and their facted rites?

Or because the Augur being obliged and bound by great oaths, never to reveale the secrets pertaining to religiou, they would not seeme to free and absolve him from his oath by degrading him, and making him a private person.

Or rather, for that this word Augur, is not fo much a name of honor and magistracie, as of are and knowledge. And all one it were, as if they should seeme to disable a musician for being any more a musician; or a physician, that he should bee a physician no longer; or prohibit a prophet or soothsayer; to be a prophet or soothsayer; for even so they, not able to deprive him of his sufficiency, norto take away his skill, although they because him of his name and title, do not subordaine another in his place: and by good reason, because they would keepe the just number of the ancient institution.

What is the reason that upon the thirteenth day of August, which now is called the Ides of August, and before time the Ides of Sextilis, all servants as well maids, as men make holy day and women that are wives love then especially so wash and cleanse their heads?

Ight not this be a cause, for that king Servius upon such a day was borne of a captive woman, and therefore slaves and bond-servants on that day have libertie to play and disport themselves? And as for washing the head; haply at the first the wenches began to to do in regard of that selftivall day, and so the custome passed also unto their mistresses and other women free borne?

Why do the Romanes adorne their children with jewels pendant at their necks, which they call Bullæ?

40 PEradventure to honor the memorie of those first wives of theirs, whom they ravished: in favour of whom they ordained many other prerogatives for the children which they had by them, and namely this among the rest?

Or it may be for to grade the proweffe of Tarquinius? For reported it is that being but a verie child, in a great battell which was fought against the Latines and Tuskanes together, hee rode into the verie throng of his enemies, and engaged himselfe so farre, that being dismounted and unhoried; yet notwithstanding he mansfully withstood those who hotly charged upon him, and encouraged the Romanes to stand to it; in such fort as the enemies by them were put to plaine slight, with the losse of 6000, men whom they lest dead in the place: and for a reward of this vertue and valour, received such a jewell to hang about his necke, which was given unto 50 him by the king his father.

Or cile, because in old time it was not reputed a shamfull and villanous thing, to love yoong boyes wantonly, for their beauty in the flowre of their age, if they were slaves borne, as the Comedies even at this day do teltifier but they forbate most precisely, to touch any of them who were free-borne or of gentleblood descended. To the end therefore man might not pretend ignorance in such a cale, as if they knew not of what condition any boyes were, if they mette with them naked, they caused them to weare this badge and marke of nobilitie about their necks.

Or peradventure, this might be also as a preservative unto them of their honor, continence and chastitie, as one would lay, a bridle to restraine wantonnesse and incontinencie, as being put in mind thereby to be abathed to play mensparts, before they had laid off the marks and fignes of childhood. For there is no apparance or probabilitie, of that which Paro alledgeth, faying: That because the Acolians in their Dialect do call gon, that is to say, Counsell, gone, therefore fuch children for a figne and prefage of wifedome and good counfell, carried this jewell, which they named Bulla.

But see whether it might not be in regard of the moone that they weare this device? for the figure of the moone when thee is at the full, is not round as a bal or boule, but rather flat in maner of a lentill or refembling a dish or plate; not onely on that side which appeareth unto us, 10

but also (as Empedocles faith) on that part which is under it.

102

Wherefore gave they fore-names to little infants, if they were boies upon the ninth day after their birth, but if they were girls, when they were eight daies olde?

My there not be a natural reason rendred hereof, that they should impose the names sooner upon daughters than sonnes; for that semales grow apace, are quickly ripe, and come betimes unto their perfection in comparison of males; but as touching those precise daies, they take them that immediatly follow the feventh: for that the feventh day after chil-20 dren be borne is very dangerous, as well for other occasions, as in regard of the navill-string: for that in many it will unknit and be loofe againe upon the seventh day, and so long as it continueth forefolved and open, an infant refembleth a plant rather than any animall creature?

Or like as the Pythagoreans were of opinion, that of numbers the even was female and the odde, male; for that it is generative, and is more strong than the even number, because it is compound : and if a man divide these numbers into unities, the even number sheweth a void place betweene, whereas the odde, hath the middle alwaies fulfilled with one part thereof: even to in this respect they are of opinion, that the even number eight, resembleth rather the semale

and the even number nine, the male. Or rather it is because of all numbers, nine is the first square comming of three, which is an 30 odde and perfect number: and eight the first cubick, to wit foure square on every side like a die proceeding from two, an even number: now a man ought to be quadrat odde (as we say) and singular, yea and perfect : and a woman (no leffe than a die) fure and stedfast, a keeper of home, and not casily removed. Hecreunto we must adjoyne thus much more also, that eight is a number cubick, arifing from two as the bale and foot: and nine is a square quadrangle having three for the base: and therefore it seemeth, that where women have two names, men have three.

40.05 3 What is the reason, that those children who have no certeine father, they were woont to tearme

Or we may not thinke as the Greeks holde, and as oratours give out in their pleas, that this word Spurius, is derived of Spora, that is to fay, naturall feed, for that fuch children are

begotten by the feed of many men mingled and confounded together. But furely this Spurius, is one of the ordinary fore-names that the Romans take, fisch as Sextw., Decimus, and Caiss. Now these fore-names they never use to write out at full with all their letters, but marke them fometime with one letter alone, as for example, Titus, Lucius, and Marcius, with T, L, M; or with twaine, as Spurius and Cneus, with Sp, and Cn, or at most with three as Sextus & Servius, with Sex. and Ser. Spurius then is one of their fore-names which is noted with two letters S. and P. which fignific almuch, as Sine Patre, that is to fay, without a father; 50 for S. standeth for Sine, that is to lay, without; and P. for patre, that is to say a father. And hecreupon growthe error, for that Sine patre, and Spurisus be written both with the fame letters fhort, Sp. And yet I will not flicke to give you another reason, though it be formwhat fabulous, and carteth a greater abfurdity with it: for footh they fay that the Sabines in olde time named in their language the natute or privities of a woman, Spories: and thereupon afterwards as it were by way of reproch, they called him Sparissa, who had to his mother a woman unmaried and not lawfully espoused. Why

Why is Bacchus called with them, Liber Pater?

Sit for that he is the authour and father of all liberty unto them who have taken their wine well; for most men become audacious and are full of bolde and franke broad speech, when they be drunke or cup-shotten?

Or because heir is that ministred libations first, that is to fay, those effusions and offrings of

wine that are given to the gods?

Or rather (as Alexander faid) because the Greeks called Bacchus, Dionysos Eleuthereus, that is 10 to fay, Bacehus the Deliverer: and they might call him fo, of a city in Baotia, named Eleuther a.

Wherefore was it not the custome among the Romans, that maidens should be wedded upon any daies of their publicke feafts; but widdowes might be remarried upon those daies?

As it for that (as *Parro* faith) virgins be*ill-apaid and heavie when they be first wedded; "Or, feete but such as were wives before, "be glad and joyfull when they marrie againe? And up ding haply on a festivall holiday there should be nothing done with an ill will or upon constraint.

Orrather, because it is for the credit and honour of yong damosels, to be maried in the view Hymenic.
Ortake de 20 of the whole world; but for widowes it is a dishonour and shame unto them, to be seene of mallight & pleany for to be wedded a fecond time: for the first marriage is lovely and defireable; the fecond, fire. odious and abominable: for women, if they proceed to marrie with other men whiles their former husbands be living, are ashamed thereof; and if they be dead, they are in mourning flate of widowhood: and therefore they chuse rather to be married closely and secretly in all filence, than to be accompanied with a long traine and folemnity, and to have much adoe and great stirring at their marriage. Now it is well known that festivall holidaies divert and di-

have no leafure to go and fee weddings. Or last of all, because it was a day of publicke solemnitie, when they first ravished the Sabines 30 daughters: an attempt that drew upon them, bloudy warre, and therefore they thought it ominous and prefaging evill, to fuffer their virgins to wed upon fuch holidaies.

ftract the multitude divers waies, fome to this game and pastime, others to that; so as they

Why doe the Romans honour and worship Fortune, by the name of Primigenia, which a man may interpret First begotten or first borne?

Sit for that (as some say) Servine being by chance borne of a maid-servant and a captive, I had Fortune fo favourable unto him, that he reigned nobly and glorioufly, king at Rome? For most Romans are of this opinion.

40 Or rather, because Fortune gave unto the city of Rome her first originall and beginning of so

mightie an empire.

Or lieth not herein some deeper cause, which we are to setch out of the secrets of Nature and Philosophie; namely, that Fortune is the principle of all things, infomuch, as Nature confifteth by Fortune; namely, when to some things concurring casually and by chance, there is some order and dispose adjoined.

What is the reason that the Romans call those who act comedies and other theatricall plaies, Hiftriones?

50 TS it for that cause, which as Claudius Rufus hath left in writing ? for he reporteth that many Lyceres ago, and namely, in those daies when Cajus Sulpitius and Licinius Stolo were Confuls; there raigned a great peftilence at Rome, fuch a mortalitie as confumed all the stage plaiers indifferently one with another. Whereupon at their instant praier and request, there repaired out of Tuscane to Rome, many excellent and singular actours in this kinde: among whom, he who was of greatest reputation, and had caried the name longest in all theaters, for his rate gift and dexteritie that way, was called Hiller; of whose name all other afterwards were tearmed Histriones.

Why espoused not the Romans in mariage those women who were neere of kin unto them?

As it because they were desirous to amplific and encrease their alliances, and acquire more kinsfolke, by giving their daughters in mariage to others, and by taking to wife others than their owne kinred?

Or for that they feared in such wedlock the jarres and quarrels of those who be of kin, which are able to extinguish and abolish even the verie lawes and rights of nature?

Or elfe, feeing as they did, how women by reason of their weaknesseand infirmitie stand in need of many helpers, they would not have men to contract marriage, nor dwell in one house to with those who were neere in blood to them, to the end, that if the husband should offer wrong and injurie to his wife, her kinsfolke might fuccour and affift her.

Why is it not tawfull for Jupicers priest, whom they name Flamen Dialisto handleor once

 Γ Ormeale, is it not be because it is an unperfect and raw kind of nourishment? for neither continueth it the same that it was, to wit, wheat, &c. nor is that yet which it should be, namely bread: but hath loft that nature which it had before of feed, and withall hath not gotten 20 the use of food and nourishment. And hereupon it is, that the poet calleth meale(by a Metaphot or borrowed speech) Mylephaton, which is as much to say, as killed and marred by the mill in grinding: and as for leaven, both it felfe is engendred of accreaine corruption of meale, and also corrupteth (in a maner) the whole lumpe of dough, wherin it is mixed: for the faid dough becommeth leffe firme and fast than it was before, it hangeth not together; and in one word the leaven of the passe seemeth to be a verie putrifaction and rottennesse thereof. And verely if there be too much of the leaven put to the dough, it maketh it fo sharpe and source that it cannot be caten, and in verietruth spoileth the meale quite.

Wherefore is the faid priest likewise forbidden to touch raw flesh?

30

S it by this custome to withdraw him farre from eating of raw things? Or is it for the same cause that he abhorresh and detesteth meale? for neither is it any more a living animall, nor come yet to be meat: for by boiling and rofting it groweth to fuch an alteration, as changeth the verie forme thereof: whereas raw flesh and newly killed is neither pure and impolluted to the cie, but hideous to fee to; and befides, it hath(I wot not what) refemblance to an ougly fore or filthic ulcer.

What isthereason that the Romans have expressy commaunded the same priest or Flamen of 40 Jupiter, not onely to touch a dogge or a goat, but not fo much as to name either of them?

O speake of the Goat first, is it not for detestation of his excessive lust and lecherie; and be-I fides for his ranke and filthie favour? or because they are afraid of him, as of a diseased creature and subject to maladies? for furely, there feemeth not to be a beaft in the world so much given to the falling fickneffe, as it is 3 nor infecteth fo foone those that either eate of the flesh or once touch it, when it is surprised with this evill. The cause whereof some say to be the streightnesse of those conduits and passages by which the spirits go and come, which oftentimes happen to be intercepted and stopped. And this they conjecture by the small and slender voice that this beaft hath, & the better to confirme the fame, we do fee ordinarily, that men likewife who be fubject to this malady, grow in the end to have fuch a voice as in some fort resembleth the bledting of goats. Now, for the Dog, true it is haply that he is not so lecherous, nor smelleth altogether fo strong and so ranke as doth the Goat; and yet some there be who say, that a Dog might not be permitted to come within the castle of Ashens, nor to enter into the Isle of Delos because for footh he lineth bitches openly in the fight of everie man, as if bulls, boares, and stalions had their fecret chambers, to do their kind with females, and did not leape and cover them in the broad field and open yard, without being abathed at the matter.

Bur Ignorant they are of the true cause indeed : which is, for that a Dog is by nature fell, and quareflorie, given to arre and warte upon a verie small occasion: in which respect men banish them from fanctuaries, holy churches, and priviledged places, giving thereby unto poore afflicted suppliants free accesse unto them for their safe and sure refuge. And even so verie prohable it is sthat this Flamen or pricht of Jupiter whom they would have to be as an holy, facred, and living image for to flie unto, should be accessible and easie to be approched unto by humble futers, and fuch as stand in need of him, without any thing in the way to empeach, to put backe, or to affright them; which was the cause that he had a little bed or pallet made for him, in the verie perch or entrie of his house; and that servant or slave, who could find meanes to come to and fall downe at his feet, and lay hold on his knees was for that day freed from the whip, and past danger of all other punishment -: say he were a prisoner with irons, and bolts at his feet that could make shift to approach neere unto this priest, he was let loose, and his gives and setters were throwen out of the house, not at the doore, but flung over the verie roofe thereof.

But to what purpose served all this, and what good would this have done, that he should they himselfe so gentle, so affable, and humane, if he had a curst dog about him to keepe his doore, and to affright, chafe and featre all those away who had recourse unto him for succour. And yet fo it is that our ancients reputed not adog to be altogether a clean creature : for first and formost we do not find that he is consecrated or dedicated unto any of the celestial gods; but being fent unto terrestrial & infernall Professiona into the quarrefires and crosse high waies to make 20 her a supper, he seemeth to serve for an expiatorie facrifice to divert and turne away some calamitie, or to cleanfe fome filthie ordere, rather than otherwife: to fay nothing, that in Lacedamon, they cut and flit dogs down along the mids, and so facrifice them to Mars the most bloody god of all others. And the Romanes themselves upon the feast Lupercalia, which they celebrate in the luftrall moneth of Purification, called February, offer up a dog for a facrifice: and therefore it is no abfurditie to thinke, that those who have taken upon them to serve the most soveraigne and pureft god of all others, were not without good cause forbidden to have a dog with them in the hould, nor to be acquainted and familiar with him.

For what cause was not the same priest of Jupiter permitted, either to touch an ivie tree, or to passe thorow a way covered over head with a vine growing to a tree, and freading her branches from it?

Snot this like unto these precepts of Pythagoras: Eat not your meat from a chaire: Sit not upon a measure called Chanix : Neither step thou over a broome or * besoome. For surely * dep. none of the Pythagoreans feared any of these things, or made scruple to doe, as these words in outward thew, and in their litterall sense do preterid but under such speeches they did covertly and figuratively forbid fornewhat else: even so this precept: Go not under a vine, is to be referred unto wine, and implieth this much; that it is not lawfull for the faid Prieft to be drunke; for 40 fuch as over drinke themselves, have the wine above their heads, and under it they are depressed and weighed downe, whereas men and priefts especially ought to be evermore superiors and commanders of this pleasure, and in no wife to be subject unto it. And thus much of the vine.

As for the ivie, is it not for that it is a plant that beareth no fruit, nor any thing good for mans use: and moreover is so weake, as by reason of that feeblenesse it is not able to sustaine it felfe, but had need of other trees to support and beare it up : and besides, with the coole shadow that it yeelds, and the greene leaves alwaies to be feene, it dazeleth, and as it were bewitcheth the eies of many that looke upon it: for which causes, men thought that they ought not to nourish or entertaine it about an house, because it bringeth no profit; nor suffer it to claspe about any thing, confidering it is so hurtfull unto plants that admit it to creepe upon them, 50 whiles it sticketh fast in the ground: and therefore banished it is from the temples and sacrifices of the celestiall gods, and their priests are debarred from using it: neither shall a man ever see in the facrifices or divine worthip of June at Athens, nor of Venus at Thebes, any wilde ivic brought out of the woods. Mary at the facrifices and services of Bacchus, which are performed in the night and darkneffe, it is used.

Or may not this be a covert and figurative prohibition, of fuch blind dances and fooleries in thonight, as these be, which are practised by the priests of Bacchus? for those women which are transported with these furious motions of Bacebus, runne immediately upon the ivie, and

Questions as touching Greeke affaires.

catching it in their hands, plucke it in pieces, or elfe chew it betweene their teeth; in somuch as they speake not altogether absurdly, who say, that this ivie hath in it a certaine spirit that stirreth and mooveth to madnesse; turneth mens mindes to furie; driveth them to extasses; troubleth and tormenteth them; and in one word maketh them drunke without wine, and doth great pleafure unto them, who are otherwife disposed and enclined of shemselves to such tanas ticall ravifhments of their wit and understanding.

What is thereason that these Priests and Flamins of Jupiter were not allowed, either to take upon them, or to fue for any government of State? but inregard that they be not sapable of fuch dienities, for honour fake and in some sort to make some recompense for that defeet, they have an 10 wher or verger before them carrying a knitch of rods yea and a curall chaire of estate to sumport

S it for the same cause, that as in some cities of Greece, the sacerdotall dignitic was equiva-I lent to the royall majestic of a king, so they would not chuse for their priests, meane persons and fuch as came next to hand.

Or rather, because Priests having their functions determinate and certaine, and the kings, undeterminate and uncertaine, it was not possible, that when the occasions and times of both concurred together at one instant, one and the same person should be sufficient for both: for it could not otherwife be, but many times when both charges preffed upon him and urged him at ones, he should pretermit the one or the other, and by that meanes one while offend and fault 20 in religion toward God, and anotherwhile do hurt unto citizens and subjects.

Or elfe, confidering, that in governments among men, they faw that there was otherwhiles no lesse necessitie than authority; and that he who is to rule a people (as Hippocrates said of a physician, who feeth many evill things, yea and handleth many alfo) from the harmes of other men, reapeth gricfe and forrow of his owne: they thought it not in policy good, that any one should facrifice unto the gods, or have the charge and superintendence of sacred things; who had been either present or president at the judgements and condemnations to death of his owne citizens; yea and otherwhiles of his owne kinsfolke and allies, like as it befell fometime to Brutus.



DEMAVNDS AND QUESTIONS AS TOU-

ching Greeke Affaires:

THAT IS TO SAY,

A Collection of the maners, and of divers customes and fashions of certaine persons and nations of Greece: which may serve their turne verie well, who reading old Authors, are desirous to know the particularities of Antiquitie.

Who are they that in the citie Epidaurus be called Conipodes and Artyni?



Here were an hundred and fourescore men, who had the managing and whole government of the Common weale: out of which number they chose Senatours, whom they named Artymi: but the most part of the people abode and dwelt in the countrey, and such were tearmed Conipodes, which is as much to fay, as Dufty-feet; for that when they came downe to the citie (as a man may conjecture) they were knowen by their dustie feet, What

What was she, who in the citie of Cumes they named Onobatis?

When there was any woman taken in adultery, they brought her in to the publick marketplace, where they fet her upon an eminent stone to the end that she might be seene of all the people : and after the had flood there a good while, they mounted her upon an affe, and foled her round about the city: which done, they brought her backe againe into the marketplace, where the must stand as shedid before upon the same stone : and so from that time forward the led an infamous and reprochfull life, called of every one by the name of Onobatis that 10 isto fay, the that hath ridden upon the affe backe. But when they had fo done, they reputed that stone polluted, and detested it as accursed and abominable.

There was likewise in the same city a certeine office of a gaoler, whom they called Phylattes: and looke who bare this office, had the charge of keeping the prison at all other times: onely at acerteine affembly and fession of the counsell in the night season, he went into the Senar, and brought forth the kings, leading them by the hands, and three held them still, during the time that the Senat had made inquifition and decreed whether they had deserved ill and ruled unjustly or no: giving thus their fuffrages and voices privily in the darke.

What is the whom they name in the city of Soli, Hypeccaustria?

O call they the priestresse of Minerva, by reason of certeine sacrifices (which she celebra-Dteth) and other divine ceremonies and fervices, to put by and divert threwd turnes, which other wife might happen: the word fignifieth as much as a chaufeure.

Who be they in the city Gnidos, whom they call Amnemones ? as also who is Aphelter among

Here are threescore elect men out of the better fort and principall citizens, whom they imploid as overfeers of mens lives and behaviour, who also were consulted first, and gave 30 their fentence as touching affaires of greatest importance: and Amnemones they were named, for that they were not, (as a man may very well conjecture) called to any account, nor urged to make answer for any thing that they did: unleffe haply they were so named, quasi Polymnemones, because they remembred many things and had so good a memorie. As for Aphester, he it was who in their scrutinies, demanded their opinions and gathered their voices.

Who be they, whom the Areadians and Lacedemonians tearme, Chrestos?

"He Lacedemonians having concluded a peace with the Tegeates, did fet downe exprelly 1 the articles of agreement in writing, which they caused to be ingraven upon a square columne, common to them both, the which was erected upon the river Alphane: in which among other covenants this was written: That they might chale the Messenians out of their countries; * Pide Subra howbeit, lawfull it should not be to make them Chrestos, which Aristotle expoundeth thus and in queft. Rem. faith; That they might kill none of the Tegeates who during the warrehad taken part with is somewhat the Lacedæmonians.

What is he whom the Opuntians call, Crithologos.

He greatest part of the Greeks in their most auncient sacrifices use certeine barley, which 1 the citizens of their first fruits did contribute: that officer therefore who had the rule and 50 charge of these facrifices, and the gathering and bringing in of these first fruits of barley, they named Crithologos, as one would fay the collectour of the barley. Moreover, two priefts they had befides, one finerintendent over the facrifices and ceremonies for the gods; another for the divels.

Which be the cloud's called Ploiades.

Hose especially which are waterith and disposed to raine, and withall wandering too and fro, and caried heere and there in the aire; as Theophrastus in the fourth booke of Mereors

or impressions gathered above in the region of the aire, hath put it downe word for word in this manner: Confidering that the clouds Plandes (quoth hee) and those which be gathered thicke, and are fetled unmooveable, and befides very white, shew a certeine diversitie of matter, which is neither converted into water, nor resolved into winde.

Whom doe the Beestians meane by this word, Platychætas?

Hose whose houses joine one to another, or whose lands doe border and confine together, in the Acolique language they called fo, as if they would fay, being neere neigh- 10 bours: to which purpose one example among many I will alledge out of our law Thesmophy.

What is he who among the Delphians is called Hosioter, and why name they one of the moneths,

They name *Hosioter* that factificer who offretha factifice when he is declated *Hosios*, that is to fay, holy; and five there be who are all their life time accounted *Hosios*, and those doe and execute many things together with their prophets, and joine with them in divers ceremonies of divine fervice, and gods worthip, inafmuch as they are thought to be descended from 20 Deucalion. And for the moneth called Byfis, many have thought it to be as much as Phyfius: that is to fay, the fpringing or growing moneth; for that then, the fpring beginneth, and many plants at that time do arise out of grownd and budde. But the truth is not so: for the Delphians never use B. in stead of Ph. like as the Macedonians do, who for Philippus, Phalaeros, and Pheronice, fay, Bilippus Balacros, and Beronice: indeed they put B. for P. and it as ordinarie with them, to fay Batein, for Patein, Bieron, for Pieron: and fo Bysius, is all one with Pyfiu, that is to fay, the moneth in which they confult with their god Apollo, and demand of hun answeres and resolutions of their doubts: for this is the custome of the countrey, because in this monetisthey propounded their demands unto the Oracle of Apollo, and they supposed the seventh day of the same to be his birth-day, which they surnamed also, Polypthon, not as 20 many do imagine, because they then do bake many cakes, which are called Phihou, but for that it is a day wherein divers do refort unto the Oracle for to be refolved, and many answeres are delivered: for it is but of late daies that folke were permitted to confult with the Oracle when they list in everie moneth; but before time the religious priestresse of Apollo, named Pythia; opened not the Oracle, nor gave answere but at one time in the yeere, according as Callistenes and Alexandredes have recorded in writing.

What signifieth Phyximelon?

Ittle plants there be, which when they burgeon and shoot out first, the beasts love passing well 40 their first buds and sprouts which they put forth; but in brouzing and cropping them, great injurie they do unto the plants and hinder their grouth: when as therefore they are growen up to that height that beafts grafing thereabout, can do them no more harme, they be called Physimeda, that is as much to fay, as having escaped the danget of cattell, as witnesseth deschylus.

Who be they that are named Aposphendoneti?

N times past the Erettians held the Island Corcyra, untill Charier ates arrived there with a fleet I from Corinth and vanquished them: whereupon the Eretrians tooke sea againe, and retur- 50 ned toward their naturall countrey: whereof their fellow-citizens being advertised, such I say as flirred not but remained quiet, repelled them, and kept them off from landing upon their ground by charging them with shot from slings. Now when they saw they could not win them by any faire language, nor yet compel them by force of armes, being as they were inexorable, and befides many more than they in number, they made faile to the coasts of Thracia, where they poffessed themselves of a place: wherein they report, Methon, one of the predecessors and progenitors of Orpheus Cometime dwelt: and there having built a citie, they named it Methone; but them felves

Questions as touching Greeke affaires. themselves were surnamed Aposphendoneti, which is as much to say, as repelled and driven

What is that which the Delphians call, Charila?

"He citizens of Delphos do celebrate continually three Enneaterides, that is to fay, feafts celebrated every ninth yeere, one after another fucceffively. Of which, the first they name, Septerion; the second, Herois; and the third, Charila. As touching the first, it seemeth to be amemorial representing the fight or combat that Phabus had against Python; and his flight after the 10 conflict, and pursuit after him into the valley of Tempe. For as some do report he fled by occasion of a certaine manslaughter and murder that he had committed, for which he sought to be purged: others fay that when Python was wounded, and fled by the way which we call, Holy, Phabus made hot pursuit after him, infomuch as he went within alittle of overtaking him, and finding him at the point of death: (for at his first comming he found that he was newly dead of the wounds which he had received in the forefaid fight) also, that he was enterred and buried by his fonne, (who as they fay) was named dix: this novenarie feaft therefore, called Septerion, is a representation of this historie, or else of some other like unto it. The second named Herois, containeth (I wot not what) hidden ceremonies and fabulous fecrets, which the profeffed priefts (in the divine fervice of Bacehin called Thyades) know well enough: but by fuch things 20 as are openly done and practifed, a man may conjecture, that it should be a certaine exaltation or affumption of Semele up into heaven. Moreover, as concerning Charila, there goeth fuch a tale as this. It fortuned upon a time, that after much drougth, there followed great famine in the citic of Delphos, infomuch as all the inhabitants came with their wives and children to the court gates, crying out unto their king, for the extreame hunger that they endured. The king thereupon caused to be distributed among the better fort of them, a dole of meale, and certaine pulse, for that he had not fufficient to give indifferently to them all: and when there came a little yong wench, a fiely orphane, father leffe and mother leffe, who instantly befought him to give her also fome reliefe; the king finote her with his shoe, and flung it at her face. The girle (poore though the was, forlorne and destitute of all worldly succour; howbeit carying no base mind with her; 30 but of a noble spirit) departed from his presence, and made no more a doe, but undid her girdle from her wast and hanged her selfe therewith. Well, the famine daily encreased more and more, and diseases grew thereupon: by occasion whereof, theking went in person to the Oracle of Apollo, supposing to finde there some meede and remedie: unto whom Pythia the prophetesse made this answere: That the ghost of Charata should be appealed and pacified, who had died a voluntarie death. So after long fearch and diligent enquirie, hardly found in the end it was, that the young maiden whom he had so beaten with his shoe, was named Charda: whereupon they offered a certaine facrifice mixed with expiatoric oblations, which they celebrate and performe from nine yeers to nine, even to this day. For arthis folemnity, the king fitting in his chaire, dealeth certaine meale and pulle among all commers, as well strangers as citizens: and the image 40 of this Charila is thither brought, refembling a young girle: now after that everie one hath received part of the dole, the king beateth the faid image about the eares with his shoe: and the chiefe governesse of the religious women called, Thyades, taketh up the image, and carieth it into a certaine place ful of deepe caves, where after they have hung an halter about the necke of it, they enterre it under the ground in that verie place where they buried the corps of Charila, when the had strangled her selfe.

What is the meaning of that which they call among the Aeneians, Begged-flesh.

HE Acneians in times past had many transinigrations from place to place: for first they inhabited the countrey about the Plaine called Dotion: out of which they were driven by the Lapithæ, and went to the Aethicæ; and from thence into a quarter of the province Melofii, called Arava, which they beld, and thereof called they were Paravæ. After all this they feized the citie Cirrha: wherein after that they had stoned to death their king Onoelus, by warrant and commandement from Apollo; they went downe into that tract that lieth along by the river Inashus, a countrey inhabited then by the Inachiens and Acharans. Now they had the answere of an oracle on both fides, to wit, the Inachiens and Achæans, that if they yeelded and gave away part part of their countrey, they should lose all: and the Aeneians, that if they could get once any thing at their hands with their good wils, they should for ever possesse and hold all. Things standing in these tearmes, there was a notable personage among the Aeneians, named Temon, who putting on ragged clothes, and taking a wallet about his necke, difguifed himfelfe like unto a begger, and in this habite went to the Inachiens to crave their almes. The king of the Inachiens scorned and laughed at him, and by way of disdaine and mockerie, tooke up a clod of earth and gave it him; the other tooke it right willingly and put it up into his budget: but he made no semblance, neither was he seene to embrace this gift, and to joy therein; but went his way immediately without begging any thing elfe, as being verie well content with that which he had gotten already. The elders of the people woondring hereat, called to mind the faid oracle, and 10 presenting themselves before the king, advertised him not to neglect this occurrent, nor to let this man thus to escape out of his hands. But Temen having an inckling of their desseigne, made hafte and fled apace, infomuch as he faved himfelfe, by the meanes of a great factifice, even of an hundred oxen which he vowed unto Apollo. This done, both kings, to wit, of the Inachiens and the Aeneians sent desiance one to the other, and chalenged combat to fight hand to hand. The king of the Aeneians Phemius, seeing Hyperochus king of the Inachiens comming upon him with his dog, cried out and faid: That he dealt not like a just and righteous man, thus to bring an affiftant and helper with him: whereat as Hyperochus turned his head about, and looked backe for to chase away his dog, Phemius raught him such a rap with a stone upon the side of his head, that he felled him to the ground and killed him outright therewith in the verie place. Thus the 20 Aenians having conquered the countrey, and expelled the Inachiens and the Achæans, adored ever after that ftone as a facred thing, and facrificed unto it, and within the fat of the beaft facrificed, enwrap it verie charily. Afterwards, whenfoever they have according to their vow offered a magnificent facrifice of an hundred oxen to Apollo, and killed likewife an oxe unto Jupiter; the fend the best and most daintiest piece of the said factifice, unto those that are lineally descended from Temon, which at this day is called among them, The Begged flesh, or the Beg-

Who be those whom the inhabitants of Ithaca, named Coliades? and who is Phagilus among

Fter that uly/fes hadkilled those who wooed his wise in his absence, the kinsfolke and friends of them being now dead, rose up against him to be revenged: but in the end they agreed on both sides to send for Neoptolemus, to make an accord and attonement betweene them: who having undertaken this arbitrement, awarded that Plyffes should depart out of those parts, and quit the Illes of Cephalenia, Ithaca and Zacynthus, in regard of the bloodshed that he had committed. Item, that the kinsfolke and friends of the faid woers, should pay a certaine fine everie yeere unto Ulysses in recompence, for the riot, damage, and havoke they had made in his house. As for uty/fes, he withdrew himselfe and departed into Italie: but for the mulct or fine imposed upon them, which he had consecrated unto the gods; he tooke order that those of It based hould tender the payment thereof unto his foune: and the same was a quantitie of meale **Recat, haply and of wine, a certaine number of * wax-lights or tapers, oyle, falt, and for facrifices the bigger fort and better growen of Phagili: now Phagilus, Aristotle interpreteth to be a lambe.

Moreover, astouching Eumaus, Telemachus enfranchifed him and all his posteritie; yea, and endued them with the right of free burgeofic. And so the progenie of Eumaus are at this day the house and family, called Coliade, like as Bucoli be those who are descended from Philatim.

What is the woodden * dog among the Locrians?

Ocrus was the fonne of Phyleius, who had to his father Amphyttion. This Locrus had by Caby a a fonne named likewife Locrus; with him his father was at fome variance; who having gathered a number of citizens to him, confulted with the oracle about a place where he should build a new cirie, and people it in the nature of a colonie. The oracle returned unto him this answere: That in what place a dog of wood did bite him, there he should found a citie. And so when he had passed over to the other side of the sea, and was landed, he chanced to tread as hea walked along upon a brier, which in Greeke is called Kurros barn, and was so pricked therewith, Questions as touching Greeke affaires.

that he was constrained there to sojourne certainedaies: during which time, after he had well viewed and confidered the countrey, he founded these townes, to wit, Physics and Hyanthia, and all those besides, which were afterwards inhabited by the Locrians, surnamed Ozole, that is to fay, Stinking: which furname fome fay was given unto these Locrians, in regard of Nelling; others in respect of the great dragon Python, which being cast up a land by the sea, putified upon the coast of the Locrians: others report, that by occasion of certaine sheepes fels and goats skins, which the men of that countrey used to weare; and because that for the most part they converfed among the flockes of fuch cattell, and smelled ranke, and carried a strong stinking favour about them, thereupon they were cleped Ozola. And some there be who hold the To cleane contrarie, and fay that the countrey being ful of fweet flowers, had that name of the good fmell; among whom is Architas of Amphiffa, for thus he writeth:

Atract with crowne of grapes full lively dight: Senting of flowers like spice Macynahight.

What is it which the Megarians call Aphabroma?

T I fau, of whom the city Nifea tooke the name being king of Megaria, espouled a wife out Beotia named Abrota, the daughter of Oncheftus, and fifter to Megareus, a dame of fingu-20 lar wildome, and for chaftity and vertue incomparable: when the was dead the Megarians for their part willingly and of their owne accord mourned : and Nifus her husband defirous to eternize her name and remembrance by fome memoriall, caused her bones to be set together, and the same to be clad with the very same appartell that she was wont to weare in her life time: and of her name he called that habit and vefture Aphabroma. And verily it feemeth that even god Apollo himselfe did favourize the glorie of this ladie: for when the wives of Megara were minded many times to change these robes and habillements, they were alwaies forbiden and and debarred by this oracle.

Who is Doryxenus samong the Megarians

THe province Megaria was in olde time inhabited by certeine townes and villages; and the citizens or inhabitants being devided into five parts, were called Heraens, Pyraens, Megarians, Cynosuriens, and Tripodissans: now the Corinthians their next neighbours, and who spied out all occasions, and sought meanes to reduce the proovince Megarica under their obedience, practifed to fet them together by the eares, and wrought it fo, that they warred one upon another sbutthey caried fuch a moderate hand, and were so respective in their warres, that they remembred evermore they were kinsfolke and of a bloud: and therefore warred after a milde and gentle manner; for no man offred any injury or violence to the husbandmen that tilled the ground on either fide: and looke who foever chanced to be taken prifoners, 40 were to paie for their ransome a certeine piece of money, set downe betweene them: which fumme of money was received ever after they were delivered, and not before, because no man would demaund it: for looke who had taken a captive in the warre, he would bring him home with him into his house, and make him good cheere at his owne table, consult together, and then fend him home in peace: and the party thus fer free, when he came duely and brought his raunsome aforesaid with him, was commended and thanked for it, yea, and continued ever after unto his dying day, friend unto him who received the money: and thus in stead of Doryalotos, which fignifieth a prisoner taken in warre, he was called Doryxenus, that is to say, a friend made by water; for he who kept backethe faide money, and defrauded the right mafter thereof; became all his lifetime infamous, not onely among enemies, but also among his owne 50 felow-citizens, as being reputed a wicked, perfidious, and false wretch. าร และและเลงได้เล้า เ<mark>พราะสาก</mark>ล้า ถูกเกล้า

What is Palintocia emong the Megarians?

He Megarians when they had expelled their tyrant Theagenes, for a pretie while after, used good and moderate government in their common-wealth: but when as their flattering oratours and clawbacks of the people began unto them once (as Plato very well faid) in a cup of

i.a pillar, as the Latin interpreteth it.

the meere and undelaied wine of libertie, that is to fay, commended unto them excessive licentiousnesse, they came to be exceeding faucie and malepart, and were utterly corrupt and marred, infomuch as they committed all infolent outrages that could be devifed against the substantiall and wealthy burgesses: and among other bold parts, the poore and needy would prefume to goe into their houses, and commaund them for to enterteine them with great cheere, & to feast them sumptuously: if they refused so to do, they would make no more adoe, but take away perforce whatfoever they could lay hands on in the house, & in one word, abuse them all most vilanously. In conclusion, they made a statute and ordinance, by vertue whereof it might be lawfull for them to demaund backe againe at the hands of those usurers, who had let them have money before time, all the interest and consideration for use which they had paied before, 10 and this they called Palintocia.

What city or countrey is that Anthodon, whereof the propheteffe Pythia spake in these verses. Drinke out thy wine, the lees the dregges and all; Anthedon thou thy countrey canst not call.

Or that Anthedon which is in Baotia, is not for lentifull of good wines; Calauria indeed as fables make report, was sometime called Irene, by the name of a lady so cleped, the daughter of Neptune and Melanthia, who was the daughter of Alphew; but afterwards being held and inhabited by Anthes and Hyperes, furnamed it was, Anthedonia and Hyperia: for the answer 20 of the oracle, as Aristotle testifieth, went in this maner:

Drinke out thy wine, with lees, with dregges and all, Anthedon thou thy countrey canst not call; Wer Hypera that facred ifle, for there

Thoumight'st it drinke without dreg ges pure and cleere. Thus (I fay) writteth Ariftotle : but Anafigiton faith, that Anthos being brother of Hyperes, was loft when he was but a very childe; and when his brother Hyperes for to fearch him out, travelled and wandered to and fro all about, he came at length to Pheres, unto Acastu or Adrafine, where by good fortune Ambes served in place of cup-bearer, and had the charge of the wine cellar: now as they fat feafting at the table, the boy Author when he offred a cup of wine 20 unto his brother, tooke knowledge of him, and faid foftly in his care:

Drinke now your wine, with lees, with dregges and all; Anthedon you can not your countrey call.

What is the meaning of this by-word in Priene: Darknesse about the oake?

THe Samians and Prienians warred one against the other, doing and suffring harme reciprocally, but fo, as the domages and losses were tollerable, untill such time as in one great battell fought betweene them, those of Priene put to the sword in one day, a thousand Samians: 40 but seven yeeres after in another conflict which the Prienians had against the Milesians neere unto a place called spus, that is to fay, Oake, they loft the most valiant & principall citizens they had; which hapned at the very time when fage Byas being fent embaffador unto Samos, wan great honour and reputation: this was a wofull day and a pittifull, and heavie calamitie to all the dames of Priene in generall; for there was not one of them but this common loffe in some measure touched; infomuch as this by-word was taken up amongst them afterwards, in forme of a cursed malediction or solemne oth, in their greatest affaires to binde them withall, By that Darkneffe at the oake; for that eitheir their fathers, brethren, husbands, or children, were then and there flaine.

What were they among the Candiots, who were called Catacautæ?

T is reported that certeine Tyrrhenians having ravished &ccaried away by force, a number of Ithe Athenians daughters & wives out of Brawron, at what time as they inhabited the Islands Imbros and Lemnos, were afterwards chaled out of those quarters and landed upon the coast of Laconia, which they inhabited; where they entred into such acquaintance with the women of the country, that they begat children of them; whereupon in the end they grew to be fulpected and

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ill spoken of by the naturall inhabitants, so that they were forced to abandon Laconia, and to returne againe into Candy under the conduct of Pollis and his brother Crataidas: where, warring upon them that held the countrey, they left many of their bodies who died in fundrie skittingthes lying upon the land neglected and unburied : at the first because they had no time and leafure to interrethem, by reason of the sore warre which they maintained continually, & the danger that would have infued, in case they had gon to take up their bodies: but afterwards because they abhorred to touch those dead carcales that lay stinking and putrifying with the heat of the fun, for that they had continued fo long above ground: Pollis therefore one of their leaders devised certein honors, priviledges, exemptions, & immunities, to bestow partly upon the priests 10 of the gods, and in part upon those who buried the dead; and consecrated solemnly these prerogatives unto some terestriall deities, to the end they might be more durable and remaine inviolate: afterwards he parted with his brother by lot. Now the one fort were named Sacrificers, and the other Catacanta; who governed a part, with their owne lawes and particular discipline: by vertue whereof among other good orders and civill customes, they were not subject to certeine crimes and enormities, whereunto other Candiots are commonly given; namely to rob, pill and spoile one another secretly: for these did no wrong one to another; they neither did steale, nor pilfer, nor carrie away other mens goods.

What meaneth the Sepulcher of children among thy Chalcidians?

Othm and Acclusthe fonnes of Xuthm arrived at Euboca, to feeke them a place of habiatation; the which Isle was for the most part possessed and occupied by the Acolians, Now Cothus had a promise by oracle, that he should prosper in the world, and have the upper hand of hisenemies, in case he bought or purchased that land: wherefore being come a shore with fome few of his men, he found certaine young children playing by the fea fide; with whom he joyned, disported with them, made much of them, shewing unto them many prettie gauds and toies that had not beene before time feene in those parts: and when he perceived that the children were in love thereof, and defirous to have them; he faid that he would not give them any 30 of his fine things, unleffe by way of exchange he might receive of them some of their land : the children therefore taking up a little of the mould with both hands, gave the fame unto him, and having received from him the forefaid gauds, went their waies. The Acolians hearing of this, and withall discovering their enemies under faile directing their course thither, and ready to invade them, taking counfell of anger and forrowtogether, killed those children: who were entombed along that great high way, by which men go from the citie to the streight or frith called Euripus. Thus you fee wherefore that place was called the Childrens sepulcher.

What is he whom in Argos they call Mixarchagenas? and who be they that are named

S for Mixarchagenas, it was the furname of Caftor among them; and the Argives be-A leeve verily that buried he was in their territorie. But Pollux his brother they reverenced and worshipped as one of the heavenly gods.

Moreover, those who are thought to have the gift to divert and put by, the fits of the Epilepfie or falling fickenes, they name Elasia, and they are supposed to be descended from Alexidas, the daughter of Amphiaraiis.

What is that which the Argives call Enenisma?

Hose who have lost any of their necre kinsfolkes in blood, or a familiar friend, were woont presently after their mourning was past, to facrifice unto Apollo, and thirtie daies after unto Mercurie: for this they thought, that like as the earth receiveth the bodies of the dead. fo doth Mercurie the foules. To the minister of Apollo they give barley, and receive of him againe in lieu thereof, a piece of flesh of the beast killed for facrifice. Now after that they have quenched the former fire as polluted and defiled, they goe to feeke for others elsewhere, which after they have kindled they roste the said slesh with it, and then they call that flesh, Enenifma.

Who is Alastor, Aliterios and Palamnæus?

* άλκγτας. He faith otherwife in cerning Curi-

Or we must not believe it is, as some beare us in hand, that they be Alitery, who in time of I famine, goe prying and fpying those who * grind corne in their houses, and then carrie it away by violence: but we are to thinke that Alastor is he who hath committed acts that be Alathe end of his sta, that is to say, not to be forgotten, and the remembrance whereof will continue a long time treatite con- after. And Aliterine is he who for his wickednesse descreth answay, that is to say, to be shunned and avoided of all men; and fuch an one is otherwise called Palamnaus: and thus much faith Socrates, was written in tables of braffe.

What should the meaning of this be, that the Virgins who accompanied themen that drive the beefe from Acnus, soward the citie Cassiopea, go all the wayeven unto the verie borders chanting this dittie:

Would God, returne another day,

To native foile you never may?

"He Acnians being driven out of their owne countrie by the Lapithe, inhabited first about Meshacia; and afterwards in the province of Molossis necre unto Cassiopaa. But seeing by experience little good or none growing unto them out of that countrey, and withall finding 20 the people adjoining to be ill neighbours unto them; they went into the plaine of Cirrha, under the leading of their king Oneclus: but being furprifed there, with a wonderfull drought, they fent unto the oracle of Apollo; who commanded them to stone their king Oncelus to death, which they did: and after that put themselves in their voiage againe, to seeke out a land where they might fettle and make their abode; and fo long travelled they until at the last they came into those parts which they inhabit at this day, where the ground is good and fertill, and bringing forth all fruitfull commodities. Reason they had therefore you see to wish and pray unto the gods, that they might never returne againe unto their ancient countrey, but remaine therefor ever in all prosperitie.

What is the reason that it is not permitted at Rhodes for the herault or publicke crier, to enter into the temple of Occidion?

S it for that Ochimus in times past affianced his daughter Cydippe unto Occidion, but Cereaphus the brother of Ochimus being enamoured of his nicce Cydippe, perswaded the herault (for in those daies the maner was to demand their brides in mariage, by the meanes of heraults, and to receive them at their hands) that when he had Cydsppe once delivered unto him, he should bring her unto him: which was effected accordingly. And this Cercaphus being possesfed of the maiden fled away with her: but in processe of time when Ochimus was verie aged, Cercaphus returned home. upon which occasion the Rhodians enacted a law, that from thence 40 forth, there should never any herault set foot within the temple of Octidion, in regard of this injurie done unto him.

What is the cause that among the Tenedians, it is not lawfull for a piper or plaier of the sluit to come within the temple of Tenes: neither isit permitted to make any mention there of Achilles?

YS it not because when the stepmother of Tenes had accused him, for that he would have laien $oldsymbol{1}$ with her, \mathcal{M} alpus the minstrell avouched it to be true, and most falfely bare witnesse against him: whereupon he was forced to flie with his fifter unto Tenedos?

Furthermore it is faid, that Thetis the mother of Achilles, gave expresse commandement un- 50 to her fonne, and charged him in any wife not to kill Tenes; for that he was highly beloved of Apollo. Whereupon the commanded one of his fervants to have a carefull eie unto him, and effloones to put him in mind of this charge that he had from her; left haply he might forget himselfe, and at unwares take away his life : but as he overran. Tenedos, he had a sight of Tenes fifter, a faire and beautifull ladie and purfued her: but Tenes pur himfelfe betweene, for to defend and fave the honour of his fifter; during which conflict the escaped and got away: but her brothers fortune was to be flaine: but Achilles perceiving that it was Tenes, when he lay dead

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upon the ground, killed his fervant outright, for that being prefent in place during the fray, he did not admonish him according as he was commanded : but Tenes he buried in that verie place where now his temple standeth. Lo, what was the cause that neither a piper is allowed to go into his temple, nor Achilles may be once named there.

Who is that, whom the Fpidamnians call Polletes?

"He Epidamnians being next neighbours unto the Illyrians, perceived that their citizens who converfed, commerced, and traded in trafficke with them, became nought, and fearing besides some practise for the alteration of state: they chose everie yeere one of the best approved men of their citie, who went to and fro for to make all contracts, bargains, and exchanges, that those of Epidamnus might have with the Barbarians, and likewise dealt reciprocally in these affaires and negotiacions, that the Illyrians had with them: now this factour that thus bought and folde in their name, was called Poletes.

30 What is that, which in Thracia they call Aræni Acta, that is to say, the Shore of Arænus?

THe Andrians and Chalcidians having made a voiage into Thrace, for to chuse out a place to inhabit: furprised jointly together the citie Sana, which was betraied and delivered into their hands. And being advertised that the Barbarians had abandoned the towne Achantus, they fent forth two spies to know the truth thereof: these spies approached the towne so neere, that they knew for certaine, that the enemies had quit the place and were gone. The partie who was for the Chalcidians ran before to take the first possession of it in the name of the Chalcidians: but the other, who was for the Andrians, seeing that he could not with good footmanship overtake his fellow; flang his dart or javelin from him which he had in his hand: and when the head thereof stucke in the citie gate, he cried out aloud, that he had taken possession thereof in the behalfe of the Andrians, with his javelin head. Hereupon arose some variance and contro-30 verfiebetweene these two nations, but it brake not out to open warre: for they agreed friendly together, that the Erythræans, Samians, and Parians should be the indifferent judges to arbitrate and determine all their debates and futes depending betweene them. But for that the Erythraansand Samiansawarded on the Andrians fide, and the Parians for the Chalcidians: the Andrians in that verie place tooke a folemne oth, and bound the fame with inprecations, curses, and maledictions, that they would never either take the daughters of the Parians in mariage, or affiance their owne unto them: and for this cause they gave this name unto the place, and called it the Shore or banke of Aranus, where as before it was called, the Port of the Dragon.

30 Why do the wives of the Eretrians at the solemne feast of Ceres, vost their stells meat not at the stree, but against the Sunne, and never call upon her by the name of Calligenia?

T is for that the dames of Troy whom the king led away captive, were celebrating this feaft in Lthis place: but because the time served to make saile, they were enforced to haste away and leave their facrifice unperfect and unfinished?

34. Who be they whom the Mile Mans call Ainautæ?

Frer that the tyrants Thom and Damafener, had beene defaited, there arose within the city A Free that the tyrants Thom and Damajener, and Deene detailed, increased within the city two factions that mainteined their feveral fides: the one named Plant is 8 the other Cheiromacha. In the end, that of Plania (who were indeed the richest & mightiest persons in the city)prevailed, and having gotten the upper hand, feifed the fovereigne authority & government: and because when they minded to fit in consultation of their waightiest affaires, they went a thip-boord, and launched into the deepe a good way off from the land, and after they had refolved and decreed what to doe, returned backe againe into the haven, therefore they were furnamed Amanta, which is as much to fay, as alway failing.

What

. What is the cause that the Chalcidians name one place about Pyrsophion; The assembly of lusty gallants?

Aupline (as the report goeth) being chased and pursued by the Achæans, fledde for refuge like an humble suppliant to the Chalcidians; where partly hee answered to such imputations which were laide against him, and in part by way of recrimination, recharged them with other misdemeanors and outrages: whereupon the Chalcidians being not purposed to deliver him into their hands, and yet, seating less by: treachery and privy practise hee should be made away and murdred, allowed him forthe guard of his person, the very flower of 10 the lustified yoong gallants in all their citie, whom they lodged in that quarter where they might alwaies converse and meet together, and so keepe Naupline out of danger.

What was he who facrificed an oxunto his benefactour?

There hovered sometime a shippe of certeine men of warre, or rovers, and ankered about the coast of Ithaeestia, within which there was an old man who had the charge of a number of earthen pots, conteining Amphors a piece, with pitch in them: now it fortuned that a poore mariner or barge-man named Pyrrhias, who got his living by serving and transporting 20 passengers, approached the said shippe, and delivered the old man out of the rovers hands, and saved his life, not for any gaine that hee looked for, but onely a this earnest request, and for very pure pitic and compassion: now in recompence heereof, albeit hee expected none, the old man pressed instantly upon him to receive some of those pots or pitchers aforesaid: the rovers were not so some retired and departed out of the way, but the old man seeing him at libertic, and scure of danger; brought Pyrrhias to these earthen vessels, and shewed unto him a great quantitie of gold and silver mingled with the pitch: Pyrrhas heerby growing of a student to be rich and full of money, entreated the old man very kindly in all respects, otherwise and besides sacrificed unto him a beefe: and heereupon as they say atose this common proverb:

No man ever sacrificed an ox unto his benefactour but Pyrrhias.

What is the cause that it was a custome among the maidens of the Botticans in their dauncing, to sing as it were the faburden of a song: Goweso Athens.

He Candiots by report upon a vow that they had made, fent the first borne of their men unto Delphos; but they that were thus sent, seeing they could not finde sufficient meanes there to live in plentie, departed from thence to seeke out some convenient place for a colonic to inhabite: and first they seeled themselves in Jappeia, but afterwards arrived to this verie place of Thracia, where now they are, having cetteine Athenians mingled among them: for a tis not like that Minos had caused those young men to be put to death whom the Athenian had sent unto him by way of tribute, but kept them for to doe him service: some therefore of their issue, & descended from them, being reputed natural Candiots, were with them sent unto the citie of Delphos; which is the reason that the young daughters of the Bottiæans in remembrance of this their original descent, went singing in their selftivall daunces: Go we to Athens.

What should be the reason that the Eliens wive es; when they chaum himnes to the honour of Bacchus, pray him to come unto them, betwo man, that is to say, with his bull soote; for the hymne runneth in this sorme: Pleaseth is theerighs, woorthy lord Bacchus to come unto this holy maritime tem-50 ple of thine, accompanied with the Graces of the same unto this temple with an ox or beefel soot: then for the fabir den of the song, they redouble 30 woorthy bull?

I Sit for that forme name this good, The forme or begotten of a cow; and others tearme him, Bul; or is the meaning of her mo, with thy igreat foot, like as Homer when he calleth June or any other feeting, figurifieth her, to have a bigge and large eig, and by the epithit feeting, meaneth one that braggeth and boatteth of great matters?

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Or tather because that the foot of a beefed oth no harme, howsover horned beatts otherwife be hurtfull and dangerous; therefore they invocate thus upon him, and befeech him to come loving and gracious unto them.

Or laftly, for that many are perswaded, that this is the god who taught men first to plough the ground and to sowe corne.

37
Why have the Tunagrams a place before their eity called Achilleum? for it is faid, that Achilles in his life time have more hatred than love unto this ciey, as who ravified and flote away Stratonicon the masher of Poemander, and killed Acettor the lonne of Ephippus.

OEmander the father of Ephippus, at what time as the province of Tanagra, was peopled and inhabited by tenures and villages onely, being by the Achæans befiedged in a place called Stephon, for that he would not go foorth with them to warre, abandoneth the faid fort in the night time, and went to build the citie Pæmandria, which he walled about. The architect or mafter builder Polycrithus was there, who dispraised all his worke, and derided it, in so much as in a mockerie he leapt over the trench; whereat Pamander tooke fuch displeasure, and was so highly offended, that he meant to fling at his head a great stone, which lay there hidden of olde upon the nightly facrifices of Bacehus. But Pamander notknowing so much, pulled it up by force, and threw it at him; and miffing Polyerithus, hit his fon Leucippus, and killed him outright. Here-20 upon according to the law and cultom then observed, there was no remedie but needs he must depart out of Baotia, in manner of an exiled man; and fo as a poore suppliant and stranger to converse, wandring abroad in another countrey, which was neither fafe nor easie for him to doe at that time, confidering that the Achæans were up in armes and entred into the countrey of Tanagra. He sent therefore his sonne Ephippus unto Achilles, for to request his favour; who by earnest supplications and praiers prevailed so much, that he entreated both him, and also Tlepolemus the fonne of Hercules; yea and Penelem the fonne of Hippalemus, who were all of their kindred: by whose meanes Pamander had safe conduct, and was accompanied as farre as the citie of Chalcis, where he was affoiled, abfolved and purged by Elpenor, for the murder which he had committed. In remembrance of which good turne by those princes received, he ever 30 after honoured them, and to them all erected temples; of which that of Achilles continueth unto this day, and according to his name is called Achilleum.

38 Who be they, whom the Bæotians call Psoloes, and who be Acolics.

THE report goeth that Leucippe, Ar since and Alcathie, the daughters of Minyas, being enraged and beltraight of their right wits, longed exceedingly to carmans flesh, and call lots among themselves, which of them should kill their owne children for that purpose. So the lot falling upon Leucippe, she yeelded her some Hippasus to be dismembred and cut in pieces; by 40 occasion whereof, their husbands simply arraied, and in mourning weeds for forrow and griefe were called Pfoloes, as one would fay, foule and smokie; and the women dionica, that is to fay, diftracted and troubled in their minds, or Oconolow: fo as even at this day the Orchomenians, call those women who are descended from them by those names: and everie second yeere during the festivall daies called Agricoia, the priest of Bacches runneth after them with a sword drawen in his hand, courfing and chafing them: yea and lawfull it is for him to kill any one of them that he can reach and overtake. And verily in our daies Zoilus the priest killed one; but such never come to any good after: for both this Zoilus himfelfe upon a certaine little ulcer or fore that he had, fell ficke; and after he had a long time pined away and confumed therewith, in the end died thereof: and also the Orchomenians being fallen into publicke calamities, and held in generall 50 for condemned persons, translated the priesthood from that race and linage, and conferred it upon the best and most approoved person they could chuse.

What is the cause that the Arcadians stone them so death, who willingly and of purpose enter within the power prise and presincts of Lycæum: but if any come into is of ignorance and unawares, then they send to Eleuther &?

A Sfor these, may it not be that they are held free and absolved who do it upon ignorance: and by reason of this their absolution, this maner of speech arose, to send them to Eleu-

thera

Piery, not

there, which fignifieth Deliverance: much like as when we fay thus, we disting to fay, into the region of the secure; or thus, here it edicates to fay, into the region of the secure; or thus, here it edicates to fay, that is to fay, thou shalt go to the Mannour of the Pleasant. Or haply it alludesh to the tale that goeth in this wise; that of Lyzaans somes there were but two onely, to wit, Eleuther and Lebadau, who were not partake; to the horrible crime, that their father committed in the sight of Jupiter, but sled into Baotia; in to ken whereof, the Lebadians enjoy still their burgeosse in commune with the Arcadians: and therefore to Eleuther a they send those, who against their willes or unawares are entred within that pour prise consecutions.

Or rather, as Architemus writeth in his Chronicles of Arcadia, for that there were fome who being ignorantly entred into the faid place, were delivered and yielded unto the Phliafians, who put them over to the Megarians, and from the Megarians they were carried to Thebes: but as they were transported and conveyed thither, they were flaied about Eleuthers, by meanes of violent raine, terrible thunder, and other prodigious tokens; by occasion whereof, some would

have the citie to take the name Eleuther a.

Moreover, whereas it is faid that the shadow of him who commeth within this precinct of Lyeaum, never falleth upon the ground: it is not true, howbeit it goeth generally currant, and is constantly beleeved for an undoubted truth. But is it not thinke you, for that the aire turneth presently into darke cloudes, and looketh obscure and heavie (as it were) when any enter into it or because, that who soever commeth into it incontinently, suffereth death. And you know what the Pythagoreans say, namely, that the soules of the dead, cast no shadow nor winke at all.

Or rather, for that it is the fun that maketh shadowes, and the law of the countrey bereaveth him that entreth into it, of the fight of the sunne; which covertly and ænigmatically they would give us to understand under these words: For even he who commeth into this place is called Elaphos, that is to say a Stag; and therefore Canthurion the Arcadian, who sled unto the Elians of his owne accord to side with them, at what time as they warred upon the Arcadians; and as he passed with his bootie that he had gotten, went through this sacred place: when after the warre was ended, he returned to Lacedamon; was by the Lacedamonians delivered up to the Arcadians, by direction and commandement of the oracle, which enjoined them to render the Stag.

40

What is that Demi-god in Tanagra, knowen by the name of Eunostus? And what is the reason 30
that women may not enter within the groave dedicated unto him?

His Euroftus was the fonne of Elieus, the fonne of Cephifus and Scias; fo named of Eurosta A a certaine nymph that nourished and brought him up: who being faire and just withall, was also chast, continent and of an austere life. Howbeit the report goeth, that one of the daughters of Collonus named Ochna, being his coufin germane became enamoured upon him: but when the had tempted him and affaied to win his love; Eunost us repulsed and rejected her with reprochfull tearmes, and went his way intending to accuse her unto her brethren: which the maiden suspecting and fearing, prevented him and flandered him first before her brethren 0-40 chemus, Leon, and Bucolus, whom the incenfed against Eurostus, that they would kill him, as one who by force had defloured their fifter. These brethren then having lien in ambush for the young man, murthered him trecheroufly: for which fact Elieus cast them in prison; and Ochma her selfe repenting of that which she had done, was much troubled and tormented in mind therefore, being desirous besides to deliver her selfe from the griefe and agonie which she endured by reason of her love, and withall pitying her brethren imprisoned for her sake, difcovered the whole truth unto Elieus; and Elieus againe unto Collonus: by whose accordand judgement, these brethren of Ochna fled their countrey and were banished; but she cast her selfe voluntarily downe headlong from an high rocke, according as Myrruthe poetreffe hath left in verse. And this is the cause, that both the temple of Eunostius, and also the grave about it remained ever after, inacceffible, and not to be appoched by women: infomuch as many times when 50 there happen any great earthquakes, extraordinarie droughts, and other fearefull and prodigious tokens from heaven, the Tanagrians make diligent fearch and inquisition, whether there have not been fome one woman or other, who fecretly hath prefumed to come neere unto the faid place. And some have reported (among whom was one Clidamus a noble and honourable personage) that they met with Eurostus upon the way, going to wash and cleanse himselse in the fea, for that there was one woman who had beene fo bold as to enter into his fanctuarie

And verely Diocles himselse in a treatise that he made of Demi-gods, or such worthy men as hadbeene deissed, maketh mention of a certaine edict, or decree of the Tanagrians, touching shole things which Clidamus had related unto them.

How commeth it that in the countrey of Boxotia, the river that runneth by Elcon, is called Scamander?

Eimachus the fonne of Eleon, being a familiar companion with Hercules, was with him at the Trojan warre: during the time whereof, continuing as it did verie long, he entertain ned the love of Glineia the daughter of Scamander, who was first enumoured of him, and so well they agreed together, that in the end the was with child by him. Atterwards it fortuned, so that in a skirmith with the Trojans he loft his life; and Glaucia fearing that her belly would tell tales andbewray what the had done, fled for fuccour unto Hercules, and of her owne accord declared unto him, how the had beene furprifed with love, and what familiar acquaintance there had passed between eher and Deimachus late deceased. Hercules as well in pitte of the poore woman, as for his owne joy and contentment of mind, that there was like to remaine some iffue of fo valiant a man, and his familiar friend befide, had Glaucta with him to his ships: and when the was delivered of a faire fonne, caried her into the countrey of Beotia, where he delivered her and 20 her fonne into the hands of Eleon. The child then was named Scamander, and became afterwards king of that countrey; who furnamed the river Inachus after his owne name Scamander, and a little riveret running thereby, Glaucia, by the name of his mother: as for the fountaine deidusait was so cleped according to his wives name; by whom he had three daughters, who are even unto this day honoured in that countrey, and called by the name of the virgins.

42 Wherevoon arose thin proverbiall speech, Livranusia, that is to say, these things shall stand or prevaile?

30 Into the captaine generall of the Tarentines, being a right valiant and hardie warriour, when as the citizens by their voices and fuffrages denied a fentence which he had delivered as the herault or crier proclaimed and published with a loud voice that opinion which prevailed, lifting up his owne right hand himselfte: Yeabut this (quoth he) shal carie it away when all is done. Thus Theophrassus reported this narration: but Apolliderus relates the moreover in his Rhytimus that when the herault had proclaimed thus a trait a tast is to say, these be more in number, meaning the voices of the people: Yeabut (quoth he) a via a sharies, that is to say, these better; and in so doing, confirmed the resolution of those who were in number the sewer.

43 40 Upon what occasion was the citie of the Ithacesians, named Alakcomenæ?

MOst writers have recorded, that Antielia being yet a virgin, was forced by Sifphus, and conceived Ulyses. But Hister of Alexandria hath written moreover in his Commentaties, that she being given in mariage unto Laerees, and brought into the citie Alalomenium in Baetla, was delivered there of Ulysses, and therefore he (to renew the memorie of that citie where he was borne and which was the head citie standing in the heart of that countrey) called that in Ithaca by the name thereof.

Who bethey in the citie Acgina, which are called Monophagi?

F those Aeginets, who served in the Trojane warre many died in fight, howbeit more were drowned by meanes of a tempest in their voyage at sea. But those sew who returned were welcomed home, and joifully received by their kinsfolke and friends: who perceiving all their other sellow-citizens to mourne and be in heavinesse, thought this with themselves, they ought not to rejoice nor offer facrisice unto the gods openly, but in secret: and so, everie man apart in his privat house, entertained those who were escaped and came home safe with seasts and banquets: and served at the table in their owne persons, who their sathers, their brethren,

Ogeg

coul**e**ns

cousens and friends, without admitting any stranger whatsoever: in imitation whereof they do yet every yeere sacrifice unto Neptune in secret assemblies, which sacrifices they call Thyasis during which solemnitie they doe seast one another privatly for the space of sixteene daies together with silence, and there is not a servant or slave there present to wait at the boord: but asterwards for to make an end of their seasting, they celebrate one solemness considered unto Venue. And thus you may see why they be called Monophasy, that is to say, Eating alone, or by them-

45
(What is the cause that in the countrey of Caria, the image of jupiter Labradeus is made, holding aloss in his hand an axe, and neither a scepter nor a thunderbolt, or lightning?

Por that Hercules having flaine Hippolite the Amazon, and among other armes of hers won her battell axe, and gave it as a prefent unto Omphale: this axe, all the kings that raigned in Lydia after Omphale, caried as an holy and facted monument; which they received fucceffively from hand to hand of their next progenitors, untill fuch time as Candaules diffaining to beare it himselfe, gave it unto one of his friends to carie. Afterwards, it chanced that Gyges put himselfe in armes againt Candaules, and with the helpe of Areelis, who brought a power of men to felfe in armes againt Candaules, and with the helpe of Areelis, who brought a power of men to tooke away the said axe, and put the sane into the image of Jupiters hand, which he had made. In which respect he surnamed Jupiter, Labradeus, for that the Lydians in their language 20 call an axe Labra.

46 Wherefore do the Trallians call the pulse Ervil Cathattet, that is to say, the purger: and use to more than any other in their expiatoric sacrifices of Purification?

Is it for that the Minyans and Lelegians, having in old time diffeized the faid Trallians of their cities and territories, inhabited and occupied the fame themselves? but the Trallians made head afterwards, and prevailed against them, infomuch as those Lelegians who were neithershaine in battell, nor escaped by slight, but either for feebleness, or want of meanes otherwise to live, remained still, they made no reckoning of, whether they died or lived; enacting 30 alaw, that what Trallian soever killed either a Lelegian or Minyan, he should be absolved and held quit, in case he paied unto the next kinssolke of the dead partie; a measure called Medimnii, of the state Ervill.

47
What is the reason that it goeth for an ordinarie by word among the Elians to say thus; To suffer more miseries and calamities than Sambicus?

There was one Sambiess of the citie Elis, who by report having under him many mates and complices at command, brake and defaced fundrie images and statues of brasse within the citie Olympia, and when he had so done, sold the brasse and made money of it: in the end he proceeded so farre as to rob the temple of Dians surnamed Episepos, that is to say, a vigilant pattoness. After this notorious facriledge he was immediatly apprehended, and just to totture a whole yeere together to make him for to bewray and reveale all his companions and confederats: so as in the end he died in these torments, and thereupon arose the said common proverbe-

48
If that is the reason that as Lacedaemon the monument of Ulysses, standeth close to the temple of the Leucippidae?

Legieus one of the tace descended from Diomedes, by the notionan linstigation of Temenus induced, tobbed out of Argos the renowmed image of Amerva, called Palladium, and that with the privitie and affistance of Leager in this facriledge: now this Leager was one of the familiars and inward companions of Temenus: who being tallen out afterwards with Temenus, in a fit of anger, departed to Lacedamon with the said Palladium: which the kings there received at his hands right joifully and placed it neere unto the temple of the Leucippides: but afterwards they sent to the oracle at Delphos, to know by what meanes they might keepe and prefere

Questions as touching Greeke affaires.

ferve the faid image in fafety: the oracle made this answer, that they should commit the keeping of it unto one of them who had stollen it away: whereupon they built in that verie place a monument in memoriall of utysses, where they shrined Palladium; and besides, they had the more reason so to do, because in some fort utysses was allied to their citie; by his wives side ladie Penelope.

What is the the reason that the Chalcedonian dames have a custome among them, that whensoever they meet with any men that be strangers unto them, but especially if they be vulers or magistrates, to cover and hide one of their checks.

"He men of Chalcedon warred formime against their neighbours the Bithynians, provoked thereto by all light injuries, and wrought that might minister matter and occasion therof: informuch as in the daies of king Zeipætus who raigned over the Bithynians, they affembled all their forces, and with a puilfant power (befide of the Thracians, who joyned to aid them) they invaded their countrey with fire and fword, spoiling all before them; untill in the end king Zeipatus gave them battell neere unto a place named Phaliam, where they loft the day, as well in regard of their prefumptuous boldnesse, as of the disorder among them, insomuch as there died of them in fight 8000. men. Howbeit utterly they were not deteated, for that Zeipætus in favour of the Bizantines, was contented to grow unto some agreement & composition. Now for 20 that their citie was by this meanes verie much dispeopled and naked of men, many women there were among them, who were constrained to be remarried unto their enfranchised servants, others to aliens and straungers comming from other cities: but some againe, chusing rather to continue widowes still and never to have husbands, than to yeeld to such mariages, followed their owne causes themselves what matter soever they had to be tried or dispatched in open court before the judges or publike magistrates; onely they withdrew one part of their veile, and opened their face on one fide: the other wives also who were maried againe, for modestie and womanhood, following them as better women than themselves, used the same fashion also, and brought it to be an ordinarie custome.

30 Wherefore do the Argives drive their ewes unto the facred grove of Agenor, when they would have the rammes to leape them?

Is it not for that Agenor whiles he lived, was verie expert and skilfull about sheepe; and of all the kings that ever were among them, had the most and fairest slockes of them?

Why do the Argives children, at a certaine festivall time that they keepe, call one another in plaie and sport Ballachrades?

Is it because, the first of that nation, who were by Inachus brought out of the mountaines into the plaine and champian country, made their chiefe food (by report) of wilde hedge-peares 40 Now these chok-peares, some say, were found in Pelopone su, before they were seen in any other part of Greece, even whiles that region was called Apia. And hereupon also it came that these wild peares commonly called Achiades, changed their name into Apia.

52
What is the cause that she Eliens, when their mares be hot after the horse, leade them, out of their owne confines to be covered by the stalions?

Is it for that Oenomaus was a prince, who of all others loved beft a good race of horses, & took

greatest pleasure in these kind of beasts; & cursed with all maner of exectations, those stallings
which covered his mares in Elis? And therefore they fearing to fall into any of these maledictions, avoid them by this maner.

\$3 What was the reason of this custom among the Gnosians, that those who tooke up any money at any interest, snatched it and ran away with all ?

AS it to this end, that if they should denie the debt, and seeme to defraud the usurers, they might lay an action of selonie, and violent wrong upon them: and the other by this meanes might be more punished?

Gggg :

54 What is the cause that in the citie of Samos they invocate Venus of Dexicreon?

I S it for that, that when in times paft the women of Samos were exceedingly given to enormious wantoneffe & lechery, so that the brake out into many lewd acts: there was one Dexisteen, a mounte-banke or consening jugler, who by (I wor not what) ceremonies and expiatorie facrifices, cuted them of their unbridled lust?

Or because this, Dexireon being a merchant-wenturer who did traffike and trade by sea, went Or because this, Dexireon being a merchant-wenturer who did traffike and trade by sea, went into the sile of Coprus; & when he was ready to load or charge his ship with merchandize, Venus into the sile of Coprus; & when he was ready to load or charge his ship with merchandize, Venus commanded him to fraight it with nothing else but water, and then immediately to hoise up to saile according to which he did, and having put a great quantic of water within his vessell, he set saile and departed. Now by that time they were in the maine sea, they were verie much becalfaile and departed. Now by that time they were in the maine sea, they were verie much becalfaile and of or want of a gale of winde many daies together, the rest of the mariners and merchants a ship boord, shought verily they should all die for verie thirt: whereupon he sold unto chants a ship boord, shought verily they should all die for verie thirt: whereupon he sold unto them his water which he had aboord, and thereby gat a great quantitie of silver; of which after-wards he caused to be made an image of Venus, which he called after his owne name, Dexireon his Venus. Now if this be true, it seemeth that the goddesse purposed thereby, not onely to enrich one man, but to save also the lives of many.

55

How commeth it to passe, that in the 1ste of Samos, when they sacrifice unto Mercurie surnamed Charidotes, it is lawfull for who seever will, to rob and riske all passengers?

Because in times past according to the commandement and direction of a certaine oracle, the ancient inhabitants departed out of Samos and went into Mycale, where they lived and maintained themselves for ten yeeres space by pyracie and depredation at sea; and afterwards being returned againe into Samos, obtained a brave victoric against their enemies.

30

56 Why is there one place within the Isle Samoscalled Panæma?

Is it for that the Amazones to avoid the furie of Bacchus, fled out of the Ephesians countery into Samos and there saved themselves? But he having caused ships to be built and rigged, gathered together a great sleet, and gave them battell, where he had the killing of a great number of them about this verie place, which for the carnage and quantitie of blood-shed there, they who saw it, marvelled thereat, and called it Panama. But of them who were flained this consider, there were by the report of some, many that died about Phlaon, for their bones are there to be seene. And there be that say, that Phlaon also clave in sunder, and became broken by that occasion; their crie was so loud, and there voice so piercing and forcible.

57 How commeth it i hat there is a publike hall at Samos, called Pedetes?

Fter that Damoteles was murdered, and his monarchie overthrowen, fo that the nobles or Senators Geomori, had the whole government of the State in their hands; the Megarians tooke armes, and made warre upon the Perinthians (a colonie drawen and defeended from Samos) carying with them into the field, serters and other irons, to hang upon the feet of their captive prisoners: the said Geomori having intelligence thereof, sent them aide with all speed, having chosen ten captaines, manned also and surnished thirtie ships of warres whereof twaine readie to saile, caught fire by lightning, and so consumed in the verie mouth of the haven: howbeighte for saile, caught ship with sail so with the rest, vanquished the Megarians in battell, and tooke sixe hundred prisoners: upon which victorie, being pussed up with pride, they intended to ruinate the Oligarchie of those noble men at home, called Geomori, and to depose them from their government: and verily those rulers themselves ministred unto them occasion, forto set in hand with this their desseigne; namely by writing unto them, that they should leade those Megarians prisoners, settered with the same gives which they themselves had brought: for no sooner had they received these letters, but they did impart and shew them secrets

fecretly unto the faid Megarians, perswading them to band & combine with them, for to reflore their citie unto libertie. And when they devised and consulted together about the execution of this complotted conspiracie: agreed it was betweene them to knocke the rings off, or lockers of the setters open, and so to hang them about the Megarians legs, that with leather thongs they might be fastened also to their girdles about the waste, for feare that being slacke, as they were, they thould fall off and be readie to drop from their legs as they went. Having in this wise let foorth and dressed these many is where being arrived and set aland, they led the Megarians through the market place to the Senate house, where all the nobles called Geomori were assembled and fat in consultation: hereupon was the signal given, and the Megarians sell upon the Senators, and massaced them eyerie one. Thus having received the freedome of the crite, they gave unto as many of the Megarians as would accept thereof, the right of free burgeostie; and after that built assire towne-hall, about which they hung and fastened the said bolts and letters of irons, calling it upon this occasion Pedetes, that is to say, the Hall of Fetters.

What is thereason that in the Isle of Coos, within the citie Autimachia, the priest of Hercules being arrated in the habit of a woman, with a miter on his head, beginnesh to celebrate the sacrifice?

Tercules, when he was departed from Troy with fixe ships, was overtaken with a mightic tempest, and with one ship alone (for that all the other was lost) was cast by the windes upon the Isle of Coos, and landed at a place called Laceter: having faved nothing else but his armor and the men that were with him in the ship; where finding a flocke of sheepe, hee defired the shepherd who tended them, to give him a ram. The shepherds name was Antagoras; who being a luftic, tall and strong man, would needs chalenge Hercules to wrestle with him, upon this condition, that if Hercules could overthrow him and lay him along on the ground, the ram thould be his. Hercules accepted the offer; and when they were close at hand gripes, the Meropians, certaine inhabitants of the Isle came in to succour Amagoras, and the Greekes likewise to aide 30 Hercules, in such fort, as there ensued a sharp and cruell fight: wherein Hercules finding himselfe to be overlaid and preffed with the multitude of his enemies, retired and fled (as they fay) unto a Thracian woman, where for to hide and fave his life, he difguifed himfelfe in womans apparell, But afterwards having gotten the upper hand of those Meropians, and being purged, he espoufed the daughter of Alciopus, and put on a fairerobe and goodly stoale. Thus you may see whereupon his priest facrificeth in that verie place where the battell was fought; and why new married spoules being arraied in the habit of women, receive their brides?

Whereof commethit, that in the citie of Mcgara, there is a linage or family named Hamaxocylysta?

YN the time that the diffolute and infolent popular State of government, called Democratic $oldsymbol{1}$ (which ordained that it might be lawfull to recover and arreft all monies paid for interest and in confideration of use, out of the usurers hands, & which permitted facriledge) bare sway in the citie: it hapned there were certaine pilgrims, named Theori of Peloponesus, fent in commission to the oracle of Apollo at Delphos, who passed thorow the province of Megaris, and about the citie Aegiri, neere unto the lake there, lay and tumbled themselves upon their chariots here and there, together with their wives and children, one with another as it fell out: where certaine Megarians, fuch as were more audacious than the rest, as being thorowly drunke, full of infolent 50 wantonnesse and cruel pride, were so lustie as to overturne the faid chariots, and thrust them into the lake; fo as, many of the faid Theori or commissioners were drowned therein. Now the Megarians (fuch was the confusion and disorder in their government in those daies) made no reckoning at all to punish this injurie and outrage : but the counsell of the Amphyctiones, because the pilgrimage of these Theori was religious and facred, tooke knowledge thereof and fate upon an inquisition about it; yea and chastised those who were found culpable in this impieties some with death, others with banishment; and hereupon the whole race descending from them, were called afterwards Hamaxocylysta.

Gggg 3



THE PARALLELS, OR A BRIEFE COLLATION OF

ROMANE NARRATIONS, WITH THE SEMBLABLE REPOR-TED OF THE GREEKS.

In the margin of anold manuscript copie, these wirds were found written in Greeke:
This booke was never of Plutarchs making, who was an excellent and
most learned Author; but penned by some odde vulgar writer, altogetherignorant both of *Poetric, and also of Grammar.

or Learning.



Any doe thinke, that ancient histories be but fables and tales devivised for pleasure. For mine owne part having found many accidents in our daies, semblable unto those occurrents which in times past sell out among the Romans in their age: I have collected fome of them together; and to everie one of those ancient Narrations, annexed another like unto it, of later time, and therewith alledged the Authors who have put them downe in writing.

10

I Daiys lieutenant generall under the king of Persia, being come downe into the plaine of Marathon within the countrey of Attica, with a puissant power of three hundred thousand figh- 30

ting men, there pitched his campe, and proclaimed warre upon the inhabitants of those patts. The Athenians making small account of this so great a multitude of Barbarians, sent out nine those and men, under the conduct of these source captains, namely, Cymegynus, Pollizelus, Callismachus, and Alliinades. So they strucke a battell, during which conflict, Polyzelus chanced fee the vision of one represented unto him surpassing mans nature, and thereupon lost his sight and became blind; Callimachus wounded through divers parts of his bodie with many pikes and juvelins, dead though he was, stood upon his seet; and Cymegynus, as he staied a Persian ship which was about to reture backe, had both his hands smitten off.

Afaruball the king being possessed of Sieity, denounced warre againg the Romans: and Metellus being choicn lord generall by the Senate, obtained a victorie in a certaine battell against 40 him; in which battell lord Glauco a noble man of Rome, as he held the admirall-ship of Astrophyllological ball lost both his hands: as Artstides the Milesian writeth in the first booke of the annales of Sicily, of whom Diodorus Siculus hath learned the matter and subject argument of his historie.

2 Xerxes being come to lie at anchor necrethe cape Artemsium with five hundred thousand fighting men, proclaimed warre upon the people of that country: whereat the Athenians being much altonical, fent as a spic (for to view & furvey his forces) Age silaw the brother of Themistocles; albeit his father Newles had a dreame in the night, and thought that he saw his fonne different being about the same of the Earbarians in habit of a Persian, siew Mardonium one of the captains of the kings eorps de guard, supposing he had beene Xerxes himselfer and being apprehended by them that were about him, was brought tied and bound so before the king, who was then even readie to offer facisfice upon the altar of the Sunne: into the fire of which altar, Age silaws thrust his right hand, and endured the force of the torment, without crying or groning at all; whereupon the king commanded himsto be unbound: and then said age silaus unto him: We Athenians be all of the like mind and resolution, and if you will not believe me, I will put my less than also into the fire: whereat Xerxes being mightily a fraid, canted him to be kept safely with a good guard about him. This writeth Agathar sides the Samian, in his second booke of the Persian Chronicles.

Porfera king of the Tuscans, having encamped on the further side of the river Tyber, warred upon the Romans, and by cutting off the victuals and all provision that was wont to be brought to Rome, distressed the said Romans with famine: and when the Senat hereupon was wonderfully troubled; Mucius a noble man of the citic (taking with him foure hendred other brave gentlemen of his owne age, by commission from the Confuls, in poore and simple array) passed over the river: and casting his cic upon the captaine of the kings guard, dealing among other captains, victuals and other necessaries, supposing he had beene Porsen, killed him: whereupon he was presently taken and brought before the king, who put his right hand likewise into the sire, and induring the paines thereof whiles it burned, most stoutly seemed to smile thereo arandsaid: Thou barbarous king, so how I am loode and at hibertic even against thy will; but note well this besides, that we are soure hundred of us within thy campe that have understaken to take away thy life: with which words Porsena was so affrighted, that he made peace with the Romans: according as Artistides the Milesian writtes, in the third booke of his storie.

3 The Argives and the Lacedæmonians, being at war one with another about the possession of the country Thyreatis, the Imphicityones gave some with another about the possession of the country Thyreatis, the Imphicityones gave some sent they should put it to a battelly and looke whether side wan the field, to them should the land in question appertaine. The Lacedæmonians therefore chose for their capraine Othryades, and the Argives, Thersander: when the battell was done, there remained two onely alive of the Argives, to wit, Agener and Chramius, who caried tidings to the citie, of victorie, Meane while, when all was quiet, Othryades of sully dead but having some little life remaining in him, bearing himselfe, and leaning upon the trunchions of broken lances, caught up the targets and shields of the dead, and gathered them together, and having erected atrophee, he wrote thereupon with his owne blood: To Jupiter Victor and guardian of Trophees. Now when as both those parties maintained still the controversic about the land, the Amphistyones went in person to the place to be cie-judges of the thing, and a djudged the victorie on the Lacedæmonians side: this writest Chrysermus in the third booke of the Peloponnesiack historie.

The Romans levying warre against the Samnites chose for their chiefe commander Position mins Albimus, who being surprised by an ambush within a streight betweene two mountains, called Furce Caudines, a verie narrow passe, lost three of his Legions, and being himselfe deadly wounded, fell and lay for dead; howbeit about midnight, taking breath, was quick againe, and somewhat revived, he arose, tooke the targets from his enemies bodies that lay dead in the place, and crected a trophee, and dienching his hand in their blood, wrote in this manner. The Romans, to Jupiter Victor, guardian of Trophees, against the Samnites: but Marius surmaned Gurges, that is to say, the glutton, being sent thither as generall captaine, and viewing upon the verieplace, the slad trophee so crected: I take this gladly (quothhe) for a signe and presage of good forrune; and thereupon gave battell unto his enemies and won the victorie, tooke their king prisoner, and sent him to Rome, according as Arislides writeth in his third booke of the Italian historie.

4 The Perfiansentred Greece with a puiffant armie of 500000, men; against whom Lea
nidas was sent by the Lacedæmonians with a band of three hundred, to guard the streights of
Thermophyle, and impeach his passage: in which place as they were merie at their meat, and taking their refection, the whole maine power of the Barbarians came upon them. Leandan seeing his dnemies advancing forwards spake onto his owne men and said: Sit still firs and make an end of your dinner hardly, so as you may take your suppers in another worlds so he charged upon the
Barbarians, and notwithstanding he had many a dart sticking in his bodie, yet he made a lane
through the presse of the enemies until he came to the verie person of Xerxes, from whom
be tooke the diademe that was upon his head; and so died in the place. The Barbarians king
caused his bodie to be opened when he was dead, and his heart to be taken forth, which was found
to be all over-growne with haire; as written Aristides in the sirst booke of the Persian historie.

The Romans warring against the Cathaginians, sent a companie of three hundred men under the leading of a captaine named Fabine Maximus, who had his enemies battell, and lost all his men; himselfe being wounded to death, charged upon Anniball with such violence, that he tooke from him the regall diademe or frontall that he had about his head, and so died upon it, as writteth Aristides the Milestan.

5 In the citie of Celana in Phrygia, the earth opened and clave a funder, so as there remained a mightie chinke, with a huge quantitie of water isluing thereout, which caried away and drew into the bottomlesse pit thereof a number of houses with all the persons great and small

vithin

Parallels of Romans and Greekes.

within them. Now Mids the king was advertifed by an oracle, that if he cast within the said pit the most precious thing that he had, both sides would close up againe, and the earth meet and be firme ground. So he caused to be throwen into it a great quantitie of gold and silver; but all would do no good. Then Archurus his son, thinking with himselfe, that there was nothing so pretious as the life & soule of man, after he had lovingly embraced his father, and bid him stawel, and with all taken his leave of his wise Timothea, mounted on horseback, and cast himselfe horse and all into the said chinke. And behold, the earth immediatly closed up: whereupon Mids and all into the said chinke. And behold, the earth immediatly closed up: whereupon mids when as the said breach or chink of earth was, became a stone; but after a certaine prefixed time when as the said breach or chink of earth was, became a stone; but after a certaine prefixed time passed in the said breach or chink of earth was, became a stone; but after a certaine prefixed time passed in the said breach or chink of earth was, became a stone; but after a certain eprefixed time passed in the said breach or chink of earth was, became a stone; but after a certain eprefixed time passed in the said breach or chink of earth was, became a stone; but after a certain eprefixed time.

The river Tybris running through the mids of the market place at Rome, for the anger of Jufiter Tuffus, caufed an exceeding great chinke within the ground, which fwallowed up many
dwelling houses. Now the oracle rendred this answere unto the Romans, that this should ceale
in case they stang into the breach some costly and precious thing: and when they had cast into
it both gold and filver, but all in vaine: Curtius a right noble young gentleman of the citic, pondering well the words of the oracle, and considering with himselfe that the life of man was more
pretious than gold, cast himselfe on horseback into the said chinke, and so delivered his citizens
and countrimen from their calamitie: this hath Aristides recorded in fortieth booke of Ita-

6 Ampharaus was one of the princes and leaders that accompanied Pollymees: and when one 20 day they were feafting merily together, an eagle foaring over his head, chanced to catch up his javelin and carrie it up aloft in the aire, which afterwards when the had let fall againe, flucke faft in the ground and became a lawrell. The morrow after, as they joined battell, in that verie place, Ampharaus with his chariot was swallowed up within the earth: and there flandeth now the citie Harma so called of the chariot: as Trisimachus reporteth in the thirdbooke of his Foundations.

During the warres which the Romans, waged against Pyrrhus king of the Epirotes, Paulus

Aemylus was promifed by the oracle that he should have the victorie, if he would set up an alter in that were place where he should see one gentleman of qualitie and good marke, to be that in that were place where he should see one gentleman of qualitie and good marke, to be so that we will be a site of the special see that the same in the same in the carth, together with his chariot. Three daies after Valerius * Conatus, 28 when in a dreame he thought that he saw himselfe adorned with his priestly vestments (for skilfull, he was in the art of divination) led forth the armie, and after he had slaine many of his entires, was devoured quick within the ground. Then Paulus Aemylus cansed an altar to be rearied and wan the battell, wherein he tooke alive an hundred and threescore elephants carying turred and wan the battell, wherein he tooke alive an hundred and threescore elephants carying turrets upon their backs, whom he sent to Rome. This altar useth to give answer as an oracle about that time that Pyrthus was descated: according as Critolaus writeth in the third booke of the Epirotick historic.

7 Pyratchnes king of the Eubecans, whom Hercules being yet but a young man vanquished, and tying him betweene two horses, caused his bodie to be plucked and torne in pieces; which done, he cast it forth for to lie unburied: now the place where this execution was performed, is called at this day, Pyratchnes his horses, situate upon the trivet Heraclius: and whensoever there he any horses wattered there, a man shall sensibly heare a noice as if horses neighed: thus we find written in the third booke entituled, Of rivers.

Tallius Hossilius king of the Romans, made warre upon the Albanes, who had for their king Metius Sustetus: and many times he seemed to retire and lie off, as both to incounter and joine battell; informuch as the enemies supposing him to be discomsited, betooke themselves to mith and good cheere; but when they had taken their wine well, he set upon them with so hot a charge that he descated them: and having taken their king prisoner, he set him saft tied between two steeds and dissume that he will be without the same with the sound of the Italian histories.

8 Philip intending to force and facke the cities of Methone and Olynthus as he laboured 50 with much a foe to paffe over the river Sandanus, chanced to be shot into the eie with an arrow by an Olynthian, whose name was After, and in it was this verse written:

Philip beware, have at thine eie: After thu deadly shaft lets flie.

Whereupon Philip perceiving himselfe to be overmatched, swam back againe unto his owne companie, and with the lesse of one eie escaped with life, according as Callishbenes reporteth in the third booke of the Macedonian Annales.

Person

Parallels of Romans and Greekes.

Porfenaking of the Tuskans lying encamped on the other fide of Tybia, warred upon the Romans and intercepted their victuals, which were wont to be conveighed to Rome, whereby he put the citie to great diffteffe in regard of famine: but Horasime Goeles being by the common voice of the deople chosen captaine, planted himselfe upon the woodden bridge, which the Barbarians were defireurs to gaine; and for a good while made the place good, and put backet the whole multitude of them prefling upon him to passe over it; in the end finding himselse overcharged with the enemies, he commaunded those who were ranged in battell-ray behind him, to cut downe the bridge; meane while he received the violent charge of them all, and impeached the intercance, untill such time as he was wounded in the cie with adart; whereupon he leapt into the river, and swam over unto his fellowes: thus Theotinus reported this narration in the third booke of Italian histories.

9 There is a tale told of Icarius, by whom Baechus was lodged and intertained, as Eratoft benes in Erigone hath related in this wife. Saturne upon a time was lodged by an husbandman of the countrey, who had a faire daughter named Entoria: her hee deflowred and begat of her foure sonnes, Janus, Hymnus, Faustus and Falix ; whom hee having taught the manner of drinking wine, and of planting the vine, enjoyned them also to empart that knowledge unto their neighbours, which they did accordingly: but they on the other fide: having taken upon a time more of this drinke than their ufuall manner was, fell a fleepe, and flept more than ordinarie : when they were awake, imagining that they had drunke fome poylon, floned Icarius the husbandman 20 to death: whereat his nephewes or daughters children tooke fuch a thought and conceit, that for verie griefe of heart, they knit their neckes in halters, and strangled themselves. Now when there was a great pestilence that raigned among the Romanes, the oracle of Apollo gave answers that the mortality would flay, in case they had once appealed the ire of Saturne; and likewise pacified their ghofts, who unjustly lost their lives. Then Lutatius Catulus, a noble man of Rome, built a temple unto Saturne, which standeth neere unto the mount Tarpeius, and crected an altar with foure faces; either in remembrance of those foure nephewes above faid, or respective to the foure feafons and quarters of the yeere; and withall inflituted the moneth Ianuarie. But Saturne turned them all foure into starres, which be called the forerunners of the Vintage: among which that of Janua arifeth before others, and appeareth at the feet of Virgo, as Critolaus tellificth in his 30 fourth booke of Phanomena, or Apparitions in the heaven.

10 At what time as the Persians overranne Greece, and wastedall the countrey before them: Pausanias generall captaine of the Lacedamonians, having received of Xerxes five hundred talents of gold, promised to bernay Sparta: but his treason being discovered, Agesslams his father pursued him into the temple of Minerus called Chalciness, whither he sled for fanctuarie; where he caused the doors of the temple to be mured up with brick, & so famished him to death. His mother tooke his corps, and cast it foorth to dogs, not suffering it to be buried: according to Chrysermus in the second booke of his storie.

The Romanes warring against the Latines, chose for their captaine Publius Decius. Now there was a certaine gentleman of a noble house, howbeit poore, named Coffius Brutus, who for a 40 certaine summe of money which the enemies should pay unto him, intended in the night seafont of set the gates of the citie wide open for them to enter in. This treacherie being detected, he she she fact for successful the time to the temple of Minerva, surramed Auxiliaria; where Cassus his sather, named also Signifer, shut him up and kept him so long, that he died for verie famine; and when he was dead, threw his bodie foorth, and would not allowit any sepulture: as writeth Clitonymus in his Italian histories.

11 Darius king of Persia having fought a field with Alexander the Great, and in that conflict lost seven of his great lieutenants & governours of Provinces, besides sive hundred and two war chariots armed with trenchant fithes, would notwithstanding bid him battell againe: but Ariobarzanes his sonne, upon a pitifull affection that he carried to Alexander, promised to betray his 50 father into his hands; whereat his father tooke such displeasure and indignation, that he caused his head to be smitten off. Thus reporteth Aretades the Gnidian in his third booke of Macedonian histories.

Brutus being chosen Consult of Rome by the generall voice of the whole people, chased out of the citie, Tarquimius Superbus who raigned tyrannically; but he retyring himselfe unto the Tuskanes, levied warre upon the Romanes. The sonnes of the said Brutus conspiring to betray their father, were discovered, and so he commanded them to be beheaded: as Aristides the Milesian written in his Annals of Italie.

12 Epaminondas captaine of the Thebanes, warred against the Lacedæmonians: and when the time was come that magistrates should be elected at Thebes, himselfe in person repaired this ther, having given order and commandement in the meane while unto his fonne Stefimbrotus. in no wife to fight with the enemie. The Lacedamonians having intelligence given them, that the father was absent, reproched and reviled this yoong gentleman, and called him coward. wherewith he was so galled, that he fell into a great fit of choler, and forgetting the charge that his father had laid upon him, gave the enemies battell, and atchieved the victorie. His father upon his returne, was highly offended with his fonne, for transgressing his will and commandement : and after he had fet a victorious crown upon his head, caused it to be strooken off, as Cresiphon recordeth in the third booke of the Boeotian histories.

The Romanes during the time that they maintained warreagainst the Samnites, chosefor their general captain, Manlius furnamed Imperious; who returning upon a time from the camp to Rome, for to be present at the election of Confuls, straightly charged his son not to fight with the enemies in his absence. The Samnites hereof advertised, provoked the yoong gentleman with most spitefull and villanous tearmes, reproching him likewise with cowardise: which he not able to endure, was fo farre mooved in the end, that he gave them battel and defeated them: but Manlius his father when he was returned, cut him shorter by the head for it: as testifieth Ariti-

des the Milefian.

13 Hercules being denied marriage with the Ladie Iole, tooke the repulse so neere to heart, that he forced and facked the citie Oechalia. But Iole flung herselfe headlong downe from the 20 wall into the trench under it : howbeit so it fortuned that the winde taking hold of her garments as she fell, bare her up so, as in the fall shee caught no harme, as witnesseth Nickas of

The Romans whiles they warred upon the Tuskans, chose for their commander Valerius Torquatus; who having a fight of Cluss their kings daughter, fancied her, and demanded her of him in marriage : but being denied and rejected, he wan the citie, and put it to the faccage. The ladie Cluffit flung herfelfe downe from an high tower; but through the providence of Venus, her habillements were so heaved up with the winde, that they brake the fall, and albeit shee light upon the ground, thee escaped alive. Then the captaine before named, forced her and abused her bodie: in regard of which dishonour and vilanie offered unto her, by a generall decree of all 20 the Romanes, confined he was into the Isle of Corfica, which lieth against Italy: as witnesseth

Theophilus in the third booke of his Italian historie.

14 The Carthaginians and Sicilians, being entred into league, banded themselves against the Romanes, and prepared with their joint forces towarre upon them: whereupon Maellus was chosen captaine, who having offered facrifice unto all other gods and goddeffes, left out onely the goddesse Vesta; who thereupon raised a contrarie winde to blow against him in his voiage. Then Caius Julius the foothfayer faid unto him, that the winde would lie, in cafe before he embarked and fet faile, he offered in facrifice his owne daughter unto Vesta. Metellus being driven to this hard exigent, was costrained to bring foorth his daughter to be facrificed: but the goddesse taking pitie of him & her, in stead of the maiden substituted a yoong heyfer, and carried 40 the virgin to Lavinium, where the made her a religious priestresse of the Dragon, which they worship and have in great reverence within that citie: as writeth Pythocles in his third booke of Italian affaires.

In like manner is the case of Iphigenia which hapned in Aulis acitie of Baotia: reported by

Meryllus in the third booke of Bootian chronicles.

15 Brennus a king of the Galatians or Gallo-Greekes, as he fortaied and spoiled Afa, came at length to Ephefus, where he fell in love with a yoong damofell, a commoners daughter ; who promifed to lie with him, yea and to betray the citie unto him, upon condition that he would give unto her carquanets, bracelets, and other jewels of gold, wherewith ladies are woont to adorne and fet out themselves. Then Brennus requested those about his person to cast into the lap of this covetous wench, all the golden jewels which they had; which they did in such quantitie, that the maiden was overwhelmed under them quick, & pressed to death with their waight: as Clitipho writeth in the first booke of the Galatian historie.

Tarpeia a virgin, and yoong gentlewoman of a good house, having the keeping of the Capitoll, during the time that the Romanes warred against the Albanes, promised unto their king Tains, for to give him entrance into the castle of mount Tarpeius, if in recompence of her good service, he would bestow upon her such bracelets, rings, and carquanets, as the Sabine dames used to weare when they trimmed up themselves in best manner: which when the Sabines understood, they heaped upon her so many, that they buried her quick underneath them: according as Arifides the Milesian reporteth in his Italian historic.

16 The inhabitants of Teges and Phenestwo cities, maintained a lingting warre one against the other to long, until they concluded in the end to determine all quarrels and controverties by the combat of three brethren, twinnes of either fide. And the men of Tegea put foorth into the field for their part, the fonnes of one of their citizens, named Reximachus: and those of Phines for themfelves, the fonnes of Damostratus. When these champions were advanced foorth into the plaine, to performe their devoir, it fortuned that two of Revinachus leis fonnes were killed to outright in the place; and the third whole name was Critolans, wrought fuch a stratagem with his three concurrents that he overcame them all: for making femblance as though he fled, he turned fuddenly back, & flew them one after another, as he espiced his advatage, when they were simgled and fevered afunder in their chase after him. At his returne home with this glorious victorie; all his citizens did congratulate and rejoice with him, onely his owne fifter named Deniediee, was nothing glad therefore, because one of the brethren whom he had flaine, was espoused untoher, whose name was Demoticus Critolaus taking great indignation hereat, killed her out of hand. The mother to them both fued him for this murder, and required juffice; howbeit hee was acquit of all actions and enditements framed against him: as writeth Demaratus in the second booke of Arcadian acts.

The Romans and the Albanes having warred a long time together, chofe for their champions to decide all quarrels, three brethren twinnes, both of the one fide and the other. For the Albanes were three Curiatii, and for the Romans as many Harain. The combate was no fooner begun, but those of Alba laid two of their adversaries dead in the dust; the third helping himfelle with a feigned flight, killed the other three one after the other, as they were divided afunder in pursuit after him: for which victorie, all other Romanes made great joy; only his owne fifter Horatia shewed herselfe nothing well pleased herewith, for that to one of the other side she was betrothed in marriage: for which he made no more ado, but stabbed his fifter to the heart: this is reported by Ariftides the Milefian, in his Annales of Italy.

17 In the citie Ilium, when the fire had taken the temple of Minerva, one of the inhabi-30 tants named Ilm ranne thither, and caught the little image of Minerva named Palladium, which was supposed to have fallen from heaven, and therewith lost his fight, because it was not lawfull that the faid image should be seene by any man: howbeit afterwards when he had appealed the wrath of the faid goddeffe, he recovered his eie fight againe: as writeth Dercyllus in the first book

of Foundations.

Metellus a noble man of Rome, as he went toward a certaine house of pleasure that hee had necreunto the citie, was flaied in the way by certaine ravens that flapped and beat him with their wings: at which ominous accident being aftonied, and prefaging fome evill to be toward him, he returned to Rome: and feeing the temple of the goddeffe Vesta on fire, he ran thither and tooke away the petic image of Pallas, named Palladium, and so likewise suddenly sell blind: 40 howbeit afterwards being reconciled unto her, he got his fight againe: this is the report of 1 ristides in his Chronicles.

18 The Thracians warring against the Athenians, were directed by an oracle which promifed them victorie, in case they saved the person of Codrus king of Athens: but he disguising himfelfe in the habit of a poore labourer, and carrying a bill in his hand, went into the campe of the enemies, and killed one, where likewise he was killed by another, and so the Athenians obtained

victorie: as Socrates writeth in the fecond booke of Thracian affaires.

Publius Decius a Romane, making watre against the Albanes, dreamed in the night, and faw a vision which promised him, that if himselfe died, he should adde much to the puissance of the Romans: whereuponhe charged upon his enemies where they were thickeft arranged; and 50 when he had killed a number of them, was himselfe slaine. Decimals of his sonne, in the warre against the Gaules, by that meanes faved the Romans: as faith Aristides the Milesian.

19 Cyamtpus a Stracustan borne, facrificed upon a time unto all other gods, but unto Baechas; whereas the god being offended, haunted him with drunckennesse; so as in a darke corner he deflowed forcibly his owne daughter, named Cyane: but in the time that he dealt with her, the tooke away the ring of his finger, and gave it unto her nourfe to keepe, for to tellifie another day who it was that thus abuted her. Afterwards the pethlence raigned fore in those parts: and A-Pollogave answere by oracle, that they were to offer in facrifice unto the gods that turned away calamities, a godlesse and incessuous person: all others wist not whom the oracle meant; but Cyane knowing full well the will of Apollo, tooke her father by the haire, and drew him perforce to the altar, and when she had caused him to be killed, sacrificed her selse after upon him: as writeth Dossibeus in the third booke of the Chronicles of Cicily.

Whiles the feaft of Buchus called Buchus liawas celebrated at Rome, there was one Aruntus who never in all his life had drunke wine but water onely, and alwaies despifed the power of god Buchus: who to be revenged of him, caused him one time be so drunke that he forced his owne daughter Medulins, & abused her bodie carnally; who having knowledge by his ring who it was that did the deed, and taking to her a greater heart than one of her age, made her father one day drunke, and after the had adorned his head with garlands & chaplets of slowers, led him to aplace to called the asteroid Thunder, where with many teares she facrificed him who had surprised her, & take away her virginity, as writeth Aristides the Milestania his third booke of Italian Chronicles.

20 Frech: heis warring upon Eumolpus, was advertifed that he should win the victorie, if before he went into the field he facrificed his owne daughter unto the gods: who when he had imparted this mater unto his wife Praxishes, he offered his daughter in facrifice before the battelly

hercof Euripides maketh mention in his tragoedie Erechtheus.

Marius maintaining ware against the Cimbrians, and finding himselfe too weake, saw avifion in his sleepe, that promised him victory, if before he went to battell, he did facrifice his
daughter named Caspumia: who setting the good of the weale publicke, and the regard of his
countrimen, before the natural affection to his owne blood, did accordingly and wan the field: 10
and even at this day, two altars there be in Germanie, which at the verie time and hower that this
facrifice was offered, yeeld the found of trumpets: as Dorotheus reporteth in the third booke of
the Annales of Italy.

21 Cyumppus a Tueffalian borne, used ordinarily to go on hunting; his wife a young gentlewoman intertained this fancie of jealousse in her head, that the reason why he went forth so often, and staicd so long in the forrest, was because he had the companie of some other woman whom he loved: whereupon she determined with her selfe to lie in espiall: one day therefore the followed and traced Cyamippus, and at length lay close within a certaine thicket of the forrest, waiting and expecting what would fall out and come of it. It chanced that the leaves and branches of the thrubs about her stirred: the hounds imagining that there was some wild beast with 30 in, selfed upon her, and so tare in pieces this young dame (that loved her husband so well) as if the had beene a savage beast. Cyamippus then seeing before his eies, that which he never would have imagined or thought in his mind, for verie griefe of heart killed himselse as Parthenius the Poet hat helt in writing.

In Sybaris a citie of Italy, there was fometime a young gentleman named Aemilius, who being abcautifull person, and one who loved passing well the game of hunting, his wife who was young also, thought him to be enamoured of another ladie: and therefore got her selfe close within a thicket, and chanced to stirre the boughes of the shrubs and bushes about her. The hounds thereupon that ranged and hunted thereabout, light upon her and tare her body in pieces: which when her husband saw, he killed himselfe upon her, as Clytonimus reportethin his 40

tecond booke of the Sybaritick historie.

2.2 Smyrna the daughter of Cimpras having displeased and angred Venum, became enamored of her owne father, and declared the vehement heat of her love unto her nourie. She therefore by a wily device went to worke with her master, and bare him in hand that there was a faire damosella neighbours daughter, that was in love with him, but abashed and assmalled to come unto him openly, or to be scene at all with him: the master believed this & lay with her: but one time above the rest, destrous to know who she was with whom he companied, called for a light; and so some as he knew it was his owne daughter, he drew his sword, and sollowed after this most vilanous and and incestious filth, intending to kill her: but by the providence of Venum, transformed the was into a tree, bearing her name, to wit, Myrtle, as Theodorus reporteth in his Me-50 tamorphoses or transmutations.

Waleria Tufculanaria, having incurred the displeasure of Venus; became amorous of her owne father, and communicated this love of hersunto her nourse: who likewise went cunningly about her master, and made him believe that there was a young maiden a neighbous child, who was infuncie with him, but would not in regard of modeltie be knowen unto him of it not be seen when the should frequent his companie. Howbeither sather, one night being drunk called for a candle: but the nourse prevented him, and in great hast wakened her: who see the same

upon into the countrey great with child: where she cast her selfedowne from the pitch of a steep place, yet the fruit of her wombe lived; for not with standing that fall she did not miscarie, but continued still with her great belly: and when her time was come, delivered she was of a sonne, such an one as in the Roman language is named Sylvanus, and in Greeke Aegipanes. Valerius the stather tooke such a thought thereupon, that for verie anguish of mind he threw himselse downe headlong from a steepe rocke: as recordeth Aristides the Milesian in the third booke of Italian histories.

23 After the destruction of Trop, Diamedes by a tempest was cast upo the coast of Libya, where raigned a king named Lyans: whose maner and custome was so sacrifice unto his owne father 10 god Mars, all those strangers that arrived and were fer aland in his countrey. But Callirabbe his daughter catting an affection unto Diamedes, betraied her father, and saved Diamedes by delivering him out of prison. And he again enor regarding her accordingly, who had done him so good a turne, departed from her and sailed away: which indignite she tooke so neere to the heart, that she hanged her selse, and so ended her daies: this writesth Juba in the third booke of

the Libyan historie.

Calpurnius Crassus a noble man of Rome, being abroad at the warres together with Regulus, was by him sent against the Massilians, forto seize a stronge castle, and hard to be won, named Garaton; but in this service being taken prisoner and destined to be killed in facrifice unto Saturne, it fortuned that Bysatia the kings daughter sans the fast be betraied her sather, and 20 putthe victory into her lovers hand; but when this yoong knight was retired and gone, the damfell for fortow of heart cut her owne throat: as written Hessaus in the third booke of the Libian historie.

24. Priamus king of Troy, fearing that the city would be lost, sent his yoong sonne Polydorus into Thrace, to his sonne in law Polymester who married his daughter, with a great quantity of golde: Polymester for very coverous liefte, after the destruction of the city, murdered the childe, because he might gaine the gold: but Heenbabeing come into those parts, under a colour and pretence that the should bestow that goldeupon him, together with the helpe of other dames prisoners with her, plucked with her owne hands both eies out of his head: witnesse Euripides the tragedian poet.

In the time that Hanniball overran and wasted the countrey of Campania in Italy; Lucius

*Janber bestowed his sonne Rustius for safetie, in the hands of a sonne in law whom he had, *Oe, Thryminamed Valerius Gestius, and left with him a good summe of money. But when this Campanian imbed had Anniball had wonne a great victorie, for very avarice he brake all lawes of nature,

and murdered the childe. The father Thymbris as he travelled in the countrey lighting upon the dead corps of his owne fonne, fent for his fonne in law aforefaid, as if he meant to thew him fome great treafure: who was no fooner come, but he plucked out both his eies, and afterwards

crucified him: as Ariftides testifieth in the third booke of his Italian histories.

25 Aeasew begat of Pfamatha one fonne named Phoese, whom he loved very tenderly: but Telamon his brother not well content therewith, trained him foorth one day into the forch a 40 hunting, where having rouzed a wilde bore, he launced his javelin or bore-speare against the childewhom he hated, and so killed him: for which fact, his father banished him: as Dorothews telleth the tale, in the first booke of his Metamorphoses.

Cajus Maximus had two fonnes, Similius and Rhefus: of which two, Rhefus he begat upon Ameria, who upon a time as he hunted in the chafe, killed his brother, and being come home againe, he would have perfuaded his father that it was by changee, and not upon a propenfed malice that he flew him: but his father when he knew the truth exiled him: as driftoeles hath recorded in the third booke of Italian Chronicles.

26 Mars had the company of Althea, by whom she was conceived and delivered of Melea-

ger: as witnesseth Euripides in his tragoedie Meleager.

Septimus Mareellus, having maried Sylvia, was much given to hunting, and ordinarily went to the chafe: then Mars taking his advantage, difguifing himlelfe in habit of a shepherd; forced this new wedded wife, and gar her withchilde; which done, he bewraied unto her who he was, and gave her a launce or speare, faying unto her: That the generositie and descent of that issue which the should have by him, constitution that launce: now it happed that Septimus slew Tusquinus: and Mamereus when he facrificed unto the gods for the good encrease of the sinus upon the earth, neglected Ceres onely; whereupon she taking displeasure for this contempt, fent a great wilde bore into his countrey: then he affembled a number of hunters to chase the

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faid beast and killed him; which done, the head and the skinne he sent unto his espoused wise:
Scimbrates and Muthias her unckles by the mother-side, offended heereat, would have taken all away from the damosell: but hee tooke such displeasure thereat, that hee slew his kinsmen: and his mother for to be revenged of her brethrens death, buried that cursed speare: as Menglus reporteth in the third booke of the Italian histories.

27 Telamon the sonne of Acasus and Endeis, fledde by night from his father, and arrived in the sile of Eubea, * * The sather perceiving it, and supposing him to be one of his subjects, gave his daughter to one of his guard, for to be cast into the sea; but he for very commiferation and pitty, sould her to certaine merchants; and when the shippe was arrived at Sala.

mis, Telamon chaunced to buy her at their hands, and she bare unto him Ajax: witnesse Areta- 10

dos the Gnidian, in the second booke of his Insular affaires.

Lucius Trocius hadby his wife Patris, a daughter named Florentia: her Calpharnius a Romane deslowred: whereupon he commaunded the yoong maid-childe which she bare, to be cast into the sea; but the souldiour who had the charge so to doe, tooke compassion of her, and chose rather to sell her unto a merchant; and it fortuned so, that the ship of a certeine merchant arri-

ved in Italy, where Calphurinus bought her, and of her body begat Contruscus.

28 Acolus king of Tuskan, had by his wife Amphithea fix daughters, and as many fonnes; of whom Macareus the yoongest, for very love defloured one of his sisters, who when the time came brought foorth a child: when this came once to light, her father sent unto her a sword, and she acknowledging the fault which she had committed, killed her-selfe therewith, and so 20 did afterwards her brother Macareus: as Sostratus reporteth in the second booke of the Tuscan

Papyrius Polucer, having espoused Julia Pulchra, had by her fix daughters, and as many fonnes; the eldest of whom named Papyrius Romanus, was enamoused of Canulia, one of his fifters to as she was by him with childe: which when the father understood, hee fent unto her likewise a sword, wherewith she made away her-selfe; and Romanus also did as much: thus Christian in the state of the state of

fippus relateth in the first booke of the Italian Chronicles.

29 Aristorymus the Ephesian, sonne of Demostratus, hated women, but most unnaturally he had to doe with a she asse; which when time came, brought foorth a most beautifull maide childe, surnamed Onoseelis: as Aristotle written in the second booke of his Paradoxes or strange 30

accidents.

Fulvius Stellus was at warre with all women, but yet he dealt most beastly with a mare, and she bare unto him after a time, a faire daughter, named Hippona: and this is the goddesse for sooth that hath the charge and overseeing of horses and mares: as Agestlaus hath set downe in

the third booke of Italian affaires,
30 The Sardians watted upon a time against the Smyrneans, & encamped before the walles of their city; giving them to understand by their embassadors, that raise their siege they would not, unless they sentent them their wives to lie withall: the Smyrneans being driven to this extremity, were at the point to doe that which the enemies demanded of them: but a certeine extremity, were at the point to doe that which the enemies demanded of them: but a certeine waiting maiden there was, a faire and welfavoured damosell, who ranne unto her master Phi-40 larkhus and said unto him, that he must not faile but in any case chuse out the fairest wenches that were maide-servants in all the citie, to dresse them like unto citizens wives, and free borne women, and so to send them unto their enemies in stead of their mistresses, which was effected accordingly; and when the Sardians were wearied with dealing with these wenches, the Smyrneans issued foorth, surprized and spoiled them: whereupon it commeth that even at this day in the citie of Smyrnes there is a soldenne seast named Eleutheria: upon which day, the maideservants weare the apparell of their mistresses which befree women: as saith Dossabus in the third booke of Lydian chronicles.

Antepomarus king of the Gaules, when he made warre upon the Romans, gave it out flatly and faid, that he would never diflodge and breake up his campe before they fent unto them their so wives, for to have their pleasure of them: but they by the counsell of a certeine chamber maide, sent unto them their maid-servants: the Barbarians medled so long with them, that they were tired, and sell sound assept in the end: then Rhetana (for that was her name who gave the said counsell) tooke a branch of a wilde sigge tree; and mounting up to the toppe of a rampier wall, gave a signall thereby to the Consuls, who sallied foorth and deteated them; whereupon there is a seasitivall day of chambermaids: for so sait Aristides the Milesian, in the first booke of the

Italian historie.

31 When the Athenians made warre upon Eumalpus, and were at some default of victuals, pyrander who had the charge of the munition & was treasurer of the State (for to make spare of the provision) diminished the ordinary measure, and cut men short of their allowances: the inhabitants, suspecting him to be a traitor to his country in so dooing, stoned him to death as Callistratus testificieth in the third booke of the Thracian history.

The Romans warring upon the Gaules, and having not sufficient store of victuals, cinnal abridged the people of their ordinary measure of corne: the Romans suspecting the rupon that he made way thereby to be king, stoned him likewise to death: witnesse Aristides in his third

booke of Italian histories.

32 During the Peloponnefiack warre, Pififratur the Orchomenian hated the nobles and affected men of base and low degree; whereupon the Senators complotted and resolved among them selves to kill him in the Counsell house, where they cut him in pieces, and every one put a gobbet of him in his bosome, and when they had so done they scraped and elensed the short where his blood was shed. The common people having some suspicion of the matter rushed into the Senat house; but Tiesmachur the kings youngest some, who was privy to the foresaid conspiracie, withdrew the multitude from the common place of affembly; and affured them that he saw his sather Pisitratur carying a more stately majesty in his countenance than any mortal man, ascending sup with great celerity the top of mount Pisaus, as Theophilus recordeth in the second of his. Peloponnessackes.

In regard of the warrs forecre unto the city of Rome, the Roman Senat cut the people fhortof their allowances in corne: whereat Romailus being not well pleafed, allowed it them a gaine, rebuked, yea and chaftifed many of the great men: who thereupon banded againft him and in the middeft of the Senat house made him away among them, cut him in pieces, and beflowed on every man a flice of him in his bosome. Whereupon, the people ran immediately with fire in their hands to the Senat house minding to burne them all within; but Proculus a noble man of the city assured them, that he saw Romains upon a certeine high mountaine, and that he was bigger than any man living and become a very god. The Romans beleeved his words, (such authority the man carted with him) and so retired back, as Arislobulus writeth in

the third booke of his Italian Chronicles.

33 Pelops the fonne of Tantalus and Eurianassa, wedded Hippodamia who bare unto him Atreus and Thressess that of the Nimph Danais a concubine, he begat Chrysspass, whom he loved better than any of his legitimate sonness him Lains the Theban being inamoured stole away by force; and being attached and intercepted by Atreus and Thresses, obtained the good grace and savour of Pelops to enjoy him, for his love, sake. Howbeit Hippodamia perswaded her two sonnes Atreus and Thresses to kill him, as if she knewthat he aspired to the kingdome of their stater: which they resulting to doe, she her selfe imploied her owne hands to perpetrate this detectable saction one night as Layus lay found asseep, the drew forth his sword, and when she had wounded the sings of the selfert, she sleept, she sisten with being now halfe dead, discharged and acquit him and revealed the whole truth of the matter: whereupon Pelops caused the dead body to be enterred, but Hippodamia he banished: as Dositheus recordethin his booke Pelopida.

Hebius Tolleix having espoused a wise named A neeria, had by her two children: but of an infranchised bond woman he begat a son named Phemius Firmus a childe of excellent beauty, whom he loved more deerely than the children by his lawfull wise. X neeria detesting this base son of his, solicited her own children to murder him; which when they (having the seare of God before there eyes) resused to do, the enterprised to execute the deed her selfe. And in truth she drew forth the sword of one of the squires of the body in the night season, and with it gave him a deadly wound as he lay fast assessed the forestald squire was suspected and called in question for this act, for that his sword was there sound; but the childe himselse discovered the truth: his so fasher then commanded his body to be buried; but his wife he banished: as Dosabens recordeth

in the third booke of the Italian Chronicles.

34 These being in very truth the naturall sonne of Nepraue, had a sonne by Hippolite aprincesse of the Amazones whose name was Hippolites: but afterwards maried againe, and brought into the house a stepmorter named Phadra, the daughter of Minos: who falling in love with her sonne-inlaw Hippolites, sent her nourse for to sollicite him: but he giving no eare unto her, lest Athens and went to Troezen, where he gave his minde to hunting. But the wicked and unchaste woman seeing her selse studies and disapointed of her will, wrot shrewd letters

Hhhh 2

unto her husband against this honest and chaste yong gentleman, informing him of many lies, and when the had to done, strangled her felfe with an halter, and to ended her daies. The few giving credit unto her letters, befought his father Neptune of the three requelts, whereof he had the choife, this one; namely, to worke the death of Hippolytus. Neptune to fatisfie his mind, fent out unto Hippolytus as he rode along the feafide, a monstrous bull, who so affrighted his coatch horses, that they overthrew Hippolyrus, and so he was crushed to death.

Comminius Super the Laurentine, having a fonne by the nimph Aegeria, named Comminius, efpoused afterwards Gidisa, and brought into his house a stepmother, who became likewise amorous of her fon-in law; and when the faw that the could not speed of her defire, the hanged her felfe, and left behind her certaine letters devised against him containing many untruths. Com- 10 minius the father having read these slanderous imputations within the faid letters, and beleeving that which his jealous head had once conceived, called upon Neptune, who prefented unto Comminus his fonce as he rode in his chariot, a hideous bull: which fet his feeds in fuch a fright, that they fell a flinging, and so haled the young main that they diffmembred and killed him : as Do. fitheus reported in the third booke of the Italian historie.

35 When the pestilence raigned in Lacedamon; the oracle of Apollo delivered this answer: That the mortalitie would cease, in case they sacrificed yearly, a young virgin of noble blood. Now whe it fortuned that the lot one yeere fell upo Helena, so that she was led forth all prepared and fet out readie to be killed; there was an eagle came flying downe, caught up the sword which lay there, and caried it to cerraine droves of beafts, where the laid it upon an heyfer: whereupon 20 ever after they forbare to facrifice any more virgins; as Ariftodemus reporteth in the third Col

lect of fables.

The plague was fore in Falery, the contagion thereof being verie great, there was given out an oracle, That the faid affliction would stay and give over, if they factificed yeerly a yong maiden unto Juno: and this superstition continuing alwaies still Faleria Luperca was by lot called to this facrifice: now when the fword was readie drawen, there was an eagle came downe out of the aire and caried it away : and upon the altar where the fire was burning laid a wand, having at one end in maner of a little mallet: as for the lword, the laid upon a young heyfer, feeding by the temple fide; which when the young damfell perceived, after the had factificed the faid heyfer, and taken up the mallet, the went from house to house, and gently knocking therewith all those 30 that lay ficke, raifed them up and faid to everie one : Be whole and receive health : whereupon it commeth that even at this day this mysterie is still performed and observed : as Aristides hath reported in the 919. book of his Italian histories.

36 Phylonome the daughter of Nyclimus and Arcadia, hunted with Diana; whom Mars difguifed like a thepherd, got with child. She having brought foorth two twinnes, for feare of her father threw them into the river Erymanthus: but they by the providece of the gods, were caried downe the streame without harme or danger, and at length the current of the water cast themupon an hollow oake, growing up on the banke fide, whereas a fine woolfe having newly kennelled had her den. This woolfe turned out her whelps into the river, and gave fucke unto the two twins above faid: which when a shepherd named Tyliphus, once perceived and had a fight of, he tooke 40 up the little infants, and caused them to be nourished as his owne children, calling the one Lyca-

flus, and the other Parrhasius, who successively reigned in the realme of Areadia.

Amulius bearing himselse insolently and violently like a tyrant, to his brother Numitor; first killed his fonne Aenitus as they were hunting; then his daughter Sylvia he cloifted up as a religious nunne to serve Juno. She conceived by Mars; and when shee was delivered of two twins, confessed the truth unto the tyrant: who standing in feare of them, caused them both to be cast into the river Tybria; where they were carried downe the water unto one place, whereas a shee woolfe had newly kennelled with her yoong ones: and verily her owne whelps flee abandoned and cast into the river; but the babes shee suckled. Then Faust we the shepherd chauncing to espie them, tooke them up and nourished as his owne; calling the one Remue, and the other Ro-50 mulus : and these were the sounders of Rome citie: according to Artstides the Milesian in his lta-

37 After the destruction of Troy, Agamemnon together with Cassanara was murdred : but Orestes who had beene reared and brought up with Strophius, was revenged of those murderers of his father: as Pyrander faith in his fourth booke of the Peloponnefian historie.

Fabius Fabricianus, descended lineally from that great Fabius Maximus, after he had wonne and facked Tuvium, the capitall citie of the Samnites, fent unto Rome the image of Pense Victor

refle, which was so highly honoured and worthipped among the Samnites. His wife Fabir had committed adulterie, with a faire and well favoured yoong man, named Petronius Valentinis, and afterwards treacheroufly killed her husband. Now had Fabia his daughter faved her brother Fibriciana, being a verie little one, out of danger, and fent him away fecretly to be nourished and brought up. This youth when he came to age killed both his mother and the adulterer alfo; for which act of his acquit he was by the doome of the Senate: as Dofabetal delivereth the ftorie in the third booke of the Italian Chronicles.

38 Busiris the sonne of N eptune, and Anippe daughter of Nilus, under the colour of pretendedhofpitalitie, and courteous receiving of thrangers, used to farrifice all pallengers : but divine To justice met with him in the end, and revenged their death for Hercules set upon him and killed

him with his club : as Agathon the Samian hath written.

Hercules as he drave before him thorow Italy, Geryons kine, was lodged by king Faunus the fonne of Mercurie, who used to facrifice all strangers and guests to his father: but when hee meant to do fo unto Hercules, was himfelfe by him flaine: as writeth Dercyllus in the third booke of the Italian histories.

39 Phalaris the tyrant of the Agrigentines (amercilesse prince) was wont to corment & put to exquifite paine fuch as paffed by or came unto him : and Perillus (who by his profession) was askilfull braffe-founder, had framed an heyfer of braffe, which he gave unto this king, that hee might burne quicke in it the faid ftrangers. And verily in this one thing did this tyrant frew 30 himselfe just for that he caused the artificer himself to be put into it : and the faid lieyser seemed to low, whiles he was burning within: as it is written in the third booke of Causes.

In Aegesta a citie of Sicilie, there was sometime a cruell tyrant, named Aemilius Censorime, whose manner was to reward with rich gifts those who could invent new kinds of engines to put men to torture: fo there was one named Aruntius Paterculus, who had devited and forged a brasen horse, and presented it unto the foresaid tyrant, that he might put into it whom he would And in truth the first act of justice that ever he did was this, that the partie himselfe, even the maker of it gave the first hansell thereof; that he might make triall of that torment himselfe, which he had devised for others. Him also hee apprehended afterwards; and caused to bee throwen downe headlong from the hill Tarpeius. It should seeme also that such princes as reigned with 30 violence, were called of him Aemylii: for fo Ariftides reporteth in the fourth booke of Italian Chronicles.

40 Euenus the fon of Alars & Sterope, tooke to wife Alcippe daughter of Oenomaus, who bare unto him a daughter, named Marpiffa, whom he minded to keepe a virgin still: but Aphareus feeing her, carried her away from a daunce, and fled upon it. The father made fuee after, but not able to recover her: for verie anguith of mind, he cast himselfe into the river of Eyeormas, and thereby was immortalized: as faith Dosithens in the fourth booke of his Italian historie.

Anius king of the Tuskans, having a faire daughter, named Salia; looked straightly unto her that she should continue a maiden: but Cathetus one of his nobles, seeing this damosell upon a time as the disported herselfe was enamoured of her, and not able to suppresse the furious passi-40 on of his love, ravished her and brought her to Rome. The father pursued after; but seeing that he could not overtake them, threw himfelfe into the river, called in those daies Pareissus, and afterwards of his name Anio. Now the faid Catherus lay with Salta, and of her bodic begat Salius and Latinus; from whom are discended the noblest families of that countrey: as Ariftides, the Milefian, and Alexander Polyhistor, write in the third booke of the Italian historie.

41. Egestratus an Ephelianborne, having murdered one of his kinsmen, sled into the citie Delphi, and demaunded of Apollo in what place he should dwell & who made him this answere, that he was to inhabit there, whereas he faw the peafants of the countrey dauncing, and crowned with chaplets of olive branches. Being arrived therefore at a certaine place in Afia, where he found the rurall people crowned with garlands of olive leaves, and dauncing; even there hee 50 founded a citie, which he called Elaus: as Pythooles the Samian writeth in the third booke of his Georgicks.

Telegonus the some of Visifes by Circe, being sent for to seeke his father, was advised by the oracle to build a citie there, where he should find the rusticall people and husbandmen of the countrey, crowned with chaplets and dauncing together: when he was arrived therefore at a certaine coast of Italie, seeing the peasants adorned with boughes & branches of the wild olive tree, passing the time merily, and dauncing together; he built a citie, which upon that occurrent Hhhh 3

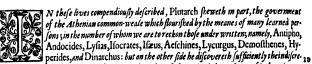
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he named Prinefts; and afterwards the Romans altering the letters a little, called it Prenefte: as Aristotle hath written in the third booke of the Italian historie.



THE LIVES OF THE TEN ORATOVRS.

The Summarie.



tion of cretaine or asours, how it hathengen ared much confusion, ruined the most part of such personages them(elves: and finally overthrowen the publick estate: which he seemeth express to have noted and observed, to the end that every one might see show dangerous (in the managemes of State affaires) he is who hath no good parts in him but onely a fine and nimble tongue. His meaning therefore is, that lively vertue indeed hould be joined unto eloquence: meane while, we observe also the lightnesse, vanitie, and ingratitude of the Athenian people in many places : and in the divers complexions of these ten men here depainted; evident it is, how much availeth in any person, good instruction from his infancie, and how powerfull good teachers be, for to frame and fashion tender minds unto high matters, and important to the weale publicke. In perufing and passing through this treatise, a man may take knowledge of many points of the ancient popular government, which serve verie well to the bester under 30 flanding of the Greeke historie, and namely, of that which concerneth Athens: As also by the recompenfes both demanded, and also decreed in the behalfe of vertuous men, we may perceive and see amone the imperfections of a people which had the soveraigntie in their hands, some moderation from time to time: which ought to make us magnific the wisedome and providence of God, who amid so great darkneffe, hathmaintained so long as his good pleasure was, so many States and governours in Greece, which afterwards fell away and came to nothing, so as at this present that goodly countrey is become subject, and made thrall to the most violent, wicked and wretched nation under heaven.

THE LIVES OF THE

ten oratours.

ANTIPHON. I.



N tipho the fonne of Saphilus, and borne in the borough and corporation of Karannum, was brought up as a scholar under his owne father, who kept a Rhetorick schoole, whereunto Alcibiades also (by report) was wont to go and refort when he was 2 young boy, who having gotten sufficiencie of speech and eloquence, as some thinke, himselfe, (such was the quicknesse of his wit, and inclination of of his nature) he betooke himselfe to affaires of State: and yet he held a schoole neverthelesse, where he was at some difference with Socrates the Philosopher in matter of learning and oratorie, not by way of contention and æmulation, but in maner of reprehension

& finding fault with some points, as Xenophon testifieth in the first booke of his Commentaries, as touching the deeds and fayings of Socrates. He penned orations for forne citizens at their re-

quest for to be pleaded and pronounced in judiciall courts : and as it is given out by some was the first who gave himselfe to this course, and professed so to do : for there is not extant one oration written in maner of a plea, by any oratours who lived before his time, no more by those that flourished in his daies (for it was not the maner yet and custome to compose oraions for others) Themistocles (I meane) Pericles, and Aristides; notwithstanding that the time presented unto them many occasions, yea and meere necessities so to do : neither was it upon their infusficiencie; that they thus abstained, as it may appeare by that which Historians have written of everieone of these men above mentioned. Moreover if we looke into the most ancient oratours whom we can cal to mind, to wit, Alcibiades, Critias, Ly lines and Architochus, who have writ-10 ten one & the fame stile, and exercised the same forme & maner of pleading; it wilbe found that they all conversed and conferred with Antiphon, being now very aged and farre stept in vecres: for being a man of an excellent quicke and readie wit, he was the first that made and put forth the Institutions of oratorie; so as, for his profound knowledge he was surnamed Nessor. And Cetilius in a certaine treatife which he compiled of him, conjectureth, that he had beene fometime schoolemaster to Thueydides the Historiographer; for that Antipho is so highly commended by him. In his speeches and orations he is verie exquisite and ful of perswassion, quicke and fubillin his inventions: in difficult matters verie artificiall; affailing his adversarie after a covere maner; turning his words and fayings respective to the lawes, and to move affections withal, aiming alwaies to that which is decent & feemely, and carying the best apparance & shew with it. Melived about the time of the Persian warre, when Gorgias Leoninus the great professor in

Rhetoricke flourished, being somewhat yonger than he was: and he continued to the subversion of the popular state and government, which was wrought by the 400 conspirators, wherin himfelfe feemed to have had a principall hand, for that he had the charge and command of two great gallies at fea, and was befides a captaine and had the leading of certaine forces: during which time he wan the victorie in divers battels, and procured unto them the aide of many allies : also he moved the young and luftie able man of warre to take armes; he rigged, manned, and fer our fixtie gallies, and in all their occasions was fent embassadour to the Lacedæmonians, when as the citie Eetionia was fortified with a wall: but after that those 400 before said were put downe and overthrowen, he was together with Archiptolemus one of the 400, accused for the conspi-30 racie, condemned and adjudged to the punishment which is due unto traitours. His corps was cast forth without sepulture; himselfe and all his posteritie registred for infamous persons upon

record: and yet some there be who report, that he was put to death by the 30 tyrants, and namely among the rest, Lyfus testifieth as much in an oration which he made for Antiphoes daughter; for a little daughter he had, unto whom Callesehrus made claime in right for his wife: and that the thirtie tyrants wee they who put him to death, Theopompus beareth witnesse in the fifteenth of his Philippickes. But more moderne furely was this man, and of a later time, yea and the sonne of one * Lystdonides, of whom Cratinas maketh mention, as of no wicked man in his * or Simonides, commedie called Pytine. For how should he who before was executed by shole 400 returne to life againe in the time of the thirtie usurpers or tyrants: but his death is reported otherwise;

40 namely, that being verie aged he failed into Cicily, when as the tyrannic of the former Denys was at the highest: and when the question was proposed at the table, which was the best brasse? as fome faid this, and others that : he answered, that for his part he thought that braffe was best, whereof the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton were made : which when Denys heard, he imagining that the speech imported thus much covertly, as to set on the Syracusians, for to attempt some violence upon his person, commanded him to be put to death. Others report, that the faid tyrant gave order that he should be made away, upon indignation that he skoffed at his

There be extant in this oratours name three score orations; whereof as Cecilius saith 25 are untruly reported to be his. Noted he is and taxed by Plato the comicall poet, together with 10 Pylander, for avarice & love of money. It is faid moreover, that he compoled certain etragoedies alone, and others with Diany fins the tyrant, who joined with him. At the fame time also when he gave his mind unto Poetrie, he devised the art of curing the griefes and maladies of the minde, like as physicians pretend skill for to heale the diseases and paines of the bodie. Certes, having built a little house at Corumb in the market place, hee set up a bill on the gate, wherein hee made profession: That he had the skill to remedie by words, those who were vexed and grieved in spirit: and he would demaund of thosewho were amisse, the causes of their sorrow, and according thereto, apply his comforts and confolations. Howbeit afterwards supposing this arrand pro-

fession to be too base and meane for him, he turned his studie to Rhetoricke, and raught it. Some there be who attribute unto Antipho the booke of Glaucus the Rhegine as touching poets: but principally is that treatife commended which he made unto Herodotus; as also that which is dedicated to Erafistratus touching the Ideaes; and the oration of Message which he penned for his owne felfe; & another against Demostheres the captaine, which he named Paranomon, for that he charged him to have broken the lawes. Also another oration he wrote against Hippoerates the general commander, & caused him to be condemned for his contumacy, in that he failed to answer at the day affigued for his triall, that verie yeere when Theopompus was Provost of the citie, under whom the foure hundred confpiratours and usurpers of the common-weale were put downe and overthrowen. Now the decree of the Senate by vertue whereof ordained it was: That Amiphon 10 should be judicially tried and condemned, Cecilius hathput downe in these tearmes. The one and twentish day of Prytancia, when Demonicus of Alopece, was feeretarie or publike notarie, Phis tostratus of Pellene chiefe commander, upon the proposition or bill-preferred of Andron the Senate, hath ordained as touching these persons; namely Archiptolemus, Onomacles and Antiphon, whom the captaines have declared againft; that they went in emballage unto Lacedamon, to the losse and detriment of the citie of Athens, and departed from the camp, first in an enemies ship, and so passed by land by Decelia; that their bodies should be attached and cast into prison, for to abide justice and punishment according to law. Item, that the captaines themfelves, with certaine of the Senate, to the number of ten, fuch as it pleafed them to chuse and nominate, should make presentment and give in evidence, that upon the points alledged and 20 prooved, judgement might paffe according. Item that the Thefmothetes (hould eall for the faid persons judicially, the verse next morow after they were committed, and convent them before the judges, after that they be chosen by lot: when and where they should accuse the captaines with the orators abovefaid, of treason ; yea & who soever els would come in, he should be heard. Item, when fentence is concluded and pronounced against them, then the judgement of condemnation shall be executed according to the forme and tenure of the law established, in case of traitors. Vnder the instrument of this decree, was subscribed the condemnation of treason in this manner: Condemned there were of treason, Archiptolemus the sonne of Hippodamus of Agryle,present; Antiphon the sonne of Sophilus, of Rhamus, likewise present: and awardedit was by the court, that these two should be delivered over into the hands of the eleven executors 30 of justice; their goods to be conficate; the difine whereof to be confectate unto the goddeffe Minerva; their houses to be demolished and pulled downe to the very ground; and upon the borders of the plots wherein they flood, this superscription to be written: Here flood the houses of Archiptolemus and of Antiphon, two traitours of the State * * * Alfo, that it might not bee lawfull to enter or burie the bodie of Archiptolemus and of Antiphon within the citie of Athens, nor in any part belonging to their domain on territorie. That their memorie should be infamous, and all their posteritie after them, as well hastards as legitimate: and that who so ever adopted any one of Archiptolemus or Antiphons children for his sonne, himselfe should be held intamous. Finally, that all this should be engrossed and engraven in a columne of brasse, wherein alto thould be fet downe the fentence and decree which passed as concerning Physichus.

ANDOCIDES. II.

A Mocides was the some of that Leagoras, who somatime made a peace betweenethe Athenians and the Lacedemonians; borne in the tribe of Cydathene or Thurie, descended from a noble house, and as Hellanicus saith, even from Mercurie; for the race of the Ceryces, that is, Heraults pertaineth unto him: and therefore chosen he was upon a time with Glaucon, for to go with a sleet of twentie saile, to aide the Coreyreans, who warred upon the Corinthians. But after all this, accused he was of impietie and irreligion; for that hee with others had mangled and defaced the images of Mercurie; that stood within the citie: also for that he had tref 50 passed against the holy mysteries and facred ceremonies of Ceres; in as much as being before time a wild youth and loosely given, he went in a maske one night, and brake certaine images of the god Mercurie; whereupon (Iay) he was judicially convented. And because he would not deliver and bring foorth to be examined upon torture, that servant of his, whom his accusers called for, he was held attaint & couviét of that crime which was laid to his charge; yea & for the second imputation charged upon him verie deeply suspected: for which also he was called into question, not long after the setting foorth of the great Armada at sea which went into Sicily, when

when the Corinthians had fent certaine Aegefians and Leontines, into the citie of Athens, unto whom the Athenians privately were to yeeld aid & fuccour, in the night feafon they brake all the images of Mercury which flood about the market place, as Cratippus faith. Well, being in pected for offending againft the facred myfteries of Ceres, & thereupon judicially called to his answer, he escaped judgement of condemnation, and was acquit; so that he would discover and declare the delinquents and offenders indeed. Now having emploied his whole studie & endever thereabout, he wrought so, that he found out those who were faultie as touching the facred mysteries aforesaid, among whom was his owne sathers. As for all the rest when they were convicted, the caused them to be put to death: only his fathers life he faved, although he was already in prison; so promising withall that he would done much good service unto the common-weale, wherein he failed not of his word. For Leagons accused many who had robbed and embezilled the cities treasure, and committed other wicked parts, by the meanes whereof he was absolved.

Now albeit Andocides was in great name and reputation for mannaging the affaires of common-weale; yet neverthelesse he fet his mind to trafficke and merchandize at sea; whereby hee got amitie, and entred into league of hospitalitie, which many princes and great potentates, but principally with the king of Cyprus: and it was than, that he stole and carried away a citizens child, the daughter of Aristides and his owne niece, without the privitie and consent of her friends, and sent her closely for a presente one said king of Cyprus: but when he was upon the point to be called in question judicially for this sact, he stole her privily away againe out of Cy20 prus, and brought her home to Athens. Hereupon the king of Cyprus caused hands to be laid upon him, where he was kept in prison; but he brake loose and escaped to Athens, at the verie rime when the foure hundred conspirations and usurpers governed the State: and being by them cast into prison, he got away againe when the said Olygarchie was dissolved. Howbeit he was drawen out of the citie, when the thirtie tyrants ruled all and usurped their government. During which time of his extle, he abode in the citie of Elu: but when Thrassus and his adherents returned into the city, healso repaired this her, and was sent in an embassing to Lacedamon; where being taken againe in a trip, he was for his ill demeanour banished.

All thele premiles appeare evidently by his orations which he hath written; for in fome of them we find how he answere tho those imputations which were charged upon him for violating of the foresid holy mysteries; in others, he generally craveth for the favour of the judges and standeth upon the tearness of mercie; there is an oration also of his extant, as touching the appeaching or discoverie of those, who were faultie for those sacred extermonies; as also his Agologie or defence against Pheans, and cocerning peace. He slourished at the very same time that Socrates the Philosopher was in so great name. But borne he was in the *78 Olympias *Ortoday that yeere wherein Theagemides was provost or chiefe ruler of Athens; so that by this computation he must need be more ancient that Dessays of Andocides, for that this image being dedicated by the tribe or sinage. Aegesis, stood neere unto the house where Andocides dwelt. This Andocides destaid the charges of a solemne round dance in the name of the line or kinred Aedocides destaid the charges of a solemne round dance in the name of the line or kinred Aedocides destaid the charges of a solemne round dance in the name of the line or kinred Aedocides destaid the charges of a solemne round dance in the name of the line or kinred Aedocides destaid the charges of a solemne round dance in the name of the line or kinred Aedocides destaid the charges of a solemne round dance in the name of the line or kinred Aedocides destaid the charges of a solemne round dance in the name of the line or kinred Aedocides destaid the charges of a solemne round dance in the name of the line or kinred Aedocides destaid the charges of a solemne round dance in the name of the line or kinred Aedocides destaid the charges of a solemne round dance in the name of the line or kinred Aedocides destaid the charges of a solemne round dance in the name of the line or kinred Aedocides destaid the charges of a solemne round dance in the name of the line or kinred Aedocides destaid the charges of a solemne

His stile is plaine and simple, without all art, bare and naked without any figures whatsoever.

LYSIAS. III.

L'ssia the sonne of Cephalus, the sonne of Lysanias, who had likewise for his sather Cephalus, borne in Syracuse, but he went to dwell at Athens, partly for the affection that he bare to the citie, and in part through the persuasion of Persules the son of Xantippus, who being his striend so & guest, persuaded him thereto, and the rather for that he was a mightie man there, and exceeding rich: or as some think, he came to Athens by occasion that he was banished out of Syracuse, at what time as the citie was tyrannically oppressed by Gelon: so he arrived at Athens that yeere, wherin Philoseles was provois next after Phrasseles, in the second yeere of the 32 Olympias: at his sufficoming brought up he was, & taught with the noblest Athenians; but after that the citie sent out the colonie of Sybaris, which afterwards was named Thury, he were with his eldest brother Polemarchus: for he had besides him 2, other brethre, Eudemus & Brachillus their sather being now departed this life) to have his part set out & allotted unto him out of his sathers lands, being not

fifteene yeeres old, that verie yeere when as Praxiteles was provost: where he remained, and was instructed by Nicias, & Tistas, two Syracusans. Now having bought him an house, with the portion of land which fell unto his share, he lived there, in state of a citizen, and was called to government of common weale, when his lot came, for the space of 63 yeeres, untill the time that Clearchus was provost of Athens: but the yeere next following when Callias was provost: namely, in the 92 Olympias, when as the Sicilians and Athenians fought a field, by reason whereof many of their allies stirred and revolted, and especially those who dwelt in Italy and coasted thereupon, accused he was to have favoured the Athenians and sided with them, and thereupon was banished with three other. Now being arrived at Ashens in the yeere wherein Callias was provost next after Cleoeritus, while the foure hundred usurpers were possessed of to the State, hee there rested: but after the navall battell was stricken neere to a place called the Goats rivers, when as the thirtie tyrants had the administration of the common weale in their hands, banished he was from thence for the space of seven yeeres; lost his goods and his brother Polemarchus; himfelfe escaped with life narrowly out of the house at a posterne gate or backe. doore; in which house he had beene befet with a full purpose that he should end his life there: and then he retired himselfe to the citie Megara, where he abode. When as those of Phila had made a reentric into the citie, and chased out the tyrants; for that he shewed himselfe (above all others) most forward in this enterprise, as having contributed (for the exploiting of this service) two thousand dragmes weight in filver, and two hundred targuets: and being fent besides with Herman, waged three hundred and two fouldiers, and wrought fo effectually with Thraftlem the 20 Elian, his friend and old hoft, that he helped him unto certeine talents of filver; in regard wherof, Thrasibulus (upon his returne and reentry into the city) proposed unto the people: That for and in confideration of these good services, the right of free burgeosie should be granted unto him. This hapned in the yeere of the Anarchie, when there was no provost elected, next before the provoftlhip of Euclides. This was granted and ratified by the people : onely there was one Archinus flood up, and impeached the proceeding thereof, as being against the law, because it was proposed unto the people, before it was consulted upon in the Sonate: so the forefaid decree was anulled and revoked. Thus being difappointed of his right of burgeofie, he remained nevertheleffe (during his life) as a citizen, and enjoyed the fame rights, franchifes and priviledges that other burgeffes did; & fo died in the end, when he had lived the space of source 30 fcore and three yeeres, or as fome fay, three fcore and fixteene; and as others write, foure fcore: fo that he lived to fee Demosthenes achilde. It is faid, that he was borne the yeere that Philoeles was provoft. There goe in his name foure hundred orations; of which number (according to Diony fins and Cecilius) two hundred and thirtie be of his owne making in deed: in the pronouncing of all which, he failed but twice, and had the foile. There is extant also, that very oration which he made against Archinus, in the maintenance and defence of the faid decree; by vertue whereof, the right of burgeofie was given unto him: also another, against the thirtie tyrants. Apt he was to perswade; and in those orations which he gave out to others, very briefe and succinct. There be found likewise of his making, certain eintroductions to Rhetoricke, and speeches delivered publickly before the people; letters missive; solemne praises; funerall orations; 40 discourses of love; and one defence of Socrates, which directly seemed to touch the judges to the quicke. His stile was thought to be plaine and easie, howbeit, inimitable. Demosthenes in one oration which he made against A eara, faith: That he was enamoured of one Mesaneira, a fervant with Neara; but afterwards he espoused and tooke to wife the daughter of his brother Brachyllus. Plato himselse maketh mention of him in his booke entituled Phadrus, as of an oratour passing eloquent, and more ancient than Isocrates. Philifeus who was familiar with Isocrates, and the companion of Lysias, made an Epigram upon him, wherby it appeareth, that he was more ancient, (as also it is evident by that which Plate hath faid) & the Epigram is to this effect:

Now shew Callippes daughter, thou that art so eloquent; If ought of witte spirit thou hast, and what it excellent:
For meet it is that thou should it bring, some little Lysias foorth:
To blaze bis fathers name abroad, for vertuous deeds of woorth.
Who (now transform d, and having caught

a bodie strange to see
In other worlds for Sapience should
now immortall bee)
My loving heart to freed now dead,
likewise to not site;
Andto delare his vertuous life
unto posseritie.

Hecomposed likewise an oration for *Iphicrates*, which he pronounced against *Harmodius* as alfo another wherein he accused *Timotheus* of treason, and both the one and the other he overto thew: but afterwards when *Iphicrates* tooke upon him againe to enquire into the dooings of *Timotheus*, calling him to account for the revenues of the State which he had mannaged, and fer in hand againe with this accusation of treason, hee was brought into question judicially, and made answere in his owne defence by an oration that *Lysus* penned for him. And as for himselfe he was acquit of the crime and absolved; but *Timotheus* was condemned and fined to pay a great summe of money. Moreover, he rehearsed in the great affembly and solemnity at the Olympick games, a long oration, wherein he perswaded the Greekes, that they should be reconciled one to another, and joine together for to put downe the tyrant *Dionysius*.

ISOCRATES. IIII.

Socrates was the fonne of one Theodorus, an Erechthian, aman reckoned in the number of I meane citizens, one who kept a fort of fervants under him, who made flutes and hautboies; by whose workmanship he became so rich, that he was able to bring up and set out his children in worshipfull manner. For other sonnes he had besides, to wit, Telesippus and Diomnessus; and also a little daughter unto them. Hereupon it is that he was twitted and flouted by the comicall poets Aristophanes and Stratus, in regard of those flutes. He lived about the 86. Olympias elder than Lysmachus the Myrthinusian by two and twentic yeeres, and before Pluo some seven yeeres. During his childhood, he had as good bringing up as any Athenian whatfoever, as being the disciple & scholar of Prodicus the Chian, of Gorgias the Leontine, of Tysias the Syracu-30 stan, & Theramenes the prosessed Rhetorician: who being at the point to be apprehended & taken by the 30 tyrants, & flying for refuge to the altar of Minerva the Counfeller, when all other friendswere affrighted and amazed: onely Iserates arose and shewed himselfe for to affish and fuccor him, and at the first continued a long time filent. But Theramenes himselfe began and prayed him to defift; faying, that it would be more dolorous and grievous unto him, than his ownecalamitie, in case he should see any of his friends to be troubled and endangered for the love of him. And it is faid, that he helped him to compile certaine Institutions of Rhetoricke, at what time as he was maliciously and fallely flandered before the judges in open court : which Inflitutions are gon under the name and title of Boton.

When he was growen to mans estate, he fortare to meddle in State matters, and in the af-40 faires of common-weale; as well for that he hadby nature a small and feeble voice, as because naturally he was featfull and timorous: and befides, his state was much impaired, by reason that he lost his patrimonie in the warre against the Lacedamonians. It appeared that to other men he had beene affiltant in counfell, and giving testimonie for them in places of judgement: but it is not knewen that he pronounced above one onely oration, to wit, see air motores, that is to fay, concerning counterchange of goods. And having fet up a publicke schoole, he gave himselse to the studie of philosophie, and to write; where he composed his Panegyrique oration, and certaine others of the Deliberative kind: and those that he wrote himselfe, some he read, some he penned for others; thinking thereby to exhort and stirre up the Greekes to devise and performe such duties as beseemed them to doe. But seeing that he missed of his purpose and inten-50 tion, hee gave over that course, and betooke himselse to keepe a schoole: first, as some say, in Chies, having nine scholars that came unto him : where when he saw that his scholars paid him downe in money his Minervals for their schooling, hee wept and said: I see well now that I am fold unto these youthes. He would conferre willingly with those that came to devise and talke with him, being the first that put a difference betweene wrangling pleas or contentious orations, and ferious politike discourses of common-weale, in which herather employed himselfe. He ordained magistrates in Chios, erecting the same forme of government there, which was in his ownecountrey. He gathered more filver together by teaching schoole, than ever any professor

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in Rhetoricke or schoole-master was knowen to have done; so that he was well able to destray the charges of a galley at fea. Of scholars he had to the number of one hundred: and among manv others, Timotheus the sonne of Conon; with whom he travelled abroad, and visited many cities: he penned all those letters which Timotheus sent unto the Athenians; in regard whereof he beflowed upon him a talent of filver, the remainder of that money due by composition from Samos. There were besides of his scholars Theopompus the Chian, and Ephorus of Cumes; Aslepiades allo who composed tragical matters and arguments; and Theodectes, who afterwards wrote tragoedies (whose tombe or sepulcher is as men go toward Cyamite, even in the sacred way or ftreet that leadeth to Eleufis, now altogether ruinate and demolished: in which place he caused to be erected and fet up the statues of famous poets together with him, of all whom there remai- 10 neth none at this day but Homer alone;) also Leodamus the Athenian; Lacritus the law-giver unto the Athenians, and as some say, Hyperides and If eus. And it is said that Demosthenes also came unto him whiles he yet taught a Rhetoricke schoole, with an earnest purpose to learne of him, using this speech: that he was not able to pay him a thousand drachms of silver, which was the onely price that he made and demaunded of everie scholar; but meanes he would make to give him two hundred drachms, so he might learne of him but the fift part of his skill, which was aproportionable rate for the whole; unto whom I forrates made this answere: We use not, Demostbenes, to do our businesse by piece-meale; but like as men are woont to sell faire fishesall whole; even fo will I, if you purpose to be my scholar, teach and deliver you mine art full and entier, and not by halfes or parcels.

He departed this life the verie yeere that *Charonides* was Provost of *Athens*; even when the newes came of the discomfiture at *Charonea*, which he heard being in the place of *Hippocrates* publicke exercises: and voluntarily he procured his owne death, in abstaining from all food and fuftenance the space of source daies, having pronounced before this abstinence of his, these three first verses which begin three tragedies of *Euripides*:

1 King Danaus, who fiftie daughters had.

2 Pelopsthe sonne of Tantalus, when he to Pisa came.

3 Cadmus whilom, the citie Sidon left.

He lived 98 yeeres, or as some say, a full hundred, & could not endure for to see Greece sower times brought into servitude : the yeere before he died, or as some write , sower yeeres before 30 he wrote his Panathenaick oration: as for his Panegyrik oration, he was in penning it tenne yeeres, and by the report, of some, fifteene, which he is thought to have translated and borrowed out of Gorgias the Leontine and Lysias: and the oration concerning the counterchange of goods, he wrote when he was fourescore yeeres old & twaine: but his Philippike oration he set downe a little before his death: when he was farre stepped in yeeres, he adopted for his sonne, Aphareus, the yoongest of the three children of Plathane his wife, the daughter of Hippias the oratour, and professed Rhetorician. He was of good wealth, as well for that he called duely for money of his scholars, as also because he received of Nicocles king of Cypres, who was the some of Euggoras, the fumme of twenty talents of filver for one oration which hee dedicated unto him: by occasion of this riches, he became envied, and was thrice chosen and enjoined to be 40 the captaine of a galley, and to defray the charges thereof: for the two first times he feigning himselfe to be sicke, was excused by the meanes of his sonne; but at the third time he rose up and tooke the charge, wherein he spent no small summe of money. There was a father, who talking with him about his fonne whom he kept at schoole, said: That he sent with him no other to be his guide and governour, but a flave of his owne: unto whom I forrates answered: Goe your waies then, for one flave you shall have twaine. Hee entred into contention for the prize at the folemne games which queene Artemifia exhibited at the funerals and tombe of her hufband Maufelus: but this enchomiasticall oration of his which he made in the praise of him, is not extant: another oration he penned in the praise of Helena; as also a third in the commendation of the counfell Areopagus. Some write, that he died by absteining nine daies together 50 from all meat: others report but fower; even at the time that the publike obsequies were solemnized for them who loft their lives in the battell at Cheronea. His adopted fonne Apharens composed likewise certeine orations: enterred hee was together with all his linage and those of his bloud, necre unto a place called Cynofarges, upon a banke or knap of a little hill on the left hand, where were bestowed, the sonne, and father Theodorus; their mother also and her sister Anace, aunt unto the oratour; his adopted fonne likewise Aphareus, together with his cousen germain Socrates, sonne to the a foresaid aunt Anaco Isocrates mothers fifter: his brother Theodorus who bate the name of his father, his nephewes, or children of his adopted some Aphareus, and his naturall Theodorus; moreover, his wise Plathane mother to his adopted some Aphareus: upon all these bodies there were fix tables or tombs erected of stone, which are not to be seen at this day: but there stood upon the tombe of Isoraes himselse, a mightie great ramue engraven, to the height of thirtie cubits, upon which there was afren or mere-maid sevencubits high, to signifie under a figure his milde nature and eloquent stille: there was be sides necre unto him, a table conteining certaine poets and his owne schole-masters: among whom was Gorguas looking upon an astrological sphare, and signification in sturthermore, there is erected a brasen image of his in Eleusin, before the entrie of the gallery Stoa, which Timotheus the sonne of Caron caused to be made, bearing this epigram or inscription:

Timotheus upon a loving minde, And for to honour mutuall kindnesses, This image of stoctates his friende, Eretted hath unto the goddesses.

This statue was the handi-worke of Leochares. There goe under his name threescore orations; of which five and twentie are his indeed, according to the judgement of Diony fius: but as Cecili-#faith, eight and twentie; all the rest are falfly attributed unto him. So farre was he off from oftentation, and so little regard had hee to put foorth himselfe and shew his sufficiencie, that when upon a time there came three unto him, of purpose to heare him declame and discourse, hekept two of them with him, and the third he sentaway, willing him to returne the next morrow: For now (quoth he) I have a full theater in mine auditoric. He was wont to fay also unto his scholars and familiars: That himselfe taught his art for ten pounds of silver; but hee would give unto him that could put into him audacity, and teach him good utterance, ten thousand. When one demanded of him how it was possible that he should make other men sufficient orators, seeing himselse was nothing eloquent: Why not (quoth he) seeing that whet stones which can not cut at all, make iron and fteele sharpe enough and able to cut. Some fay, that he composed certeine books as touching the art of rhetorick; but others are of opinion, that it was not by any method, but exercise onely, that he made his scholars good oratours: this is certaine, 30 that he never demanded any mony of naturall citizens borne, for their teaching. His maner was to bid his scholars to be present at the great affemblies of the citie, and to relate unto him what they heard there spoken and delivered. He was wonderfull heavy and forrowfull out of measure for the death of Socrates, so as the morrow after he mourned & put on blacke for him. Againe, unto one who asked him what was Rhetorick? he answered: It is the art of making great matters of small, & small things of great. Being invited one day to Nicocreen the tyrant of Cypres; as he fat at the table, those that were present, requested him to discourse of some theame; but he answered thus: For such matters wherein I have skill the time will not now serve; and in those things that fit the time, I am nothing skilfull. Seeing upon a time Sophocles the tragicall poet, following wantonly and hunting with his eic, a yoong faire boy; he faid: O Sophocles an ho-40 nest man ought to conteine not his hands onely, but his cies also. When Ephorus of Cunes went from his schoole non proficiens, and able to doe nothing, by reason whereof his father Demophilus sent him againe with a second salary or minervall; Isocrates smiled thereat, and merily called him Diphoros, that is to fay, bringing his money twice: fo hee tooke great paines with the man, and would himfelfe prompt him, and give him matter and invention for his declamatorie exercife.

Inclined he was and naturally given unto the pleasures of wanton love; in regard whereof he used to lie upon a thinne and hard short mattresse, and to have the pillow and bolster under his head perfumed, and wet with the water of saffron. So long as he was in his youth he matted not; but being now striken in age and growen old, he kept a queane or harlot in his house, whose so name was Lagisca, by whom he had a little daughter, who died before she was matted, when she was about twelve yeeres old. After that, he espoused Plathane, the wife of the rhetoritian * Gor* * Mirrian gias, who had three children before, of whom he adopted Aphareus for his owne sonne, as hath beene said before, who caused his statue to be cast in brasse, and erected it neere unto the image of Jupiter Olympius, as it were upon a columne, with this Epigram:

This portraict of Mocrates in braffe, His fonne adopted, Aphaccus, who was, Eretted hath to Jupiter, in view Of all the world thereby to make a shew, That unto gods he is religious,

And honoureth his father vertuous. It is faid, that whiles he was but a youg boy, he ran a course on horsebacke; for he is to be seene all in braffe in the caftle or citadell of the city, fitting and riding his horfe, in forme and proportion of a boy within the tenife court of those priests of Minerva, which attend there, to tarie the facred fecrets, not to be revealed, as some have reported. In all his life time there were two only futes commenfed against him: the former, for the exchange of his goods, being challenged and provoked by Megaclides; for the triall whereof, he appeared not personally at his day, by reason of ficknesse: the second action was framed against him by Lysimachus, for the exchange of his to goods, with charge to defray the expenses of mainteining a galley at sea: in which processe he was call, and forced to fet out a galley. There was also a painted image of his in the place called Pompeisum. And Aphareus composed verily orations, though not many, both judiciall and also deliberative. He made also tragoedies, to the number of seven and thirtie; whereof there be two which were contradicted. And he began to have his works openly heard in publicke place, from the yeere wherein Lyfiftratus was provolt, unto that yeere wherein Sofieles was in place; to eight and twentie yeeres in which time he caufed fix civill plaies to be acted, and twice gained the prize of victorie, having fet them forth by a principall actour or plaier, named Dionysus: and by other actours he exhibited two more, of the Lenaick kind, that is to fay, full of mitth, and

There were the statues also to be seene within the citadell, of the mother of Isocrates and of Theodorus, as also of Anaco her fifter; of which, that of his mother is yet excant; and it standeth necre unto the image of Hygia, that is to fay Health; onely the inscription is changed; but the the other of Anaco is not to be found. This Anaco had two fonces, Alexander by Canes, and

Usicles by Lysias.

Is AE us. V.

Neus was borne in Chalcis: and being come to Athens, he fludied the works of Lysius, whom he did so neerely imitate, aswell in the apt couching of his words, as in the witty device & subtiltie of his inventions; that if a man were not very well practifed & perfect in the flile and ma- 20 ner of witting of these two orators, hardly he should be able to discerne many of their orations, and diffinguish one from another. He was in greatest name, about the time of the Peloponnefracke warre, as may be conjectured by his orations; and continued unto the reigne of king Philip. He give over his publicke schoole, and went to teach Demosthenes privatly at home, for the fum of ten thousand drachmes of filver; whereby he became very famous : and as some say, he it was that composed for Demostheres certeine exhortatory orations. He left behind him three fcore and foure orations going in his name; whereof fiftie are his indeed; also some particular introductions of his owne, and rules of Rhetoricke. He was the first who began both to forme and to turne the fenfe of his stile unto the politicke management of affaires; a thing that Demost benes doch most of all imitate. Of this oratour, Theopompus the comicall poet maketh men-40 tion in his Thefem.

AESCHINES. VI.

Eschines was the some of Atrometus, (a man who being banished in the time of the thirtie Atyrants, was a meanes to aide the people, and to fet up the popular state againe) and his methers name was Glaucothea. He was of the burrough or tribe Cothocis: fo that his parents were neither for nobilitie of race, nor yet for wealth and riches renowmed in the citie: but being yoong, and of a luftie and able conflitution, he fortified and confirmed the fame more by bodily exercife; and finding himfelfe to have a firong breft and cleere voice; thereupon afterwards he made profession to act tragodies; but (as Demosthenes faid of him by way of reproch) hee 50 went after others, and could never proceed higher than to act the third and last parts in the soleunities of the Bacchanale plaies under one Ariftodemus. When he was but a boy, he taught petties the letters; namely, to fpel and reade together with his father and being of some growth, he ferved as a common fouldier in the warres. The scholar and auditor he was (as some thinke) of Hoerates & Plato; but according to Cecilius, of Leodamas. Being entred into the managing of State affaires, and that not without credit & reputation; because he made head & sided against the faction of Demostheres, emploied he was in many embassinges; and namely unto K. Philip,

for to treat of peace: for which, accused he was by Demosthenes, and charged to have beene the cause that the nation of the Phocæans was rooted out, and for that he kindled warre between the Amphyctions and the Amphiffians, what time as he was chosen one of the deputies to be present in the affembly or diet of the Amphyctions, who made also an haven, whereby it hapned withall, that the Amphy ctions put themselves into the protection of Philip, who being wrought by Aelehines, tooke the matter in hand, and conquered all the territorie of Phocis: howbeit, through the port and favourable countenance of Eubulus the sonne of Spintharus a Proballusian, who was of great credit and reputation among the people, and spake in his behalfe, he escaped, and was found unguiltie, and caried it by thirtie voices; although others fay, that the orato tours had penned their orations, and were at the point to plead; but upon the newes of the overthrow at Cheronea, which impeached the proceeding of law, the matter was not called for, nor

The lives of the ten Oratours.

A certeine time after, when king Philip was dead, and his fonne Alexander gone forward in his expedition into Asia, he accused Ctestiphon judicially, for that he had passed a decree contrary unto the lawes, in the honour of Demosthenes; but having on his side not the fift part of the fuffrages and the voices of the people, he was banished out of Athens, and fled to Rhodes, because he would not pay the fine of a thousand drachines, in which he was condemned, upon his overthrow at the barre. Others fay, that over & befide, he was noted with infamie, because he would not depart out of the citie; and that he retired himselfe to Epheson unto Alexander. But upon 20 the decease of Alexander, when there was great troubles towards, he returned to Khodes, where hekept a schoole, and beganne to teach the art of Rhetoricke. He read other-whiles unto the Rhodians (and that with action and gefture) the oration which he had pronounced against Cteliphon; whereat, when all the hearers marvelled, and namely, how possibly he could be cast, if he acted tuch an oration: You would never wonder at the matter (quoth he) my mafters of Rhodes, if you had beene in place and heard Demosthenes impleading against it. He left behinde him a schoole at Rhodes, which afterwards was called the Rhodian schoole. From thence he failed to Samos, and when he had stated a time in the Isle, within a while after, he died. A pleasant and fweet voice he had, as may appeare both by that which Demosthenes hath delivered of him, and alfo by an oration of Demochires.

There be found foure orations under his name; one against Timarchus; another as touching falleembaffage; and a third a gainst Ctesphon, which in truth be all three his: for the fourth entituled Deliaca, was never penned by Aslobines. True it is indeed, that appointed and commanded he was to plead judicially the causes of the temple of Delos: but he pronounced no such oration; for that Hyperides was chosen in stead of him, as faith Demosthenes. And by his owne saying two brethren he had, Aphobus and Demochares. He brought unto the Athenians the first tidings of the second victorie which they obtained at Tamme, for which he was rewarded with a crowne. Some give it out that Aeschines was scholar to none, and never learned his Rhetoricke of any mafter; but being brought up to writing, and a good pen-man, he became a clarke or notarie; and fo grew up to knowledge of himtelfe by his owne industrie, for that he ordinarly conversed 40 in judiciall courts, and places of judgement. The first time that ever he made publike speech before the people, was against king Philip: and having then audience with with great applause and commendation, he was prefently choicn embaffadour, and fent to the Arcadians; whither when he was come, he raifed a power of ten thousand men against Philip. He presented and indited Timarchus for maintaining a brothell house; who fearing to appeare judicially, and to have the cause heard, hung himselfe, as after a fort Demosthenes in some place saith. Afterwards elected he was to go in embassage unto Philip with Cteliphon & Demosthenes, about a treatie of peace, wherein he carried himselfe better than Demosthenes. A second time was hee chosen the tenth maninan embassage, for to goe and conclude a peace upon certaine capitulations and covenants; for which service he was judicially called to his answere and acquit, as hath beene faid 50 before.

Lycurous, VII.

Trangus was the fonne of Lycophron, the fonne of Lycurgus; him I meane whom the thirties Lyrants did to death, by the procurement & instigation of one Aristodemus that came from Bata; who having beene treasurer generall of Greece, was banished during the popular government. Of the borrough or tribe he was named Buta, and of the family or house of the Eteobutades. At the beginning, the scholar he was of Plato the philosopher, and made profession of philotophie: but alterwards being entred into familiar acquaintance with Iforrates, hee became his scholar, and dealt in affaires of State where he wan great credit, as well by his deeds, as words; and so put in trust he was with the mannagement of the cities revenues: for treasurour general he was the space of fifteene yeeres; during which time, there went thorow his hands fortie millions of talents, or as fome Lay, four fore millions fix hundred and fiftie talents. And it was the orator Stratecles who preferred him to this honor, by propounding him unto the people. Thus I fay at the first was he himselfe chosen treasurour in his own name; but afterwards he nominated some one of his friends; and yet neverthelesse mannaged all, and had the whole administration of it in his owne hands; for that there was a Statute enacted and published, that none might be chosen to to have the charge of the publicke treasure above five yeeres. He continued alwaies an overfeer of the citie workes both winter and fummer: and having the office and charge committed unto him for provition of all necessaries for the warres, he reformed many things that were amisse in common-wealth. He caused to be built for the citie source hundred gallies. He made the common hall or place for publicke exercises in Lyceum, and planted the same round about with trees: He reared also the wrettling hall, and finished the theater which is at the temple of Buchus, being himselfe in person to oversee and direct the workmen. He was reputed a man of such sidelitie and so good a conscience, that there was committed upon trust into his hands, to the summe of two hundred and fiftie talents of filver, by divers and fundric private perfons to be kept for their use. He caused to be made many faire vessels of gold and silver to adorne and beautifie the 20 citie: as also fundrie images of Victoric in gold. And finding many publicke workes unperfect and halfe done, he accomplished and made an end of them all; as namely the Artenals, the common hals for armour and other utenfiles and implements, ferving for the cities uses. He founded a wall round about the spatious cloifture, called Panathenaike, which he finished up to the verie cape and batilments; yea and laid levell and even, the great pit or chinke in the ground; for that one Dinim, whose plot of ground it was, gave away the proprietie which he had in it unto the citie, in favour especially of Lycurgues, and for his sake. He had the charge and custodie of the citie, and commission to attache and apprehend malefactours, whom he drave all quit out of the citie; infomuch that fome of the oratours and fubtle fophisters would fay, that Lyeurgue dipt not his pen in blacke inke, but in deadly blood, when he drew his writs against male factours: In 30 regatd of which benefit unto the common weale, so well beloved he was of the people, that when king Alexander demanded to had him delivered into his hands, the people would not forgo him. But when asking Philip made warre upon the Athenians the second time, he went in embaffage with Polycuttus and Domofthenes, as well into Peloponnessus, as to other States and cities. All his time he lived in good estimation among the Athenians, reputed evermore for a just and upright man, in such fort that in all courts of justice, if Lyeurgus said the word, it was held for a great prejudice & good foredoome in his behalfe, for whom he spake. He proposed & brought in certaine lawes; the one to this effect, that there should be exhibited a solemnitie of plates or comedies at the feath Chypro, wherein the poets should do their best, and strive a vie within the the atte for the prife; and who foever obtained victorie, should therewith have the right and free. 40 dome of burgcotte, a thing that before was not lawfull not graunted unto poets; and thus hee brought unto nie and practife againe, a solemne game which he had discontinued. Another, that there should be made at the publike charges of the citie, statues of braffe for the poets Aefchylus, Sophoeles and Euripides; that their tragoodies should be exemplified and engrossed faire, for to be kept in the chamber of the citie; and that the publicke notarie of the citie thould reade them unto the plaiers, for otherwise unlawfull it was to act them. A third there was, that no citizen, nor any other person resiant and inhabitant within the citic of Athens, should be permitted to buy any prisoners taken in warre, such as were of free condition before, to make them slaves, without the confent of their first masters. Item, that within the haven Pyreeum, there should be exhibited a folemne play or game unto Neptune, confifting of round daunces, no fewerthan 50 three: and that unto those who woon the first prise, there should be given for a reward no sewer than ten pound of filver; to the fecond, eight at the least; and to the third, not under fix, according as they should be adjudged by the timpiers. Item, that no dame of Athens might be allowed to ride in a coatch to Eleusin; for feare that the poore might be debased by the rich, and herein reputed their inferiours: but in case any of them were so taken riding in a coatch, she should be fined and pay fix thousanddrachms: now when his owne wife obeied not his law, but was furprized in the manner by the fycophants and promoters, he himselfe gave unto them a whole

talent, with which afterwards when he was charged, and accused before the people: You see yet (quoth he) my masters of athens that I am overtaken for giving, and not for taking filter.

He mette one day as he went in the street, a publicane or farmer of the forrain taxes and tributes for the city, who had laid hands upon the philosopher Xenocrates, and would have ledde him to prison in all haste, because he paid not the duties imposed upon strangers; for which he gave the publicane a rappe on the head with the rodde or walking thatte which hee had in his hand, and recovered the philosopher out of his clouches; which done, he cast the said officer himselfe into prison for his labor, as having comitted a great indignity unto such a personage:a few daies after, the fame philosopher meeting him with the children of Lycurgsu: I have (quoth he unto them) my good children rendred thanks unto your father, and that right speedily, in that he is so praised and commended of all men for succouring and rescuing me. He proposed and published certeine publicke decrees, using the helpe heerein of one Euclides an Olynthian, who was thought to be a very fufficient man in framing and penning fuch acts; and albeit he was a wealthy person, yethe never ware but one and the same kinde of garment both winter and fummer, yea, and the fame shooes he went in every day, what need soever was He exercifed himfelfe continually in declaming both night and day, for that he was not fo fit to speak of a fudden and unprovided, upon his bedde or pallet where he lay, he had onely for his covering asheepes skinne, fell and all, and under his head abousster, to the end that the sooner and with more case, he might awake and goe to his study. There was one who reproched him, for that 20 he paid his money still unto sophisters and professed thetoricians, for teaching him to make orations: But (quoth he) againe, if there were any would promife and undertake to profit my children and make them better, I would give him willingly not onely a thousand deniers, but the one moitie of all my goods. Very bold he was and refolute to speake his minde franckly unto the people, and to tell them the truth plainly, bearing himselfe upon his nobility; infomuch as one day when the Athenians would not fuffer him to make a speech in open audience, he cried out with a loud voice; & whippeof corfu, how many talents art thou woorth? Another time, when some there were who called Alexander god: And what maner of god may he be (quoth Lyeurgus, out of whose temple whosoever go, had need to be sprinckled and drenched all over with water to purifie themselves.

After he was dead, they delivered his children into the hands of the eleven officers for execution of justice, for that Thrafieles had framed an accusation, & Menefachmus endited them; but upon the letters of Demosthenes, which in the time of his exilene wrote unto the Athenians, advertifing them that they were ill spoken of about Lyourgus his children, they repented themselves of that which they had done, and let them go: & verily Democles the scholar of Theophrastus justified them, and spake in their defence. Himselfe and some of his children were buried at the cities charges, over and against the temple of Minerva Paonia, within the orchard or grove of Melanthius the philosopher: and found there be even in these our daies certaine tombes with the names of Lycurgus and his children written thereupon. But that which is the greatest thing that foundeth most to the praise of his government, he raised the revenues of the 40 common-weale unto twelve hundred talents, whereas before they amounted but unto threefcore. A little before he died, when he perceived death to approach, hee caused himselfe to be caried into the temple of Cybelethe great mother of the gods, and into the Senate house, desirous there to render an account of his whole administration of the common-weale; but no man wasfo hardy as to come foorth and charge him with any unjust and wrongfull dealing, fave onely Menefachmus; now after he had fully answered those imputations which he charged uponhim, he was caried home againe to his house, where he ended his daies; reputed all his life time for a good and honest man, commended for his eloquence, and never condemned in any fine, notwithstanding many actions and accusations were framed against him.

Three children he had by Califto, the daughter of Abron, and fifter to Caleus, the fonne also for Abron, of the burrough Bata, who was treasurour of the campe during the warres that yeere wherein Cherondus was provost; of this affinitie and alliance, Dinarchus maketh mention, in that oration which he made against Pastius. He left behinde him thele children, Abron after Lyeurgus, and Lyeophron; of whom Abron and Lyeurgus died without issue; but Abron after helad with good reputation and credit, managed State matters, changed this life: and Lyeophron having espoused Calistomacha, the daughter of Philippus Aixenes, begat a daughter named Calesto, matried afterwards to Cleombrosus, the sonne of Dimocrates, an Achamanian, who by her had a sonne named Lyeophron, whom Lyeophron the grand-father adopted for his owne

fonne; and he departed this life without children: after the deceale of this Lycophron Callisto was remarried unto Socrates, unto whom the bare a fonne, named Symmachus; who begat Aristonymus; and of Aristonymus came Charmides, whole daughter was Philippe, and the bare a symus; and of Aristonymus came Charmides, whole daughter was Philippe, and the barea fonne, to wit, Listander Medius, who became an interpreter also, one of the Europipidas: of him and of Timothea the daughter of Glaucus descended Laodamia and Medius, who held the priethood of A phune Erectheus: Philippa also a daughter, who afterwards was a religious priethreste, devoted to Minerva; for before time, had Diocles the Melittean espoused her, and the bare him a fonne named skewise Diocles, who was a colonell of a regiment of footmen; and the tooke to wite Hediste the daughter of Abron, of whose body he begat Philippida and Nicossard ta; and Themssock to wite Hediste the daughter of Abron, of whose body he begat Philippida and Nicossard ta; and Themssock to wite tock-beater some of Theophrassus married Nicossard, by whom he had Theophrassus and Diocles, notwithstanding he was priest unto Repume Erechtheus.

There be found of this oratours penning, fifteene orations. Crowned hee was many times by the people; and ordeined there were for him divers statues and images, whereof there was one all of braffe, according to a publike decree of the citie, standing in the street Ceranicum, that yeere when Chaxierates was provost; under whom there was allowed unto himselfe and his fonne Lyeur gus, as allo to his eldest nephew, table and diet in Prytanneum, by vertue of the same decree of the people: howbeit, after the decease of Lyenrgus, Lycophron his eldest sonne made fute by law for this gift and donation. He pleaded also many times for matters of religion, and accused Antolieus the senatour, and one of the high court Areopagus, Lysieles also the captaine, and Demades the sonne of Demius, together with Menefachmus, and many others, whom he 20 overthrew and caused to be condemned every one. Moreover, he called judicially into question Diphilus, for that he tooke away out of the mettal mines, those middle posts or props which supported the weight of earth bearing upon them, by which meanes he enriched himselfe, directly against the lawes: and whereas the penaltie of this crime was death, he caused him to be condemned. He distributed out of his goods, unto every citizen of Athens fiftie drachmes, or as some say, one mus, or pound of silver: for the totall summe of his wealth amounted unto an hundred and threefcore talents. He accused likewise Aristogiton, Cleocrates, and Autolyem, for that being no better than flaves, they caried themselves like men of free condition. This Lycurgus was furnamed Ibis, that is to fay, the blacke Storke: and mencommonly would fay to Lycurgus, this, like as to Xenophon, Nyéteris, that is to fay, the Howlet. The most ancient of this 20 house, were descended from Erectheus, the sonne of the Earth and of Vulcane; but the neerest, from Lycomedes and Lycur gus, whom the people honoured with publicke funerals and obsequies, And this descent of their race, is drawen from those who were priests of Neptune, and set downe in a full and perfect table, which hangeth up in the temple Erecht hium, and was painted by Ifmenias the Chalcidian; where also stand certaine statues of wood, aswell of Lyeurgus as of his children, to wit, Abron, Lycurgus and Lychophron, which fometimes were made by Timarchus and Cephisodorus the sonnes of Praxiteles the imager. He who let up and dedicated the painted table beforefaid, was Abron, unto whom by order of hereditarie fuccession, fell the priesthood, but he gave over his right thereto voluntarily unto his brother Lycophron: this is the reason that he is painted giving a three-forked mace unto his brother. Now this Lycurgus having caused to be 40 engraven upon a square pillar, a briefe of his whole administration of the comon weale, caused it to be planted just beford the wrestling hall, for every man to see it that would. Neither could any man be foud to hardy, as to accuse him for robbing the State, or inverting any thing to his own use. He proposed unto the people, that there should be a coronet given unto 2x coprolemus the fonne of Anticles, and a statue besides, for that he undertooke and promised to gild (all over) the altar of Apollo in the market place, according to the commandement & direction of the oracle. He demanded also, that honour should be decreed for Euonymus the sonne of Diotimus, whose father was Dispithes, in that yeere wherein Cteffeles was provost.

DEMOSTHENES. VIII.

Demostheres the sonne of Demostheres and of Cleobule the daughter of Gylon, of the linage or tribe of Peania, being left an orphan by his father, at the age of seven yeeres, together with a fifter five yeeres olde; during the time of orphanage kept with his mother a widow, and went to schoole unto Isoerates, as some say, or as most men give out, to Isour the Chalcidian the disciple of Isoerates, who lived in Athens: he imitated Thusydides and Plato the Philosopher, in whose schoole there be that say he was first brought up: but as Hegessus the Magnesian reportes.

teth, being advertifed that Calliftrat to the fonne of Empades, an Aphidinean and famous orator, who had bene captaine and commander of a troupe of horfemen, and who had dedicated an altar to Mercurie furnamed Ageraies, that is to fay, the Speaker, was to make a folemne oration unto the people, craved leave of his tutour and fehoolemafter, that he might go to heare him: and no founer had he heard him fpeake, but he was in love with his eloquence.

But as for this oratour, he heard him but a while, even until he left the citie; for banished he was. Now after that he was departed into Thrace, by which time Demosthenes grew to be a yong man, then began he to frequent the company of Iforrares and Plato: howbert, afterwards hee tooke home into his house Is em, whom he enterteined the space of source yeeres, and exercised 10 himselfe in the imitation of his stile, or (as Ctesibius reporteth in his treatile of Philosophie) he wrought fo, that by the meanes of Callins the Syracufian, he recovered the orations of Zethus the Amphipolitane, and by the helpe of Charieles the Chariffian, he got them also of Alcidamus, and those he gaive himselfe wholly to imitate. But in processe of time, when he was come to mans estate, and past a ward, seeing that his tutours and guardians allowed him not sufficiently out of his living and patrimonie, he called them to account for their guardianship, that yeere wherein Timocrates was provost of Athens. Now three tutours or governours he had, to wit, Aphobus, Theripedes, Demophon alias Demea, whom he charged more than the test, being his uncle by the mothers fide: he laied actions upon them of ten talents a piece, and so much he demanded of them by law: he overthrew them all; but he could not come by ought of that where-20 in they were condemned: for neither recovered he money nor favour of the one or the other.

*** * When Aristophon was now to aged, that he could not take paines nor attend to tet out the folemne dances and thewes, for which he was chosen commissarie and overseer, he gave over his place, and Demosthenes in his roome was substituted the matter of the said dances: and for that in the open theater as he was bufie in his office about fetting out and ordering the dances, Medias the Anagyrafian, gave him a box of the eare with his fift, he fued him granactio of batterie: howbeit, he gave over his fute for the furn of three thouland drachmes of filver, which Midias paied him. This is reported of him, that being a yoong man, he retired himselfe apart into a certeine cave, where he gave himfelfe unto his booke, having caufed his head to be shaven the halfe of it, because he might not goe abroad to be seene, and so leave his booke: also, that he 30 lay upon a very streight and narrow bed, for that he would the sooner atile, and with more case: and there he exercised and forced himselfe to frame his speech better : but for that he had an ill grace with him, ever as he fpake, to shake and thrinke up his should er, he remedied that, by sticking up a broch or spit, or as some say, a dagger, to the floore over head, that for feare of pricking his thoulder, he might forget this evill cuttome that he had in his getture : and according as he profited and proceeded forward in the art, he caused a mirrour to be made just as bigge as himfelse, before which he used to declame, that thereby he might observe the evill gestures or illavoured faces that he made when he spake, and learne to reforme and amend them: also, he need otherwhiles to goe downe to the water fide, to the haven Phalerium, for to exercise himselfe in declaming, even where the furging waves of the fea did beat upon the banks, to the end that he 40 might at no time after be troubled nor put out and driven to an extatie, with the noise and clamour of the people when hee thould speake before them: but for that naturally hee was shortwinded, and his breath commonly failed him, hee bestowed upon Neoptolemus a famous actour or stage-plaier, tenne thousand drachmes of filver, to teach him for to pronounce long periods and fentences with one breath, and not taking his winde betweene.

When he began to enter into the management of the rubblicke State, fluding that the citizens were divided into two factions; the one fiding and takir appart with king Philip; the other speaking and pleading still for their liberties and freedom, the chose to joine with that which was opposite in all their dooings unto Philip; and all his? I fet time he continued countelling and perfect all their dooings unto Philip; and all his? I fet time he continued countelling and perfect faulting his counfels in the administration of Astate affaires, & devising evermore with Hyperides, Nanfates, Polyeustum, and Diotimus: and therefore he drew into league & confederacy with the men of Astates, the Thebanes, Eubear 115, Corryceans, Corinthians, Bacotians, and many others besides. One day he chanced to be out and his memorie to faile him, to that he was hissed at by the people in a great assembly of dictitie: for which disgrace he was out of heart, and ill appaid, insomuch as in great disconternment he went home to his house; whereby the way, Eumona the Thriasian, being now an ancient man, met with him, who cheered up Demossiblenes, and comforted him all that he could: out most of all Andronicus the stage-plaier; who said unto him.

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That his orations were as good as possibly might be, only he was wanting somehat in action; & thereupon reheated certaine places out of his oration, which he had delivered in that frequent affembly : unto whom Demost henes gave good eare and credit, whereupon he betooke himselse unto Andronicus; infomuch as afterwards when he was demaunded the question which was the first point of eloquence, he answered, Action; which the second, he made answer, Action; and which was the third, he faid, Action, still. Another time he put himselfe foorth to speak in open audience of a great affembly, and was likewife whiftled at, and driven hufty out of countenance; for speaking some words that savoured too much of youthfulnesse; so that he was slouted by the comicali poets, Aniphanes and Timoeles, who used to twit him with these tearnes:

pa zlui, pa reluias, pa moupis, pa vapara.

That is to fay,

By the earth, by the fountaines, by rivers, flouds, and streames. For having sworne in this maner before the people, hee raised a stirre and hurli-burly among them. He tooke his oath another time by the name of Aslepius, which hee founded aloft with accent in the * second syllable; and although he did this upon errour in Profodia, yet hee mainteined and proved that he had pronounced the word aright; for that Aefeulapius was Bees mines, that is to fay, a milde and gracious god: and for this maner of swearing he was oftentimes troubled; but after he had frequented the schoole of Eubulades the Milesian, and a Logicien, he corrected and amended all. Being one day at the folemnitic of the Olympian games, and hearing Lamachus the Terinaan how he rehearfed an encomiasticall oration in the praise of king Phi. 20 Ep, and of Alexander his fonne; namely, how they invaded and over ran the Thebans and Olynthians, he came forward, and standing close unto him, on the contrary fide, alledging testimonies out of auncient poets, importing the commendation of Thebans and Ólynthians both, for the brave exploits by them atchieved; which when Lamachus heard, hee gave over and would not speake a word more, but flipt away as soone as hee could out of the assemblie. King Philip himselfe would fay unto them who related unto him the cautions and orations that he made against him: Certes, I believe verily, that if I had heard him with mine owne cares pleading in this wife, I should have given the man my voice, and chosen him captaine to make warre upon my felfe. And much to the fame purpose the faid Philip was wont to liken the orations of Demosthenes unto fouldiers, for the warlike force that appeared in them; but the spee- 30 ches of Isocrates he compared to fenfers or sword-plaiers, for the delightfull shew and flourish that they made.

Being now thittie feven yeares old, counting from Dexithem to Callimachus, in the time of syhole provoithing the Olynthians by their embaffage required aid of the Athenians, for that they were fore plagned with the warre that king Philip levied against them; he pertwaded the people to fend them fuccour: but in the yeere following, wherein Plato changed this life, king Fintip utterly definoied the Olynthians. Xenophon also the disciple of Socrates, had a knowledge of Demofiberes, either in his prime when hee began to rife and grow up, or else in the very floure and best of his time; for Xenophon wrote his Chronicles as touching the acts and decids of the Greeks, and specially of those affaires which passed about the time of the battell at 40 Maintimen, or a little after, namely, in that yeere when Charieles was provost; and Demosthenes fornewhat before that, had given his tutors and guardians the overthrow at the barre. When as Aeschines upon his condemnation was fielde toward Athens, there to live in exile; Demosthenes being advertised thereof, made after him on horse-backe; whereupon Aeschines imagining that he thould be taken prisoner, fell downe at his feet, and covered his face, but Demosthenes willed him to artic and fland up, gave him comfortable words, and befides, put a ralent of filver into his hands. He gave counfell unto the Athenians to enterteine a certeine number of mercenaric fouldiers, trangers in the ifle of Thajos, and to this effect he failed thither as captaine with the charge of a great galley under his hands. He was chosen another time chiefe purveior occome, and being accuted for demeaning himfelfe badly, and purloining the cities money, 50 he cleared himselfe and was acquit. When Philip had forced the city Elatia, and was master of is, Demosthenes abandoned the faid city, together with those who had fought in the battell of Cherones; whereupon is thought that he forlooke his colours and fledde; now as he made hafte away, there chanced a bramble to take hold of his caffocke behinde, whereat he turned backe and faid unto the bramble: Save my life and take my ransome. Upon his target he had for his mot or device, Good fortune. And verily he it was that made the oration at the funerals of those who loft their lives in the faid battell. After

After this he applied his minde, and bent his chiefe care to the reparations of the citie, and being chosen commissarie for repairing the walles, he laide out of his owne (besides the defraying of the cities money) an hundred pounds of filver: over and above that, he gave ten thousand for to be emploied in the setting out of shewes, games, and plaies; which done, he embarked himselfe in a galley, and failed up and downe from coast to coast, for to levie money of the allies and confederates; for which good fervices hee was crowned many times: first by the meanes and motion of Demoteles, Aristonicus, and Hyperides; who propounded that he should be honoured with a coroner of gold, and last of all, at the instant face of Cte/phon: which decree was empeached and blamed, as contrarie to the lawes by Diodot is and Aefchines: 10 against whom he defended and maintained it so well, that he carried it cleane away; so as his ac-

culer had not the fifth part of the suffrages and voices of the people on his side.

Afterwards when Alexander was paffed onward his voyage into Afia, & Harpalus fled into A thens with a great fumme of money : at the first hee would not suffer him to bee entertained and kept fafely; but after he was once arrived and fet aland, and that he had received of him a thoufand good pieces of gold, called Dariks; then he changed his note and fung another fong: for when the Athenians were minded to deliver the man into the hands of Antipater, he withflood them, and withall fet downe under his hand-writing, that his money was laid up fafe in the Citadel; the fumme wherof he had declared already unto the people, whereas Harpalus had specified it to be seven hundred and fiftie talents or somewhat above, as faith Philocharus. But after this 20 when Harpalus had broken prison, wherein hee should have beene kept, untill some messenger and newes came directly from Alexander, and was escaped and retired, as some say, to Candie, oras others, to Tenarus in Laconia; Demosthenes was called into question for corruption, briberie, and taking his money; for that he neither declared the just quantitie and summe of coinc that thither was brought, nor the negligence of those who had the custodie of it and him: thus I fay was he brought to his answere judicially by Hyperides, Pytheus, Menefechnius, Hymericus, and Patrocles, who followed the fute fo hard, that they caused him to be condemned in the high court and chamber of Ariopagus: and thus condemned he went into exile, being not able to pay five fold; for charged he was to have taken thirtie talents: others fay that he would not abide the iffue of judgement, and therefore went voluntarie before the day of triall into banishment. After 30 this time the Athenians sent Polyentlus in embassage to the communaltie of the Arcadians, for to divert and withdraw them from the league and confederacie of the Macedonians; but when Polyeuctus could not perfivade them to revolt; Demosthenes came upon them and shewed himfelfe to fecond the motion, where he spake so effectually, that he prevailed with them: for which fervice he was highly admired, and thereby wanne fuch favour and reputation, that after a certaine time, by vertue of a publicke decree, he was called home againe out of exile, and a galley was fet out of purpose to bring him backe to Athens: and the Athenians moreover ordained, that whereas he owed unto the State thirtie talents, in which he was condemned, he should cause an altar to be built unto Jupiter the Saviour, in the port Preaum, & in fo doing be held aquit and discharged. This decree was propounded by Damon the Paranian his cousen germain.

By this meanes he returned to the politicke mannaging of affaires as before. Now when as Antipater was streightly besieged by the Greeks, and enclosed within the citie Limia, whereupon the Athenians offered factifices for the good and joyfull tidings thereof, he chaunced to let fall a word in talking with Agelistratus, a familiar friend of his, and to fay that he was not of the fame mind and opinion with other, as touching the State: For I know full wel(quoth he) that the Greeks are skilfull and able both to run a short carriere, and good to make a skirmish for a spurt and away; but to hold on a long race, and to continue the warre unto the end, they can never abide. But afterwards when Antipater had wonne Pharfalus, and threatned the Athenians to lay fiege unto their citie, unleffe he would deliver into his hands those oratours who had inveighed against him: Demosthenes for seare of himselfe, lest the citie of Athens, and sed first into the life so Argina, for to put himselfe within the liberties and franchises of the temple or fanctuarie, called Meacium: but afterwards being affraid that he should be fetched out from thence by the cares, he passed over into Calauria: where having intelligence that the Athenians were resolved and had concluded to deliver those oratours, and himselfe principally among the rest; hee rested as a poore distressed suppliant within the temple of 2 epiune: and when there came unto him thither Archias the pursuvant, furnamed Phygadotheres, that is to fay, the hunter of Fugitives,

who was a disciple and sectarie of Anaximenes the philosopher, perswading him to arise, and that no doubt he should be reckoned one of the friends of Anipater; he answered thus: When you

*i. Achelsorer, not filiable but

play a part in a tragoedie, you can not make me beleeve that you are the man whom you reprefent; no more shall you perswade me now to give care unto your counsell: and when the other laid hands on him and would have drawen him foorth by violence, those of the city would not fuffer him; then faid Demofthenes unto them: I fledde not unto Calabria for my fafetie, and with any intention to fave my life, but to convince the Lacedamonians of their impietie and violence, even against the gods; and with that he called for writing tables, and wrote this dystichon; as fauth Demetrum the Magnefian, which the Athenians afterwards cauled to be fet as an Epigram over the statue:

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Hadthy good heart Demostenes, mette with as good an hand: The Greeks of Macedonian Sword,

This image of his flandeth neere unto the purprise or cloister, wherein is erected the altar of Should never have had command. the twelve gods, and made it was by the hands of Polyeutius: but as some say, this was sound written withall: Demosthenes to Amipater precting. Philocharus faith, that hee died of poison which he drank: but Satyrus the historiographer reporteth, that the penne was poisoned wherewith he beganne to write his epiffle, and chancing to put it into his mouth, fo foone as ever he tailed thereof, died: Eratosthenes writeth otherwise, namely that hee standing in searce a long time of the Macedonians, was provided of poilon, which he caried within a little ring or bracelet that he wore about the wrift of his arme: & there be againe who fay, that he killed himfelfe 20 by holding his winde to long, that he was overcome and stifled withall: last of all, others write that he carried a strong poison within the collet of his signet, which he tasted, and died thereof,

Whenking Philip was dead, he came abroad wearing a faire & rich new robe, although but a * * * two and twenty. while before he had buried his owne daughter, fo glad was he of the death of that Macedonian king. He aided the Thebanes also when they warred with Alexander, and all other Greeks hea encouraged as much as possibly he could at all times; and therefore Alexander after he haddeftroied the city of Thebes, demaunded of the Athenians for to have him, menacing them if they would not deliver him into his hands. And when the faid king warred upon the Persians, and required of the Athenians their shipping, Demostheres opposed himselfe and demodit: For 30 who is able to fay (quoth he) that he will not use the same shippes even against our selves that fend them. He left behinde him two fonnes by one wife, the daughter of one Heliodorus aprincipall citizen. One daughter he had, who died before the was maried, being but yet a young childe. A fifter also he had, who being married unto Laches the Leuconian his nephew or fitters fonne, bare Demochares, a valiant man in warre, and befides, for policie and eloquence inferior to none in his time. There is an image of his to be seene at this day, standing within the common hall of the citie, called Prytaneum, on the right hand as men do enter in and go toward the altar. The first man he was who made an oration to the people with a sword by his side girded over his robe: for in that habit it is faid, that he delivered a speech unto the citizens, when Antipater came to demand their oratours : but afterwards, the Athenians both ordeined allow- 40 ance of diet in the Prytaneum for the kinred of Demosthenes, and also set up a statue for himselfe when he was dead, in the Market place, that very yeere when Gorgius was provoft, at the fitte of Demochares his nephew or fifters sonne, who required these honours for his uncle: yea, and afterwards, Laches the sonne of Demochares a Leuconian, made sute for the like honours for himfelte, the yeere that Pitharatus was provost, which was ten yeeres after; namely, his statue for to fland in the market place, and allowance of diet in the palace Prytaneum, as well for himselfe as for the eldest alwaies of his house and linage in every descent, with a priviledge of the highest roome or uppermost place at all folemne fights and games. And these decrees as touching them both, are registred, and to be seen engrossed upon record. As for the image of Demochares, whereof we have already spoken; it was transported into the palace or hall of the citie na- 50

There be extant orations which be his in deed, to the number of three score and five. Some fay, that he lived a diffolute and riotous life, and that he would not flicke to goe in womans apparell, to banquet, to be one ordinarily in all masks and mommeries, whereupon he was furnamed Baralus: though others there are, who fay that this was the name of his nourfe, and that therupon he was so tearmed by way of flouting speech or nick-name. Diogenes the dogged Cynick, spied him one day in a taverne; whereat Demosthenes was abashed, & retired more inward

into the house: Nay (quoth Diegenes to him) the more you draw or shrinke backeward, the further still you go into the taverne. The same Diogenes said to him upon a time, when he was difposed to scoffe: That in words he was a Scythian, that is to say, a tough Tartarian and a brave warriour, but in warre, a fine and delicate burgeffe of Athens. He tooke golde of Ephalics alto, being one of the oratours who went in embaffage to the king of Persia, and brought with him a great fumme of money fecretly to distribute among the oratours of Athens, to this end, that they might ftirre coales, and blow the fire, to kindle warre against Philip: and it is faid, that he for his part had at one clap of the king, three thousand daricks. He caused one Anaxilus of the citic of Ores, to be apprehended, who had otherwise bene his familiar friend; and being cast into pri-10 fon, put him to be examined by torture, as a fpie; and albeit he confessed nought, yet he fued out a writ or decree that he should be committed into the hands of the eleven executioners of justice. One day when he meant to make a speech in the full affembly of the people, they were not willing to heare him: Why (quoth he unto them) it is but a fhort tale that I purpose to tell unto you: which when they heard, they gave him audience willingly: and then began he in this maner: There was not long fince (quoth he) a yong man who hired an affe in the time of Summer, from this citie to Megara: now when it was no one time of the day, and the Sun exceeding hot, both the one and the other, as well the owner of the affe as he who hired him, would needs have the benefit of the affes shade, and stand under it, but they hindred and impeached one another; for the owner faid that he had let to hire, his affe, but not the shadow of him : the other a-20 gaine who hired him, pleaded that the affe, shadow and all was in his power. Having thus begun his tale, he came downe and went his way: the people then called him backe, and praied him to tell the tale out, and make an end thereof: Why my mafters (quoth he) how is it; that you are so desirous that I should tell you a tale of the shadow of affe, and will not give me the hearing when I am to speake unto you of your affaires of great importance? Poles the famous actour and stage-plaier made his boast upon a time, that in two daies wherein he plaied his part, he had gotten a whole talent of filver: And I (quoth he) have gained five in one day, for holding my peace and keeping filence. His voice upon a time, when he made a speech unto the people, failed him; whereupon his audience being not well pleased, and himselfe somewhat troubled, he faid aloud unto them: You are to judge plaiers by their pleafant and firong voice; but ora-30 tours by their good and grave sentences. Epicles seemed to upbraid and reproch him, for that he was alwaies musing and premeditating: I would be assumed (quoth he unto him) if being to speake before so great an affembly of people, I should come unprovided. It is written of him, that he never put out his lampe, that is to fay, that he never ceafed fludying how to file and polith (as it were) his orations, untill he was fiftie yeres old. He faid of himfelfe, that he drunke nothing but faire water. Lyfias the oratour had knowledge of him: and Isocrates faw him to manage the affaires of State, untill the battell of Cheronea, yea, and some also of the Socraticall oratours. The most part of his orations he pronounced * ex tempore and of a sudden, as having a *Howardenth ready and pregnant wit, and one who naturally was fitted to speake. The first that ever proposed this sould read when the state of the and put up a bill unto the people, that he should be crowned with a coronet of gold, was Arifto-limbet land 40 nieus the Anagyrafian the fonne of Nicophanes : and Dionales did fecond the motion with an Interpretative

HYPERIDES. IX.

Trerides the fonne of Glaucippus, who was the fonne of Dionyfus of the burrough Colyttea, Had a fonne who bare the name of his father Glaucippus, an orator who composed certains orations and he begat another oratour, named Alphinus. He was at one time the scholar of Plato the Philosopher, of Lyeurgus and of Isocrates. He dealt in the State at what time as Alexander the Great intended the affaires of Greece, and he croffed him as touching those captaines which he demanded of the Athenians, as also about the gallies which he required to have, 50 He advised the people not to caffe and discharge those souldiers which were enterteined at T.e. mara, who had for their captaine, Chares, and whose friend particularly he was. He pleaded ordimarily at the first as an advocate for his fee; and was suspected to have received part of that money which Ephialtes brought out of Persia. Chosen he was the captaine of one great galley, ar what time as king Philip went to lay fiege unto the citie Bizantium: and fent he was to aide the Bizantines. The very fame yeere he tooke the charge of defraying the expenses of the folemme dames; whereas the rest of the captaines were exempt from all publicke offices for that yeere. He palled a decree, that certeine honours should be done unto Demosthenes; and when

fome exter-

the faid decree was by Diondas repealed, as made against the lawes, and himselfe thereupon acculed, yet found he was unguiltie, and thereupon acquit. Friend he was to Demosthenes, Lysicles and Lyeurgue; howbeit, in this amitte he continued not unto the end: for after that Lysteles and Lyeurgus were dead, when Demosthenes was once called in question for taking money of Harpalus, he alone (for that his hands onely were free of bribery) was nominated and picked out from the rest, to frame an accusation against him, because they were all thought culpable in the same fault, and so he judicially accused him: but himselfe was charged by Aristogiton for publishing acts contrary to the lawes, after the battell at Charonea, namely; That all the inhabitants and dwellers in Athens, should be burgeffes of the citie; that all flaves should manumized and made free; that all facred and holy reliques; that women and children should be bestowed with- 10 in the port or haven Pireaum: howbeit, absolved he was, and went cleere away. And when some there were who found fault with him, and marvelled how he should be so negligent and overfeene, as not to know formany lawes which were directly opposit to the said decrees; he made this answere: If (quoth he) the armes of the Macedonians and the battell of Charonea, had not dazzeled and dimmed my fight, I had never written nor proposed such an edict. But certeine it is, that after this, Philip being affrighted, gave the Athenians leave to take up the bodies of their dead that lay in the field, which before he had denied unto the heralds that came of purpose un-

Afterwards, upon the defaiture at Cranon, when he was demanded by Antipater, and the peoto him out of Lebadia. ple resolved to deliver him into his hands, he for sooke the citie, and fled into the Ille Argina, 20 with other persons who likewisewere condemned; where meeting with Demosthenes, he defired him to holde him excused, for that he had by constraint accused him. And when he minded to depart from thence, surprised he was by one Archies surnamed Phygadostheres, a man borne in the citie of Thurit, and who at the first was a professed stage-plaier, but then imploied in the service and aid of Antipater: fo he was apprehended perforce within the temple of 2 epiune; notwithflanding hee held the image of the faid god in his armes; and from thencebrought to Corint b before Antipater; where being fet upon the racke, and put to torture, he bit his tongue off with his owne teeth, because he would not discover the secrets of the city, and so ended his daies the ninth day of the moneth October: howbeit, Hermippus faith, that as he went into Macedonie, he had his tongue cut out of his head, and his dead corps was cast forth unto the beasts of 30 the field without sepulture : yet one Alphinus his cousen germaine, or as some say, the cousen of Glaucippus his sonne obtained licence (by the meanes of Philopithes a certaine physician) to take up his bodie, who burnt the same in a funerall fire; the ashes and bones whereof, he caried to Athens afterwards, among his kinsfolke and friends, contrary to the orders and decrees fet downe, both by the Macedonians and the Athenians: for by vertue thereof they were not onely banished but interdicted, so as they might not be interred within their owne countrey. Others fay, that he was carried unto the citie Cleone with others, where he died; and that his tongue was cut, and afterwards, himfelfe murdred in maner aforefaid. Howbeit, his kinfemen and friends gathered up his bones when his corps was burnt, and buried them amongs his parents and progenitours before the gates called Hippades, according as Heliodorus hath recorded in the third 40 booke of his monuments. But his sepulchre at this day is quite demolished, and no token remaineth thereof to be feene.

He had a fingular name above all other oratours, for speaking before the people; insomuch, as some have ranged him even above Demostheres. There go in his name, three score and seventeene orations; of which, two and fittle are truely attributed unto him, and no more. Given he was exceeding much to the love of women, which was the cause that he drave his ownesonne out of his houle, and brought in thither Myrrhina the most sumptuous and costly courtifan in those daies: and yet in Pyreaum he kept Aristagora, and at Eleusm (where his lands and posses fions lay) he had another at command, namely, Philie a Thebane borne, who cost him twentie pounds weight of filver. His ordinarie walke was every day thorow the fifth market. And when 50 the famous courtifan Phryne (whom he loved alfo) was called into question for Atheisme and impietie, inquisition was made after him likewise; and so he was troubled with her and for her fake, as it should seeme: for, so much he declareth inselfe in the beginning of his oration: now when the was at the very point to be condemned, he brought the woman foorth in open court before the judges, rent her clothes, and shewed unto them her bare brest; which the judges seeing to be fowhite and faire, in regard of her very beautic absolved and dismissed her.

He had very closely and secretly framed certeine accusatorie declarations against Demosthe.

nes, yet fo, as they came to light in this maner: for when Hyperides lay ficke, it fortuned that Demost benes came one day to his house for to visit him, where he found a booke drawen full of articles against him; whereat when he was much offended, and tooke it in great indignation, Hyperides made him this answere: So long as you are my friend, this shall never hort you; but if you become mine enemie, this shallbe a curbe to restreine you from enterprising any thing prejudiciall unto me. He put up abill unto the people, that certeine honours thould be done unto Jolas, who gave unto Alexander the cuppe of poison. Hee sided with Demosthenes, and joined in the raifing of the Lamiacke warre, and made an admirable oration at the funerals of those who lost their lives therein. When king Philip was ready to embark & passe over into the 10 ille Eubea, whereupon the Athenians were in great feare and perplexitie; he gathered together in afmall time a fleete of fortie faile, by voluntarie contribution, and was the first man who for himselse and his sonne rigged and set soorth two gallies of warre. When there was a controversie in law betweene the Athenians and Delians to be decided, unto whether of them apperteined by right the superintendance of the temple at Delos, and that Aefchynes was cholen to plead the cause, the counsell of Areopague elected Hyperides; and his oration as touching this matter is at this day extant, entituled The Deliaque oration. Moreover, he went in embaffage to Rhodes, where there arrived other embaffadours in the behalfe of Antipater, whom they highly praifed, as a good, milde, and gracious prince: True it is (quoth Hyperides unto them again) Iknow well that he is good and gracious, but we have no need of him to be our lord and mafter 20 how good and gracious foever he be. It is faid, that in his orations he shewed no action nor gefture at all: his maner was onely to fet downe the cafe and lay open the matter plainely and finiply, without troubling the judges any otherwise than with a naked narration. Sent hee was likewise unto the Elians for to defend the cause of Calippus, one of the champions at the facred games, unto whom this imputation was laid, that by corruption he had caried away the prize, and indirectly obtained the victorie. He opposed himselfe also against the gift which was ordeined in the honour of Phocion, at the instant sute of Midias of Anagyrra, the some of Midi-16, the yeere wherein Xenius was provolt, the 27. day of the moneth of May; and in this caule he was cast and had the overthrow.

DINARCHUS. X.

Dinarehus the sonne of Socrates or Sosstratus, borne as some thinke in the country of Atti-ea, or as others would have him, in Corimb, came to Athens very yoong, at what time as king Alexander the Great, passed with his armie into Asia; where he dwelt, and frequented the lecture of Theophrassus, who succeeded Aristotle in the Peripateticke schoole: he converfed allo with Demetrius the Phalerian, and tooke his time especially to enter into the administration of State affaires, after the death of Antipater, when the great oratours and states-men were fome dead and made away, others banished and driven out of the citie; and being besides friended and countenanced by Cassarder, he grew in short time to be exceeding rich, exacting 40 and taking money for his orations, of those at whose request he composed them. Hee banded against the most renowned oratours in his time; not by putting himselfe foorth to come in open place to speake before the people (for no gift nor grace he had therein) but by penning orations for those who made head against them. And namely when Harpalus had broken prison and was fled, he composed divers acculatorie declarations against all such as were suspected to have take money of him, and those he delivered into the hands of their accusers to be pronounced accordingly. Long time after, being accused himselfe to have communicated, conferred, and practifed with Antipater and Caffander, about the time that the baven Munichia was surprifed by Antigonus and Demetrius, who placed there a garrifon in that yeare when Anaxierates was provolt of the city, he fold most part of his goods, and made money, and when hee had 50 done, fled out of the way to Chaleis, where he lived as it were in exile the space well necre of 15. yeeres; during which time, he gathered great riches, and became very wealthy, and fo returned againe to Athens, by the meanes of Theophrastus, who procured both him and other banifled persons to be recalled and restored: he abode then in the house of one Proxenus his familiar friend; where being now very aged, and besides weake-sighted, he lost his gold that he had gotten together; and when Proxenus his hoft would have given information thereof, and feemed to make inquifition, Dinarchus called him into question judicially for it; and this was the first time that ever he was known to speake & plead personally at the barre. This oration of his Kkkk

is now extant, and there are besides in mens hands threescore and source more acknowledged all to be his, and yet some of these are to be excepted, as namely, that against Aristogiton. He did imitate Hyperides, or as some thinks Demostheres in regard of that patheticall spirit in mooving affections, and the emphaticall force which appeareth in his stile. Certeinly in his figures and exornations he followeth him very evidently.

DECREES PROPOSED UNTO

the people of Athens.

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Emochares the fonne of Laches, of the burrough Leucon, demandeth for Demofibenes, the fonne of Demosthenes of the burrough of Peanix, a statue of brassle to be fet up in the market place or common hal of Athens: also allowance of diet in the palace Prysansum, & the first place or feat in al honorable assembles for himfelse. By the eldett of his house in every descent for ever; for that he the said De-

clife, & the eldeft of his house in every descent for ever; for that he the said Demosthenes hath alwaies bene a bene factour to the citic, & given counfell unto the people of Athens, in many of their honorable affaires to their behoote; for that he hath at all times exposed his goods to the service of the common-weale, & namely, of his liberall and bountifull minde contributed eight talents of filver, and mainteined one galley of warre, at what time the people 20 freed & delivered the isle Eubea: & another, when captaine Cephisedorus fet out his voiage into Hellesport; as also a third when Chares and Phocion were sent as captaines to Byzantium by the people. Item, for that with his owne money he raunformed and redeemed many citizens taken prisoners & captives in Pydne, Methone & Olynthus by king Philip. Item, for that he defraied at his own proper cost & charges, the publick plaies & daunces when the tribe of the Pandionides failed to furnish the officers & wardens appointed thereto. Item, for that he armed many poore citizens who had not wherewith to fet the elves forth to the warres. Item, for that being chosen by the people one of the Aediles or Commissaries, for repairing the citie walles, he laid out of his owne purse to the value of three talents of filver, over and besides ten thousand drachms which of his owne mony he emploied, in calting of two trenches about Pyreaum, Item, that after 20 the difasterous battell of Charonea, he gave out of his owne stocke one talent; & another to buy come with all in time of a dearth and great famine. Item, for that by his effectual remonstrances, faire persuasions, holesome counsels, and good demerits, he had induced the Thebanes, Eubæans, Corinthians, Megarians, Achians, Locrians, Bizantines, and Meffenians, to enter into a league as well offentive as defensive with the people of Athens. Item, for that he levied a power of ten thousand footmen well armed, and a thousand horsemen, over and above the contribution of monies, by the people and their allies. Item, for that being embaffadour, he had perfwaded the affociats and confederates of Athens, to make a contribution of money to the fumme of five hundred talents and above, toward the warres. Item, for that he empeached the Peloponnesians for aiding king Alexander against the Thebanes; for which service he parted with his owne sil- 40 ver, and went personally in embassage. As also in regard of many other good deferts, and woorthy exploits by him atchieved in confideration likewife of much wife counfel and advice, which he hath given unto the people, and of his politicke government & mannaging of State affaires, wherein he hath carried himselfe as well, yea and much better than any in his time: for the pretervation of the libertic and maintenance of the authoritie of the people. Over and belides, in that he was banished out of his countrey by certaine feditious usurpers, who for the time supprefled the authoritie of the people: and finally lost his life in Calauria, in the quarrell of the said people, and for the love and good will that he alwaies bare affectionately unto the commonalty of Athers, there being fent of purpole from Antipater certaine foldiers to apprehend him. Notwithttanding, which prefent danger wherin he flood, being now in the hands of his enemies, 50 yet perfifted he firme & fast in his heartie affection alwaies unto the people : infomuch as henever did any deed, nor let fall any word prejudiciall to his countrey, or unbefeeming the honour of the people, as necre as hee was unto his death. Subscribed, that werie yeerewhen Pythatatus mas Provost.

Laches the sonne of Demochares, of the borrough Leucon, demaundeth in free gift of the Senate and people of Athens, for Demochares the sonne of Laches, of the tribe or borrough Laucon, one statue of brassle to be erected in the market place: also his table and diet in the palace or citie

citic hall Prytaneum for himselfe, and for him that shall be the eldest of his house in everie defcentfor ever; as also the priviledge of prefidence or first feat at all solemne fights and publicke plaies: for that he hath alwaies beene abenefactour and good counfeller unto the people of thens, as having deferved well of the common-weale in these particulars; as well in those things which he hath penned, proposed and negotiated in his embassage, as in the administration of common-weale; in that he hath caused the walles of the citie to be built, made provision of harnelle & armor, as well offensive as defensive; of fabricks & engines of battery, & of artillery with shotto be discharged out of them; in that he hath well fortified the citie during the warres with the Bœotians which continued for the space of source yeeres : for which good service done, bani-10 fliedhe was and chafed out of the citie by the tyrants, who oppreffed the libertic and authoritie of the people: and in that being restored againe and called home by an honourable decree of the faid people, when Diocles was Provoft, he was the first man who restrained the administration and mannagement of those who made spare of their owne goods, and sent embassiages unto Lysimachus: in that also hee levied for the good of the common wealth at one time thirtie talents, and at another a hundred talents of filver; in that he mooved the people by a bill preferred unto them, for to fend an embaffage to king Proleman in Aegrot; by meanes whereof they that went that voyage, brought backe with them fiftie talents of filver for the people. Item, in that being fent embaffador to Antiparer, he received thereby twentie talents of filver, which he brought unto the people into the citie of Eleusin, where he practifed and perswaded with them to receive 20 the same. Item, in that he suffered banishment, because he was a protectour and defender of the popular State, never fiding nor taking part with any faction of the usurpers; nor bearing office or magistracie in common-weale, after that the faid popular State was put downe and abolished. Item, in that he onely in his time, of all those who medled in the affaires of State, never studied nor intended alteration, and to reduce his countrey unto any another kind of government, but popular. Item, in that by his politicke counfell and administration he hath pur in safetie and securitie all judgements paffed; all lawes enacted; all decrees concluded; yea and the goods and substance of all the Athenians: finally, in that he hath gone about and attempted nothing prejudiciall unto the popular government, either in word or deed.

Lycophron the fon of Lycurgus, of the borrough or communaltie of Buta, hath presented this 30 request: That he might be allowed his diet in the palace Prytaneum, according to the free gift granted before time to his father Lycurgus by the people, in that yeere wherein Anaxierates was Provost of the citie, and the tribe Antiochis President of Prytanaum: which Stratocles the son of Enthydemus, of the borrough Diomeia, proposed it in this forme: For as Lyeure us, the fonne of Lycophron of Bura, hath received of his ancestors (as it were) from hand to hand a certaine hereditatie love and affection to the people of Athens, and his progenitours likewife, Diomedes and Lycurgus, both during their lives were effected and highly honoured by the people; and after their death, had this honour done unto them in testimonie of their vertue and valour, as to be enterred at the publike charges of the citie in that conspicuous street called Ceramicum: confidering alfo, that Lycurgu himselfe (whiles he managed the affaires of the State) enacted 40 many good and holfome lawes for his countrey, and being treasurer-generall of all the cities revenues, by the space of fifteen eyeeres, during that time, had the receit and laying out of the publicke moneys, to the fumme of eighteene thousand and nine hundred talents: and for that many private mens stocks were put into his hands upon trust, for the considence they had in him, in regard of his fidelitie; in regard also, that he hath disbursed and laied foorth of his owne moneys at fundry times and upon divers occasions, for the benefit of the citie and communaltie, as much as amounteth in all, to fixe hundred and fiftie talents: for that likewife in all his imploiments, having beene ever found most trustie, just and loyall, and to carie himselfe as an honest man and good citizen, he hath bene many times crowned by the city: moreover, in this respect, that having beene chosen by the people the receiver of the finances, hee gathered together a 50 great maffe of money, and brought the same into the common cheft within the citadell, and besides, provided ornaments for the goddesse Minerva, to wit, images of victoricall of beaten gold, veffels to carie in proceffion both of golde and filver, befides other jewels of fine gold for theservice and worthip of the said goddesse, and namely, to the number of one hundred Canephora, that is to fay, Virgins carrying paniers or baskets with facred reliques upon their heads, Item, for that being elected commiffarie for the munitions and provisions necessaries for the warres, he brought into the citadell a great number of armours and weapons, and among the rell, fiftiethousand shot; rigged and set a float foure hundred gallies, some new built, others repaired and trimmed: over and besides, for that finding certeine of the citie works unperfect, to wit, the Arcenall, the Armorie and the Theater of Bacehus, he caused them to be made up, and withall, finished both the Cirque or running place Panathenaicum, and also the empaled parke for publicke exercises, and built the Lyeium likewise, and adorned the citie with many faire buildings and publicke edifices: whereas also,king Alexander the Great, having already subdued all Asia, and intending generally to be commander over all Greece, demanded to have Lyeur gui delivered up into his hands, for that he onely stood in his way, and crossed his desseignes, the people would not deliver him for any feare they had of Alexander: and for that being oft times called judicially to his answere, and to render an account of his government and administration in a free citie and governed by a popular State, he was alwaies found innocent and unreproveable, 10 not tainted with any bribetie, nor spotted with corruption and taking gifts for to pervert justice all his life time. To the end therefore, that all men might know that they who are well affected to the maintenance of liberty and popular government be highly acounted of by the people whiles they live, and that after their death the citie is willing to render unto them immortall thanks; in a good and happie houre, let it be ordeined by the people, that Lyeurgus the sonne of Lycaphron of Buta, be honoured for his vertue and righteouinefle; and that the people erect his statue all of brasse in the market-steed, unlesse it be in some place where the trade expresly forbiddeth it to stand. Item, that there be allowance of diet in the Prytaneum, to the eldest of his house in every descent for ever. Also, that the decrees by him proposed, thalbe ratified and engroffed by the publicke notatic of the citie, yea, and engraven in pillars of flone, and fet up in the 20 citadell neere unto the offerings confecrated unto the goddeffe Minerva: and for the engraving of the faid pillars, the treasurie of the citie shall defray fiftie drachmes of silver out of those moneys which are allowed for the citie decrees.



OF THREE SORTS OF GOVERNMENT: MONAR-

CHIE, DEMOCRATIE AND OLIGARCHIE.



SI devifed with my felfe and purposed to put to question for to be decided by this judicious companie, a matter which yesterday I discoursed of before you; me thought that I heard politicke vertue 40 in a true vision in deed (and not in the vaine illussion of a dreame) thus to say unto me:

The golden base and ground that now belongs
Unto our worke, is laied with sacred songs.

I have alreadylaied the foundation of a discourse, perswading and exhorting to the management of State affaires, if now we can proceed to build upon it the doctrine fit for such an exhortation,

which is a due debt unto Actions: for meet it is and requifit, that after a man hath received an admonition inciting him to deale in politicke matters of common weale, there should configured by given unto him and sounded in his eares the precepts of policie; the which he ob- so serving and following, may (as much as lieth in man to performe) be profitable to the commonweale; and with all, in the meane time manage his owne private businesse, both in fafetie, and also with such honour as is just and meet for him.

First and formost therefore, we are to consider and discourse of one point; which as it is a very materiall precedent unto all that shall be said, so it dependeth, and is necessarily to be inferred of that which hath bene delivered already; namely, What maner of policie and government is best: for as there be many fort of lives in particular men; so there are of people in general.

nerall: and the life of a people or commonaltic, is the politicke state and government thereof. Necessarie it is therfore, that we declare which is simply the best; that a man of State may chuse it from among the rest: or at least wise, if that be impossible, take that which most resembleth the belt. Now there is one fignification of this word Politia, that is to fay, Policie, which is as much as Burgeofie, that is to fay, the indument and enjoying of the right and priviledges of a citie; as for example, when we fay that the Megarians (by a publicke ordinance of their city) gave unto Alexander the great, their Politia, that is to fay, their Burgeofie; and when he feemed to laugh at this offer and grant of theirs, they made him answer againe: That they had never decreed this honour to any, but first to Hercules, and now to himselfe: which speech of theirs he so admired, to that he accepted of their gift, reputing it honourable, because it was so rare. Also the life of a politicke person who administreth State affaires, is called Policie: according to which sense and acceptation of the word, wee commend the policie of Pericles and Bias, that is to fay, their maner of government, but contrariwife, we diffeommend that of Hyperbolus and Cleon. Moreover, others there be, who call fome one woorthy act or memorable deed tending to the good of the common weale, by the name of Policie: as for example, the contribution of money, the finall ending and diffolution of warre, and the publishing or declaration of some notable decrees in which fignification we use commonly to fay: Such a man hath this day bene the authour of a good policie, if haply he have done and effected fome woorthy things, importing the wealepublicke. Over and above all these fignifications before specified, there is another; namely, the 20 order and state of a citie and common-wealth, by which are managed and administred all the affaires thereof: and according to this fense we say, there be three forts of policies, Monarchie, that is to fay, Roialtie; Oligarchie, that is to fay, Seignory; and Democratic, that is to fay, Popular authoritie : of which three Herodot wo maketh mention in the third booke of his hiftorie, comparing them together; and it feemeth that thefe be the most generall, for all others be (as it were) the depravations and corruptions of thele, according to want or excelle, like as it falleth out in accords and confonances of mulicke, when the first and principall strings or notes arefretched over high, or let downe to low : and fo hee devided thefe three governments among those nations which had the largest empire and greatest dominion: for the Persians held the Monarchie and absolute rotaltie, for that their king had plenary power in all things, not 30 subject to be called unto account by any person whatsoever. The Spartiats or Lacedæmonians, mainteined a grave and fevere counfell, confifting of some fewe, and those the best and principall personages of the city, who managed and dispatched all affaires. The Athenians embraced a popular government, living under their owne lawes, free, and without all mixture whatfoever. Now of these States and governments, when they be faulty and out of order, the transgressions, exorbitations and excesses, be called tyrannies, lordly oppressions of the mightier, and unbrideled rule, or licentious misrule rather of the multitude: to wit, when the prince in his absolute roialtie taketh upon him insolent pride, to commit wrong and outrage unto whom he lift: when some fewe senatours or rulers in their seignorie enter into an arrogant and prefumptuous lordlinesse, whereby they contemne and oppresse all others: also when the 40 multitude in their popular ilonomie, runne into anarchie, unrulineffe, difobedience, tearmes of equalitie, and unmeasurable libertic: and in one word, when all these forts of government fall to rash and witlesse folly: like as therefore a skilfull and harmonical musician can make use of all kindes of inftruments, framing and accommodating himfelfe by art and cunning unto every one, striking each one according as he knoweth the quality and nature thereof, to give the sweetest and most pleasant found: howbeit, if he follow the counsell of Plate, will passe by the fiddels, rebecks, dulcimers, the many stringed platteries or virginals, the vials likwife & the triangled harpes, preferring before all others the lute and the citheron or bandora: even fo a good politician, will handle with dexteritie the Laconicke feignorie, and manage well enough Lyeurgus his Oligarchie, applying and fitting his companions in government, who have equall 30 authoritie unto himfelfe, gently drawing and reducing them by little and little anto the bent of his bow: femblably, he will carie himselfe with wisedome and discretion in the popular State, as if he had to deale with an instrument of many founds, and as many strings, letting downe and remitting fome matters, setting up and extending other things in the government, as he seeth his time, giving ease and liberty, and againe, carying a hard hand and a rigorous, as one who knoweth when to refift and withfland floutly any proceedings: But if he were put to his choife, among these musicall instruments as it were of a politicke government; certes if he bee ruled by Plato, he would never chuse any other but that regall and princely Atonarchia, which onely * öjüler.

Comparisons betweene

is able to mainteine that direct, absolute and * lostie note (indeed) of vertue, and not suffer it either by force of necessitie, or upon affectionate favour and grace, to frame it selle to gaine and profit; for other governments after a fort as they be ruled by a politician, fo they rule him, and as he leadeth them, so they cary him, for that he hath no affirred power over those, from whom he hath his authority, but oftentimes he is enforced to exclame and refound these verfes of Aeschylus the poet, which Demetrius Poliorectes was wontto alledge unto fortune, after that he had loft hiskingdome:

Thou mad' ft me budde and burgen fresh at first, but now at last, Thou feem ft my lovely bloume to burne, and beauty for to blast.





A BREVIARIE COMPARISON

TWEENE ARISTOPHANES

AND MENANDER.

The Summarie.



E preferreth Menander an excellent comicall poet, in all respects before Aristophaoncs, who is heere described and depainted in his colours. Then examineth he in particular what he had faid before in generality. He confidereth the sile, disposition, unifor-30 mity, and artificiall contriving of Menanders comedies, shewing that Aristopha-Incs in comparison of him was no better than a counterfeit cousiner, a crastic and pra-

ting companion, ignorant, audacious and intollerable umo all: having written his comedies not to be read of any hone st men, but onely for leud and dissolute persons.

A BREVIARIE OF THE COM-

parison betweene Aristophanes and Menander.



O speake in generall and summarily, he preferreth Menander by many degrees before Aristophanes; but to come unto particularities, fee what he addeth moreover : The stile of Aristophanes, and his manner of language is unfavorie and unpleafant, counterfeit, bafe and mechanicall, whereas in Menander there is no fuch thing to be feene. And verily a groffe, ignorant, and unlettered idiot may take pleasure and be delighted in Aristophanes his speeches; but alearned man will soone bee displeased and discontented therewith. I meane, his Anuthera or opposite tearmes; his clauses ending alike, and his allusions to names, which Menander useth but now and 50

then to good purpole, and with great reason and judgement, being therein verie sparie, warie, and religious: whereas the other ever and anon abufeth them hand over head, and out of feafon without all grace or life to commend them. Praifed he is (forfooth) for these cold jests; namely, when he faith: That he had drenched over head and eares the treafurours, who were not тодиц, but Augua. Alfo, This fellow doth breath out, either malice or flanderous calumniation. Againe, Here is one that liveth for his belly, his entrals and his guts. Likewife, Even for verie laughter, I shall breake out a laughing. Moreover, What shall I do to thee thou unhappy damned pitcher,

Aristophanes and Menander.

and banished remblaby, You women, here I shall make you wild and savage evils, like as I am my felfe, who have beene fed among wild and favage worts: but thefe curled treffes and frifled haires furely have devoured my creft: laftly,

Come bring him hither his targuet round, with Gorgons hideous head: But give me here my cake as round, as face buckler in his stead.

befides many other bald jefts of the like fort: for there is in the composition and texture of his words, that which is tragicall and comicall both: proude and infolent; bafe also and lowly; to darke and myfticall, and anon plaine and familiar; swelled, puft up and loftie; but afterwards, vanitie, lightnes, and lothfome feurrilitie, enough to overturne a mans stomacke. Now there being in his writings such diversitie, difference, and dissimilitude; yet giveth not he to every perfon that which is proper and beforming. As for example, he attributeth not unto a king, a high and loftie language; to an oratour, eloquent and pithie speech; to a woman, a plaine and simple tongue; to an ignorant and unlettered commoner, base and lowly words; to a busic barriter or pragmaticall merchant, shrewd and odious tearmes; but he allotteth unto everie person at a venture whatfoever attributes come first to hand; so that a man cannot know nor discerne by any speech, whether he be a sonne or a father that speaketh; a countrey peasant or a citizen; a god or an old woman, or fome demi-god: whereas the stile and phrase of Menander is so uniforme; 20 fo confonant and like it felfe, that how foever it be converfant in fundrie maners and divers paffions,howfoever it be accommodate to all forts of perfons, yet it feemeth still one and the fame, and to keepe the femblance in common and familiar words, and fuch as are alwaies in use. And if perhaps otherwhiles according to the matter and prefent occasion offred, there bee required some extraordinarie narration or strange bruit and unexpected noise; he setteth a worke and openeth (as it were) all the holes of his pipe; but presently and with a seemely grace he reduceth and composeth his voice to the natural state againe. Now albeit there be in all arts & mysteries excellent artifanes; yet was there never knowen any shoomaker to make a shooe; nor artificer a maske or vifour; nor tailor a robe or garment, that would fit at one time a man and woman both; a young youth, an aged person, and a varietibut Menander hath so framed his phrase and speech, 30 that proportionate it is and furable to all natures & fexes, to each state and condition, yea and to every age, and this was he able to performe and doe in his very youth, when he began to write: for then died he when he entred into his floure and best time, either of composing or setting out and publishing his works, at such an age, when as the stile (as Aristotle faith) is come to the very grouth and height in them who make profession to pen or write ought. And if a man would confider the first comedies of Menanders making, and conferre them with those in the middes, and which he made in his latter end, a man thereby may foone know how much hee would have added to these in other, if he had lived longer: for that of them who put foorth their works to be seene and read, some write to the capacity of the multitude and vulgar fort, others for men of marke and understanding; and hardly is a man able to name the author, who 40 can skill how to observe that which is meet and besitting two kinds of people. As for Aristophanes he is neither pleafing unto the common fort, nor acceptable to men of woorth and judgment; but hispoesie may be likened unto an old stale and overworne whoore, who forsooth would counterfet an honest maried wife; for as the people cannot endure his arrogancie; so men of account and quality, deteft his intemperance and maliciousnesse: whereas Menander on the contrary fide, with a good and feemely grace, fatisfieth and contenteth all, ferving as a lecture, a knowledge and exercife common to theaters, schooles, sports, pastimes, seasts, and bankets, thewing thereby, that his poefic is one of the goodlieft things that ever Greece brought foorth; making it to appeare what a gay matter, and how puilfant is the dexteritie of speech and language, paffing throughout, with an attractive grace, which it is impossible to escape, ravi-50 fling and winning everiemans care and understanding, who hath the knowledge of the Greeke toong. For wherfore should a learned man take paines to go unto the theater, but for Menanders fake? when are the theaters frequented and full of great clearks, but when there is a masked shew before of acting his comedies? And at banquets, for whom doth the table makeroome or Bacchus give place more justly than for Menander? And as for philosophers, great scholars and students, like as painters when they have wearied their eies with looking upon fresh, lively & bright colours, turne them to those that are verdant and greene; as namely, upon herbes and flowers for to recreat and refresh their fight; even so Menander is he who intertained their minds and spirits (as it were) in a faire medow full of lovely and pleasant flowers, where there is shade, fresh and coole aire, with mild and comfortable winds. What is the reason that the city of Athens at this day is furnished with many singular actours and plaiers of comedies? even because the comedies of Menander are so full of many graces and pleasant conceits, so savorie, as if they fprang foorth of the verie fea, out of which Venus herselfe was borne: whereas the conceits and jests of Aristophanes, are bitter and sharpe withall, carrying with them a mordicative qualities which doth bite, sting and exulcerate wheresoever they light. And verily I wot not wherin lieth that lively dexteritie which is so highly commended in him; whether in his words & phrases, or in the personages and actours? Certes, those things which he doth imitate and counterfeit, encline alwaies to the woorfe part: his cunning calts and conveyances are nothing civill and gen- 10 tle, but shrewd and malicious: the rusticitie in clownes that he resembleth, is not naturall, but affected and foolish: his merrie jests to moove laughter, are nothing jocund, but rather ridiculous and to be derided his amorous parts be not levely and delectable, but wanton and diffoline. In fumme, it seemeth this man wrote not his poesse to be read of any honest and sober personfor his filthie and lascivious tearmes are meet for leacherous folke, and those which are given over to all loolenes, like as his bitter and spitefull speeches, for envious and malicious persons.



NARRATIONS OF LOVE.

The Summarie.

N this discourse, Plutatch relateth five tragicall histories, which show the pitifullaction of cidents that befell certaine persons transported with the inordinate and tregular affection of Love; leaving thereby unto the reader a saire and electronir our wherein to beholde the judgements of God upon those that abandon themselves to be carried away by intemperance and looseness.

NARRATIONS OF LOVE.



N the citie Aliartos fituate within Baotia, there was formetime a 40 yoong maiden of excellent beautie, named Ariftoelea, and the daughter she was of Theophanes: and two yoong gentlemen there were, that made sute unto her in way of mariage, to wit, Straton an Orchomenian, & Callisthenes of Aliartos aforesaid. Now was Straton to the richer of the twaine, and farre more enamoured of thedamosell; for seene her he had when she was she herselfe in the souncaine of Ereyne, which is in Lebadia, against the time that she was to carrie in procession to Japiter, surnamed King, a sacred panier, as the maner was of the Canephora to do. But Callisthenes had the vantered was of the Canephora to do. But Callisthenes had the vantered was of the Canephora to do. But Callisthenes had the vantered was of the Canephora to do. But Callisthenes had the vantered was of the Canephora to do. But Callisthenes had the vantered was of the Canephora to do. But Callisthenes had the vantered was of the Canephora to do. But Callisthenes had the vantered was of the Canephora to do. But Callisthenes had the vantered was of the Canephora to do. But Callisthenes had the vantered was of the Canephora to do. But Callisthenes had the vantered was of the Canephora to do. But Callisthenes had the vantered was of the Canephora to do. But Callisthenes had the vantered was of the Canephora to do. But Callisthenes had the vantered was of the Canephora to do.

tage of him, and was deeper in her love, for that he was besides neere of kin unto the virgin. So 50 Theophains her sather being doubtfull what to doe (for he stood in seare of Straton, as one who for wealth and noble parentage went wel-neere beyond all the Beeotians) resolved at length to referre the choise unto the oracle of Jupiter Trophonius: but Straton, who was borne in hand by those of the house about Aristocles, that she inclined more unto him, laboured earnestly, that the matter might be put unto the election of the damosell hersels: whereupon, when Theopharnes the stather demanded of her in the sace of the world, Whom she loved better, and would chuse to be her husband; she presented Callishenes: whereas Straton shewed himselse immedia-

atly not a little discontented for this repulse and disgrace; but two daies after, hecame unto Theophanes and Callifthenes, pretending and faying, that he would not fall out with them, but was defirous still of their good favour and friendship, how ever his ill fortune had envied him the marriage of the yoong virgin. They approving well of this speech, and taking his words in very good part, invited him as a guest to the wedding feast: meane while, he provided himselfe of agood number of his friends, and befides, no finall troupe of fervants, whom he disposed tecrelly in their houses heere and there, against the time that this maiden (after the custome and maner of the countrey) should go downe to a certeine fountaine named Ciffoeifa, there to facrifice unto the Nymphes before her marriage day : now as the paffed by, those who lay in ambush to came all running forth from every fide, and feized upon her bodie, but Straton himselfe principally, who drew and haled the damofell unto him as hard as he could: Callifthenes againe on the other fide, for his part (as became him) held her fast, & so did they about him : thus the filly maiden was tugged and pulled to and fro fo long betweene them, that before they were aware, dead the was among them in their hands: upon which strange occurrent, what became of Calliff henes, it is not knowen, whether he prefently made away himselfe, or fled into voluntary exile; for he was no more seene : as for Straton, in the very fight of all men there in the place he killed himfelfe upon the very body of his espoused bride.

2 There was one named Phidon a Peloponnesian, affecting the seignorie of all Peloponnefun, and being desirous that the citie of Argos his native seat should be ladic over all others, laied 20 an ambuth first for the Corinthians, to intrap them : for he sent an embassiage unto Corinth, to demand a levie of a thousand yoong men, that were the lustiest and most valourous gallants of the whole citie. The Corinthians fent them accordingly, under the conduct of one of their captaines, named Dexander. Now the purpose of this Phidon was, to set upon this troupe, and kill them every one, to the end that he might thereby enfeeble the Corinthians, and make the citie ferve his owne turne (as a strong bulwarke most commodiously seated) to command and fubdue all Peloponnesw. This desseigne of his he communicated unto certaine of his friends for to be put in execution accordingly; among whom there was one named Abron, who being a familiar friend unto Dexander, revealed unto him the conspiracie: whereupon the said regiment of athousand yong men (before they were charged by the faid ambush) retired themselves, and 30 recovered Corinth in fafetic. Then Phidon bestirred himselfe to finde out the man who had thus betraied and discovered his plot: which Abron fearing, withdrew himselfe to Corinth, taking with him his wife, children, and his whole familie, where he fetled and remained in a village named Melissa, belonging to the territorie of that citie: there begat he a sonne, whom of the very place which he inhabited, he named Meliffer; and this Meliffer in processe of time had a sonne of his owne, called Action, who proved the most beautifull, and withall, the modestest lad of all other youths and fpringals of his age; in regard whereof, many there were enamoured of him; but among the rest, one especially, named Archias, descended lineally from the noble race of Hereules, and for wealth, credit and authoritie, the greatest person in all Corinth. This Archias, seeing that by no faire meanes and perswasions he could prevaile with young Attaon, and winne 40 his love, refolved with himfelfe to use violence, and forcibly to ravish and carrie away this faire boy : so he came upon a time (as it were) to make merrie, unto the house of Melissus his father, accompanied with a great traine of friends, and attended upon with a good troupe of his owne householde servants, where he gave the attempt to have away the boy by force: but the father with his friends made refistance; the neighbours also came foorth to rescue, and did all what they could, to holde and keepe the youth with them: but what with the one fide and what with the other, poore Actaon was so pulled and tugged, that betweene them hee lost his life, which done, all the rest went their waies and departed; but Melissus the father brought the dead corps of his childe into the market place of the Corinthians, presented it there unto them, and demaunded justice to be done upon those who had committed this soule outrage. The Corm-50 thians made no greater a matter of it, but onely shewed, that they were fory for his mishap; and so he returned home as he came without effect, attending and waiting for the solemne asfembly at the Isthmicke games; where being mounted up to the top of Neptimes temple, he cried out against the whole race of the Bacebarides, and withall, reheatsed by way of commemoration, the beneficence of his father Abron unto them, and when he had called for vengeance unto the gods, hee threw himfelfe downe headlong among the rocks, and brake his necke. Not long after there fell out to be a great drouth, and the the citie was fore visited with tamine, infomuch as the Corinthians fent unto the oracle, for to know by what meanes they

might be delivered from this calamitie. unto whom the god made this answer: That the weath of Neptane was the cause of all their miscrie, who would by no meanes be appeased untill they had revenged Ast aons death which Arehias hearing, (who was himselfe one deputed to this embassing) he was not willing to returne againe to Corinth, but crossed over the seas into Sixis, where he founded and built the city Syracuss, and there hee begat two daughters, Ortygia and Syracuss, but in the end was himselfe trecherously murdred by one Telephas, whom in his youth he had abused as his minion, and who having the conduct of a shippe had failed with him into

A pooreman named Seedafus who dwelt in Leuetra, a village within the territorie of the Sicilie. Thespians, had two daughters, the name of the one was Hippo, and of the other Mileia, or as fome write, elepid they were, Theano and Enippe. Now this Seedafus was abounteous and kind 10 person, yea, and a good fellow in his house, and curteous to all strangers, notwithstanding he had but small store of goods about him. So there fortuned to visit him two yoong men of Sparta, whom hee friendly and lovingly enterteined; who being fallen into fancie with his two daughters, had thus much power yet of themselves, that in regard of their father Seedasus, and his kindnesse unto them, they attempted nothing prejudiciall unto the honest pudicitie of the virgins for that time; but the next morning tooke their leave and went directly toward the city of Delphos, unto the oracle of Apollo Pythins, for to that purpose expresly tooke they this journey and pilgrimage: after that they had confulted with the god about such matters as they came for, they returned backe againe into their owne country; & as they passed thorough Bass 20 tia, tooke Seedafushouse by the way, there for to lodge; who at that time was not at Leuetra, but gone forth: howbeit his daughters according to their courteous bringing up,& their usual maner of intertainment, received these two guests into the house, who seeing their opportunitie, & that they were alone, forced & defloured the filly maidens : and after this deed, feeing them exceedingly offended and angry for this villany offered unto them, fo as by no meanes they would be appealed, they proceeded farther & murdred them both, and when they had so done, threw them into a certeine blinde pit, and so departed. Seedasse being returned home, found all things else in his house fase and found as hee left them, onely his two daughters hee could not meet with, neither wift he what to fay or doe, untill fuch time as a bitch that he had began to whine and complaine, running one while to him and another while training him as it were to the pit fide, whereupon at length, he suspected that which was, and so drew foorth the 30 dead bodies of his two daughters; understanding moreover by his neighbors, that the day before they had seene going into his house those two yoong men of Lacedemon, who not long before had beene lodged with him; he doubted presently that they were those who had committed this crime, and namely, when he called to minde that the first time they came, they did nothing but praife the maidens, faying: That they reputed them most happy, whose fortune should be to espouse them for their wives . Well, to Lacedamon he went , for to conferre with the Ephori about this matter; and by that time that he entred within the territory of Argos, he was benighted, so that he tooke up his lodging in a common inne or hostelry; within which, he found another poore old man, borne in the city Oreos, within the province Hestras, whom when Seedasm heard to sigh and groane grievously, year and to fall a cursing of the Lacedz. monians, hedemaunded what the Lacedæmonians had done unto him, that he fared thus against them, the old man set talean end and said: That a subject he was of the Spartans, and that when one Aristodemus was sent as governour from the State of Sparta, into the citie Oreum, he had dealt very cruelly, and committed many outrages and enormites: for being (quoth he) wantonly fallen in love with a fonne of mine, and feeing that he would not frame nor be induced to fatisfie his will, he affaied to enforce him, and by violence to hale him out of the publicke wreftling place, where he exercised himselse with other his seeres and companions: the warden of the exercises empeached the said governour, with the assistance of many young men, who ranne into the rescue, in such sort, as for that present Aristodemus retired without 50 effect; but the next morrow having fet out and manned a galley of purpose, hee came with a second charge, and caried away my childe; and no sooner was he rowed from Oreum to the otherfide of the water, but he offred to abuse his body; which when the youth would in no wife abide, nor yeeld unto, he made no more adoo but cut his throat, and killed him outright in the place, which done, he returned backe to Oreum, where hee feasted his friends and made great cheere: This accident was I foone advertised of (quoth the old man) whereupon I went and performed the last dutie unto my sonne, and solemnized his sunerall; and so immediately

put my selfe upon my journey toward Sparta, where I complained unto the Ephori or lords connoulers, declaring unto them the whole fact, but they gave no care unto inc, nor made any reckoning of my grievance. Seed of the hearing this tale was il appaid & troubled in his mind imagining that the Spartans would make as little account of him; and therewith to requite his tale, related for his part likewise unto the stranger, his owne case; who thereupon gave him counsel, not fo much as once to go unto the Ephori, but to returne immediately backe into Ecotia, and to erect a tombe for his two daughters. Howbeit, Seedafin would not be ruled by him, but held on his journey forward to Sparta, & opened his griefe unto the lords cotroulers before faid: & when he faw that they tooke small heed of his words, he addressed himselfe to the kings of Sparia; yea 10 and afterwards to some particular burgeosies of the citie, unto whom he declared the fact, and bewailed his owne infortunitie. But feeing that all booted not, heran up and downe the streets of the citie, stretching forth his hands up to heaven, and to the sun and stamping upon the ground with his feet, calling upon the furies of hell to be revenged, and at the last killed himselfe. But in proceffe of time the Lacedæmonians paid decrely for this their injustice : for when they were growen to that greatnes, that they commanded all Greece, and had planted their garrifons in everie citie; first Epaminondas the Theban cur the throtes of those fouldiers who lay in garrison at Thebes; whereupon the Lacedæmonians made warre upon the Thebanes, who went out with a power to encounter them as far as to the village of Leučtra, taking that place for a good prefage unto them; for that before time they had been there delivered out of servitude, what time as Am-20 phictyon chaled by Sthenelus, fled and retired himselfe unto the citie of Thebes; where finding them subdued by the Chalcidians, and made their tributaries: after he had slaine Chalcodon the king of the Eubæans, he eafed the Thebanes of the tribute which they before had paid. So it fortuned that the Lacedæmonians were discomfitted and defeated, neere unto the verie same monument or tombe of the faid two daughters of Seedafus. It is reported moreover that a little before this battell, Seedas appeared in a vision or dreame unto Pelopidas, one of the captaines of the Thebane army, who had beene altogether discouraged with certaine signes and foretokens, which he judged and interpreted to portend ill; whom Seedafes willed to take a good heart, for that the Lacedæmonians were thither come, for to fuffer that punishment which they owed to him & his daughters; adviting him withal the day before he encountred with the Lacedæmo-30 nians, to facrifice a yoong white tole or colt, which he should find readie even before the sepulcher of his two daughters. And then Pelopidas, while ithe enemies lay yet encamped at Teges; fent before unto Leuctra for to enquire of the faid tombe; and being enformed thereof by the inhabitants of the countrey, advanced forward boldly with his army, and wan the field.

Phoeu, a Bæotianborne (for descended he was from Gleisas) had a daughter named Callirrhoe, a maiden of fingular beautie, and furpaffing honesty and sobrietie withall. So there were to the number of thirtie yoong gentlemen, the noblest and best reputed of all Beeria, who were all suters unto her in the way of marriage. But Phoeus her father made alwaics some delay or other, and found meanes to put off still from day to day, as fearing lest shee should be forced. At last seeing how he was overpressed with these instant wooers; he requested them to referre the 40 election of him that should be her husbaud unto the oracle of Apollo. The young mentaking indignation at these words and answere of his, fell upon him and slew him: but in this affray and tumult the yoong maiden escaped and ran thorow the fields into the countrey: but the yoong lustie futers made after and pursued her; and shee lighting upon certaine husbandmen, who were laying together and piling up of wheat upon a floore in a ricke, by the meanes of them faved herfelfe; for the faid husbandmen hid her within the corne, fo as they paffed by who followed in chase after her. Thus having escaped this danger, shee expected the solemne feast and generall affembly, called Pambeotia, for that all the Boeotians met together: then came shee to thecitie of Coronea, and there in habite and forme of a suppliant, the fat before the altar of Minerva Itoma; where she related unto all commers the enormious wickednes and mischiefe com-50 mitted by her woocrs, rehearfing them everie one by name, and shewing in what countrey ech one was borne. The Bocotians tooke pitie of the damofell, and were highly displeased and incensed against those young gentlemen: which they hearing, fled into the citic Orehomenus, but the Orchomenians would not receive them: by occasion whereof they meant to put themselves within Hippora, a pretie towne neere unto Helicon, fituate betweene 7 hebes and Coronea, which gave them entertainment. Then fent the Thebanes unto the inhabitants therof certaine persons to calupon them for to deliver up the murderers of Phoeus, that they might receive justice accordingly but when they would not yeeld fo to do, the Thebanes with other Boeotians, gathered

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an armie and went against them junder the leading of Phadus, who at that time was the chiefe ruler of Thebes, and laid siege unto the said towne; which being otherwise strongly fortified, was in the end forced forwant of water; where they stoned to death the murderers; brought the inhabitants unto bondage and slavesie; rased their walles; overthrew their dwelling houses; and devided their whole territoric among the Thebanes and Coronæans. The report goeth, that overinght before that this towne of Hippora was wonne, there was a voice heard from the mount Helicon of one estsones iterating these words: Here I am, Here I am; which voice the thirty woolers knew all verie well to be the speech of Phoeus. Also the same day that they were stoned, it is said that the monument or toombe of this old man, which stood at Gleisas, showed and ran with saffron. Thus when Phadus the capraine and ruler of the Thebanes, returned from warre with to victorie, newes came unto him that his wise was delivered of a daughter; which he taking to be a

good presage, named her thereupon N icostrata. 5 Aleippus, a Lacedæmonian borne, espouseda ladie named Democrita; by whom hee was the father of two daughters, who alwaies both giving counfell unto the citie for the best things, and alfoready in perfon to ferve, & execute the fame in al occurrences prefented, for the good of his countrey, incurred the envie and emulation of his concurrents in the government of the State, who with falle furmifes and flanderous imputations, went about to feduce the Ephori, buzzing into their heads, how this Alcippus would overthrow the lawes, and change the whole State and common-wealth of Sparta: infomuch as they banished him out of his countrey, and would not fuffer his wife with her daughters to follow him : and that which woorfe is, 20 they did confiscate his goods, to the end that his daughters might have no portions to bestow them for their advancement in marriage. And not with standing that divers young men in regard of their fathers vertue, made meanes for to marrie these maidens without any dowry, yet his adverfaries wrought fo cunningly, that they paffed an act and publicke edict, forbidding exprefly, that any man should seeke unto them for marriage : for they alledged and pretended that their mother Democrita had often times made her praiers unto the gods, that her daughters might quickly bring foorth children who might be revenged for the injuried one unto their father, Democrita then perceiving how on every fide she was hardly bested & driven to a straight, observed her time, and waited a certeine solemne and sestivallday, which the dames of the citie, with their daughters virgins, with their maid-fervants likewife and little children, did celebrate: 20 on which day, the wives of magistrates and men of honour, watched and passed the whole night by themselves in a great and spacious hall. When this day was come, she girded herselse with a dagger or skeine under her clothes, and taking her daughters with her, when night came, went into the temple; and observing the opportunitie of the time when all the faid dames were busine in their divine fervice and hard at their devotions in the hall abovefaid, when all the waies and passages were shut up, she brought a great deale of wood which was provided for the sacrifice, and piled the same against the doores, and so set it on fire. But when their husbands came

running for to helpe from all parts, Democrita killed her two daughters and herfelfe upon them. The Lacedæmonians notknowing upon whom to discharge their anger, caused the dead bodies of Democrita and her two daughters to be throwen without the confines and liberties of their territories for which act of theirs, God being highly displeased, sent (as the Chronicles do record)

a great earthquake among the

Lacedæmonians.

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WHETHER CREATVRES BE MORE WISE, THEY OF

THE LAND, OR THOSE OF THE WATER.

The Summarie.

N this treatife and discourse, affoording (among other things) much pleasure in the reading, Plutarch bringeth in two yoong genilemen, Aristotimus and Phoedimus, who in the presence of a frequent companie plead the cause of living creatures: Aristotimus in the first place, for them of the land; and Phoedimus in the second, for those of the water: the drift and conclusion of whose pleas commeth to this point, that without resolving unto whom the prize ought to be adjudged, one of the companie inferreth that the examples alledged both of the one fide and of the other, do prove that those creatures have some use of resfon. Moreover, we may distinctly divide this booke into three principall parts: the first containeth a conference betweene Sociarus and Autobulus, who gave eare afterwards unto the others : for Soclarus taking occasion to speake of a written discourse recited in the praise of hunting, commendeth this exercise, and preferreth it before combats of sword plaiers and sencers; which Autobulus will in no wife approone, but holdeth that this warre against beasts, schooleth (as it were) and traineth mento learne for to kill one another afterwards. And for that some entrance and accesse there was to be given unto the principall disputation of the intelligence and knowledge which is in brute beasts, they doe 20 examine the opinion of the Stoicks, who bereave them of all understanding passion and pleasure: which opinion of theirs being at large debated, is afterward refuted; with this resolution, that man out goeth beasts in all subtiltie and quicknesse of wit, in justice and equitie meet for civill societie: and yet beasts, although they be more dull and beavie than men, are not therefore void of all discourse and naturall reason. Then Autobulus confirmeth this by the consideration of horses and dogges enraged: a sufficient testimonie that such creatures before time had reason and understanding. Sociarus opposeth himselfe against such a confirmation, in the behalfe of the Stoicks and Peripateticks: whereupon Autobulus distinguisheth of the arguments, and inclining partly to the side of the Pythagoreans, sheweth what maner of justice or injustice we ought to consider in the carriage of men toward beasts. And then come the two young gentlemen above named in place; where Aristotimus taking in hand the cause of so lind-beasts, discourseth at large thereupon, which is the second part of this present treatise. True it is, that all the beginning of his plea is defective and wanting ; how beit, that which remaines h and is extans, sheweth sufficiently the carefull industry of our author in searching into the history of nature, and examples drawen out thereof, as also out of an infinit number of books, to passing good purpose. Well then, Aristocimus sheweth in the first place, that the hunting of land-beast's, is a far nobler and more commendable exercise than that of the water: and comming then to the point; namely, to the use of reason, which consistes hin the election and preference of one thing before another, in provisions, forecasts and prerogatives in affections, as well those which be milde and gentle, as the other which are violent; in diligence and industry in arts and sciences in hardinesse, equitie, temperance, convage and magnanimitie, he proove thall this to be (without comparison) farremore in land-creatures than in other: 50 for the proofe and verifying whereof, he produceth bulles, elephants, lions, mice, swallowes, spiders ravens, dogs, bees, geefe, cranes, herons, pilmires, wolves, foxes, mules, partridges, bares, bearcs, urchins, and divers forts besides of foure foosed beasts: of fowles likewise, insects, wormes and serpents: all which are specified in particular afterwards. In the last part, Phoedimus making some excuse that he was not well prepared, taketh in hand neverthelesse, the cause of fishes; and in the very entrance, declareth, that not withflanding it be an hard matter to shew the sufficiencie of such creatures, which are so divided and severed from us; yet notwith standing, produce he will his proofs and arguments drawen from certeine and notable things, recommending filtes in this respect, that they are so wife

and considerate (as he sheweth by examples) being not taught nor monished unto any waies framed and trained by man, like as most part of land beasts be; and yet by the way he proovethby celes. lampreis, and crocodiles, that fishes may be made tame with men, and how our auncients esteemed highly the institution of such mute creatures: after this he describeth their naturall prudence, both in defending themselves and also in offending and assailing others, alledging infinit examples to this purpose: as the skill and knowledge they have in the Mathematicks, their amity, their fellowship, their love, their kinde affection to their young ones : alledging in the end divers histories of dolphins love unto men: whereupon Sociarus taking occasion to speake, inferreth that these two pleaders agree in one point, and if a man would joine and lay together their arguments, proofes, and reasons, they would make head passing well and strongly against those, who would take from beasts both of land and 10 water all discourse of reason.

WHETHER CREATURES BE

more wife; they of the land, or they of the water.

Autobulus.



Eonidas, a king of Lacedamon, being demaunded upon a time what he thought of Tyrtam: I take him to bee (quoth he) agood 20 poet, to whet and polith the courages of yoong men; for that by his verses he doth imprint in the hearts of yoong gentlemen an ardent affection, with a magnanimous defire to winne honour and glorie, in regard whereof, they will not spare themselves in battels and fights, but expose their lives to all perils whatsoever: Semblably, am I greatly affraid my very good friends, left the discourse as touching the praife of hunting, which was read yesterday in this company, hath fo stirred up and excited beyond all measure our

yoong men, who love that game fo well, that from hencefoorth they will thinke all other things but accessaries and by-matters, or rather make no account at all of other exercises, but 30 will runne altogether unto this sport, and minde none other besides, considering that I finde my felfe now a fresh more hotly given, and youthfully affectionate thereunto than mine age would require, infomuch as according to the words of dame Phedra in Euripides:

Allmy desire is now to call And cry unto my hounds in chase, The dapple stagge and hinde withall, To hunt and follow hard at trace.

So neere unto the quickedid that discourse touch me, alleaging such a number of proper and pithy reasons.

Sociarus. True it is that you say ô Autobulue, for me thought that therein he stirred up and awakened his fingular eloquence and skill in Rhetoricke, which fome time he had discontinued & which lay afleepe, to gratific (as I take it) those young gentlemen who were present in place, and withall to folace and disport himselfe among them, but that which pleased me most was this: When hee represented unto our eies by way of comparison, sword-sencers fighting at sharpe one with another to the uttrance, alledging this for one of his reasons, wherefore he principally commending hunting, in that it diverteth and calleth away a certeine affection that we have either naturally engraffed, or elfe acquired by use and custome to take pleasure in seeing men at swords point enter into combat for life & death one against another, & turneth it especially hither, yeelding unto us a faire pure and innocent spectacle of artificial cunning, conjoi-50 ned with hardinesse and courage, guided with reason, against brutish force and witlesse strength: and in so doing giveth us to understand that this sentence of Euripides is woorthy to be praised

> Small is mans strength and puissance corporall; His wit is great and prudence naturall; It tames all fish beneath in sea so deepe And wily beafts aloft on earth that keepe

Autoeulus.

Autobulus.

And yet my good friend Soclarus, fome there be who hold, that this inflexible rigour and favage impaffibility of notbeing mooved at all with pitty, came from hence into mens hearts. namely, from the custome of killing of beasts in chase, and of learning not to have in honour the fight of bloudshed, and of the grievous wounds of beasts which they received, but to take delight in seeing them to die, and to be cut in pieces: and like as in the citie of Athens, when it was reduced under the tyrannie of the thirtie usurpers, the first man whom they put to death was afycophant, of whom it was faid then, that hee had well deferved it, and was rightly ferved; and so they faid by a second and a third: but from thence they went forward by little and to little, untill they came to lay hold upon honest men, and in the end spared not the best and most vertuous citizens: even so he that killed at the first a beare, or a woolfe, was highly commended, and thought to have done a very good deed; and an oxe or a fwine that had eaten fomethings provided for a facrifice or oblation to the gods, was condemned as fit and worthy to die: heereupon stagges and hinds, hares also and goates, which men began already to eat, invited also the flesh of theepe, yea, and in some places of dogges and horses to the table. But they who taught first to diffmember, and cut in pieces for meat, a tame goose, a house dove, and familiar pigeon, a dung-hill cocke, or domesticall henne of the roust, and that not for to latisfie and remedie the necessitie of hunger, as doe these weezils and cattes, and but onely for pleasure, and to feed a daintie tooth, surely have confirmed and strengthened all that 20 bloudinesse and savage cruelty which was in our nature, and made it altogether instexible and immooveable without any compassion: but contrariwise enseebled and dulled for the most part all natural mildnesse and humanitie; whereas on the other side the Pythagoreans would have men to accustome themselves to use gentlenesse even towards beasts, as an exercise of pitty and mercy to men? for cultome which traineth us familiarly by little and little to any passion and affection, hath a wonderous efficacie, to fet a man forward thereunto. But I wot not how, being entred into speech, we have forgotten our selves, and not kept us to that which was begun yesterday, and should be continued and held on this day: for yesterday as you know very well, having agreed upon this: That all forts of living creatures have in them fome little discourse and reason, we gave good occasion and matter of a learned and pleasant disputation, unto our 30 young gentlemen, who love hunting fo well, namely, as touching the wit and wisedome of bealts, whether there be more in them of the land, or those of the sea? which question we are as I take it, this day to decide, in case Aristotimus and Phadimus hold on still, and persist in their defiances and chalenges, which yesterday they gave one another; for the one of them undertooke unto his friends and companions, to mainteine that the earth bringeth foorth beafts of more fense, capacitie and understanding; and the other contrariwise promised as much in the behalfe of the water.

SOCLARUS.

That they do, Autobulus, they are of the same mind still to dispute it out, and here they wil be anon for this very purpose; for I saw them in the morning betimes, addressing & making them-40 selves readie: but if you thinke it good, before this combat begin, let us go in hand againe with that which yesterday should have been handled, and was not; partly for that the time and place ferved not therto; or rather because the matter was proposed unto them at the table, and among the cups of wine, which went merrily about, and not treated of in good earnest and sadnesse in deed: for one there was, who feemed after a pragmaticall fort to refound on the adverse part not impertinently, as if he came out of the Stoicks schoole, thus much: That like as mortal is oppofite unto immortall, corruptible unto incorruptible, and corporall to incorporall; even fo, confesse ought, that reasonable is contrarie to unreasonable; so that if one of them be, the other ought likewise of necessitie to be, and that this onely couple of contraries among so many other, ought not to be left defectuous or unperfect.

Аитовигия. And what is he, friend Sociar us, who will fay, that if we admit in nature, that which is reasonable to subfift and have being; wee should not likewise allow that which is unreasonable: for (no doubt) it is, and that in great measure, namely in all creatures which have no life nor soule: neither need we to feeke farther for any other opposition unto that which is reasonable; for whatfoever is without life and foule, is incontinently opposite unto that which together with foule, hath the use of understanding and reason: and if any one there be who maintaineth, that nature for all this is not unperfect, in that everie substance having soule is either reasonable or

for Plusie alto

unreasonable: another will say unto hun likewise, that a nature endued with life and soule, is not defective, namely in that, either it hath imagination, or else is without; it is either sensitive, or else hath no sense; to the end that it may have on either side these two oppositions or privations, making counterpoife one against another, about one and the same kind, as two contrarie branchesarifing out of one stemme or trunke. And if he thinke him to be absurd, who demanndeth that it should be graunted unto him, that of a nature endued with soule, one branch should be sensitive, and another sensitisfier that he thinketh that everie nature which hath a soule is incontinently both sensitive, and also imaginative: yet for all this shall be have no more apparance to require that one flould suppose this unto him for to be true; namely, that whatsoever hath foule, should be either reasonable or unreasonable, discoursing with those men, who held to opinon that nothing hath fenfe, but the fame hath understanding withall; and that there is not one kind of animall creatures, but it hath fome manner of opinion and difcourfe of reason, like as it hath sense and natural appetite; for nature, who as men say, and that right truely, maketh all things for fome cause and to some end, hath not made a living creature sentitive, onely and simply to have a passive sense: but whereas there be a number of things proper and agreeable to it, and as many againe for the contratie, it could not possibly endure and continue the minute of an houre, if it knew not how to fit it selfe with one, and to take heed and beware of the other. So it is therefore, that fenfe giveth unto every animall creature the knowledge of them both indifferently : but the discretion which accompanieth the said sense, in chusing, receiving, and pursuing after that which is profitable; or refuling, rejecting and flying from that which is hurtfull 20 and pernicious: there is no apparance at all of reason to induce us to say that those creatures have, if they had not withall fome meane facultic and aptitude naturall, to discourse, judge, conceive, comprehend, retaine, and remember: as for those creatures verily, from which you take altogether the gift of expectance, remembrance, election, provision, and preparation afore hand: and moreover, the facultie of hoping, fearing, defiring and refusing; good have they none at all of their eies, of their eates, or of any other fense, apprehension or imagination, in case there be no use thereof: and farre better it were for them, that they were cleane destitute and quite deprived of fuch faculties, than to fuffer travell, paine and forrow, and have not wherewith to putby and repell fuch inconveniences: and yet there is a discourse extant of the naturall philosopher Strate, thewing by plaine demonstration, that impossible it is to have any sense at all, without 30 some discourse of reason: for many times we runne over the letters in bookes and writings with our cies; yea and we heare the found of words withour eares, without conceiving and comprehending either the one or the other, but they fly and passe away, when as our mind is otherwise occupied: but afterwards when the mind is come againe to it felfe and united it, it runnethand pursueth after the same, and gathereth every thing together againe which was scattered: Integard whereof it was not faid amiffe in old time:

The mind it is, that doth both heare and fee:

As for the rest full deafe and blind they bee. as if the motion and passion about the cies and cares, caused no sense at all, if the mind and underitanding were away. And therefore Chomenes king of Lacedemon, being one day at a feat in 40 Egypt, where there was reheatfed at the table a pretic Acroame or care-delight, which pleafed the companie verie well; being demaunded the question what hee thought of it? and whether hee judged it not verie well penned and let downe? As for that (quoth he) I report me unto you that heard it, and I referre it to your judgement : for mine part, my mind was all the while in Peloponnesius. And therefore necessarie it is, that everie creature which hath sense, should likewise be endued with discourse of reason and understanding, considering that by our understanding wee come to sense. But set the case that the senses have no need at all of the understanding, to exercise their functions & operations: but when the sense hath done her part, in discerning that which is proper and familiar unto a living creature, from it that is contrarie & adverse unto it, it passeth away and is gone: What is it then that remembreth and calleth to minde? what is it that fea-50 reth things notione and offentive, and contrariwife defireth those which be good and hollome? what is it that fecketh meanes to compaffe and get things when they are not prefent? what is it that devileth and prepareth offensive, forts and retracts, yea, and engins to catch and take; or contrariwife, this trand policies to escape nets and grinnes laied for them when they are at the point to be caught and surprised? and yet * these men say as much as this comes to, when ever and anon in all their introductions they dull our eares and make our heads ake againe with their definitions; for they define acodes, that is to fay, a project or deliberat purpose, to be a desseigne

of bringing formewhat to effect; 376600, that is to fay, endevour, to be an appetite or defire before an appetite; Squardin, that is to fay, provision, to be an action before action; without, that is to lay, remembrance or memorie, to be the comprehension of a proposition affirmative or negative, already past; whereof the present trueth was otherwise comprised by the sense; for of all these faculties, there is not so much as one reasonlesse (I meane) not proceeding from the discourse of reason : and yet they all concurre, and are to be found in every living creature : and even to verily, they define pointers, that is to fay, intelligences, to be notions laied up apart and referved within; but staroforers, that is to fay, cogitations, to be notions still in motion: as for passions, they confesting and defining them all in generality to be evil judgements & falle opinions, 10 awoonder it is, how they passe over so many effects and motions which are to be found in brute bealts; some proceeding from anger and choler, others againe from seare: and besides all this, envie (I may tell you) and jealoufie; when as they themselves (beleeve me) slicke not to punish their horles, and beat their dogs, when they do a fault; not raffily and in vaine, but confideratly, for to correct them and make them wifer, working thereby & imprinting in them a displeasure with themselves proceeding from paine, which we call repentance: as touching other pleasures and delights, that which paffeth and is received by the cares, they terme it (for footh) xinners, that istofay, an enchantment; that which commeth by the eie, 2011 cia, that is to fay, bewitching: and they use both the one and the other against wilde beasts; for certeine it is, that stagges and horles do joy in the found of whiftles, flutes and hautboies; also men call forth crabfiff, crevif-20 fes and grampels out of their holes perforce, with burning torches and light fire brands: moreover, it is faid, that the fifth alofa hearing men to fing, to clap their hands, or otherwise to make a noife, will arrie out of the water, and come abroad: likewife, the horne owle or buffard is (as it were) enchanted with the beholding of men dancing together in his fight, and fo far overtaken he is with the delight thereof, that whiles he thinketh to counterfeit their jeftures, flirring and moving his shoulders according to the measures with them, he suffereth himselfe (like a foole) to be taken by the fowler. As for those who of these matters speake so foolishly and absurdly, faying, that beafts rejoice not, are not angry, nor fearefull; and namely, that the * nightingale un musus dedoth not studie, meditate and prepare against her singing; that the bee hath no memorie; but all the state of doth notitudie, meditate and prepare against ner tinging; that the oce nath no memorie; but as Phine ret that the swallow seemeth onely to make provision by a kinde of providence; that the lion is (as pointed of 30 it were) angrie; and the hinde given as though the were afraied: I wot not what answer they will her, untelle make to those who shall urge them to this, that they may aswell say, that the same creatures nei your rade your make to those who shall urge them to this, that they may aswell say, that the same creatures nei your rade you ther fee nor heare, but feeme onely (as it were) to heare and fee and to have a voice; and in one finte, that the word, that they live not at all, but feeme to live: for I affure you (in my judgement) these are no (wallow doth more repugnant to evidence and daily experience, than the other.

Land-creatures compared with those of the water.

Soclarus.

I thinke no leffe (6 Autobulus) and therefore range me among those of your opinion in this former indulties point. But to compare the maners, lives, actions, behaviours and conversations of men, with in artificiall those of beafts, & to affirme that beafts herein fort with us: besides, that I fee in this, great indig. building. nitie derogatorie to mans woorthinesse, I doubt much, and can not conceive how nature hath 40 given unto them the beginning of vertue, which is reason, and unto which reason is referred and doth aime, confidering they can not attaine unto the end; and befides, there is not one of them all that sheweth any signe of tending thereto, of progresse therein, or of desire and appetite that

Autobulus.

Yea, but this (my good friend Soclarus) is no strange and absurd thing with these men, I meane the Stoicks : for notwithstanding that they put downe the natural love and affection which we have to the iffue of our owne bodies begotten, for the foundation of civil focietic and of justice, and see the same in brute beasts very evident and puissant, yet for all that, they statly and flourly denie that they have any part of justice in them. And that which more is, mules are 50 not without all the inftruments of generation; for nature hath given to the males generative members, and to the females the parts fit for conception; yea, and in the use of these members and instruments they have the same delight and pleasure which other creatures have; howbeit, they never speed, nor attaine to the end of generation. Consider againe on the other side, whether it were not a ridiculous abfurditie for fuch philosophers as they would seeme to be, to affirme and mainteine, that Socrates and Plato, and fuch men as they, were no leffe vicious than any vile flave or wicked wretch in the world, but that all were foolish, witleffe, lascivious and un-

justalike (because for footh, all finnes with them be equall) and then to lay the blame and fault

in the fource and beginning of vertue, that is to fay, Reason, as being not pure nor perfect in brute beafts to the accomplishment of vertue : as if this were not some defect and imbecillitie of reason, seeing they confesse themselves that there is an imperfection in the use of reason, of which all beafts be full: for we fee in many of them, that there is cowardife, intemperance, injuflice and malice. Now he who affirmeth that what foever is not apt and fitted by nature, to receive reason aright and in absolute maner, is simply not capable of reason: first he doth as much as if he mainteined, that neither the ape is capable of ilfavoured deformitie, nor the tortoife of flow pace, because the one of them is not susceptible of beautifull favour, nor the other of swiftneffe and good footmanship. Againe, he doth not see and marke the difference betweene reafon perfect, and fimple reason; for reason simply proceedeth from nature, but honest, vertu- 10 ous, and perfect reason commeth by industry, study, diligence, and teaching; which is the cause that all creatures endued with a sensitive soule, are capable and susceptible of a kinde of discipline and learning by the meanes of this facultie of discourse and reason: mary this abfoliate and right reason indeed which we affect and seeke for, and is nothing else but sapience and wisedome, they are not able to name any one man, that ever attained unto it. Like as therefore a difference there is betweene fight and fight; betweene flight and fight; for haukes fee otherwise than grashoppers doe; eagles also and partridges flie not alike; even so all creatures endued with reason, have not the like vivacity, promptitude and nimblenesse of reason, as to reach up to the highest pitch and perfection thereof: for we may observe in some beasts many evident tokens of just focietie, of valour, of witty industry in their provision and dispose : and 20 contrariwife, in others as many fignes of infociable violence and injuffice, of cowardife and fottifhnesse, as witnesseth that which now mooveth the contention and debate betweene our yoong gentlemen; for as if they both supposed there was a difference in this behalfe, some of them mainteine that naturally, the beafts of the land are proceeded farther in vertue; and others contrariwise affirme, the same of those in the sea and waters; a thing very evident, whofoever will compare ftorkes with the river horses; for those doe nourish and feede their fathers who engendred them, whereas these doe kill them, because they might ride and cover their mothers: as also who will but conferre cocke-doves with partridges; for doves doe oftentimes fquash and marre the egges, yea, and otherwhiles kill the hennes when they cover or fit, because they are not willing during that time to be troden; whereas the male partridges take upon them 20 part of the care and paine in fitting upon the egges, and in their turne doc keepe them warme, that they chill not; yea, and that which more is, they be the first that bring meat in their billes unto the little ones newly hatched; and if haply the damme raunge abroad, tarie foorth too long out of the nest, the male beats and pecks her with his bill, drives her home to her egges and yoong birds. As for Antiparer who reprocheth and rebuketh both affes and sheepe for their filthinesse, and being so negligent in keeping themselves cleane, he hath forgotten (I wot not how) to speake of ounces and swallowes: for the ounces seeke a by-place by themselves apart, where to bestow their urine, and by all meanes hide and conceale that fine stony substance, called Lyncurium, which is engendred of it: and the swallowes teach their yoong ones to turne their tailes fo, as they may ment out of their nests. Moreover, why say we not that one 40 tree is more ignorant or untaught than another, like as we hold, and that truely, that a sheepe is more dull of capacitie than a dogge? or that this herbe is more fearefull than that, like as we affirme very well, that a stagge is more timorous, or rather lesse valourous than a lion: and as in things which are unmooveable, we never fay, that one is more flow than another; nor among fuch things as yeeld no found at all, that this hath a smaller or bigger voice than that; Semblably, it is never faid, that there is lessewitte, more dulnesse, and greater intemperance in fuch or fuch things, unleffe it be in that kinde, whereof all by nature are endued with the gift of reason, and of prudence in some measure, which puissance and facultie being given to fome more, and to others leffe, is that which maketh all the difference that we fee. Yea mary, but there is no comparison will some man say, between emen and beasts; so infinitly surpas- 50 feth he them in fineneffe of witte, in justice and equity, beforming civill focietie, that it is wonderfull: And even fo, (my good friend) there be many which in biggeneffe and strength of bodie, in swiftnesse of seet, in quicknesse of eie-sight, and subtility, of hearing out-goe all the men in the world, and leave them farre behinde, and yet for all this, wee are not to inferre and conclude that man is blinde, that he is impotent of hand and foot, or otherwise dease: neither hath naturedeprived us altogether of bigge armes and bodies, or of strength both in the one and the other, although in comparison of the elephant and the camell, our force and bulke of body is nothing: after the fame maner may we speake of beasts; if their discourse and understanding be more grosse; if their witte be more dull than ours, it followeth not thereupon, that they have neither reason nor naturall witte: for without all question, both they have, seeble though they be and troubled, like as an cie is otherwhiles weake, dimme, and muddy: and were it not that I certeinly expect, and that among our yoong men who are studious; learned and verie well seene in the books of our auncient writers, that they will alledge an infinit number of examples, the one from the land, and the other out of the sea; I could not conteine my selbe but recite and alledge heere before you an innumerable fort of proofes and arguments, as well of the natural subtly of beasts, as of their docility, which the beautifull and famous city of some

Land-creatures compared with those of the water.

the natural morning of beares, as of their doctine, switch the beautiful and failed is refer to hath affounded unto us to draw and lade up aboundantly by whole fcuppets and buckets full (as they fay,) from the flately theaters of their emperours, and the princely games exhibited

there

But let us leave this matter fresh and entire for those young men, thereby to embelish their discourses, and set out their eloquence: meane while I would gladly examine and confider one point with you now that we are at leafure. For I suppose that in every part & naturall power or facultie of our bodie, there doth befall some proper defect, some maime or maladie, as namely, in the cie, blindnesse; in the legge, lamenesse; in the tongue, stutting and stammering; and that which is proper to one member, is not incident unto another; for wee use not to say, that a thing is become blinde, which never had power by nature to fee, nor lame which was not or-20 deined to goe; neither was there ever man who would fay, that a thing stammered which never had tongue, or muffled and wharled, which naturally yeeldeth no voice at all: and even fo we cannot (to speake properly and truely) tearme that foolish, furious, or enraged, which by course of nature is not capable of understanding, discourse and reason: for impossible it is, that a part may be faid to be interested, affected or prejudiced in a thing, which never had an aptitude or naturall power, that might receive diminution, privation, mutilation, or otherwise some infirmitie : and yet I doubt not but you have otherwhiles feene dogges runne madde; and for mine owne part I have known horses enraged; and there be moreover, who affirme that kine and other beefes will be horne-wood, yea and foxes as well as dogges: but the example of dogges whereof no man makes doubt, may fuffice to proove and beare witnesse, that this kinde of 30 beaft hath reason and understanding, and therefore not in small measure to bee contemued but when it chanceth that it is troubled and confounded, then comes upom them that difeafe which is called rage and madnesse; for at such a time we cannot perceive in them, that either their fight or their hearing is altered : but like as he that should give out of a man who is overcharged with a melancholike humour, or given to rave and go beside himselfe, that his underflanding is not transported and out of order, that his discourse of reason is not out of the way, nor his braines broken, or memorie corrupt, were very abfurd: for that the ordinary custome and behaviour of such foolish and bestraught persons sufficiently convinceth, that they are past themselves, and have lost the discourse of reason; even so, who soever thinketh that mad dogges fuffer any other paffion, than a confusion and perturbation of that part in them, which before 40 time was woont to imagine, discourse and remember, in such fort that when they be thus surprifed with rage, they are to foolish and sottish, as they know not their best friends, who were woont to make much of them, but flie those places of their feeding and bringing up, which they used most to haunt & to converse in, & do not so much as discerne; but oversee that which is presentedplaine before them: this man (I fay) feemeth obstinately to strive against the truth, and not to comprehend that which daily experience doth shew.

SOCLARUS.

Certes, your conjecture in mine opinion is very good, and you are in the right: but the Stoicks and Peripatericks shifty stand against all this, and impugne it with tooth and naile, saying: That justice cannot have any other breeding and beginning; and that impossible it is to main50 taine that there is any justice in the world, if it be confessed that all bests are any waies capable of reason: for that necessarie it is, either that wedo injurie in not sparing them; or in case we make nouse of them for our food, that impossible it were for us to live; or else our life should ternaine destitute of such things as well it may not misse and be without. In summe, that we were to live in some fort a savage and beastlike life, if wee should reject the profits and commodities which they affoord. For I passe by infinit thousands and millions of the Troglodyts and Nomades, that know no other seeding, but of section only and nothing else: but as for us who seeme to leade a mild, civill, & more gentle life, what worke were there less for us to do upon the land; what businesses.

finesse have wee at sea? what skill or art should wee exercise among the mountaines? what ornament or beautie would there be in our life, if wee were taught this once as a true lefton, that we ought to respect all beasts, and use all equitie towards them, as being reasonable creatures as we are, and made of the same mould that we be? Certes, it were verie hard to say; and therefore there is no answere to associate this doubt; no medicine or falve to heale this fore; no device to undo this knot, and difficulty which taketh away, either all civilitie, or elfe all justice out of mans life, unleffe we keepe that ancient limit and lawe, whereby God having feparated (according as He siodus faith) sundrie natures and distinguished every kind a part by it selfe:

To fishes, beasts and feathered fowles, hath graunted power and might, One of another for to feed, because they have no right

Tomen alone, he justice gave therein to take delight. Given(I fay)he hath juftice unto them for to exercise among themselves:and as for other living creatures as they cannot deale justly with us fo it is certaine that we cannot use injustice to them: and looke who foever reject this conclusion and resolution, have left no other use, nor so much as a fimple way whereby justice may enter and come among us.

10

Autorulus.

Now truely my friend, you have faid this very wel, and even according to the mind and hearts defire of these men: howbeit we are not to give & grant unto these philosophers (as the maner is to tie about those women who have hard travell, some Ocytocium, or medicinable drogue, to cause them forto have more speedy and easie deliverance) this device to hang upon them, that 20 they may with case and without all paine, beare and bring sooth justice unto us; seeing that in the maine and most important points of all philosophie, they would not allow Epicurus so finall a thing, & fo vile, as to decline one only atomic, or indivisible body never so little aside, for to make way for the starres, for living creatures, and fortune to come into the world, and that thereby our free will might bee faved for they ought either to proove by demonstration, that which is doubtfull, or to suppose that which of it selfe is manifelt; and not to take this article as touching beafts, for to establish justice, seeing that it is neither confessed & granted unto them, nor they otherwise doe proove it for another path-way there is to bring in justice among men, which is nothing to flipperie, dangerous, and full of fleepe downfalles, nor that which leadeth thorough the subversion and overthrow of things most evident; even that which my some 30 and one of your familiar friends (Soclarus) having learned of Plato, doeth fhew and teach those who will not obstinately contest, but follow reason and learne: for that man is not altogether cleere and voide of injustice, in using beasts, and dealing with them as he doeth. Heraclitus and Empedocles receive as an undoubted truth, complaining in many places, and reproching nature, as if the were under necessity, and a very warre, having in her nothing that is simple, pure, fincere, and unmixed, but performing all her operations by many unjust accidents and paffions; feeing they hold that even her generation proceeded from injuffice, namely, by conjunction of mortall with immortall, and in that the thing which is engendred thereof, rejoiceth to difmember unnaturally, that which engendred it: but haply all this may feeme too bitter and exceeding thatpe: well there is another gentle meanes, and cafe remedy of this inconveni-40 ence which doth not quite bereave beafts of all use of reason, and saveth justice in those who use them as they ought; which meane and indifferent way being in times past brought in by wife men, was afterwards rejected and wholly destroied by a conspiracie of gourmandise and sless. ly pleasure together; howsoever Pythagoras would have recovered it againe, by teaching men how they might make use and commoditie of beasts, and yet doethern no wrong nor injurie; for they who punish and put to death those wilde beasts which have no societie nor fellowship atall with man, but rather doe him much hurt and dammage, committo injustice; no more than they who make them tame and familiar, training them up to their ule and imploying them in services, whereunto they are by nature most fit:

The race of borse and asses for to breed, With bulles encrease, which in the fields doe feed.

whom Prometheus in a tragoedie of Aefthylus, faith hebestowed upon us,

To ferve and drudge in stead of us,

And do our works laborious. Neither do they any wrong, who make use of dogges to keepe their flocks of goats and sheepe: nor they who milke goats and sheepe, and sheare their sleeces for the wooll, especially if they give them passurage: for it can not be said, that men can not live, or their life is utterly undone,

if they have not their platters of fifth, or their livers of geefe, or if they cut not beefs and goats intopieces for to ferve up at their feafts : or if for their idle disport in theaters, or to take their pleafure in chase and hunting, they put not fome to the combat and force them to fight whether they will or no; and kill others which have no defence of their owne, nor any meanes to make reliftance: for he who needs wil have his delights and pastimes, ought in all reason (as I thinke) tomake himselfe merrie, and solace his heart with those that can play and disport together with him; and not to do (as Bion faid) like to little children, who joy in throwing stones at frogs, and make a game of it; meane while, the poore frogges have no pleafure in this their game, for they are fire to die for it in good earnest; even so we are not either to hunt or fish for any delight to that we have in the paine, and much leffe in the death of other creatures: no more to take a pleafure in driving or taking them away from their whelps and yoong ones, a pitifull fight to beholde; for they be not they that commit injustice, who use beasts, but such as missife them unmercifully and cruelly, without any respect and commiseration.

SOCLARUS.

Stay a while, good Atistobulus, and put off this invective of yours unto another time; for now I fee comming toward us neere at hand, a crew of yoong gentlemen, all great hunters and lovers of the game, whom it were neither an easie matter to drive off unto another day, neither is it needfull to provoke and offend them.

Autobulus.

True it is that you fay, and I like your admonition; but as for Eubiotus, I know very well, and my nephew Arifton; the two sonnes also of Dionysius a citizen of Delphos, to wit, Accides and Aristotimus, yea, and after them, Nicander the sonne of Euthydamus,

All skilfull hunters (in good faith)

upon the land (as Homer faith) and therefore (no doubt) they will fide every one with Ariflotimus, and take his part; whereas contrariwife, the others who be Islanders, and were borne along the sea fide, I meane Heracleon of Megara, and Philostratus of the ifle Eubaa,

Who cunning are upon the feas, And therein much them selves doplease.

30 Loe, how they accompanie your friend Phadimus, and are ready to stand with him:

As for Tydides there, 'tis hard to Jay,

To whether side he will in judgement sway.

Imeane that fame Optatus, our fellow and companion in yeeres,

Who of wilde beafts on mountaines flaine,

and fishes caught in fea,

Withmany first fruits and essayes,

to testifie his prea,

Hath often duely bonoured

Diana goddeffe bright,

Who cleped is * Agrotera,

and w * Dictynna hight. for lo, how he commeth directly toward us, as one who will not range himselfe to one side more casting ners, than to another. How fay you, Operatus, do we not conjecture well, that you meane to be an in-called proper-

different arbitratour or common umpire betweene these two yoong gentlemen.

OPTATUS.

Very well gueffed of you Autobulus, I purpose so indeed; for long since was that law of Solon cashing: in repealed and abolished, by vertue wherof, they were punished who in a civill sedition joined not which sense, to the one fide nor to the other.

Aurogulus.

Come hither, therefore, and fit by us, that if we have need of any testimonies, we trouble not the books of Aristole, with dripping and turning over their leaves; for that we will referre our felves and frand to that which you shall say, as justly and truely delivered, in regard of your great knowledge and experience.

SOCLARUS. How now my mafters, you two gentlemen, are you agreed betweene your felves of the order, who shall begin first to speake?

PHAEDIMUS.

*Ofchafing The dixery, i.

Mind 4, 83.

ly farmagen Barren, of

Yes Sociarus, we are at a point for that now, although we were long enough debating about its for in the end (to use the very words of Euripides)

Lot, Fortunes childe, hath this cafe tried,

As one or dein'd doubts to decide. and hath appointed that the land-beaths cause should be pleaded before theirs of the sea.

SOCLARUS. Well then it is time (Ariftoimus) that both you begin to speake, and we also to heare.

20

In this place a great defect and breach there is in the Greeke originall, which can not be made up and supplied without the helpe of some ancient copie, not

The may from The barre and the hall is for them that plead. * But these destroy the spawne within the wombe, be speaketh of by running upon their semales when they be great and neere the time of casting the same. And tersundickand one kinde there is of spotted mullets, called thereupon Perdie, which feed upon their owne of filles, by *flime and glutinous fubstance that proceedeth from themselves. As for the poulpe or polyp tray of oppo-fitton to some fith, he eateth and gnaweth himselfe, sitting still all Winter land-crea-

In house full colde, without fire light, In wofull bale and wretched plight.

fo idle is he, or fo blockith and fenfeleffe, or els fo gluttonous, or rather subject to all these vices together: which is the reason that Plate also in his booke of lawes, forbiddeth estsoones young men to fet their minds upon fifthing in the fea, or rather he deteffeth it in them, as an abominable thing, if they should take a love thereto. For no exercise there is of hardinesse and valour, no proofe of wit or triall of wildome; no imploiment of ftrength, swiftnesse or activitie of bodie in combats and fights with the wide mouthed fea-pikes, with congres or guiltheads, like as there is in hunting upon the land, where the fierce and courageous beafts exercise the fortitude of those who encounter them, and stirring up their animositie to enter upon dangers: the wily and craftic, whet and sharpen the wits of such as set upon them, causing them to looke about and 20 bestirre themselves every way with great circumspection : and the swift and light-sooted, trie the able, nimble, and painfull bodies of those who have them in chase: in all which respects hunting is reputed an honest and commendable exercise: whereas contrariwise, fishing hath nothing in it to commend the game, and make it honourable; neither shall you ever finde my good friend, any one of the gods, defirous to be called Congrottonus, that is to fay, the conget-killer; as Apollo gloried to be named Lycottonus, that is to fay, the killer of woolves: norany of them delighted in the name of Triglobólos, that is to fay, the striker of barbels: like as Diana joied in the epithit of Elaphobolos, that is to fay, a shooter at stagges and hindes: and no marvell, confidering that it is more laudable for a gentleman to take in chase a wildeboare, a ftagge, a fallow deere, aroe bucke, yea, & it were but an hate, than to buie any of these with his 40 money: but furely it is more for his credit & reputation to go into the fish market as a cater to exchange his coine for a tunny, a lobstar, or the * Amia, than to be seene fishing for them: for the cowardife, blockishnesse, stupiditie, want of shifts and meanes in fishes, either offensive, or defensive, cause the taking of them to be dishonest, discommendable, unlovely, and illiberall.

In fumme, for a fmuch as the proofes and arguments which philosophers alledge, to shew that beafts have some discourse and use of reason, are drawen from their projects, their elections in preferring one thing before another, their provisions and forecasts, their memories, their affections, their tender care of their yong ones, their thankfulneffe to those who have done the good, their hatted & rankor against them who have done them a shrewd turne: their industry to find ont things necessary for them, the evident apparence of vertues in them, to wit, of fortitude, 50 fociable equity & communion, temperance and magnanimitie: Let us confider these maritime fea creatures, whether they have any one at all of these parts, or if there be any little shew thereof, it is fo darke and obfcure, that unneth or hardly it can be perceived, how diligent foever we be in searching after it; whereas in these terrene beasts, and such as the land breedeth, a man may conceive, yea and plainly fee most cleere, evident, and assured examples of ech, of the qualities beforefaid, First & formost behold I pray you the first setting out, the preparatives

and flourishes as it were, that bulles and boares make against their combat, how they raise and cast up the dust with their feet al about them, as also how these whet & sharpen their tusks; the elephants likewise for that one of their two teeth wherewith they root in the earth, or plucke up and cut such matter as they feed upon , is ordinarily thereby worne dull and blunt, they use it onely for these purposes, but the other they keepe and referve alwaies sharpe pointed and keene edged, for to serve their turnes when they are to fight; the lion when he goeth in the forrest, marcheth evermore with his pawes drawen in close and turned round, hiding his cleies and nailes within, for feare left being worne with going, their points should be dull and blunt,

Land-creatures compared with those of the water.

as also because he would give no light by his tracts to the hunters that follow in chase; for hard-10 ly and with much adoo shall you trace a lion by his foot, the print of his clawes is so small that it cannot be seene, whereby they that are full upon their footing, yet misse of him, and wander

Yee have heard I am fure of the Ichnewnon or ratte of India, how he prepares himselfe against he should fight with the crocodile, no lesse than a legionarie souldiour armed at all picces, incomplet harneffe, fuch a deale of mudde, and the fame hardned and baked in maner

of a crust, hathhe all over his body, as it were a good curace of proofe.

What provision and preparation the swallowes or martines make against their breeding and laying time, we daily fee; namely, how in building of their nefts, they lay first as a ground worke underneath, good stickes, stiffe strawes, and found bents, and those they enterlace afterwards 20 with others that be more gentle and pliable; and if they fee that their nefts had need of some glutinous mudde to glue and fodder all together, what doe they? mary they flie floring fo close to the water of some river, lake, or the sea, that lightly they dippe their wings therewith, so that they may be onely wette, and in no wife heavy and overcharged with moistute, then they role and basker themselves in the dust, by which meanes they close up, binde, and knit as with parget or plastre, all chinks and breaches, and whatsoever was not well compact and united together in their nests: as for the forme and figure thereof, they make them not cornered nor yeelding many fides and faces, but even and smooth as possible may be, and the same round as a bal; for furely this kinde of workmanship is most durable without, and of greatest capacity within, and such as giveth least hold unto other beasts abroad that lie in wait to destroy them.

30 The copwebs that spiders weave, which serve for patterns, as welfor our women to make their webbes of cloth, as for fishers to knit and worke their nets, are in many respects very admirable: first in regard of the fine threeds, and the subtile weaving thereof, which are not distinct one from another, nor ranged after the order of the warpe & woofe in our artificiall webbes upon the loome, but are continued and runne all into one, in maner of thinne filme, kell, & skin, united and fodred as one would fay, with I wot not what glutinous humidity mingled among, after an invitible and imperceptible maner; then the tineture and colour thereof, which maketh it feeme a farre off like unto fome thicke or duskifh aire, to the end that it felfe might the leffe be perceived; but principally and above all, the very governing, conduct, and managing of this fabrick & device made by her-felfe, surpasseth; namely, when some flie or small creature 40 is gotten within the compaffe of this toile & entangled, to fee how immediately the perceiveth it, and can skill quickly to pull in and draw the nette; no hunter & fouler in the world, be he never fo cunning, more nimbly, for to enclose the prey: al which because we daily see in our continuall experience presented unto our cies, we believe and know to be true; otherwise we would hold all to be fables: like as wee thinke that to be a tale of the crowes and ravens in Barbary, who when they are very thirsty & the water setled so low where they should drinke, that they can not reach unto it, cast stones into it for to make it arise so high as they may easily meet with it. Andverily upon a time, I marvelled my felfe very much whe I faw a dog within a ship, while the marriners were out of the way, to cast little stones into an earthen pot, which was nothing neere ful of oyle, how he should discourse and reason thus in his mind, that the lighter things, as name-50 ly oyle, must needs mount up & be driven aloft, when the weightier such as the stones were went

downe to the bottome. As much may be said of the bees in Candi, and the geese of Cilicia. As for the bees, being to double a point or capelying into the sea, which is much exposed to the winds, they ballafe themselves with small grit or pretie stones, for to bee able to endure the weather, and not be carried away against their wils with the wind through their lightnes otherwise. And the geefe aforesaid being affraid of the eagles, which have their airies upon the high rocks, at what time as they should passe over the mountaine Taurus, take every one within their bils a good big stone, thereby to stop and muzzle (as it were) their mouthes, that being by nature cla-

afterwards.

sures.
* Haply the

morous and given much to gagling, they might make no noise not crie at all during their flight, and so in filence and safetie both, get beyond the said hill. The verie order that cranes keepe in their flying is woonderfull and memorable: for when the aire is troubled and the wind alost, they fly not as they use to do when it is faire weather and calme, either all afront, or in manner of the halfe moone or croissant: but presently at their first setting out, they cast themselves into a triangle with the point forward, therby to cut and pierce the wind that bloweth before and about triangle with the point forward, therby to cut and pierce the wind that bloweth before and about them, to the end that their ranke thus raunged and set in order, might not possibly bee broken: afterwards when they are alighted and settled upon the ground; looke whose course and charge it is to watch al night, stands up right upon one leg, & in the foot of the other claspes a stone and holds it up a lost; for the continual streining of themselves to hold the said stone, keepeth them to that long they cannot sleepe: and when once they chance to let go their hold, the stone falling upon the rocke, quickly awakneth her that let it fall. So that after 1 had seene this, I did not greatly wonder at Hereules, if putting his bow under his arme hole, and clipping it hard with his might te strong arme

Holding full fast in his right hand, His massic club, a sleepe doth stand.

neither marvelled I much at hun who first devised the meanes how to open an oyster close and hard shut, when I beheld once the crastic subtilitie of herons; for the heron when he hath swallowed downe an oyster, or other shell sith, all whole and fast shut, although it put him to some trouble, yet he endureth for a time and keepeth it within his, craw or gifter, untill he perceive that it is mollistical and relaxed by the natural lheat of his bodie, then casteth he it up againe by vomit, sindeth it gaping and wide open, and so picketh out of it the good meat therein.

As touching the industrious provision and care of housekeeping which is in pilmires, to difcourfe thereof in particular, and exquifitely to deliver the fame were a verie hard piece of worke, if not impossible; and to passe the same over in silence, argueth supine negligence: for looke throughout the whole hiftoric of nature, you shall not find to small a mirrour againe for to represent greater things and more beautifull, being (as itwere) a most pure and cleere drop, wherein appeareth most apparantly the full resemblance of entier vertue. Here may be seene lovely friendship and civill societie there sheweth it selfe the verie image of valour and prowesse, with painfull patience and industrie: here may a man behold many feeds of continence, many sparks 30 of wisedome, and as many of righteousnes. Cleanthes the philosopher, although he maintaineth not that beafts have any use of reason, made report neverthelesse that he was present at the sight of fuch a spectacle and occurrent as this. There were (quoth he) a number of ants which went toward another ants hole, that was not their owne, carrying with them the corps of a dead ant: out of which hole, there came certaine other ants to meet them on the way (as it were) to parle with them, and within a while returned backe and went downe againe: after this they came forth a fecond, yea a third time, & retired accordingly untill in the end they brought up from beneath (as it were a ranfom for the dead body) a grub or little worme; which the others received and tooke upon their shoulders, and after they had delivered in exchange the foresaid corps, departed home: moreover, it is worth the observation, although it be athing daily seene of everie 40 man, what curtefie and civilitie they use in meeting one another, how those who be light and carienothing, willingly give way unto fuch as bee charged and loaden, and suffer them to passe: likewife how they graw afunder and divide piece meale fuch burdens, as they being fingle, cannot beare whole, to the end that the same may be carried and transported from place to place by more in number. Aratus in his prognostickes setteth this downe for a signe of raine toward, when they bring foorth their feeds and graines, and lay them abroad to take the aire:

When ants make haste with all their *egs aload, Foorth of their holes to carriethem abroad.

And yet there be some who in this place write not a sea, that is to fay, egs, but ma, as if they would fay, their goods, to wit, the fruits or seeds which they have gathered and laid up for their provifes on, when they perceive them to begin to mould or bee fusty, or seare that they will corrupt and putrific. But that which surpassed in other prudence, policie and wit, is their caution and prevention which they use, that their wheat or other corne may not spurt and grow. For this is certaine, that dry it cannot continue alwaies nor sound and uncorrupt, but it will in time waxe soft, resolve into a milkie juice, when it turneth and beginneth to swell and chit: for seare therefore that it become not a generative seed, and so by growing, loose the nature & property of food for their nourithment, they gnaw that end thereof or head, where it is woont to spurt and bud forth.

Formine owne part, I do not admit or believe all that which fome do anatomize of their caves and holes: who give out that there is not one direct and straight way leading downe thereinto, northe same easte and ready for any other creature to passe through; but there be certeine secret allies, blinde-pathes, crooked turnings, and hollow cranks, which meet all at the end in three holes or concavities; whereof the one for footh is the common hall for them to meet all together: the second is their cellar or ambry for their victuals and provision; and the third a by-roome where they bestow their dead.

Well, I thinke it not amiffe nor impertinent, if next after pilmires, I bring foorth upon the flage before you the elephants, to the end that we may know the nature of this art, and intelli-10 gence which now is in question, as well in the greatest beasts as the smallest creatures, and see how as it appeareth in the one, fo it is not defective or wanting in the other. Other men I am fure doe make a woonder at that which the elephant learneth, and is taught, whose docilitie is exhibited unto us in the theaters, by his fundry forts of geftures, and changes in dauncing, fuch as fortheir varietie and exquifit elegancie, it were very hard for men with all their memorie, perfection of witte, and exercise, to remember, to expresse, and performe accordingly: but I for my part, me'thinks, doe fee more electely and evidently the prudence and fagacitie of this beaft, in the passions, affections, and motions which he hath of himselfe without teaching, as being more fimple, fincere, and naturall; for not long fince, at Rome there were a number of them trained and exercised against the solemnity of their games and plaies, in certeine strange 20 stations, intricate motions, and hard turnings round, to goe, to come, to stande, and wheele about in a trice: but among them, there was one more dull, blockish, groffe, and flowe, than the rest, both in conceiving, and also in reteining; by reason whereof, he being ever and anon reproched and rated with thamefull words, yea, and many times beaten well for hisuntowardnesse, was found otherwhiles alone by himselfe in the night, repeating as it were and coming his leffons by moone-fhine, labouring hard for to expresse and atteine unto that which hee had beene taught. Agnon writeth, that before this time, in Syria there was an elephant kept and nourished in a private mans house, whose governour had allowed unto him from his mafter, a certeine measure of barley every day for his provender; but there was not a day went over his head, wherein he robbed and deceived him not of the one halfe: it for-30 tuned, that one time above the rest, the master of the house would needs see the elephant served, then his governour powred out before him his full allowance, even the whole measure that was his due; but the elephant casting an unhappy and untoward eie at him, divided his barley with the fnout of his trunke, and put a part the one moity thereof, shewing the best way he could devife unto his mafter, the wrong that the governour aforefaid had done unto him: He reporteth likewise of another, who seeing that his keeper blended earth and stones among his barley, to make the measure to seeme compleat; spied his time and came unto the potage pot standing over the fire, wherein was flesh a feething for dinner, and filled it up with ashes.

Another being provoked and missifed at Rome, by certaine little boies, who with their bodkins and penknives used to pricke and punch his snout or trunke; caught up one of them by the 40 middle, and held him up in the aire, so as it was thought the would have crushed and squeazed the guttes out of his belly; they that saw the maner of it, tooke up a great cry incontinently for searce of the poore boy, but the elephant set him downe softly againe upon the ground, in the very place where he caught him up, and doing him no hurt at all passed by; judging it a sufficient chasticement for so little a childe, that he was onely put in a fright: Thus much of tame and trained elephants. As for those which are savage, and live in the wilde fields at their liberty, woonderfull things be reported of them, and namely as touching their passage over rivers; for the yoongest and least of them all, exposing himselfet to hazard for the rest, leadeth the way, and wadeth first thorough; the other seeing him landed upon the banke of the other side, make this account, that if the least and lowest of their heard be tall enough to surmount the depth of 50 the chanell, they which are bigger and higher, have no cause to searce any thing, but that they also may get over in safety.

And fince I am fallen into this argument, and proceeded so faire into it, methinks I should not forget one example of Reinard, for the affinitie and conformity it hath with this device last rehearted: Those who have invented fabulous tales make report, that during the great deluge, Dewalian used to let foorth a dove out of the arke, to know what weather it was like to be abroad; for if she returned soone againe, she brought newes of tempest and raine, but if she

flew cleane away, and came no more backe, the shewed thereby that it was calme and faire wea-

But true it is that the Thracians even at this day when they purpose to passe over a riverfrozen all over with ice, take a fox with them for their guide, to found the way before them, whether the ice be strong enough and able to beare; the fox goes gently before, and laieth his eare clote to the ice, and if by the noise of the water running underneath and comming unto his care, he gueffeth that the ice is northicke norfrozen deepe, but thinne and weake, he maketh a stay, and returneth if a man will let him: contrariwise, if hee perceive by his eare no noise at all of water running under the ice, ne paffeth forward confidently: Surely we cannot fay that this is onely an exquisite quicknesse in the sense of hearing, without any discourse of reason, but 10 without all question a kinde of fyllogisme or reasoning, by consequence drawen from that naturall fence in this fort: that which foundeth stirreth; that which stirreth is not frozen or congealed; what is not congealed, must needs be liquid; and what soever is liquid, yeeldeth, and

is not able to hold, ergo, erc.

The Logicians holde that the hound meeting with a quarreferrie or crosse way divided into many paths, uleth a kinde of argumentation or reasoning, which is called a disjunct proceeding from the enumeration of many parts; in this maner discourseth with himselfe : It must needs be that the beaft in chase, passed by one of these three waies: but this way it went not, nor yet that way; therefore it can not chuse, but this way he tooke, for the fent of the nofethrils yeelded him no other intelligence, than of the premisses: and it was the discourse of reason which gave 20 him to understand the necessitie of the consequence or conclusion inserted upon the said premiffes and impositions. Howbeit, the dogge hath need of no such testimonie of Logicians, for falle it is and counterfeit, because it is the smell it selfe and sent of the nose, which by the tract of the foot and the fluxion of the odour comming from the beaft, sheweth him which way it fled, bidding farewell to these propositions either disjunct or junct, neither careth it for that enumeration of parts; but by many other effects, passions, functions, offices and actions which proceed neither from fense of feeing nor of fmelling, but onely from intelligence and discourse of reason, by which they are evidently performed, a man may sufficiently perceive and comprehend what is the nature of a dogge, whose continencie, obedience, sagacitie, parience and paines-taking in chase, if I should now discourse upon, I should but make my selfe ridiculous to unto you, who fee the fame daily, and have experience and practife thereof continually. But this one example will I alledge unto you; namely, that during the civill warres at Rome, when a Romane citizen was murdered, the murderers could never cut off his head, untill they environed his doggeround and stabbed him to death, who guarded his masters bodie, and fought most fiercely for him. King Pyrrhus as he travelled by the way, met with a dogge who kept the dead corps of his mafter lately flaine, and understanding by the inhabitants of the place, that he had continued three daies already, and never ftirred from thence, nor yet eat or drunke ought, he commanded the bodie to be interred, ledde the dogge away with him, and made much of him: certaine daies after, there hapned a muster or generall revew to be made of his fouldiers, who shewed themselves and passed before the king sitting in his chaire of estate, and having the said 40 dog hard by him, who never quetched nor ftirred all the whiles, untill he had a fight of those perfons who murdered his mafter; upon whom heranne immediatly, baying and barking at them with open mouth and in great anger, eftloones running backe and making toward Pyrthu; infornuch as not onely the king, but all those who were about his person, entred into great suspition that those parties were they who had killed his master; whereupon they were apprehended, put in prison, and judicially brought to their answere upon the point, and together with other prefumptions and light evidences inferred against them, they were so hardly urged, that they confessed the fact, til fuffered punishment accordingly. The like (by report) did the dogge of learned Hesiodus, who detected the sonnes of Ganystor the Naupactian, of murder committed upon the person of his master. But that which our fathers saw themselves with their owne eies 50 whiles they were students at Athens, is more evident than all that hath beene said already. And this it was: A certaine fellow had by stealth entred into the temple of Aefculapius, & stollen from thence the fairest and goodliest jewels both of gold and filver among the oblations there, which were most portable, and thinking that he was not espied by any creature, made means to get away againe fectetly. The dog which kept the faid temple, and was named Capparm, did his best to barke andbay; but feeing none of the fextures and wardens of the church to come for all that,

putfued the church-robber as he fled away; and notwithstanding that he flung stones at hun, yet gave not he over his purfute, but traced him hard at heels al the night. When day light was come, he would not approch neere unto him, but kept aloofe, followed him with his eie and never lost the fight of him; and notwithstanding that he cast him bread and other meat, he would none : so the night following the theefe laid him downe to fleepe, the dog likewife kept all night hardby him; and the morrow morning when he tooke his way againe, the dog likewife arole and went after. Met he any paffengers or waifaring men, hee would fawne upon them and wag his taile; contrariwife he barked eagerly at the theele, and was readie to fly upon him. They who had the charge to follow with huy and crie, being enformed thus much by the travellers whom they met, 10 asalfo of what bignes, colour and haire the dog was, continued their chase more willingly, and made fuch hot purfute that they overtooke the fellow at Crommyon, & from thence brought him to Athens. The dog he marched before them all and leade them the way, as jocound, pleafant, and gamesome as possibly could bee, as taking great joy that this church robber had beene the game and prey that he had hunted and gotten. The Athenians when they heard the truth of this matter related unto them, ordained that the faid dog should have a certaine measure of corne allowed him at the cities charges for his bread, and gave an especially charge to the priests of that temple, to have a care of him to long as he lived: following herein the kindnesse and liberallitie of their ancestours which they extended in times past to a mule. For what time as Pericles caufed to be built the temple of Minerva, named Hecatompedon, within the castle of the citie, there 20 were is ordinarie for fuch buildings, conveighed thither daily flones, timber, and other fluffe in earts and wagons drawen with beafts. Now when many of those mules which before time had willingly and painefully ferved, were now for verie age discharged and sent away to pasture : one there was among the reft, who everie day would come into the high broad freet Ceramicum, and go before those draught beafts which drew up stones to the mount, yea & accompanie them, as ifhe encouraged and hartned them to labour and travell. The people of Athens commending and admiring the good heart and industrious mind of the beatt, gave order by a publike decree for his maintenance and keeping at the cities cost, no lesse than they would have done for an old bruifed fouldier, who now was past service. And therefore we must say, that those philosophers who hold: That there is no communion nor societic of justice betweene us and bruit beasts, say 30 true, if they restraine theirspeech unto those creatures onely, which live in the sea and deepe bottomleffe waters, with who m in deed we can have no fellowship at all of good will, love and affection, as being beafts farre remote from all gentlenesse, sweet converse, and good nature: and therefore Homer speaking unto a man, who seemed to be inhumane, cruell and unsociable, said elegantly thus:

The blackish blew sea Ishinke well,

Engendred thee, thou art fo fell. as if he would thereby give us to understand, that the sea brings forth no creature that is milde, lovely, meek and gentle: but he that should say as much and apply the former proposition unto the land-beafts, were himfelfe cruell and favage; if I fay, he denied that there was no reciprocall 40 commerce of amitie and justice betweene king Lyfmachus and his dog Hyreanus, who remained

continually alone about his corps when he was dead; yea and at the time that it was burned in the funerall fire, lept into it and was confumed into afthes with him for company. And reported it is, that there was another dog named Attue, did no leffe which Pyrrhuckept, I meane not the king of that name, but another private person: for after his master was dead, he would never stirre from the bodie; and when the corps was carried forth in a couch upon the biere, he leapt upon it and was borne with all: and finally forung himfelfe into the fire and was burnt with him.

When king Porces was fore wounded in a battell against king Alexander the Great; the elephant upon whose backe he rode and fought, drew foorth with his trunke right gently for feare of doing harme, many darts, arrowes and javelins wherewith hee was shot: and albeit himselfe 50 was grievoufly hurt, yet never fainted he and gave over before he perceived that his lord the king was readie to recleand finke downe, by reason of the effusion of blood which hee had lost; and then fearing that he would fall from on high to the ground, he gently couched and yeelded with

his bodie downeward to the earth, that he might alight with ease and without all danger. King _alexanders horse called Bucephalm, all while he was bare without his saddle and caparifon, would wel enough abide that his keeper should mount upon his backe: was he trapped once andrichly fet out with the kings royall furniture, harnesse, and ornament, hee would suffer none to fithim but Alexander alone. And if others came neere him, and went about to get upon his Mmmm 2

Land-creatures compared with those of the water.

backe, he would runne a front upon them fnuffing, fnorting and neighing, rifing up all afore at them; and if they made not good hafte to retire behind him and fly, hee would bee fure to have them under his feet and trample over them. I know full well that you thinke these examples are hudled together in a confuled varietie but furely it is no easie matter to find any action of these noble beatts, which reprefenteth one bare vertue and no more: for together with their kindneffe and naturall love there is to be seene a certaine desire of honour; amid their generositie a man may perceive a kind of industrious sagacitie and wisedome; neither is their wit and subtilitie void of courage and magnanimitie: howbeit, if men be disposed to distinguish and separate one from another by themselves; the dogs do represent an example of a mild and gentle nature together with an haughtic courage and high mind, namely when they passe by and turneaside from those to that fubmit themselves before them, according to that which Homer faith in one place:

The hares when they have kinled, and be afraied of the hunters, returne to their formes, and carrie their leverets, fome one way and fome another, fo as many times there is an arpent or good acre of ground distance betweene them, to the end that if either hound or hunter should come upon them, they might not be all in danger at once to be taken; and they themfelvestunne up and downe backward and forward in divers places, croffing this way and that way, leaving their tracts very confused, and in the end take one great leape as farre as ever they can, from their foresaid footing, and spring unto their forme, where they rest and take their re-10 pole.

The dogs ran foorth with open mouth, they cried and bark't amaine: ulviles wife his flafe let fall, and firred not againe.

The beare being furprifed with a certeine drowfie difease, called Pholia, before the be altogether so heavily benummed and stupissed therewith, that she can not well stirre, maketh cleane the cave into which the meaneth to retire herfelfe: & when the is to go downe into it, all the way belides which is toward it, she treadeth very lightly, bearing herselfe (as it were) upon her tiptoes; and being come neere unto it, the turnes upon her backe, and so eicheth forward her bodie aswell as she can into her den.

For their manner is not to fight any longer against those who humbly fall downe prostrate, or thew any femblance of lowly suppliants. Certes, the report goeth of a principall Indian dogge, who being for a fingularitie above all other, fent to fight a combat before king Alexander the Great, when there was let loofe at him first a stag, then a wild boare, and afterwards abeare, made no reckoning of them, nor deigned once to stirre out of his place nor rife up: but when hee faw 20 a lion presented unto him, then incontinently he stood upon his feet, and addressed himselfe to the combat; shewing evidently that he effected the lion alone worthic to fight with him, and disclained all the rest. As for those here among us which are woont to hunt hares, if they themfelves chaunce to kill them with faire play in the open field, they take pleasure to teare them in pieces; they licke and lap their blood full willingly: but if the hare being out of heart and in despaire of her selfe, as many times it falleth out, employ all the force and strength that shee hath in one course for all, and run her selfe out of breath, so as her winde is now cleane gone, and shee dead withall: the hounds finding her so, will not once touch her, but they keepe a wagging of their tailes round about her body, as if they would fay, it is not for greedinesse of hares sleih, but an earnest desire to winne the prise in running, that we hunt thus as we do. As touching the craft and fubtilitie which is in beafts; for a fmuch as there be infinite xamples

Ofred deere, the hynds commonly calve neere unto highway fides, where ravenous beafts, fuch as live by prey, doe not ordinarily haunt. The stags when they perceive themselves to be fat, well fleshed, and good venison, seeke blinde corners to hide themselves in, for the better se-20 curine of their lives, as not trufting then to their heeles and fwift running.

thereof, overpasse I will the wily pranks of foxes, woolves, cranes and jaies: for common they be and every man feeth them; onely produce I will the testimonic of wife Thales, the most ancient of the seven sages, who by report was not least admired for his skill and cunning, in that hee discovered right well the crastines in a beast, and went beyond it. There was a companie of mules that had falt a load, and were carrying it from one place to another; and as they paffed through the foord of ariver, one of them chanced to fall under his burden into the water: the falt in his facke by this meanes taking wet, melted and refolved into water for the most part of it, in such fort as the mule having recovered himselfe upon all foure, found that he was well lightned of his load, and presently conceived what was the reason: which gave so deepe an impression in his 40 memorie, that ever after, as often as he was to go thorow a river, hee would be fure to floup and couch his bodie low; first leaning of one side, and then of another, purposedly and for the nonce to wet and drench the bags on his backe which had falt in them. Thales hearing of this unhappy and shrewd wit of the mule, commaunded the muliter to fill the facks with the same weight of wooll and foundges, in flead of falt, to lay them upon his backe, and fo to drive him with the reft. The mule left not his old woont; but when he perceived that he was overcharged now with water befides his ordinary load of wooll and fpunges, he tooke himfelfe in the maner, and found that his craft now flood him in small stead, but did him hurt: whereupon, ever after, he would go

The land-urchins are so wise and wary in defending and faving themselves, that they have thereby given occasion of this proverbe:

Athousand wiles and mo, of craftie fox there are: The wrchin one doth know, and that is singular. for when the urchin perceiveth Renard comming toward him, All of a tumpe, as round as bur or ball, His bodie lies, with pricks befet withall: No meanes (he hath, for thornie briftles thicke,

upright when loever he waded, and was very carefull that none of his packs or carriages should once (though full against his will) touch the water. Partridges have another kinde of fubtilitie and craft by themselves, and the same proceedeth

To bite, to pinch, or touch him to the quicke. and yet more ingenious is their forecast and providence for the feeding of their little ones; for in Autumne, a little before vintage time, you shall have an urchin or hedge-hogge get under a vine, and with his feet shake the stocke untill the grapes from their branches be fallen upon the ground, then he rouleth himselfe round like a foot-ball among them, and catcheth them up with his sharpe pricks; insomuch as when we stood all of us sometime to behold the manner of it, it feemed as if a cluster of grapes had beene quicke, and so crept upon the ground; so belet went he and covered all over with grapes: then fo foone as he is gotten into his hole or neaft, he offereth them unto his yoong ones to cat, to take from him and lay up for store. This hole hath two fa-40 ces or profpects; the one regardeth the fouth, the other looketh into the north. When they foresee change & alteration of weather, like as skilful ship-masters turne their failes according to the time; even fo, they shut up that hole or entrie which standeth in the wind, and set open the other: which when one of the citie Cyzieum had once observed and learned, he got a great name and reputation of a weather-wife-man, as if he foreknew of himselse by some singular gift, and could foretell from which cost the wind would blow.

from a certaine naturall love and motherly affection to their young birds, whom, when they are yet to feeble that they cannot flie & make thist for themselves being pursued, they teach to cast themselves on their backs, with their heeles and bellies upward, and to hold either a clot of earth or fome locke of straw or such like stuffe, to cover and shadow their bodies withal: meane while, the olde rowens turne those that follow in chace another way, drawing them toward themselves in flying to and fro just before them, even artheir feet, seeming (as it were) by little and little to

As touching focial love and fidelitie, accompanied with wit and understanding, the elephants asking Juba writeth, shew unto us an evident example: for they that hunt them are woont to dig deepe trenches, and thatch them over with a thinne cote of light straw or some small brush. Now when one of the heard chanceth to fall into a trench, for many of them use to go and feed 50 together, all the reft bring a mighty deale of ftones, rammell wood, and whatfoever they can get, which they fling into the ditch for to fill it up, to the end that their fellow may have meanes thereby to get up againe. The fame writer recordeth alfo that elephants use to pray unto gods, to purifie themselves with the sea water, and to adore the sunne rising, by lifting up their trunked fnour into the aire(as if it were their had)& all thus of their own accord & untaught. And to fay a truth of all beafts the elephant is most devout & religious, as K. Ptolemaus Philopater hath wel testified for after he had defaited Antiochus, & was minded to render condign thanks unto the gods for fo glorious a victorie, among many other beafts for facrifice, he flew foure elephants : but af-Mmmm 3

terwards being much disquieted and troubled in the night with scarefull dreames, and namely, that God was wroth and threatned him for fuch an uncouth and strange facrifice; hee made meanes to appeale his ire by many other propitiatorie oblations, and among the reft, hee dedicated unto him fower elephants of braffe, in freed of those which were killed: no leffe is the sociable kindnesse and good nature which lions shew one one unto another; for the yoonger fort which are more able and nimble of body, lead forth with them into the chace for to hunt and prey those that be elder and unweldy; who when they be weary, sit them downe and rest, waiting for the other; who being gone forward to hunt if they meet with game and speed, then they all fet up a roaring note altogether, much like unto the bellowing of bulles, and thereby call their fellowes to them; which the old lions hearing, prefently runne unto them, where they take 10 their part, and devour they prey in common.

To speake of the amatorious affections of brute beasts, some are very favage and exceeding furious: others more milde, and not altogether unlike unto the courting and wooing uled betweene man and woman, yea, & I may fay to you, smelling somewhat of wanton and venerious behaviour: and fuch was the love of an elephant, a counter futer or corrivall with Ariftophanes the grammarian, to a woman in Alexandria, that fold chaplets or garlands of flowers : neither did the elephant shew lesse affection to her than the man, for hee would bring her alwaies out of the fruit market, as he paffed by, fome apples, peares, or other fruit, and then he would ftay long with her, yea, and otherwhiles put his fnout, as it were his hand, within her bosome under her partlet, and gently feele her foft pappes and white skinne about her faire breft.

A dragon also there was enamoured upon a yoong maiden of Aetolia: it would come to vifit her by night, creepe along the very bare skinne of her body, yea, and winde about her without any harme in the world done unto her, either willingly or otherwife, and then would gently depart from her by the breake of day: now when this ferpent had continued thus for certeine nights together ordinarily; at the last the friends of the yoong damosel removed her, and fent her out of the way a good way off; but the dragon for three or fower nights together came not to the house, but wandred and fought up and downe heere and there as it should feem for the wench; in the end, with much adoo, having found her out, he came and clasped herabout, not in that milde and gentle maner as before time, but after a rougher fort; for having with other windings and knots bound her hands and armes fast unto her body, with the rest of 20 his taile he flapped and beat het legges, shewing a gentle kinde of amorous displeasure and anger, yet fo, as it might feeme he had more affection to pardon, than defire to punish her.

As for the goofe in Aegypt which fell in love with a boy; and the goat that cast a fansie to Glauce the minstrell wench: because they are historits so wel knowen, and in every mans mouth: for that also I suppose you are wearie already of so many tedious tales and narrations. I sorbeare to relate them before you: but the merles, crowes, and perroquets or popinjaies, which learne to prate, and yeeld their voice and breath to them that teach him, fo pliable, fo tractable and docible, for to forme and expresse a certeine number of letters and syllables as they would have them, me thinks they plead fufficiently, and are able to defend the cause of all other beasts, teaching us as I may fay, by learning of us, that capable they be not onely of the inward discourse 40 of reason, but also of the outward gift intered by distinct words, and an articulate voice: were it not then a meere ridiculous mockerie, to compate these creatures with other dumbe beasts which have not fo much voice in them, as will ferve to houle withall, or to expresse a groane and complaint? but how great a grace and elegancie there is in the naturall voices and fongs of these, which they refound of themselves, without learning of any masters, the best musicians and most sufficient poets that ever were do testifie, who compare their sweetest canticles and poems unto their fongs of fwannes and nightingals: now forafmuch as to teach, sheweth greater use of reason; than to learne wee are to give credit unto Aristotle, who faith: that brute beafts are endued also with that gift, namely, that they teach one another: for hee writeth that the nightingale hath beene seene to traine up her yoong ones in finging; and this experience 50 may serve to testifie on his behalfe, that those nightingales sing nothing so well, which are taken very yong out of the nest; and were not fedde nor brought up by their dammes; for those that be nourished by them, learne with all, of them to fing, and that not for money and gaine, nor yet for glory, but because they take pleasure to fing well, and love the elegance above the profit of the voice: and to this purpose report I will unto you a storie which I have heard of many, as well Greeks as Romans, who were present and eie witnesses. There was a barber within the city of Rome, who kept a thoppe over against the temple, called Greeoftis, or Forum Gre-

cum, and there nourished a pie, which would so talke, prate, and chatte, as it was woonderfull. counting the speech of men and women, the voice of beasts, and found of musicall instruments, and that voluntarily of her felfe without the constreint of any person, onely she accuflomed her felfe fo to doe, and tooke a certeine pride and glory in it, endevouring all that the could to leave nothing unspoken, or not expressed: now it hapned that there were solemnized great funerals of one of the welthiest personages in the city, and the corps was caried foorth in a great state, with the found of many trumpets that marched before; in which folemnitie, for that the maner was that the pompe and whole company should stand still and rest a time in that verie place, it fell out fo, that the trumpetters who were right cunning and excel-10 lent in their arte, staied there, founding melodiouslie all the while: the morrow after this, the pie became mute and made no noise at all, nor uttered not so much as her maturall voice which the was wont to doe, for to expresse her ordinarie and necessarie passions; infomuch, as they who before time woondered at her voice and prating, marvelled now much more at her filence, thinking it a very strange matter to passe by the shop and heare her fay nothing; fo as there grew some suspition of others professing the same art and trade, that they had given her fome poifon: howbeit, most men guessed that it was the violent found of the trumpets which had made her deafe, and that together with the fenfe of hearing, her voice also was utterly extinct: but it was neither the one nor the other; for the trueth was this, as appeared afterwards: fhe was in a deepe studie, and through meditation retired within herselfe, 20 whiles her minde was busic and did prepare her voice like an instrument of musicke, for imitation; for at length her voice came againe and wakened (as it were) all on a fudden, uttering none of her olde notes nor that which the was accustomed before to parle and counterfeit; onely the found of trumpets the refembled, keeping the fame periods, the fame stops, paules and straines; the fame changes, the fame reports, and the fame times and measures: a thing, that confirmeth more and more that which I have faid before; namely, that there is more use of reason in teaching of themselves, than in learning by another. Yet can I not conteine my selfe, but I must needs in this place recite unto you one leffon that I my felfe faw a dogge to take out, when I was at Rome: This dog ferved a plaier who professed to counterfeit many persons, and to represent fundry geftures; & among fundry other prety tricks which his mafter taught him, answerable to 30 divers passions, occasions and occurrents represented upon the stage, his master made an experiment on him with a drogue or medicine which was fomniferous indeed and fleepie, but must be taken and supposed deadly; who tooke the piece of bread wherein the said drogue was mingled, and within a little while after he had fwallowed it downe, he began to make as though hee trembled, quaked, yea and staggered, as if he had beene astonied, in the end he stretched our himselfe, and lay as stiffe as one starke dead, suffering himselfe to be pulled, haled, and drawen from one place to another, like a very blocke, according as the prefent argument and matter of the place required; but afterwards, when hee understood by that which was faid and done, that his time was come, and that he had caught his hint, then beganne he at the first to stirre gently by little and little, as if hee had newly revived or awakened, and started out of a dead 40 fleepe, and lifting up his head, began to looke about him too and fro; at which object all the beholders woondered not a little; afterwards he arose upon his seet, and went directly to him unto whom he was to goe, very jocund and mery: this pageant was performed fo artificially, I cannot tell whether to fay or naturally, that all those who were present, and the emperonr himfelfe (for Vefpafan the father was there in person, within the theater of Marcellue) tooke exceeding great pleasure, and joied woonderfully to see it.

Land-creatures compared with those of the water.

But peradventure we may deferve well to be mocked for our labour, praifing beafts as we doe fo highly, for that they be fo docible and aptto learne, feeing that Democritus Theweth and proveth, that we our felves have beene apprentifes and scholars to them in the principall things of this life; namely, to the spider, for spinning, weaving, derning, and drawing up a rent; to 50 the swallow, for architecture and building; to the melodious swanne and shrill nightingale, for vocall musicke, and all by way of imitation. As for the art of physicke, and the * three kindes * que mandthereof, we may fee in the nature of beafts, the greatest and most generous part of each of them: for they use not onely that, which ordeined drogues and medicines to purge ill humours out of diameters. the body, seeing that the tortoises take origan; wezels, rue, when they have caten a serpent; 2019 pm. dogges also when they be troubled with choler of the gall, purge themselves with a certaine herbe, thereupon called dogges-graffe; the dragon likewife if he finde his ciesto be dimme, clenfeth, fcoureth, and dispatcheth the cloudinesse thereof with senell; and the beare so soone

as the is gone out of her denne, feeketh out the first thing that she doth, the wilde herbecalled Aron, that is to say, wake-robin, for the actimonic and sharpnesse thereof openeth her bowels when they are growen together, yea, and at other times sinding herselse upon sulnesse, given to loth and distaste all food, she goes to finde out ants nests, where she sits her downe lilling out the tongue which is glibbe and soft, with a kinde of sweet and slimy humour, until it ling out the tongue which is glibbe and fost, with a kinde of sweet and slimy humour, until it ling out the tongue which is glibbe and soft, with a kinde of sweet and slimy humour, until it ling out the tongue which is glibbe and soft, with a kinde of sweet and slimy humour, and be full of ants and their egges, then draweth she it it againe, swalloweth them downe, and thereby cureth her lothing stomacke. Semblably it is said, that the Aegyptians having observed their bird Ibis, which is the black of torke, to give herselsea cliter of sea water, by imitation of her did the like by themselves. Certeine it is, that their priests use to be sprinkle, purise, and hallow themselves with that water out of which she hath drunke; for let any water be vene-to mous, or otherwise huttfull and unholsome, the Ibis will none of it: but also some beafts there be, which seeling themselves ill at ease, are cured by diet and abstinence; as namely woolves

and lions, when they have devoured too much flesh, and are closed or glutted therewith, they lie me downe, take their ease, cherishing and keeping themselves warme.

It is reported likewise of the tygre, that when a yoong kidde was given unto her, she fasted two daies, according to the diet which the ufeth, before the touched it, and the third day being very hungry, called for other food, ready to burft the cage wherein the was enclosed, and forbare to cat the faid kid, supposing that now she was to keepe it with her, as a familiar & dometticall companion. Nay that which more is, recorded it is, that elephants practife the feat of chirurgery; for flanding by those that are wounded in a battell, they can skill of drawing out tron-20 chions of speares, javelin heads, arrowes and datts out of their bodies, with such dexterity and cale, that they will neither teare and hurt their flesh, nor put them to any paine whatsoever. The goats of Candy when they be shotte into the body with arrowes or darts, fall to cat the herbe Dictamus, & thereby thrust them out, and make them fal off with facility, & by this meanes they have taught women with child that this herbe hath a propertie to cause abortive birth, and the child in their wombe to miscarrie: for the faid goats are no fooner wounded, but they runne prefently to this herbe, and never feeke after any other remedy. Woonderfull these things are (no doubt) how best leffe miraculous, when we consider the natures of beasts, how they be capable of arithmeticke, and have the knowledge of numbring and keeping account: as the kine and oxen about Sufa; for appointed they be there to water the kings gardens, drawing up water in buckets 10 with a device of wheels that they turne about in maner of a windles; and everice one of them for their part must draw up an hundred buckets in a day; so many they will do just, but more you shal not get of them, neither by faire meanes nor foule; for no fooner have they performed their task, but prefently they give over & impossible it is to force them any farther then their account: notwiththanding triall hath bene made; fo justly and exactly they both know, and also keepe the reckoning, as Cresians the Guidian hath left in writing. As for the Lybians they mocke the Aegyprians, for reporting this of their beaft called Oryx, as a great fingularitie, that hee fetteth up a certaine crie that verie day and houre, when as the star named by them Sothe, and by us the Dog, or Netwood arife: for they give out, that with them all their goats together, at the verie inflant when the faud flarre mounteth up within their horizon with the funne, will bee fure to turne and 40 looke is so the cast: and this they hold to be an infallible figne of the revolution of that starre, agreeting juil with the rules and observations of the Mathematicians. But to close up and conchilde at length this discourse, that it may come to an end, let us (as it were) take in hand the sacred anchor, and for a finall conclusion knit up all with a briefe speech of their divinitie and propheticall nature. For certaine it is, that one of the greatest, most noble and ancient parts of divination or foothfaying, is that which being drawen from the flight and finging of birds, they call Augurie: and in truth the nature of their birds being fo quicke, so active, so spirituall, and in regard of that agilitie & nimbleneffe verie pliable, and obsequent to all visions & fantasies presented, offereth it selse unto God, as a proper instrument to be used & turned which way he wil; one while to motion, another while into certaine voices, laies & tunes, yea & into divers & fundrie gestures; on now to stop and stay, anon to drive and put forward, in mannet of the winds; by meanes whereof he impeacheth and holdeth backe some actions and affections, but directeth others unto their end & accomplithment. And this no doubt is the reason that Euripides tearmeth albirds in generall the heraulds and meffengers of the gods: and particularly Socrates faid, that he was become a fellow fervitor with the twans: femblably, among the kings, Pyrrhus was well pleafed when as men called him the Eagle, and Antrochus tooke as great pleasure to be called the Sacre or the Hauke. Whereas contrariwife, when we are disposed to mocke, to flour, or to reproch those that

Land-creatures compared with those of the water.

be dull, indocible and blockish, wee call them fishes. To bee short, an hundred thousand things there be that God doth shew, foretell and prognosticate unto us by the meanes of beasts, as well those of the land beneath, as the sowles of the aire above. But who that shall plead in the behalfe of fishes or water-creatures, will not be able to alledge so much as one; for, dease they be all and dombe; * blind also for any fore-sight or providence that they have, as being cash into a balefull place and bottomlesse guise, where impious Atheists & rebellious Titans or giants saginist God are bestowed; where they have no sight of God, no more than in hell where damned soules are; where the reasonable and intellectuall part of the soule is utterly extinct, and the rest that remainess, drenched or rather drowned (as a man would say) in the most base and vile sensitial part, so to as they seeme rather to pant then to live.

Heracleon.

Plucke up your browes, good *Phedimms*, open your cies, awake your spirits, and bestirre your selfe in the desense of us poore Ilanders and maritime inhabitants: for here we have heard not a discourse iwis merrily devised to passe away the time, but a serious plea premeditate and labouted before hand, a verie Rhetoricall declamation which might beseeme well to bee pronounced at the barre in judiciall court, or delivered from a pulpit and tribunall before a publicke audience.

Phaedimus.

Now verily, good fir Heracleon, this is a meere furprife and a manifest ambush laid crastily of 20 fet purpose; for this brave or atour (as you see) being yet fasting and sober himselse; and having studied his or ation all night long hath set upon us at the disvantage, and altogether unprovided, as being still having the thing was a state of the yet red and the content we ought not now to draw backe and recule for all this: for being as I am an affectionate lover of the poet Pindarus, I would not for any good in the world, heave this sentence of his justly alledged against me.

When games of prife and combats once are fet, Who swinketh backe, and doth pretend some let, In darknesse hides and obscuritie,

His fame of vertue and activitie.

30 for at great leafure we are all, and not the dances onely be at repose, but also dogs and horses, castnets, drags, and all manner of nets befides: yea and this day there is a generall ceffation given to all creatures as wel on land as in feastor to give care unto this disputation. And as for you my mafters here, have no doubt, nor be you affraid; for I will use my libertie in a meane, and not draw out an Apologie or counterplea in length, by alledging the opinions of philosophers; the fables of the Aegyptians; the headleffe tales of the Indians or Libyans, without proofe of any testimonies; but quickly come to the point, and looke what examples be most manifest and evident to the eie, and fuch as shall bee testified and verified by all those marriners or travellers that are acquainted with the seas, some few of them I will produce. And yet verily in the proofes and arguments drawen from creatures above the ground, there is nothing to empeach the fight, the view 40 of them being so apparant and daily presented unto our eie, whereas the sea affoordeth us the fight of a few effects, within it & those hardly and with much adoe (as it were) by a glaunce and glimmering light, hiding from us the most part of the breeding and feeding of fishes: the meanes also that they use, either to assaile one another or to defend themselves wherein I assure you there be actions of prudence, memory, focietie, and equity not a few, which because they are not knowen, it cannot chuse but our discourse as touching this argument will be lesse enriched and enlarged with examples, and fo by confequence the cause more hardly desended and mainteined.

Over and befides, this advantage have land beafts, that by reason of their affinity as it were, and daily conversation with men, they get a tincture as it were from them, of their maners and 50 fashions, and consequently enjoy a kinde of nurture, teaching, discipline, and apprentising by imitation; which is able to dulce, allay, and mittigate all the bitternesse and austerity of their nature, no lesse than fresh water mingled with the sea, maketh it more sweet and porable: like-wise all the unsociable wildenesse, and heavy unweldinesse therein, it stirreth up, when the same is once mooved and set on foot by the motions that it learneth by conversing with men; whereas on the others de the life of sea-creatures being farre remote and devided by long and large confines from the frequentation of men, as having no helpe of any thing without, nor any thing to be taught it by use and custome, is altogether solitarie and by it selfe, as nature brought

Land-creatures compared with those of the water.

it foorth, so it continueth and goeth not abroad; neither mingled nor mixed with forren fashions, and all by reason of the place which they inhabit, and not occasioned by the quality of their ownenature, for furely their nature conceiving and reteining within it felfe as much difcipline and knowledge as it is possible for to atteine unto and apprehend, exhibiteth unto us many tame and familiar eeles (which they call facred) that use to come to hand; such as are among the rest, of those in the fountaine Aretbusa, besides many other fishes in divers places. which are very obcifant and obsequious when they be called by their names, as is reported of Marcus Crassus his lamprey, for which he wept when it was dead; and when Domitus upon a time reproched him for it, by way of mockerie in this wife: Were not you the man who wept for your lamprey when it was dead; he came upon him presently in this maner: And were not you the kinde and sweet husband who having buried three wives never shed teare for the matter? the crocodiles not only know the voice of the preists when they call unto them, and endure to be handled and stroked by them, but also yawne and offer there teeth unto them to be picked and clenfed with there hands, yea and to be skowred and rubbed all over with linen clothes. It is not long fince that Philinus a right good man and well reputed, after his returne from his voiage out of Aegypt, where he had bin to fee the countrey recounted unto us, that in the city of Anteus he had feene an olde woman ly a fleepe on a little pallet together with a crocodile, who very decently and modeftly couched close along by her fide. And it is found in old records, that when one of the kings called Ptolomai, called unto the facred crocodile, it would not come nor obey the voice of the priefts, notwithstanding they gently praied and intreated her; a signe thought 20 to be a prognosticke and presage of his death, which soone after ensued: whereby it is plaine that the kind and generation of these water beasts, is neither incapable, nor deprived of that sacred and highly effeemed science of divination and foretelling future things; considering that even in the countrey of Lycia; betweene the cities of Phellos and Myrz, that is, a village called Sura, where I heare fay, the inhabitants use to fit and behold the fifthes swimming in the water, like as in other places they observe birds flying in the aire, marking their lying in wait and ambuth, their feudding away and purfute after them; whereby according to a certeine skill that is among them, they can foretell future things to come. But this may suffice to shew and declare, that their nature is not altogether estranged from us, nor unsociable.

As touching their proper wit, and naturall prudence, wherein there is no mixture at all bor- 20 rowed from other, this is ingenerall, a great argument thereof, that there is no creature that fwimmeth or liveth in the waters, except those which sticke to stones, and cleave to rocks, that is so easie to be caught by man, or otherwise to be taken without trouble, as asses are by wolves; bees by the birds Meropes; grafhoppers by swallowes; or serpents by stagges, who are so easily caught up by them; in Greeke they tooke the name inapor, not soof inagement, that is to fay, of lightnesse: but said extens, 28 oftens, that is to say, of drawing up a serpent out of his hole. The sheepe calleth as it were the woolfe, by the foote; like as by report the leopard allureth unto him the most part of beafts, who are willing to approach him for the pleasure they take in his fanell, and above all others the ape. But fea creatures generally all, have a certeine inbred fagacity, a wary perceivance before hand, which maketh them to be suspicious and circumspect, yea, and 40 to stand upon their guard against all fore-laying s so that the arte of hunting and catching them is not a small piece of worke, and a simple cunning; but that which require tha great number of engins of all forts, and asketh woonderfull devices, and subtill sleights to compasse and goe beyond them; and this appeareth by the experience of fuch things, as we have daily in our hands: For first and formost the cane or reed of which the angle rodde is made, fishers would not have to bee bigge and thicke, and yet they had need of fuch an one as is tough and ftrong, for to plucke up and hold the fishes, which commonly doe mightily fling and struggle when they be caught; but they chuse rather that which is small and slender, for seare lest if it cast abroad shadow, it might moove the doubt and suspicion that is naturally in fishes: moreover the line they make not with many water-knots, but defite to have it as plaine and even as possi- 50 bly may be without any roughnesse, for that this giveth as it were some denuntiation unto them of fraud and deceit: they take order likewise that the haires which reach to the hooke, should feeme as white as possibly they can devise, for the whiter they be, the leffe are they feene in the water, for the conformity and likenefle in colour to it: as for that which the poet Homer

> Downcright to bottome of the fea, like plumbe of leade fre went,

That peifeth downe the fishers booke, and holdes the line extent; Which passing through transparent * borne, that rurall oxes head bare, To greedy fishes secretly brings death ere they be ware.

" XSER!

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Some mifunderstanding these verses, would infer the rupon; that men in old time used the hairs of anoxe tale to make there lines withal, faying that this word wees, which commonly in Greeke is taken for an horne, fignifieth in this place haire; & that hereupon x news is derived, which beto tokeneth to sheere or cut haire; and week, that is to say, sheering or clipping; as also, that from hence it is that Archilochus tearmeth a daintie & wanton minion, who taketh delight in tricking and trimming the haire & wearing a peruke curioufly fet, xteamasses. But furely, this their collection is not true, for they used as we do, the haire of horse tailes, to make their angle-lines withal, chusing those that grow either on stone-horses or geldings, and not of mares, for that ever & anonthey wet their tailes with staling, and by that means the haires of them are tenderand apt to breake. And Aristotle himselse writeth, that in those verses above cited there is no deepe matter that requireth fuch an exquifit & curious fearning; for that (in truth) fifthers use to overcast the line neere unto the hooke with a piece of horne, for feare left fifthes when they have swallowed down the hooke, thould with their teeth bite or fret a two the line. And as for the hooks, they use 20 those that be round, for to take mullets and the fishes amia, because they have narrow mouthes: for very wary they are to avoid the longer and streighter kind; yea, and many times the mullet fulpecteth the round hooke, fwimming round about it, and flurting with the raile the bait and meat that is upon it, and never linnes flapping, untill he have shaken it off, and then devoureth it: but fay, he can not fpeed that way, he drawes his mouth together, and with the very edge and utmost brim of his lips he nibleth about the bait, untill he have gnawen it off. The wide mouthed fea-pike, when he perceiveth that he is caught with the hooke, sheweth herein more valour and animolitie than the elephant; for he plucketh not out of another the dart or arrow flicking the bodie; but maketh meanes to deliver himselfe from the faid hooke, shaking his head and writhing it to and fro untill he have inlarged the wound and made it wider; enduring most 30 flourly and resolutely the dolour to be thus rent and torne, and never gives over, untill he have wrested and wrung the hooke out of his bodie. The sea fox will not many times come necreunto an hooke, he reculeth backe and is afraid of some deceitfull guile; but say that he chance to be furprifed quickly, he maketh shift to winde himselfe off againe: for such is his strength, agilitie and flipperie moisture withall, that he will turne himselse upside downe with his taile upward, in fuch fort, that when by overturning his stomacke all within is come forth, it can not chuse but the hooke looseth the hold which it had and falleth foorth.

These examples do show a certeine intelligence, and withall a wittie and readie execution of that which is expedient for them, as need and occasion requireth. But other fishes there be, which befides this industrious fagacitie in shifting for themselves, do represent a sociable nature 40 and loving affection one unto another; as for example, the anthie and feari: for when the fearus hath swallowed downe an hooke, other of his fellowes come leaping about him, and gnaw the line afunder; and if peradventure there be any of them gotten within a net and entangled, their companions give them their tailes without, which they holde as fast as they can with their teeth, and the other lie pulling and haling of them untill they have drawen them foorth. As for the anthia, they come to refcue and fuccour one of their owne kinde with more audacitie, for putting the line against their backe, they set to it the ridge bone, which is sharpe toothed in maner of a faw, and with it they endevour to file and faw it in twaine. And verily, there is not a creature living on the land (as farre as wee know) that hath the heart and courage to aid their fellowes being in danger of life, neither beare, bore, lion, nor leopard. Well may those gather all 50 together in heaps, which are of the fame kind and run one with another gound about the cirque or thew place with the Amphitheaters: but to rescue or succour one another neither know they the meanes how, nor have the courage to doe it: for they fly and leape backward as farr as ever they can possibly from one that is hurt or killed in their fight: as for that story my good friend that you alledge of the elephants, that they cast into the ditch or trench whereinto one of their company is fallen all that ever they can get & gather together, thereby to make a banke, that he may call himselfe upon, & besides so get forth; it is very strange and far set; and because it comit foorth, so it continueth and goeth not abroad; neither mingled nor mixed with forren fashions, and all by reason of the place which they inhabit, and not occasioned by the quality of their ownenature, for furely their nature conceiving and reteining within it felfe as much difcipline and knowledge as it is possible for to atteine unto and apprehend, exhibiteth unto us many tame and familiar celes (which they call facred) that use to come to hand; such as are among the rest, of those in the fountaine Aresbufa, besides many other fishes indivers places, which are very obeisant and obsequious when they be called by their names, as is reported of Marcus Crassus his lamprey, for which he wept when it was dead; and when Dominus upon a time reproched him for it, by way of mockerie in this wife: Were not you the man who wept for your lamprey when it was dead; he came upon him presently in this maner: And were not you the kinde and sweet husband who having buried three wives never shed teare for the matter? the crocodiles not only know the voice of the preists when they call unto them, and endure to be handled and stroked by them, but also yawne and offer there teeth unto them to be picked and clenfed with there hands, yea and to be skowred and rubbed all over with linen clothes, It is not long fince that Philinus a right good man and well reputed, after his returne from his voiage out of Aegret, where he had bin to fee the countrey recounted unto us, that in the city of Anteus he had feene an olde woman ly a fleepe on a little pallet together with a crocodile, who very decently and modefuly couched close along by her fide. And it is found in old records, that when one of the kings called Ptolomai, called unto the facred crocodile, it would not come nor obey the voice of the priefts, notwithstanding they gently praied and intreated her; a figne thought 20 to be a prognosticke and presage of his death, which soone after ensued: whereby it is plaine that the kind and generation of these water beasts, is neither incapable, nor deprived of that sacred and highly effected fcience of divination and foretelling future things; confidering that even in the countrey of Lycia; betweene the cities of Phellos and Myrz, that is, a village called Sura, where I heare fay, the inhabitants use to fit and behold the fifthes swimming in the water, like as in other places they observe birds flying in the aire, marking their lying in wait and ambuth, their feudding away and purfute after them; whereby according to a certeine skill that is among them, they can foretell future things to come. But this may suffice to shew and declare, that their nature is not altogether estranged from us, nor unsociable.

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> Downe right to bottome of the sea, like plumbe of leade she went,

That peifeth downe the fishers booke, and holdes the line extent; it his passing through transparent * borne, that rurall oxes head bare, To greedy spikes secretly brings death ere they be ware.

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These examples do show a certeine intelligence, and withall a wittle and readie execution of that which is expedient for them, as need and occasion requireth. But other fishes there be, which befides this industrious fagacitie in shifting for themselves, do represent a sociable nature and loving affection one unto another; as for example, the anthie and feari: for when the fearus hath swallowed downe an hooke, other of his fellowes come leaping about him, and gnaw the line afunder; and if peradventure there be any of them gotten within a net and entangled, their companions give them their tailes without, which they holde as fast as they can with their teeth, and the other lie pulling and haling of them untill they have drawen them foorth. As for the anthia, they come to refeue and fuccour one of their owne kinde with more audacitie, for putting the line against their backe, they set to it the ridge bone, which is sharpe toothed in maner of a faw, and with it they endevour to file and faw it in twaine. And verily, there is not a creattireliving on the land (as farre as weeknow) that hath the heart and courage to aid their fellowes being in danger of life, neither beare, bore, lion, nor leopard. Well may those gather all 50 together in heaps, which are of the same kind and run one with another sound about the cirque or thew place with the Amphitheaters: but to rescue or succour one another neither know they the meanes how, nor have the courage to doe it : for they fly and leape backward as farr as ever they can possibly from one that is hurt or killed in their fight: as for that story my good friend that you alledge of the elephants, that they cast into the ditch or trench whereinto one of their company is fallen all that ever they can get & gather together, thereby to make a banke, that he may call himselfe upon, & besides so get forth, it is very strange and far fet : and because it commeth out of the books of king Juba, it would feeme to command us (as it were) by a roiall edict, to give credit thereto. But fay it were, true there be examples of fea-creatures enough to prove that for fociable kindneffe and prudence withall, there be many of them which give no place to the wifeft of all those which the land affoordeth: but as touching their communion and fellow-

ship, we will treat thereof apart, and that anon.

To returne unto our fishers: perceiving as they doe, that the most part of fishes scorne the line and hooke as stale devices or such as be discovered, they betake themselves to fine force and thut them up within great casting nets, like as the Persians use to serve their enemies in their warres, making this account, that if they be enclosed once within those nets, they are theirs sure enough, as if no discourse of reason in the world, no wit & policie whatsoever will serve them to escape: for with hoopnets or castnets are mullets caught, & the iilides, the marmyri also, the sar-10 gi,fca-gogeon, and the wide mouthed pikes: but fuch as plunge themselves downe to the bottome of the water, called thereupon bonistes, fuch as are the barbel, the guiltheads, and the foorbions of the sea, those they use to catch and draw up with great drags and sweepnets. And verily this kinde of net Homer calleth Panagra, which is as much to fay, as catching and swooping all afore it. And yet as cunningly devised as these engins be, the sea-dogs have devices to avoid the fame, as also the wide mouthed labrax; for when he perceiveth that the said sweepenet is a drawing along the bottome, he setteth all his strength to, scrapeth in the earth, and patteth it fo, as he maketh an hole therein; and when he hath thus digged (as it were) as deepe a trench as will hide him against the incursion of the net, then he coucheth himselfe close within it, walting untill the net be glided over him and past. The dolphin, if he be surprised, and perceive that he is inclosed and clasped within the armes (as one would say) of a net, endureth his fortune resolutely, and never distinaieth for the matter; nay, he is very well appaied and pleased; sorhe is glad in his heart, that he hath fo many fifthes about him caught in the fame net, which hee may devour and make merrie with at his pleasure without paines taking : and when he sees that he is drawen up neere to the land, he makes no more adoe but gnawes a great hole in the net,& away he goes. But fay that he cannot dispatch this feat so quickly, but he comes into the fishers hands, yet hee diethnot for this at the first time; for they draw a rish or reed thorow the skinne along his creft, and fo let him go : but if he fuffer himselfe to be taken the second time, then they beat and cudgell him well; and know him they do by the feames or skars remaining of the forefaid reed. Howbeit, this falleth out verie seldome; for the most part of them when they have 30 beene once pardoned, do acknowledge what favour they have received, and beware for ever after how they do a fault and come into danger againe. But whereas there be infinit other examples of fubtle flights and wittie wiles which fifthes have invented, both to foresee and prevent a perill,& alfo to escape out of a danger, that of the cuttle is woorthie to be recited and would not be paffed over in filence: for having about her necke a bladder or bag hanging, full of a blacke muddie liquor, which thereupon they call blow, that is to fay, Inke: when the perceives herfelfe befet & compassed about, so as the is ready to be taken, the casteth forth from her the said inke full crastily, that by troubling the water of the sea all about her, and making it looke thicke and blacke, she might avoid the fight of the fisher, and so make an escape unseene. Following heerein the gods in Homer, who many times with overspreading a back cloud withdraw and steale away those 40 whom they are minded to fave: but enough of this.

Now as souching their craft and subtilitie in affailing and chasing others, there be many experiments and examples presented unto our sight: for the sish called the Starre, knowing full well, that whaloever he touchest wil much and resolve, offseth and yeeldeth her body to be handled, suffering as many as passed by her, or approach neere to stroke him: and as for the cramp-sish Torpedo, you all know well enough her powerfull propertie; not onely to benumme and stupisse those who touch her, but also to transmit a stupesactive qualitie, even along the maisses and cords of the net, to the verie hands of the sishers who have caught her. And some there be who report thus much moreover, as having farther experience of her woonderfull nature, that in case she cape and get away alive, if men do baddle aloft in the water, or dash the same upon them, they shall feele the said passion running up to the verie hand, and benumming their sense of they shall seel the said passion, by reason of the water which before was altered and turned in that manner. This sish therefore having an imbred knowledge hereof by nature, never sighteeth a front with any other; neither hazardeth himselse openly: but setching a compasse about the prey which it hunteth after, shooteth forth from her these contagious insuences like datts, infe-

eding or charming rather the water first therewith, and afterwards by meanes thereof the fish that the latest for; so that it can neither defend it selfe, nor slie and make an escape, but remaineth as it were arrested, and bound fast with chaines, or utterly associated.

The sea-frog, called the Fisher, which name he gat by a kind of fishing that he doth practise, is knowen well enough to many: and driffotle saith, that the cuttle aforesaid useth likewise the same craft that he doth. His manner is to hang downe as it were an angle line, a certaine small string or gut from about his necke, which so othat nature, that hee can let out in length a great way when it is loose, and draw it in againe close together verie quickly when he list. Now when he perciveth some small fish necre unto him, hee suffresh it to nibble the end thereof and bite it, to add then by litle and little privily plucketh and draweth it backe toward him, untill he can reach with his mouth the fish that hangeth to it.

Astouching poulps or purcuttles, and how they change their colour, Pindarus hath ennobled

them in these verses:

His mind doth alter most mutable, To poulpe the sea fish skinne semblable, Which changeth hue to all things susable, To live in all worlds he is pliable.

The poet Theognis likewife:

Put on a mind like polyp fish, and learne so to dissemble, Which of the rocke whereto it slicks, the colour doshresemble.

True it is that the chamæleon also eftsoone changeth colour, but it is not upon any craftie deffeigne that he hath, nor yet for to hide himfelfe, but only for that he is fo timorous; for cowardly he is by nature, and feareth everie noise. Over and besides (as T heophrast w writeth) full he is of a deale of wind; and the bodie of this creature wanteth but a little of being all lungs and lights; whereby it may bee gueffed that it standeth altogether upon ventofitie and wind, and so confequently verie variable and subject to change: whereas that mutabilitie of the polype is a powerfull and fetled action of his, and not a momentarie paffion or infirmitie : for hee altereth his co-30 lour of a deliberate purpose, using it as a fleight or device, either to conceale himselfe from that whereof he is affraid; or elfe to catch that whereof hee feedeth: and by meanes of this deceitfull wile, he praieth upon the one that escapeth him not, & escapeth the other that passeth by & sees him not. But to fay that he eateth his owne cleies or long armes that he uleth to stretch foorth, is a loudlie; marie thathe standeth in feare of the lampray and the conger, is verietrue: for these fishes do him many shrewd turnes, and he cannot requite them the like, so slipperie they be and fo foone gone. Like as the lobster on the other fide if they come within his clutches, holdeth them falt & fqueizeth them to death: for their glibby flickneffe ferveth them in no ftead againft his rough cleies; and yet if the polype can get & entangle him once within his long laces, hee dies for it. See how nature hath given this circular viciffitude to avoid and chase one another by 40 turnes, as a veric exercife and triall to make proofe of their wit and fagacitie.

But Aristotimus hath alledged unto us the hedghoge, or land urchin, and stood much upon I wotnot what forefight he hath of the winds: and a woondrous matter he hath made also of the triangular slight of cranes. As for me, I will not produce the sea urchins of this or that particular coast, to wit, either of Bizantine, or of Cyzieum, but generally all in what seas soever; namely, how against a tempest and storme, when they see that the sea will be every much troubled, they charge and ballast themselves with little stones, for seare of being overturned or driven to and fro for their lightnesse, by the billowes and waves of the sea: and thus by the meanes of this weight, they remaine firme and sast upon the little rocks whereto they are settled. As for the cranes, who change their maner of flying according to the winde; I say, this is a skilfful quality, 50 not proper and peculiar to one kinde of sishes, but common unto them all; namely, 50 swimme evermore against the waves & the currentysea, and very warie they be, that the windeblow not their tailes, and raise their skales, and so hurtand offend their bodies laid bare and naked, yea

evermore against the waves & the current; yea, and very warie they be, that the winde blow nor their tailes, and raife their skales, and so hurt and offend their bodies laid bare and naked, yea and made rugged by that meanes. Hecreupon they carie their shouts and muzzels alwaies into the winde, and so direct their course: and thus the sea being cut asson at their head, keepeth downe their sinnes, and gliding smoothly over their body, laieth their scales even, so as none of them stand staring up. This is a thing, as I have said, comon unto al sisses, except the Elops, whose nature is to swimme downe the winde and the water; neither search he that the winde

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will drive up his scales in so swimming, because they doe not lie toward his taile, but contrary to other fishes, toward his head.

Moreover, the tuny is so skilfull in the solflices and equinoxes, that he hath taught men to observe them without need of any astrologicall rules; for looke in what place or coast of the sea the winter tropicke or folftice finds him, there resteth he, and stirreth not untill the equinox in the fpring. But a woonderfull wisedome (quoth he) there is in the crane, to hold a stone in his foot, that by the fall thereof he may quickly awaken. How much wifer then, my good friend Ariflotimus, is the dolphin? who may not abide to lie still and cease stirring, for that by nature he is in continual motion, and endeth his mooving and living together: but when he hath need of fleepe, hespringeth up with his body to the toppe of the water, and turneth him upon his to backe with the belly upward, and so suffreth it partly to flote and hull, and in part to be caried through the deepe, waving to and fro as it were in a hanging bedde, with the agitation of the fea, fleeping all the while, untill he fettle downe to the bottom of the fea, and touch the ground; then wakenethlie, and mounting up with a jetke a fecond time, fuffreth himselfe to bee caried untill he be fetled downe againe; and thus hath he deviled to have his repose and rest intermingled with a kinde of motion. And it is faid that the tunies doe the like, and upon the same caufe.

And now forasmuch as we have shewed already the mathematicall and astrological foreknowledge that fishes have in the revolution and conversion of the sunne, which is consirmed likewise by the testimonic of Aristotle, listen what skill they have in arithmeticke; but first (be- 20 leeve me) of the perspective science; whereof as it should seeme, the poet Aeschylus was not ignorant: for thus he faith in one place:

Like tuny filh he feemes to fpie, He doth to looke with his left eie.

For tunies in the other cie are thought to have a dimme and feeble fight: and therefore when they enter Mer major into the sea of Pontus, they coast along the land on the right side; but contrariwife when they come foorth, wherein they doe very wifely and circumfpectly, to commit the cultody of the body alwaies to the better eie. Now for that they have need of arithmeticke, by reason of their societie (as it may be thought) and mutual love wherein they delight, they are come to that height and perfection in this arte, that because they take a woondrous 30 pleasure to feed together, and to keepe one with another in sculles & troupes, they alwaies cast their company into a cubicke forme, in maner of a battailon, folid and fquare every way, clofe, and environed with fix equall fides or faces; and arranged in this ordinance as it were of a quadrat battell doe they swim, as large before as behind, & of the one side as of the other, in such fort, as he that lieth in espiall to hunt these tunies, if he can but take the just number how many there be of that fide or front that appeareth next unto him, may prefently tell what the number is of the whole troupe, being affured that the depth is equall to the bredth, and the bredth even with the length. 'Of apar, that The fifth called in Greeke* Hamia, tooke that name, it may be thought, for their converfing in

is to tay, alto companies al together : and fo I suppose came the Pelamydes by their name. As for other sistes 40 that be fociable & love to live & are feene to converfe in great companies together, no man is able to nüber the, they be so many. Come we rather therfore to some particular societies & infeparable fellowships that some have in living together: amog which is that *Pinnotheres, which neere.
* Sometake it cost the philosopher Chrysippus so much inke in his descriptio, for in al his books as wel of mofor the throup, rall as naturall philosophie, he is ranged formost. As for the Spongetheres, I suppose he never knew, for otherwise he would not have left it out. Well, this Pinnotheres is a little fish, as they fay, of the crabs kind, which goeth & commeth evermore with the Nacre, a big shel fish keeping ftill by it, and fits as it were a porter at his shell side, which he letteth continually to stand wide open, untill he spie some small fishes gotten within it, such as they are woont to take for their food then doth he enter likewise into the Nacres shell, and seemeth to bite the fleshy sub- 50 stance thereof; whereupon presently the Nacre shutteth the shell hard, and then they two together feed upon the bootie which they have gotten prisoners within this enclosure.

As touching the fongotheres, a little creature it is, not like unto the crabbe fish as the other, but rather resembling a spider, & it seemeth to rule and governe the spunge, which is altogether without life, without bloud and fenfe; but as many other living creatures within the fea, cleaveth indeed heard to the rocks, and hath a peculiar motion of the owne, namely, to stretch our and draw in it felfe: but for to do this need, the hath of the direction and advertisement of ano

ther: for being of a rare, hollow, and fost constitution otherwise, and full of many concavities, void & fo dull of fense besides, & idle withal, that it perceiveth not when there is any substance of good meat gotten within the faid void and emptie holes; this little animall at fuch a time givethakind of warning, and with it the gathereth in her body, holdeth it falt, and devoureth the fame: but much more will this fpunge draw in her felfe when a man comes neere and touches her; for then being better advertised and touched to the quicke, the quakethas it were for feare, and plucketh in her body fo streight and so hard, that the divers, and such as seeke after them haveno small adoe, but finde it to be a painfull matter for to get under and cut them from the

The purple fithes keepe in companies together, & make themseves a common cel, much like to the combs which bees doe frame, wherein by report, they do engender & breed: and looke what they have laid up for their flore and provision of victuals, to wit, mosse, reits and such seaweeds, those they put forth out of their shels, & present them unto their fellowes for to cat, banquetting round as it were every one in their turne, and keeping their course to feast, one eating of anothers provision. But no great marvell it is to see such an amiable society and loving fellowship among them, confidering that the most unfociable, cruel and savage creature of all that live either in rivers or lakes or feas, I meane the crocodile, theweth himfelfe wonderfull fellowlike and gracious in that fociety and dealing that is betweene him & the trochilm. For this trochilue is a little bird of the kinde of those which ordinarily doe haunt meres, marithes and rivers, 20 waiting and attending upon the crocodile as it were one of his guard: neither liveth this bird at her owne finding nor upon her owne provision, but of the reliques that the crocodile leaveth. The service that the doth for it is this: when the seeth the ichneumon, having plastred his body as it were with a coat of mud baked hard in maner of a cruft, and like unto a champion with his hands aldusty, ready to wrestle & prepared to take hold of his enimy, ly in wait for to surprise the crocodile afleepe, the awakeneth him partly with her voice, and partly by nebbing him with her bill. Now the crocodile is so gentle and familiar with her, that he will gape with his chawes wide open, and let her enter into his mouth, taking great pleafure that the thould picke his teeth and pecke out the little morfels of flesh that sticke betweene, with her prety beake, & withall, to fearifichis gummes. But when he hath had enough of this, & would flut and close his mouth 30 againe, he letteth fall the upper chaw a little, which is a warning unto the bird for to get forth: but he never bringeth both jawes together, before he knowe that the trochilus is flowen out.

There is a little fish called the guide, for quantity & proportion of shape, refembling the guidgeon, only without forth it feemeth like unto a bird, whose feathers for feare stand up; the scales stare so, and are so rough. This fish is ever in the company of one of these great whales, swimming before, and directing his course as if he were his pilot, for feare left he should light upon some thelves, runne upon the sands in the shallowes, or otherwise shoot himselfe into some narrow creeke where he can hardly turne and get foorth. The whale followeth hard after, willing to be guided, and directed by him, even as a shippe by the helme: and looke what other thing foever befides commeth within the chaos of this monsters mouth, be it beast, boat, 40 or ftone, downe it goes all incontinently that foule great fwallow of his, and periffieth in the bottomleffe gulfe of his panch: onely this little fifth he knoweth from the reft, and receiveth into his mouth and no farther, as an ancker, for within it fleepeth; and while the fifth is at repose, the whale likewise resteth still, as if he ridde at ancker; no sooner is it gotten foorth, but he followeth on a fresh, never leaving it by day nor by night, for otherwise hee would wander heere and there: and many of these whales there have been elost in this manner, wanting their guide & pilot, which have runne themselves a land, for default of a good pilot. For we our selves have leene one of them so cast away not long since about the sile Anticyra: and before time by report, there was another cast upon the sands, and not farre from the city Buna, which lay there flinking and putrified; whereupon by the infection of the aire, there enfued a peffilence 50 in those parts adjoining. What should one say? Is there any other example woorthy to bee compared with these societies so streightly linked, and enterlaced with mutuall benevolence? Aristotle indeed reporteth great friendship and amitic betweene foxes and serpents, joining and combining together against their common enemie the eagle, also betweene the Otides and horses; for the bird ot is delighteth in their company, and to be necre them, for that they may rake into their dung. For mine owne part, I cannot fee that the very bees, or the pifmires, are to industrious and carefull one for another. True it is, that they travell and labour in common for a publicke weale; but to aime at any particular good, or to respect the private benefit one

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Land creatures compared with those of the water.

of another, we can finde example of no beast upon the land where soever: but we shall perceive this difference much better, if we convert our speech to the principall duties and greatest offices of societie; generation (Imeane) and procreation of yoong: First and formost, all fishes which haunt any fea, either neere unto lakes, or fuch as receiveth great rivers into it, when they perceive their spawning time to be neere, come up toward the land, and seeke for that fresh water which is most quiet and least subject to agitation for that calmenesse is good for their breeding; besides, these lakes and rivers ordinarily have none of these monstrous sea monsters; to as both their spawne and their yoong frie, is there in most fafetie, which is the reason that there are so many fishes bred about the Euxine sea; for that it nourisheth no whales or other great fifthes: onely the fea-calfe which there is but finall, and the dolphin 10 who is as little. Moreover, the mixture of many great rivers which discharge themselves into the fea, caufeth the temperature of the water to be very good and fit for great bellied fpawners, But mott admirable of all others, is the nature of the fifth anthios, which Homer called the facred fish; although some thinke that facred in that place, is as much to say, as great: in which fenfe we tearme the great bone, icor, that is to fay, facred; whereupon the ridge bone refleth; as alfo the great maladie, called the falling ficknefle, is tearmed in Greeke isez reors, that is to fay, the facted fickneffe: others interpret it after the common and vulgar maner, namely, for that which is vowed and dedicated to fome god, or otherwife abandoned : but feemeth that Eratofhenes to called the guilthead or golden ey, as appeareth by this verfe of his:

Most swift of course, with browes as bright as golde,

This is the figh which I doe facred holde. but many take it for the clops; for rate he is to be found, and hard to be taken: howbeit, manie times he is feene about the coaft of Pamphylia; and whenfoever the fifthers can meet with any of them, and bring them home, both they themselves weare chaplets of flowers for joy, and also they crowne and adorne their barques with garlands, yea, and at their arrivall they are received with much flouting and clapping of hands; but the most part are of opinion, that the anthios belorefaid, is he which they call the facred fifth; and so is he held to be; for that wheresoever he is, there may no hurtfull nor ravening monster be found there: infomuch as the Divers plunge downe into the fea for spunges, boldly in those coasts where these be; yea, and other fishes, both spawne and reare their yoong frie safely there, as having him for their pledge and warrant of all 30 fafety and security, as in a priviledged place. The cause hereof is hardly to be rendred; whether it be that fuch hurtfull fithes upon a fecret antipathie in nature, doe avoid him as elephants a fwine, and lions a cocke; or that there be fome marks & fignes of those coasts which are clere of fuch harmfull monsters, which he knoweth well and observeth, being a fish quicke of wit, and as good of memoric. Common it is to all females for to have a naturall care and providence for their yong, but in fitnes, the males generally are fo respective that way, and so farre off from devouring the feed of their owne kinde, that they continue necre unto the spawne that the semales have calt, and keepe the fame, as Ariffotle hath left in writing. Some milters there be, that follow after the spawners, and sprinkle them a little about the taile; otherwise, the spawne or frie will not befaire and great, but remaine unperfect, and come to no growth. This property particu-40 Moles or Le- larly by themselves have the phycides, that they build their nests with the sea weeds or reits, covering and defending therewith their spawne and frie against the waves of the sea.

Dog-fishes give not place in any fort to the most tame and gentle beasts in the world, for kinde love and naturali affection to their yoong : for first they engender spawne, and after that, a quicke frie; and that not without, but within, nourishing and carrying the same within their ownebodies, after a kind of fecond generation; but when they are growen to any bigneffe, they put them foorth and teach them how to fwim hard by them, and afterwards receive them by the mouth into their bodie, which serveth in stead of a place of abode, of nourishment and of re-

fuge, untill such time as they be so big, that they can shift for themselves.

Moreover, the provident care of the tortoile in the generation, nourishment and preservati- 50 on of yer young, is woonderfull: for out the goeth of the fea, and laieth her egges or casteth her spawne upon the banke fide; but being not able to cove or fit upon them, nor to remaine herfelfe upon the land out of the fea any long time, the bestoweth them in the gravell, and afterwards covereth them with the lightest and finest fand that she can get : when she hath thus hidden them furely, some say, that with her feet the draweth raies or lines, or els imprinteth certeine pricks, which may ferve for privy marks to herfelfe, to finde out the place againe: others affirme, that the male turneth the females upon the backe, and so leaveth the print of their shell within

the fame : but that which is more admirable, the observeth just the fortieth day (for info many daies, the egges come to their maturity, and behatched) and then returneth the to the place where knowing her owne treasure by the feale, she openeth it with great joy and pleasure, as no man doth his casket of jewels or cabinet where his golde lieth.

The crocodiles deale much after this maner in all other points; but at what marks they aime including or finding out the place where they breed, no mortall man is able to imagine or give a reason whereupon it is commonly said, that the foreknowledge of this beast in that respect, proceedeth not from any discourse of reason, but of some supernatural divination: for going neither farther nor necree than just to that gage and height where Wilus the river for that yeere to will rife and cover the earth, there laieth fhe her egges : fo that when the paifant or countrey man chanceth by fortune to hit upen a crocodiles neft, himfelfe knoweth and telleth his neighbours how high the river will overflow that Summer following: fo just doth the measure the place that will be drowned with water, that herfelfe may be fure not to be drenched while the fittethand coveth: furthermore, when her young bee newly hatched, if the fee any one of them (so some as ever it is out of the shell) not to catch with the mouth one thing or other comming next in the way, be it flie, pifmire, gnat, earth-worme, ftraw or graffe, the damme taketh it betweene her teeth, teareth it and killeth it prefently; but fuch as give some proofe of animolitie, audacitie and execution, those she loveth, those the cherisheth and maketh much of, bestowing her love as the wifest men judge it meet and reasonable, according to reason and discretion, and 20 not with blinde affection.

The fea-calves likewife bring forth their yoong on the dry land; but within a while after they traine them to the fea; give them a tafte of the falt water, & then quickly bring them back againe: thus practife they with them by little and little many times together, untill they have gotten more heart and begin of themselves to delight for to live within the sea. Frogs about their breeding time, call one to another, by a certaine amorous note or nuptiall tune, called properly Ololugon. And when the male hath by this meanes entifed and allured the female to him, they attend and waite together for the night: and why? In the water they cannot possibly engender, and upon the land they fear to do it in the day time; dark night is no fooner come, but boldly they go foorth of the water, and then without feare they claspe and embrace one another. Moreover 30 against a showre of raine their crooking voice, such as it is, you shall heare more cleere and shrill

than ordinarie, which is a most infallible figne of raine.

But (oh sweet 2/eptune) what a soule fault and groffe errour was I like to have committed; how abfurd and ridiculous (hould I have made my felfe, if being amused and busied to speake of these sea-calves and frogs, I had forgotten and overpassed the wifest creature, and that which the gods love best, of all those that do frequent and hant the sear for what musicke of the nightingale is comparable to that of the halcyon; what * artificiall building of the swallowes, and martinets; * operation what entier amitie & love of doves; what skilfull cunning of the bees, deferveth to be put in bal-forme readerlance with these sea-sowles halcyones? Of what living creatures have the gods and goddesses so kerkere, that much honored the breeding, travell and birth? for it is faid that there was but one onely Isle, to young birds. 40 wit Delos, that was fo wel beloved, that it received the childbirth of Latona, when she was delivered of apollo & Diana: which iland floating before time, continued afterwards firme-land; whereas the pleasure of God is such, that all seas should be still and calme without waves, winds or drop of raine falling upon them, all the while that the haleyon laieth and coveth, which is just about the winter foldlice, even when the daies bee shortest: which is the reason that there is no living creature that men love fowell; by whose meanes seven daies they have, and seven nights even in the verie heart of winter, during which time they may fafely faile, having their voiage by fea for those daies space, more secure than their travell by land. Now if I must say somewhat likewise of ech particular vertue that this bird bath: first and foremost the female is so loving to the male her mate, that the tarrieth not with him for one feafon only, but al the yeere long keepeth him com-50 pany; and that not for shamelesse lust & wantonnesse (for she never admitteth any other male to tread her) but onely upon a kind love and tender affection; even like an honeft wedded wife that keepeth onely to her husband. And when the male groweth to be for age weake and unweldie, in fuch fort as he cannot follow her, but with much ado, the beareth and feedeth him in his old age; the never for faketh nor leaveth him alone for any thing, but the taketh him upon her thoulders, carrieth him everie where about, tendeth him most tenderly, and is with him stil unto his dying day. Now for the affection which the beareth to her yoong, and the care that the hath of them

and their fafetie: when the perceiveth once that flie is with egge, prefently flee goeth about the

Nnnn 3

building of her nell; not tempering mudde or cley for to make thereof morter; nor dawbing it upon the walles, and fpreading it over the rouse as the swallowes do; and yet employing her whole body or the most part thereof about her worke, as doth the bee, which entring in the hony-combe with her entier bodie 3 and working with all the fix feet together, devideth the place in fix angled cels: but the alcyon having but one instrument, one toole, one engine to worke withall, even her owne bill, without any thing else in the world to helpe her in her travell and operazion; yet what workmanship she makes & what fabricks she frameth, like unto a master carpenter or shipwright, hard it were to beleeve, unlesse a man had seene it, being in deed such a fabricke and piece of worke, which onely of all other cannot bee overthrowen nor drenched with the sea: for first and formost shee goes and gathers a number of bones of the fish called 10 Belone, that is to fay, a Needle, which thee joineth and bindeth together, interlacing them some long-wife, others overthwart, much like as the woofe is woven upon the warpe in a loome, winding, plaiting and twifting them up and downe one within another; so that in the end fashioned it is in forme round, yet extended out in length like unto a fishers weele or bow-net: after she hath finished this frame, shee bringeth it to some creeke, and opposeth it against the waves, where the fea gently beating and dathing upon it, teacheth her to mend that was not well compact, and to fortific it in fuch places where thee fees it gapeth, or is not united close by reason of the fea water that hath undone the composition thereof: contrariwise, that which was well jointed, the fea doth fo fettle and drive together, that hardly a man is able to breake, diffoleor doe it injurie eithet with knocke of stone or dint of edged toole. But that which yet makethit 20 more admirable, is the proportion and forme of the concavitie and hole within this veffell; for framed it is & composed in such fort, that it will receive and admit no other thing, but the verie bird which made it, for nought else can enter into it, so close it is and shutup, no not so much as the very water of the fea. I am affured that there is not one of you all, but he hath many times feene this nelt: but for mine owne part, who have both viewed, touched and handled it, and that verie often, I am readie to fay and fing thus:

The like at Delos once Iweene,

Wasin Apollos temple seene. I meane the altar made al of homes, renowmed amongst the seven wonders of the world; for that without foder, glew, or any other matter to binde and holde the parcels together, made it was 30 and framed of hornes which grew on the right fide of the head onely. But o that this god would be fo good and gracious unto me, being in some fort musicall and an islander, like himselfe, as to pardon me if I fing the praise of that firene and mer maid so highly commended; as also gently to heare mee laugh at these demands and interrogatories that these propound, who in mocketie seeme to aske, Why Apollo is never called Κογρεκτόν Φ, that is to say, the killer of conger, nor Diana his fifter Terna case, that is to fay, a striker of barbels, knowing that even Venus, borneas the was of the sea, and instituting her facrifices neere unto it, takethno pleasure that any thing should be killed. And moreover, ye wot well enough, that in the city of Leptu, the priefts of Neptune cat nothing that commeth out of the fea, as also that in the citie Eleufin, those who are professed religious, and admitted to the holy mysteries of Ceres, honour the barbell; 40 yea, and in the city of Argos the priestresse of Diana upon a devout reverence forbeareth to feed of this creature; for that these barbles doe kill and destroy all that ever they can, the sea-hare, which is so venimous and so deadly a poison to man: in regard of which benefit, reported they are friendly unto mankinde, and prefervers of their health, and therefore honoured they be, and kept as factofanct: and yet you shall fee in many cities of Greece, both temples and altars dedicated unto Diana surnamed Dietymna, as one would say, affected unto sishers nets: like as to Apollo Delphinius: for certeine it is, that the place which he especially chose above all others for his abode, the posteritie descended from the Cretansians came to inhabit and people, being conducted thither by the guidance of a dolphin: and not because himselfe (as some fabulous writers report) being transformed into a dolphin, fwam before their fleet; but furely a dolphin 50 he fent to direct those men in their navigation, and so he brought them to the bay of Circhi.

Alfo written it is in histories, that those who were fent by king Ptolomaus furnamed Soter, to the city Sinope, for to carie the god Serapis, together with their captaine Diony fine, were by force of winde and tempest driven against their willes beyond the cape or promontorie Malea, where they had Peloponness on the right hand; and when they wandered and were tossed to and fro upon the feas, not knowing where they were, making account they were lost and cast away, there thewed himselfe before the prow of their ship, a dolphin, which seemed to call unto them, and

Land-creatures compared with those of the water.

who guided them unto those coasts where there were many commodious havens and faire baies for ships to harbour and ride in with safetie; and thus he conducted and accompanied their ship from place to place, untill at length he brought it within the rode of Circha; where after they had facrificed for their fafe arrivall and landing, they understood that of two images there, they were to have away that of Pluto, and carrie it with them, but the other of Proferpina to leave behinde them, when they had taken onely the mould and patterne thereof. Probable it is therefore, that the god Apollo carried an affection to this dolphin, for that it loveth mulicke fo well: whereupon the poet Pindarus comparing himselfe unto the dolphin, faith that he was provoked and stirred up to musicke by the leaping and dauncing of this fish.

Like as the dolphin swimmes apace Directly forward to that place Whereas the pleasant shawmes do sound. And whence their noice doth soone rebound: What time both winds and waves do lie At fea, and let no harmonie.

or rather we are to thinke that the god is well affected unto him, because he is so kind and loving unto man: for the onely creature it is, that loveth man for his owne fake, and in regard that he is a man: whereas of land-beafts, fome you shall have that love none at all; others, and those that be of the tamest kinde, make much of those onely, of whom they have some use and benefit; 20 namely, fuch as feed them or converse with them familiarly, as the dogge, the horse and the elephant: and as for swallowes, received though they be into our houses, where they have enterteinment, and whatfoever they need, to wit, thade, harbour and a necessary retrait for their fafetie, yet they be afraied of man, and fhun him as if he were some savage beast; whereas the dolphin alone of all other creatures in the world, by a certeine inftinct of nature, carrieth that fincere affection unto man, which is fo much fought for and defired by our best philosophers, even without any respect at all of commoditie: for having no need at all of mans helpe, yet is he nevertheleffe friendly and courteous unto all, and hath succoured many in their distresse; as the storie of Arion will testifie, which is so famous, as no man is ignorant thereof: and even you Aristotimus your owne selfe, rehearted to very good purpose the example of Hesiodus:

But yet by your good leave my friend, Of that your tale you made no end.

for when you reported unto us the fidelitie of his dogge, you should have proceeded farther, and told out all, not leaving out (as you did) the narration of the dolphins: for furely the notice that the dogge gave, by baying, barking, and running after the murderers with open mouth, was (I may tell you) but a blinde prefumption, and no evident argument. About the citie Nemium, the dolphins meeting with the dead corps of a man floting up and downe upon the fea, tooke it up and laied it on their backs, shifting it from one to another by turnes, as any of them were wearie with the carriage, and very willingly, yea, and as it should seeme, with great affection, they conveied it as farre as to the port Rhium, where they laied it downe upon the shore, and so made 40 it knowen that there was a man murdered. Myrtilus the Lesbian writeth, that Aenalus the Acolianbeing fallen in fansie with a daughter of Phinew, who according to the oracle of Imphirite, was by the daughters of Pentheus cast downeheadlong into the sea, threw himselfe after her; but there was a dolphin tooke him up, and brought him fafe unto the ifle Lesbos. Over and besides, the affection and good will which a dolphin bare unto a yoong lad of the citic tasos, was so hot and vehement, in the highest degree, that if ever one creature was in love with another, it was he; for there was not a day went over his head, but he would disport, play and swimme with him, yea, and fuffer himselfe to be handled and tickled by him upon his bare skinne; and if the boy were disposed to mount aloft upon his backe, he would not resule, nor seeme to avoide him; nay hee was verie well content with fuch a carriage, turning what way foever 50 heereined him, or feemed to encline : and thus would hee doe in the presence of the Iasians, who oftentimes would all runnefoorth to the feafide of purpose to behold this fight. Well on a daie above the rest, when this ladde was upon the dolphins backe, there fell an exceeding great shower of raine, together with a monstrous storme of haile; by reason whereof the poore boy fell into the fea, and there died: but the dolphin tooke up his bodie dead as it was, and together with it shut himselfe upon the land; neither would be depart from the corps fo long as there was any life in him, and fo died, judging it great reason to take part with him of his death, who feemed partly to be the cause thereof. In remembrance of which memorable ac-

cident, the lassans represent the historie thereof stamped and printed upon their coine, to wit, a boy tiding upon a dolphin, which storie hath caused that the sable or tale that goeth of Caranus is beleeved for a truth: for this Caranua, as they fay, borne in Pares, chanced to be upon a time at Byzantium, where seeing a great draught of dolphins taken up in a casting-net by the sisters, whom they meant to kill and cut into pieces, bought them all alive, and let them go againe into the fea. Notlong after, it hapned that he failed homeward in a foilt of fiftie oares, which had aboord (by report) a number of pyrates and rovers 5 but in the streights betweene Naxosand Paros the veffel was cast away, and swallowed up in a gust: in which shipwracke, when all the rest perished, he onely was saved, by meanes as they say of adolphin, which comming under his bodie as he was newly plunged into the fea, bare him up, tooke him upon his backe, and carried 10 him as farre as to a certaine cave about Zacynthus, and there landed him : which place is the wed for a monumentar this day, and after his name, is called Caranium. Upon this occasion, Archilachus the poet, is faid to have made these verses:

Of fiftie men by tempest drown'd, And left in sea all dead behind: Coeran alone alive was found,

God Neptune was to him fo kind, Afterwards the faid Caranu himfelfe died: and when his kinsfolke & friends burned his corps nere to the feafide in a funerall fire, many dolphins were discovered along the coast hard by the thore, thewing (as it were) themselves how they were come to honour his obsequies; for depart 20 they would not before the whole folemnitie of this last dutie was performed. That the scutchion or shield of ultifes had for the badge or enfigne, a dolphin, Stefichorus hath testified, but the occasion and cause thereof, the Zacynthians report in this manner, as Critem the historian beareth witnesse. Telemachus his sonne being yet an infant, chanced to slip with his feet, as men say, to fall into a place of the fea, where it was very deep; but by the means of certaine dolphins who tooke him as he fell, faved he was and carried out of the water: whereupon his father in a thankfull regard and honour to this creature, engraved within the collet of his fignet, wherewith hee fealed the portrait of a dolphin, & likewise carried it as his armes upon his shield. But for a smuch as I protested in the beginning that I would relate to you no fables, and yet (I wot not how) in fpeaking of dolphins, I am carried farther than I was aware, and fallen upon the ges and Caranus, 30 fornewhat beyond the bounds of likelihood and probabilitie, I will fet a fine upon mine owne head, and even here for amends lay a straw and make an end. You therefore my masters who are judges, may when it pleafeth you proceed to your verdict.

SOCLARUS. As for us, we were of mind a good while fince to fay according to the fentence of Sophoeles: Your talke ere while which seem'd to disagre,

Will soone accord and joint-wise framed be. for if you will, both of you conferre your arguments, proofes and reasons which you have alledged of the one fide and the other, and lay them all together in common betweene you, it will be feene how mightily you shall confute and put downe those who would deprive bruit beasts of all understanding and discourse of

reason.



WHETHER

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WHETHER THE

NIANS WERE MORE RE-

NOWMED FOR MARTIALL ARMES OR GOOD LETTERS.

The Summarie.

E have here the fragments of a pleasant discourse written in the savour of Athenian warriours and great captaines; which at this day hash neither beginning nor end, and in the middle u altogether maimed and unperfect: but that which the infortanitie of in the middle us altogether mamnen and unper section we may gather some good, and the in-the times hath left unso us, such set as thereout we may gather some good, and the intention of Plutarch is therein sufficiently discovered unto us : for he sheweth that the Athenians were more famous and excellent in feats of armes than in the profession of learning. Which position may seeme to be a strange paradox, considering that Athens was reputed the habitation of themuses: and if there were ever any brave historians, singular poets, and notable or atours in the world, we are to looke for them in this citie. Yet for all this, he taketh upon him to proove that the prowesse of Athenian captaines was without all comparison more commendable and praise woorthie than all the dexteritie of others, who at their leasure have written in the shade and within house the occurrents and accidents of the times, or exhibited pleasures and passimes to the people upon the stage or scaffold. And to effect this intended purpose of his, he considereth in the first place, historiographers, 30 and adjoineth thereto a briefe treasife of the art of painting : and by comparison of two persons, bringing newes of a field fought, whereof the one was onely a beholder and looker on; the other an actor himselfe, and a souldier fighting in the battell, he sheweth that noble captaines ought to be preferred before historians, who pen and set downesheir dessenses and executions. From history he passeth on to poesie, both comicall and tragicall, which hereprove th and debasesh, not with standing the Athenians made exceeding account thereof; giving to under stand, that their walor confisted rather in martiall exploits. In the last place he speaketh of oratours, and by conference of their orations and other reasons, proveth that these great speakers deserve not that place, as to have their words weighed in ballance against the deeds of lo many politike and valiant warriours.

40 WHETHER THE ATHENIANS

were more renowmed for martiall

armes or good letters.



Ell faid this was (in trueth) of him unto those great captaines and commanders who fucceeded him, unto whom hee made way and gave entrance to the executions of those exploits which they perof formed afterwards, when himselfe had to their hands chased out of Greece the barbarous king Xerxes, and delivered the Greeks out of offervitude: but aswell may the same be said also to those who are proud of their learning and stand highly upon their crudition. For If you take away men of action, you shall be fure to have no writers of them: take away the politike government of Pericles at home; the

navall victories and trophæs atchieved by Phormio, neere the promontorie of Rhum; the noble prowesses of Nicias about the isle Cythera, as also before the cities of Corinth and Megara; take away the sea fight of Demosthenes before Pylos; the source hundred captives and prisoners of Clean; the worthy deeds of Tolmias who fcowred all the coasts of Peloponnesm; the brave acts

The Athenians more renowmed for armes than good letters.

The Athenians more renowmed for armes than good letters.

of Myronides, and the battell which he woon against the Boeotians in the place called Oenophyta; and withall, you blot out the whole historic of Thucydides; take away the valiant service of Alcibrades thewed in Hellefont; the rare manhood of Thrafylus neere unto the ifle Lesbos; the happie suppression and abolition of the tyrannicall oligarchie of the thirty usurpers, by Theramenes; take away the valourous endevours of Thraspulus and Archippus, together with the rare deffeignes and enterprises executed by those seven hundred, who from Phylarose up in armes and were to hardie and refolute as to levie a power and wage warre against the lordly potentates of Sparta; and last of all Conon, who caused the Athenians to go to sea againe and maintaine the warres; and therewithall, take away Cratippus and all his Chronicles. For as touching Xenophon, he was the writer of his owne historie, keeping a booke and commentarie of those occurrents to and proceedings which paffed under his happie conduct and direction : and (by report) he gave it out in writing, that Themistogenes the Syracusian composed the said narration of his acts, to the end that Xenophon might win more credit and be the better believed, writing as he did of himselfe as of a stranger, and withall, gratifying another man by that meanes with the honour of cloquence in digefting and penning the fame. All other historians besides, as these, Clinodemi and Diylli, Philochorus and Philarchus, may be counted as it were the actors of other mens plaies: who fetting downe the acts of kings, princes and great captaines, shrowded close under their memorials, to the end that themselves might have some part with them of their light and fplendor. For furely there is a certaine image of glorie, which by a kinde of reflexion, as in a mirrour, doth rebound from those who have atchieved noble acts, even unto them that commit 20 the fame to writing, when as the actions of other men are represented by their reports and re-

Certes this city of Athens hath beene the fruitfull mother and kinde nourse of many and fundry arts, whereof some she first invented and brought to light; others she gave growth, strength, honour and credit unto. And among the rest, the skill of painters crast hath not beene least advanced and adorned by her. For Apollodor we the painter, the first man who devised the mixture of colours, and the manner of darkning them by the shadow, was an Athenian rover whose works was set this epigram by his owne selse.

Sooner will one, this carpe and twit;

Than doe the like or fample it.

So were Euphranor and Nicias, Asclepiodor m also, and Plistenes m the brother of Phidias, whereoffome portraied victorious captaines, others painted battels, and others drew to the lifethe
worthies and demigods: like as Euphranor who painted noble Thesem, and set this picture as a
paragon in comparison with another of Parrhassim making; saying that the Thesem of Parrhasim had caten roses, but his Thesem had beene sed with good oxe beefe; for to say a trueth, that
picture of Parrhassim was daintly and delicately made, resembling in some fort that which Euphranor talketh of; but he that should see this of Euphranors doing, might say (not unfitly) these
verses out of Homer:

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The people of Ercchtheus flout, whom Pallas, daughter deare Of Jupiter that mighty god,

sometime did feed and reare. Euphranor also depainted the battell of horsemen before the citic Mantinea, against Epaminond.o, which feemeth not to be without some furious and divine instinct. The argument and subjest matter whereof was this: Epaminondas the Theban, after the battell which he won before the towne Leuttra, puffed up with glory in this greatnesse of his, determined resolutely to infult over Sparta, which now was already downe the winde, and at once to tread and trample under foot the high spirit and reputation of that city. First therefore he invaded Laconia with a mightie power of threescore and ten thousand fighting men, spoiling and harrowing the countrey as he went; whereby he withdrew all the neighbour nations from their confederacie and alliance with the 50 Lacedæmonians. After this, when they put themselves in battell ray, and made head against him before Mantinea, hee challenged and provoked them to fight: which they neither would nor durit accept, expecting aid that thould come unto them from Athens. Whereupon he brake up his campe, and diflodging in the night feafon fecretly and contrary to all mens expectation, entred againe into Laconia, in which journey and expedition he went within a little of furptiling the citie of Sparra and winning it, naked as it was and without defendants. But their allies and confederates having intelligence of his comming, came with all speed to succourthe

citie. Then Epaminondas made femblance that hee would turne and bend his forces to the wasting and spoiling of their territorie, as hee had done before. Thus having by this strarageme deluded his enemies, and fulled them affeepe in fecuritie, hee departed fuddenly by night out of Laconia, having over-runne and destroicd all before him with great celeritie, and presented himselfe with his whole armie before them of Mantinea, who looked for nothing leffethan fuch a gueft, but were in confultation for to fend helpe to Lacedamon: but he interrupting & breaking their counsols, immediatly commanded the Thebanes to arme, who being brave & couragious fouldiors, invested the city of Mantinear ound about, stroke up the alarme and gave an affault. The Mantineans hecreat aftonied, ran up and downe the streets, howling to and wailing, as being not able to fultaine, and much leffe put backe fo great a puillance, which all at once in manner of a violent streame, came running upon them; neither did they thinke of any aid or meanes to relieve themselves in this distresse. But at the very point of this extremity, the Athenians were discovered, descending from the hilles downe into the plaines of Maninea, who knowing nothing of this fudden furprise and present danger wherein the citic flood, marched foftly, and tooke leifure; but when they were advertised hecreof by a vaunt courrier who made meanes to get foorth of the city snotwithstanding they were but a handfull in comparison of the great multitude of their enemies, and with all somewhat we arie with their journey, and not feconded with any other of their allies and affociates; they advaunced forward, and put themselves in order of battell against their enemics, who were in number many for one: 20 the horf-men also for their parts being likewise arranged, set spurres to their horses, and rode hard to the gates and walles of the city, where they charged their enemies fo hotly with their horses, and gave them so cruell a battell, that they gat the upper hand, and rescued Mantinea out of the danger of Epaminondas. Now had Euphranor painted this conflict most lively in a table, wherein a man might have feene the furious encounter, the couragious charge and bloudie fight, wherein both horse and man seemed to pusse and blow againe for winde.

But I suppose you will not compare the wit or judgement of a painter, with the courage and policy of a captaine, nor endure those, who preferre a painted table before a glorious trophæ; or the vaine thadow before the reall substance and thing indeed: how foever Simonides faid that picture was a dumbe poefie, and poefie a speaking picture: for looke what things or 20 actions painters doe fhew as present and in manner as they were in doing, writings doe report and record as done and past; and if the one represent them in colours and figures, and the other exhibite the fame in words and fentences, they differ both in matter and alfo in manner of imitation, howbeit both the one and the other shoote at one end, and have the fame intent and purpose. And hee is counted the best historian who hath the skill to fet out a narration, as in a painted table with diversaffections, and fundry conditions of persons, as with many images and pourtraictures. And verily this may appeere in Thue ydides, who throughout his whole history contendeth to attaine unto this diluciditie of stile, striving to make the auditour of his wordes the spectatour as it were of the deeds therein conteined, and defirous to imprint in the readers the same passions of astonishment, woonder 40 and agony, which the very things themselves would worke when they are represented to the cie. For Demosthenes who put the Athenians in ordinance of battell, even upon the very fands and shore within the creeke of Pylos; and Brasidas who hastening the pilot of his galley to runne with the prow a land, walking along the hatches himselfe, and being there wounded and ready to yeeld up his vitall breath, funke downe among the feats of the rowers; also the Lacedæmonians who fought a battell at lea, as if they had beene on firme land: the Athenians likewife who upon the land embattailed themselves, and sought as if they had beene within their gallies at fea againe, in the Sicilian warre: the description which he maketh of the two armies arranged on the land, hard by the fea fide, to behold their men fighting a navall battell, wherein the victory hung a long time in equall ballance , and inclined neither to the one fide nor the other, by 50 occasion of which doubtfull issue, they were in an intollerable agony, distresse, and perplexity, to behold the fundry encounters and reciprocall charges and recharges, communicating their violence and heat of contention even to the very bodies of the beholders upon the strond, who puffing, blowing, panting, and sweating in as great paine and seare, as if they had beene personally in the very conflict: the orderly disposition, the graphicall description and the lively narration which he maketh of all this, what is it but an evident representation of a picture? Now if it be not meet to compare painters with captaines, there is as little reason to set historians in comparison with them.

Hc

He who brought the newes of the battell and victorie at Marathon, as Heraclides of Pontus writeth, was one Thersippus of Eroe, or as most historians report, it was one Eucles, who came running in a great heat from the field in his armour as he was, and knocking at the gates of the principall mens houses of Ashens, was able to say nothing elsebut this, zaipens, & zaipens, that isto fay, rejoice yee, all is well with us, and therewith his breath failed, and so he gave up the ghoft, and yet this man came and brought tidings of that battell wherein himselse was an actour. But tell me I pray you; if there were some goat herd or neat-herd, who from the toppe of an hill or an high banke, had beheld a farre off this great service, and indeed greater than any words can expresse, should have come into the city with newes thereof, not wounded himselfe, nor having loft one droppe of bloud, and for his good tidings demaund afterwards to have 10 the fame honors and memorials which were graunted unto Cynagirus, to Callimachus, and Polyzebus, onely because forfooth he had made report of the doughty deeds, the wounds and death of these brave men; would you not thinke that he surpassed all the impudencie that can be imagined? confidering especially, that the Lacedamonians, by report, fent unto him who brought the first word of the victory at Mantinea, which Thueydides described in his story, a piece of flesh from one of their dinners, or hals, called Fhichita, for a recompence of his happy newes And (to fay a truth) what are historiographers else but certeine messengers to relate and declare the acts of others, having a loud and audible voice, and who by their pleafant eloquence and fignificant phrases, are able to set foorth the matter to the best, which they take in hand: unto whom they owe indeed the reward due for good tidings, who first doe light upon their compo- 20 fitions, and have the first reading of them : for surely, praised they bee onely when they make mention of fuch exploits, and read they be in regard of those singular persons whom they make knowen, as the authours and actours thereof. Neither are they the goodly words and fine phrafes in histories that performe the deeds, or deferve fo greatly to be heard : for even poetry hath a grace, and is effected, for that it describeth and relateth things as if they had beene done, and which carie a refemblance of truth: and according as Homer in one place faith:

Nany false tales how for to tell, Much like to trueths, she knowes full well.

And it is reported, that one of Menanders familiar friends faid unto him upon a time: Menanders, the Bacchanale feafts are at hand, and halt not thou yet done thy comcedy? who returned 30 him this answer: Yes iwis have I, so helpe me the gods, composed it I fay, I have; for the matter thereof is laid foorth, and the disposition digested already; there remainest no more to be done, but onely to set thereto the verses that must go to it. So that you see that the poets themselves reputed the things and deeds more necessary and important than words and speech. The samous courtizan Corinna one day reprooved Pindarus, who then was a yoong man, and tooke a great pride in himselfe, for his learning and knowledge: Thou hast no skill at all Pindarus (quoth she) in poetrie, for that thou does not invent and devise fables, which is indeed the proper and peculiar worke of poesie; as for thy tongue, it ministrest some retorical success, catachteses and metaphrases, songs, musicall measures and numbers, unto the matter and argument onely, as pleasant sauces to commend the same. Pindarus pondering well these 40 words and admonitions of hers, thought better of the matter, and thereupon out of his poeticall veine, powered out this canticle:

Imenus, or the launce with staffe of gold,
Sir Cadmus, or that sared race of old,
Which dragons teeth they say sometime did yeeld,
Of warriours brave, when sowen they were in field:
Or Hercules who was in such account,
And his maine sorce of body, to surmount, &e.

Which when he had thewed to Corima, the woman laughed a good, & faid: That corne should be sowen out of ones hand, and not immediately from out of the sull sake: for in trueth much go after this fort had Pindarus gathered and heaped up a miscellane deale of fables, and powred them foorth all huddle together in this one canticle. But that poesseconsisten much in the fine invention of fables, Plate himselfe hath written: and verily a fable or tale is a false narration, resembling that which is true, and therefore farre remote it is from the thing indeed, if it be so, that a narration is the image of an act done, & a fable the image or shadow of a narration. Whereupon this may be inferred, that they who devise and seigne fabulous deeds of armes, are so much inferiour to historiographers that make true reports, as historiographers who relate

onely fuch deeds come behinde the actours and authours themselves. Certes this city of then had never any excellent or renowmed worke men in the feat of poetrie, no not lo much as in the Lyrick part thereof, which professeth musicall odes and songs: for Cynesias seemeth to have made his dithyrambes or canticles in the honor of Bacchus, hardly and with much ado, and was himfelfe barren and of no grace or gift at all , befides, he was fo mocked and flouted by the comical poets, that he grew to be of no reckoning and reputation, but incurred an ill and odiousname: As for that part of poetrie which dealeth in representation of personages in places upon a stage, fo small account they made at Athens of the Comedians and their professions naythey diffained and feorned it fo much, that a law there was enacted, forbidding exprefly, to that no fenatour of the counfell Areopague, might make a comedy : contratiwife, the trageodic flourished, and was in much request, for delivering the best care sport, and representing the most woonderfull spectacle that men in those daies could heare or behold; giving both unto fictions, & affections a deceiveable power, which was of fuch a propertie, according to the faying of Gorgias: That he who deceived thereby, was more just than he who deceived not; and he whowas deceived became wifer than he that was not deceived at all: the deceiver (I fay) was more just, because he performed that which he promised, and the deceived person wifer; for that fuch as are not altogether groffe, doltifh, and fenfleste, are soonest caught with the pleafure and delight of words.

To come now to the maine point: what profit ever brought these excellent trageedies unto the citie of Athens, comparable unto that which the prudent policie of Themssociets effected in causing the walles of the citie to be built? or to the vigilant care and diligence of Perioles, who adorned the castle and citadell with so many beautifull buildings; or to the valour of Multiades who delivered the citie from the danger of servitude; or to the brave minde of Cimon, who advanced that State to the soveraigntic and command of all Greece? If the learning of Euripides, the eloquence of Sophoeles, or the sweet and pleasant tongue of Aeschylus had freed them from any perils and extremities, or purchased and procured them any glory more than they had before, good reason peradventure it were, to compare poeticall fictions and inventions with warlike triumphs and trophæs; to set the theater against the generals pavilion and palace; and to oppose the schooling and teaching of plaiers how to act comedies and trageedies, unto prowests and trageedies. Will you that we bring in place the personages themsselves? carying with them the marks, badges & enfigues that teltific their deeds, and allow either of them entrance apart by themsselves, and passage along by us. Then let there march on the one side poets with their flutes, harps, lutes and viols, singing and saying:

Silence,mymasters, or all words of sing good:

Depart be must, there is no remedie, Our learning here who never understood, And hath no skill in play or tragædie:

Whose tongue's impure, or who in melodie And dance unexpret is, that doth helong

To fervice of the sacred muses nine, Or who is not prosessed by the tongue To Bacchus rites of belli-god Cratine.

Everyeër 50 û. Earste lingue.

puisant army upon the land. For he that would fet downe and cast accoumpt, how much every comædic cost them, shall find that the people of Athens spent more in exhibiting the tragedies of Baccha, Phenisse, of both the Oedipodes, & of Antigon, or in representing the calamities of Medea and Electra, than they disbutfed in their warrs against the Barbarians, either to win the foveraignty and dominion over them, or to defend their owne freedome and libertie: formany times their great captaines and commanders led foorth their fouldiers to battell, having made proclamation before, for to carrie with them fuch victuals as * required no fire for their drefsome expoid fing. This is certaine, that the captaines of gallies and war-ships, for their failers, having proving from their mariners, as well rowers as mentioned. failers, have to embarked them & gone to fea: whereas the wardens and Aediles who were to fet 10 forth plaies and dances have (to their great cost) fed their actors and plaiers with delicate eeles, with tender lectuces, with cloves of garlicke, and with good marrow-bones, feafting them along time before, most deintilie, and whiles they did nought els but exercise their voice, scowre their throats and elecretheir brefts, they made good cheerefull merrily. And what good had thefe wastefull spenders of their goods (spent about such vanities) in the end ? If their plaies spednor well, but loft the victorie, they were well mocked, hifled and laughed at for all their paines and cost: bottay they went away winners and having the better hand, what got they by it? furely not a trevet or threefooted stoole nor any other marke and monument of victorie, as Demetrius faid, but to remaine a lamentable example of unthrifts, who have laied all they had upon

> tombs. This is the end that commeth of fuch expenses about poetrie; and no greater honour is to be looked for. Now on the other fide, let us beholde likewife their brave captaines and warriours: and while

toics and fooleries, and left behinde them their houses like emptie sepulchres and imaginarie 20

these passe along,

There should indeed be silence or good words: They ought to void out of this company, Who idle live, and never drew their swords In field, or ferv'd with care and agonie In common weale : whose heart would never frand To such exploits, whose minde is eke profane, Who neither by Miltiades his hand, That flew the Medes nor by the Persians bane, Themistocles, was ever institute,

And sworne to lawes of knighthood resolute, Yearnary, heere (me thinks) I fee a martiall maske, and brave flew toward : fet out with fquadrons embatteled on land, with fleetes arranged for to fight at fea, loden and heavily charged with rich spoiles and glorious trophæes:

Alal' Alala, daughter deare,

Of bloudy warre, come foorth and heare. Behold and fee a forrest of pikes and launces in the fore-front, the very preamble and flourish 40 before the battell: me thinks I heare one of them refound: Embrace death most hardy knights, the best sacrifice and most fant oblations, that is, (for so faith Epaminondas the Thebane) fighting valiantly, and exposing your selves to the most honorable and bravest services that be in defence of countrey, of your auncestors tombes and sepulchers, and of your temples and religion: mee thinks also I see their victories, comming toward mee in solemne pompe and procession, not drawing or leading after them for their prize and reward, an ox or a goat; neither be the faid victories crowned with ivie, or fmelling strong of new wine in the lees, as the Bacchanales doe; but they have in their traine, whole cities, illands, continents, and firme lands, as wel mediterranean as maritime fea-coafts, together with new colonies of ten thousand men a piece, to be planted heere and there; and withall, crowned they be and adorned on eve- 50 ry side with trophas, with triumphes, pillage and booty of all forts; the ensignes, badges, and armes that these victorious captaines give; the images also that they represent in shew, be their stately & beautiful temples, as the Parthenon, the Hecatompedos, their city walles on the fouth fide, the accenals to receive & lodge their thips; their beautifull porches and galleties; the province of the demy ifle Chersonesus, & the city Amphipolis; as for the plaine of Marathon, it goeth before the laureat garland and victorie of Militades; Solanius accompanieth that of Themistoeles, trampling under his feet, and going over the broken timber and shipwracke of a thousand

veffels: as for the victory of Cimon, it bringeth with it an hundred Phænician great gallies, from the rivers Eurymedon: that of Demosthenes and Cleon, comes from Sphatteria, with the targuet of captaine Brasidas wonne in the field, and a number of his fouldiers captive and bound in chaines: the victory of Conon, walled the city, and that of Thrasibulus reduced the people with victorie and liberty from Phyle: the fundry victories of Aleibiades fet upright the State of the city, which by the infortunate overthrow in Sicilia, reeled, and was ready to fall to the ground; and by the battels fought by Nelem and Androelm in Lydia and Caria : Greece law all Jonia raifed up againe and supported. And if a man demand of each one of the other victories, what benefit hath accrued unto the city by them? one will name the ifle Lesbes, and another Sames: to one will speake of the Euxine sea, and another of five hundred gallies, and he shall have another talke of ten thousand talents; over and above the honour and glory of trophæes. These be the causes why this city doeth folemnize and celebrate so many fettivall daies, and heercupon it is that it offreth facrifices as it doeth to the gods; not iwis for the victory of Aefchylus or Sophoeles, nor for the prizes of poetry: no, nor when Carcinus lay with Aerope or * Alidamus with *Thenames Hettor: But upon the fixth of May, even to this prefent day, the city holdeth fellivall the memory of that victory, in the plaines of Marathen: and the fixth day of [* another *] moneth, maketh a folemne offring of wine unto the gods, in remembrance of that victorie which Chabrias obtained neere unto the ifle Naxos: and upon the 12, day of the fame moneth, there is another facrifice likewife performed in the name of a thankes-giving to the gods, for their li-20 berty recovered, because upon the same day those citizens which were prisoners and in bondage within Phyle, came downcand returned into the city: upon the third day of March they wonnethe famous field of Plarea: and the fixteenth day of the faid March, they confecrated to Diana; for on that day this goddeffe shone bright, and it was full moone, to the victorious Greeks, before the ifle of Salamia. The noble victory which they archieved before the citie of Mantinea, made the twelfth day of September more holy, and with greater folemnity observed, for upon that day when all other their allies and affociates were discomfitted and put to flight, they onely by their valour wonne the field, and erected a tropha over their enemies who were upon the point of victory. See what hath raifed this city to fuch grandence! Lo what hath exalted it to fo high a pitch of honor! and this was the cause that Pindarus called the city of 20 Athens, the pillar that supported Greece; not for that by the tragedies of Phrynichus or Theshis, it fet the fortune of the Greeks upright, but in regard of this, that as himfelfe writeth in another place, along the coast of Artemisium:

Where Athens youth as poet Pindar faid, Of freedome first the glorious ground worke laid.

30

And afterwards at Salamis, at Myeale, and Plataes, having fetled it firme and strong as upon a rocke of diamonds, they delivered it from hand to hand unto others.

But haply fome man will fay: True it is indeed, all that ever poets doe, are no better than sports and pastimes: But what say you to oratours, they seeme to have some prerogative and ought to be compared with martiall captaines; whereupon it may feeme, as Aefchynes feoffing 40 merily, and quipping at Demosphenes faid: That there is some reason why the barre or pulpit for publicke orations, may commence action and processe against the tribunal seat of generals, and their chaire of estate. Is it then meet and reasonable that the oration of Hyperides intituled Plataicus, should be preferred before the victory which Ariftides wonne before the city Plarea? or the oration of Lyses against the thirty tyrants, goe before the matsacre and execution of them performed by Thras bulus and Archias? or that of Aeschines against Timarchus, being accused for keeping harlots, and a brothell house, before the aide that Phocion brought into the city of Byzantium, belieged? by which fuccour he impeached the Macedonians, and reprefled their infolent vilanies and outrages committed in abufing the children of the Athenian confederates? or shall we compare the oration of Demosthenes as touching the crowne, with 50 those publicke and honorable coroners which Themistocles received for setting Greece free? confidering that the most excellent place of all the said oration, and fullest of eloquence is that wherein the faid oratour conjureth the foules of those their auncestors, and citeth them for witneffes, who in the battell of Marathon exposed their lives with such resolution for the fastie of Greece? or shall we put in balance to weigh against woorthy warriours, these that in schooles teachyoong men rhetoricke, namely, such as Isocrates, Antiphon, and Isano? But certeine it is, that this city honored those valiant captaines with publicke funerals, and with great devotion gathered up the reliques of their bodies; yea, and the fame oratour canonized them for gods in heaven, when he sware by them, although he followed not their steps: and I feer ates who extolled and highly praifed thole who manfully fought & willing were to fpend their harbloud in the battell of Marathon, faying, that they made fo little account of their lives, as if their owne foules had bene else where, & other mens in their bodies, magnifying this their resolution, and the finall reckoning which they made of this life; yet when himfelfe was very old, upon occafion that one asked him how he did: answered: I doe even as an aged man, (having above 90. yeeres upon my backe) may do; and who thinketh death to be the greatest misery in the world: and how waxed he thus old: certes, not by filing and tharpening the edge of his fword, not by and now waxed no thing the point of his fpeares head, not with feouring & forbiffing his headpieceor morion; not with bearing armes in the field; not by rowing in the gallies: but for footh with couching, knitting, and gluing as it were together rhetoricall tropes and figures; to wit, his anuibeta, confifting of contraries, his parifa, standing upon equal weight and measure of fyllables, his homooptasa, precifely observing the like termination, and falling even of his clautes, polithing, fmoothing, and peruling his periods and fentences, not with the rough hammer and pickax, but with the file and plainer most exactly. No marvell then, if the man could not abide the rulling of harneis, and clattering of armour; no marvell (I fay) if hee feared the thocke and encounter of two armies, who was afraid that one vowell (houldrunne upon another, and led he thould pronounce a clause or number of a sentence which wanted one poore fyllable : for the very morrow after that Milliades had wonne that field upon the plaines of Ms- 20 rathon, he returned with his victorious armie into the citie of Athens: and Pericles having vanquithed and fubdued the Samians within the space of nine moneths, gloried more than Agamemnon did, who had much adoe to winne Troie, at the tenth yeeres end: whereas sources spent the time well necre of three, Olympiades in penning one oration which hee called Panegiriem: notwithstanding all that long time, he never served in the warres, nor went in anyembuffage: he built no city, nor was fent out as a captaine of a galley and warre-fhip, and yetthat verie timebrought foorth infinit warres : But during the space that Timetheus delivered the islle Eubaa out of bondage; all the while that Chabrias warred at sea about the island Naxes, and Iphicrates defeited and hewed in pieces one whole regiment of the Lacedæmonians, neere the port of Lechaum, and in which time the people of Athens having enfranchifed all cities, en. 30 dued Greece throughout with the same libertie of giving voices in the generall assemblie of the States, as they had themselves, hee fat at home in his house porting at his booke, seekingout proper phrases and choise words for the said oration of his; in which space, Perieles raised great porches, and the goodly temple Hecasompedes; and yet the comicall poet Craimus, fcoffing even at this Pericles, for that he went but flowly about his works, speaketh thus as touching his wal, halfe done and halfe vindone:

Inwords long fince our Peticles, hathrear d us up a wall, But in effect and very deed, he doth nothing at all.

Consider now I pray you a little, the base minde of this great professor of rhetoricke, who spent the ninth part of his life, in composing of one onely oration: but were it meet and reasonable to compare the orations of Demostheres as he was an oratour, with the martiall exploits of Demostheres being a captaine; namely, that which he made against the considerate folly of Conon, with the trophees which himselfe erected before Pylos, or that which hee wrote against Amarhuss as concerning slaves, with his woorthy service, whereby hee brought the Lacedzmonians to be slaves: neither in this respect, for that he composed one oration for the graunting of free bourgestero those who were newly come to inhabit Athens, therefore hedesered as much honour as Alcibrades did, who combined the Mantineaus and Elians in one

league to be affociates with the Athenians against the Lacedæmonians:
and yet this must needs be confessed, that his publicke
orations deserved this praise, that in his Philippiques, he inciteth the Athenians to
take armes, and commendeth the enterprise

of Leptines.

WHETHER



WHETHER OF THE TWAINE IS MORE

PROFITABLE, FIRE OR WATER.

The Summarie.

N this Academicke declamation, Plutarch in the first places alledgeth the reasons which attribute more prosit unto water. Secondly, heproposeth those that are in favor of the fire: whereunto bee seemeth the rather to encline, although hee resolveth not: wherein he followeth his owne maner of philosophizing upon naturall causes; namely, not to disfute either for or against onething: leaving unto the reader his owne libertie, to settle unto that which he shall see to be more probable.

WHETHER OF THE TWAINE is more profitable, Fire or Water.

He water is of all things be ft, And golde like fire is in request.

Thus faid the poet Pindarm: whereby it appeareth evidently, that he gives the fecond place unto fire. And with him accordeth Heford when he faith:

Chaos was the formost thing In all the world that had being.

For this iscetteine, that the most part of ancient philosophers called water by the name of Chios, ಹೌತಿಗೆಯೆಂಡ್, that is to say, for that it followeth so easily. But it we should stand onely upon testimonics

about this question, the proofe would be caried equally on both sides: for that there be in maner as many who thinke fire to be the primitive element and principle of all things, and the very 40 feed which as of it felfe it produceth all things, fo it receiveth likewife all into it felfe, in that univerfall conflagration of the world. But leaving the testimonies of men, let us consider apart the reasons of the one and the other, and see to whether side they will rather draw us. First therefore, to begin withall, may not this be laied for a ground? that a thing is to be judged more profitable, whereof we have at all times and continually need, and that in more quantitie than another? as being a toole or necessarie instrument, and as it were a friend at all seasons and every houre, and fuch as a man would fay, presenteth it selfe evermore to doe us service? As for fire, certeinly, it is not alwaies commodious unto us; nay, contrariwife, it otherwhiles doth moleft and trouble us; and in that regard we withdraw our felves farre from it : whereas water ferveth our turnes both in Winter and Summer, when wee are ficke, and when wee are whole, by 50 night and by day; neither is there any time or feafon, wherein a man standeth in no need of it. And this is the reason that they call the dead, anisarras, as one would say, and answer that is to say, without juice, or wanting moisture, and so by consequence deprived of life. Moreover, without fire a man hath oft continued a long time, but without water never. And withall, that which hathbene from the first beginning and creation of man, is more profitable than that which was invented afterwards. And there is no question, but that nature hath given us the one, to wit, water, for our necessarieuse; but the other (I meane fire) either fortune or industrie hath devifed and found out as an appendant and acceffarie. Neither can it be faid, what time of the world 00003

it was when as man had no water: nor ever read we in any records that one of the gods or demigods was the inventer therof; for it was at the very inftant with them: nay, what and we fay that it gave them their being? But the use of fire was but yesterday or the other day, to speake of, found out by Prometheus: fo that the time was when as men lived without fire; but void of water, our life never was. Now that this is no devised poeticall fiction, this daily and present life of ours doth plainly testifie: for there be at this day in the world divers nations that are mainteined without fire , without house , without hearth or chimney diving abroad in the open wide aire. And Diogenes the Cynicke, feldome or never had any use of fire, infomuch as having upon a time swallowed downe a polype fish raw: Loe (quoth he) my masters, how for your sake we put our felves in jeopardie: howbeit, without water there was never any man thought that either we to might live honeflly and civilly, or that our nature would possibly endure it. But what need is there that I should particularize thus, and go so neere, as to search farre into the nature of man? confidering that whereas there be formany, or rather fo infinit kinds of living creatures, mankinde onely in a maner knoweth the use of fire: whereas all the rest have their nourishment and food without the benefit of fire. Those that brouse, feed, flie and creepe, get their living by eatingherbes, roots, fruits and flesh, all without fire : but without water there is not one that can live, neither going or creeping on the land nor swimming in the sea, nor yet flying in the aire, True itis, I mult needs fay, that Ariflotle writeth, how some beafts there be, even of those that devoure flesh, which never drunke; but in very trueth, nourished they be by some moisture; Well then, that is more profitable without which no maner of life can confust or endure. Pro-20 ceed we farther, & paffe from those living creatures which use to feed upon plants & fruits, even unto the fame that are by us & them used for food: Some of them there be, which have no heat at all: others so little, as it can not be perceived. Contrariwise, moissure is that which causeth all kind of feeds to chit, to bud, to grow, and in the end to bring forth fruit: for what need I to alledge for this purpose either wine and oile or other liquors which we draw, presse out, or milke forth out of beafts paps, which we do fee dayly before our cies? confidering that even our wheat which seemeth to be adrie nuttiment, is engendred by the transmutation, putrefaction and diffusion of moisture. Furthermore, that is to be held more profitable, which bringeth withit no hurt nor dammage: but we all know that fire, if it breake forth, get head and be at libertie, is the most pernicious thing in the world; wheras the nature of water of it felfe doth never any harme, 30

Againe, of two things, that is held to be more commodious which is the simpler, and without preparation can yeeld the profit which it hath : but fire requireth alwaies fome fuccour and matter, which is the reason that the rich have more of it than the poore, and princes than private persons; whereas water is so kind and courteous, that it giveth it selfe indifferently to all sorts of people: it hath no need at all of tooles or instruments to prepare it for use; compleat and perfect it is in it selfe, without borowing ought abroad of others. Over and besides, that which be ing multiplied as it were and augmented, loseth the utilitie and profit that it had, is by consequence leffe profitable: and fuch is fire, refembling herein a ravenous wild beaft, which devourethand confumeth all that it commeth neete; in fo much as it were by the industrie and artificiall meanes of him who knoweth how to use it with moderation, rather than of the ownena-40 ture, that it doth any good at all 3 whereas water is never to be feared. Againe, of two things, that which can do good being both alone, and also in the company of the other, is the more profitable of the twaine: but fo it is, that fire willingly admitteth not the fellowship of water, nor by the participation thereof is any way commodious; whereas water is together with fire profitable, as we may see by the fountaines of hot water how they be medicinable, and verie sensibly is their helpe perceived. Never shall a man meet with any fire moist; but water as well hot as colde is ever more profitable to man. Moreover, water being one of the foure elements hath produced as one may fay, a fift, to wit the sea, and the same well neere as profitable as any one of the rest for many other causes besides, but principally in regard of commerce and trafficke. For whereas before time, mans life was favage, and they did not communicate one with another; this ele-50 menthath conjoined and made it perfect, bringing focietie and working amitte among men by mutuall fuccours and reciprocall retributions from one to the other. Heracittus faith in one place: if there were no funne, there had beene no night; and even as well may it be faid; Were it not for the fea, man had beene the most favage creature; the most penurious and needic, yea and the least respected in all the world: whereas now this element of the sea hath brought the vine out of the Indians as farre as Greece; and from Greece hath transported it unto the farthest provinces: likewise from out of Phanicia, the use of letters for preservation of the memorie of

things: ithath brought wine: it hath conveighed fruits into these parts, and hath beene the cause that the greatest portion of the world was not buried in ignorance. How then can it becotherwise, that water should not be more profitable, since it surnished us with another element?

But on the contrarie fide, peradventurea man may begin hereupon to make instance oppofitely in this manner: faying, that God, as a mafter-workeman having the foure elements before him, for to frame the fabricke of this world withall; which being repugnant and refuting one another, earth and water were put beneath, as the matter to be formed and fashioned; receiving order and disposition, yea and a vegetative power to engender and breed such as is imparted unto it by the other two, aire and fire, which are they that give forme and fashion unto them, yea and excite the other twaine to generation, which otherwise had lien dead without any motion. But of these two, fire is the chiefe and hath dominion, which a man may evidently know by this induction. For the earth if it be not enchasted by some hot substance, is barren, & bringeth forth nofruit: but when as fire spreadeth it selfe upon it, it insufeth into it a certaine power, which causeth it to swell (as it were) and have an appetite to engender. For other cause there can bee nonerendred why rocks, clifts, and mountaines be barren and drie, but this, that they have either no fire at all, or else participate verie little the nature thereof: in summe, so farre off is water from being of it felfe sufficient for the owne preservation or generation of other things, that without the aide of fire it is the cause of the owne ruine and destruction. For heat it is that keepeth water 20 in good estate, and preserveth it in her nature and proper substance, like as it doth all things besides: and looke where fire is away or wanteth, there water doth corrupt and putrifie; in such fort as the ruine and destruction of water, is the default of heat, as we may evidently see in pools, marishes, and standing waters, or whereforeer water is kept within pits and holes without iffue; for fuch waters in the end become putrified and flinke againe, because they have no motion, which having this propertie to ftirre up the naturall heat which is in everiething, keepeth those waters better which have a current and runne apace, in that this motion preferveth that kind heat which they have, And hereupon it is, that To live, in Grocke is expressed by (iv, for that few fig. fieth to boile. How then can it otherwise be, that of two things it thould not be more profitable which giveth being and effence to the other, like as fire doth unto water? Furthermore, that 30 thing, the utter departure whereof is the cause that a creature dieth, is the more profitable: for this is certaine and manifest, that the same without which a thing cannot bee, hath eiven the cause of being unto the same when it was with it. For we do see that in dead things there is a moisture, neither are they dried up altogether; for otherwise moist bodies would not putrifie, confidering that putteraction is the turning of that which is drie to be moult, or rather the corruption of humours in the flesh; and death is nothing else but an utter defect and extinction of heat: and therefore dead things be extreme cold, infomuch as if a man should fet unto them the very edge of rafours, they are enough to dull the fame through excessive cold. And we may see plainely, that in the veriebodies of living creatures, those parts which participate least of the nature of fire, are more fenselesse than any other, as bones and haire, and such as be farthest 40 remooved from the heart: and in manner all the difference that is betweene great and fmall creatures, proceedeth from the prefence of fire, more or leffe: for humiditie fimply it is not, that bringeth forth plants and fruits; but warme humiditie is it that doth the deed: whereas cold waters be either barren altogether, or not verie fruitful and fertill; and yet if water were of the owne nature fructuous, it must needs follow, that it felfe alone and at all times should be able to produce fruit: whereas we fee it is cleane contrarie; namely, that it is rather hurtfull to fruits.

And now to reason from another head and go another way to worke, to make use of fire as it is fire, need wee have not of water; nay, it hutteth rather, for it quencheth and putterh it out cleane: on the other side many there be who cannot tell what to doe with water without fire, for being made hot it is more profitable, and otherwise in the ownek inde huttfull. Of two things 50 therefore, that which can do good of it selfe without need of the others helpe, is better and more profitable. Moreover water yeeldeth commodity but after one fort onely, to wit, by touching, as when we seele it or wash and bathe with it: whereas fire serveth all the five senses & doth them good: for it is felt both neere at hand and also seene a farte of: so that among other meanes that it hath of profiting, no man may account the multiplicity of the uses that it affoordeth: for that a man should be at any time without fire it is impossible: nay be cannot have his first generation without it: and yet there is a difference in this kinde, as in all other things. The very sea it selses made more commodious by hear, so as it doth heat more by the agitation and current

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that it hath, than any other waters: for of it felfe otherwise it differeth not. Also for such as have no need of outward fire, we may not fay that they stand in need of none at all ; but the reason is because they have plenty and store of naturall heat within them; so that in this very point, the commodity of fire ought to be efteemed the more. And as for water, it is never in that good state, but some need it hath of helpe without: whereas the exellencie of fire is such, as it is content with it felle, and requireth not the aid of the other. Like as therefore, that captaine is to be reputed more excellent, who knowes to order and furnish a citie so as it hath no need of forcen allies; fo we are to thinke that among elements, that is the woorthier, which may often times confift without the fuccour and aide of another. And even as much may be faid of living creatures, which have least need of others helpe. And yet haply it may be replied contrariwife, that the thing is more profitable which we use alone by it selfe, namely, when by discourse of reason we are able to chule the better. For what is more commodious and profitable to men than reafon? and yet there is none at all in brute beafts. And what followeth heereupon ? Shall weinferre therefore that it is leffe profitable, as invented by the providence of a better nature, which is god ? But since we are fallen into this argument : What is more profitable to mans life than arts? but there is no art which fire devised not, or at least wise doth not maintaine: And hereupon it is, that we make Vulsan the prince and mafter of all arts. Furthermore, whereas the time and space of life is very short that is given unto man, as short as it is, yet sleepe as, Ariston laith, like unto a falle baily or publicane, taketh the halfe thereof for it felfe. True it is, that a man may lie awake, and not fleepe all night long; but I may aswell say that his waking would serve him in 20 small stead, were it not that fire presented unto him the commodities of the day, and put a difference betweene the darkenesse of the night and the light of the day. If then there be nothing more profitable unto man than life, why should we not judge fire to be the best thing in the world, fince it doth augment and multiply our life? Over and befides, that of which the five fenfes participate most, is more profitable: but evident it is, that there is not one of the faid fenses makethule of the nature of water apart and by it selfe, unlesse some aire or fire be tempered with it: whereas every fenfe findeth benefit of fire as of a vivificant power and quickening vertue: and principally our fight above the rest, which is the quickest of all the senses in the bodie, as being the very flame of fire, a thing that conformeth us in our faith and beliefe of the gods and as Plato faith, by the meanes of our fight we are able to conforme our foule to the motions of 20 celestiall bodies.



OF THE PRIMITIVE OR FIRST COLD.

The Summarie.

The have heere another declaration of Plutacch, wherein he examineth and disusses any after the maner of the Academicke philosophers, without deciding or determining any thing, a natural guession as souching Primitive colde. And in the very first entries thereof refute the bose who are of opinion that this sirst colde is the privation of heat: there and not as privation unto habitude. Then proceedeth he to dispute of the essence nature, and so function of this colde: for the cleering of which point, he examineth at large three opinions: the sirst, of the Stoicks, who attributes the primitive colde unto are: the second, of Empedocles and Chrysip Pus, who ascribe the cause thereof unto water. Unto all their reasons and arguments he maketh answer, and medineth to a third opinion; namely, that earth is that primitive colde. Which position he confirmenth by divers arguments, yet resolved he not, but leaveth it to the discretion of Phavotinus, unto whom he writeth, for to conferre all the reasons of the one part and the other, without resting in any particular opinion, supposing that to suffeed and hold his judgement in matters obscure and uncertaine,

is the wifer part of a philosopher, than to yeeld and grant his consent either to one part or the other. Wherein we may see, that in regard of naturall philosophie, our authour was of the Academicks seet: but at touching the morall part, we have seene before, and specially in divers treatises of the sommer tome, that he followesh of all the ancient philosophers, those who were least impure and corrupt, such to meant, as in all their discourses had no other light to direct them, but R ature.

OF THE PRIMITIVE OR first colde.



S there then (ô Phavorinus) a certaine primitive power and fubflance of cold, like as fire is of heat, by the prefence and participation whereof, ech one of the other things is faid to be cold? or rather are we to hold and fay, that cold is the privation of heat, like as darknes of light, and flation of mooving 3 and namely, confidering that cold is flationarie and heat motive? and the cooling of things which were hot, is not done by the entrance of any cold power, but by the departure of freat? for as foone as it is once gone, that which remaineth is altogether cooled; and the verie vapour and fleim which feething waters doe yeeld, paffeth away together

20 with the heat, which is the reason that refrigeration diminisheth the quantitie therof, in as much as it chafeth that heat which was, whithout the entrance of any other thing into the place? Or rather, may not this opinion be suspected? first and formost for that it overthroweth and taketh away many powers and puiffances, as if they were not qualities and habitudes really fublitting, but onely the privations and extinctions of qualities and habitudes: as for example, heavinefle of lightnesse, hardnesse of softnesse, blacke of white, bitter of sweete, and so of other semblablethings, according as ech one is in puissance contrarie unto an other and not as privation is opposite unto habit? Moreover, for as much as everie privation is idle and wholy without action, as blindnesse, deafnesse, filence and death, for that these bee the departures of formes, and the abolitions of substances, and not certaine natures nor reall substances 30 apart by themselves. We see that cold after it be entred and imprinted (as it were) within the bodie, breedeth no fewer nor leffe accidents & alterations than doth heat; confidering that many things become stiffe and congealed by cold, many things I fay, are staited, retained and thickened by the meanes thereof: which confiftence and stabilitie unapt to stirre and hard to bee moved, is not therefore idle, but it is weightie and firme, having a force and power to arrest and to hold in. And therefore privation is a defect and departure of a contrarie power; whereas many things be cooled, although they have plentic of heat within: and some things there be, which cold doth constraine and constipate so much the more, as it findeth them hotter, like as we may observe in iron red hot, when by quenching it becommet the harder. And the stoickephilofophers doe hold that the naturall fpirits enclosed within the bodies of yoong infants lying in 40 the wombe, by the cold of the ambient aire environing them about is hardened (as it were) and refined, and so changing the nature becommeth a soule. But this is a nice point and verie disputable; yet confidering that we see cold to be the efficient cause of many other effects, there is no reason to thinke that it is a privation. Furthermore, privation is not capable of more or lesse; for fo of twaine that fee not at all, the one is not more blind than the other: and of two who cannot speake, one is not more dombe than another; neither of twaine who live not, is one more dead than the other: but among cold things we may well admit more & leffe: overmuch and not overmuch, and generally, intentions and remiffions like as in those things that are hot, and therefore ech matter according as it suffreth more or leffe, by contrarie puissances produceth of it selfe some substances, cold and hot, more or lesse than others, for mixture and compositi-50 on there can be none of habitude with privation; neither is there any power which receiveth or admitteth the contrary unto it, to bring a privation, nor ever maketh it her companion, but yeeldeth and giveth place unto it. But contrariwife, cold continueth very well, as it is mixed with heat, unto a certeine degree; like as blacke with white colours; base notes with small and shill; sweet favours, with tart & austere; and by this affociation, mixture & accord of colours, founds, drogues, favours, and tafts; there are produced many compositions exceeding plea fant and delectable: for the opposition which is betweene habitude and privation, is alwaies a oddes and enmity, without any meanes of reconciliation, confidering that the effence and bee ing of the one, is the destruction of the other: whereas that fight which is occasioned by contrary powers, if it meet with fit time and leafon, ferveth oftentimes in good flead unto arts, and to nature much more, as well in other productions and procreations, as in changes and alterations of the aire: for in the orderly governance and rule whereof, God who difpenfeth and disposeth them, is called Harmonicall and Musicall; not in regard that he maketh a friendly accord betweene base and treble, or a loving medly of white and blacke, but for that by his providence he ordereth fo well the accord and difcord of the elementary heat & cold of the world, that in a certaine moderation, and without excelle they ftrive, and yet are reconciled agame, by taking from the one and the other that which was excessive and reducing them both in fuch a temperature and estate as apperteineth. Semblably, a man may sensibly seelecold as 10 well as hee doth heat; whereas you shall never see, heare, or touch, nor by any other sense perceive a privation, for it need to have some substance with it that doth affect the senses, and where there appeareth no fubftance, there we must suppose a privation, which is as it were the deniall of substance, like as blindnesse is the negation of sight; silence, of voice; void emptineffe, of a body: for never shall one perceive voidneffe by the tenfe of feeling; but where there is not a body to be touched, there we must suppose is vacuity: neither doe we heare silence, but when we heare no noise at all, then we understand there is silence: the like we are to say of those who are blinde, of the naked and difarmed, there is no fenfe of fuch privations, but rather a barre and negative of fenfe; and even fo, we should have no feeling and perceiverance of cold, but onely where there wanted heat, there we should have imagined cold to be, in case it were no- 20 thing elfe but a deprivation of heat; but if it be fo, that like as heat is felt by the warmth of the skinne, and diffusion or dilatation of the flesh; even so is cold also by the aftriction & condenfation thereof, therefore it appeareth evidently, that it hath a proper, principle, and particular fource, as well as heat: over and befides, in every kind, privation is one and fimple, but fubfiances have many differences, and as many powers and faculties, for filence is never but after one fort, whereas the voice is divers, one while troublefome, another while delightfome. Senses, colours, and figures femblably have like differences, which difpofe and affect diverfly the subject which they approchanto, but that which is not palpable, not coloured, and generally not qualified with any quality, hath no divertitie, but is ever alike. Now then, doth this cold refemble these privatives in such fort, as it worketh no diversitie in the accidents thereof? Or rather is 30 it cleane otherwise? for as sometimes there come unto bodies great and profitable pleasures by cold, so contrariwise it findeth as much hurt, as great displeasure, trouble, and encombrance thereby: by the offensive qualities whereof, the naturall heat of the body is not alwaies chaced quite foorth and cleane gone, but oftentimes being pent and reftreined within the body, it fighteth and maketh refiftance, which combat of two contraries, is called horrour, quaking or trembling; but when the faidheat is altogether vanquished, there must needs ensue a benumming and congelation of the body, but if heat get the victorie, it bringeth a certeine warmth and dilatation with pleafure, which Homer by a proper tearing calleth in the whereby it appecrethevidently unto every man, and as much by these accidents it is manifest, or rather more, than by any other arguments, that cold is opposit unto heat, as one substance to another, or as 40 pallion to passion; but not as privation to habitude, or negation to affirmation; and that it is nor the corruption or utter destruction of heat, but a nature and puissance active by it selfeand powerfull, to corrupt and destroy: for if it were not so, wee must not have winter to bee one of tower featons of the yeere; nor the north winde one of the fower windes; as if the one were but a privation of the hotte featon, and the other of the fouth winde, and we shall be driven to fay, that they have no proper fource and peculiar principle: howbeit there being in the univerfall world fower principall bodies, which in regard of their pluralitie, fimple nature and puillance, most men call the elements, and suppose them to be the principles of all other bodies, to wit, fire, water, aire, and earth, it followeth by necessary consequence, that there be also fower primitive and simple qualities: and which be they, if they be not heat, cold, moissure, 50 and drinefle? by the meanes whereof, the faid elements, both doe and fufferall things interchangeably? And like as in the elements and principles of Grammar, which be the letters, there be brieves and longs; like as also in musicke notes, there is high and lowe, base, and treble, and one of these is not the privation of the other; even so we are to thinke, that in these naturall bo dies of the elements, there be contrarieties of moilture against drinesse, and of colde against heat, if we will believe either reason or outward sense: or else we must say as old Anaximenes was of opinion; that there is nothing hot or colde abfolutely in substance; but wee must con-

fidently thinke that these be common passions of the matter comming, and occasioned after mutations: for he affirmeth that the thing which is pent, conftrict, and thickned in any matter, the fame is colde, and that which openeth & relaxeth it felfe, for so he useth this proper tearing sand therefore it is not without fome reason, that we commonly say, that a man bloweth both hot and cold out of his mouth; for the breath is cooled when it is preffed close betweene the lippes, but iffuing foorth of the mouth all open, it is hot by reason of the raritie and laxity thereof: howbeit, Aristotle faith; that it was meere ignorance in him thus to fay: For that when we breath with our mouthes wide open, wee let foorth the hot aire that is within us, but when we make a blaft with our lippes together, we blow not out the breath that arifeth from to our felves, but drive that aire from us that is before our mouth, which is cold, & felt before the other that commeth out of us. Seeing then that upon necessitie enforced by fo many reasons, we must admit a substance of colde and heat, proceed we and continue our first intent to search what is the fubstance, nature, and fountaine of the foresaid primitive colde? They then who fav that flarknesse and stiffenesse for colde, trembling and quaking of the body, and the staring and standing of haires upright, and such like accidents and passions, are occasioned by certeme triangular formes with unequal fides which are within our bodies, although they faile and miffe the marke in particularity: yet foit is, that they fetch the beginning from whence they should, for furely the foundation and original of this inquifition ought to be drawen as it were from the goddeffe Vesta, after the common proverbe, even from the universall nature of all things. And 20 hecrein it secmeth, that a philosopher most of all differeth from an empiricke physician, a husbandman, a minstrell, and other such particular artificers, whom it suffiseth to know and understand the last and conjunct causes. For so it be, that a physician doe comprehend the neerest and next cause of his patients malady, for example, of an ague, that it is a shooting orfalling of the bloud out of the veines into the arteries; and the husbandman conceive that the cause of blafting or Maying his corne, is an hot gleame of the funne after a shower of raine; and the plaier upon the fluites comprile the reason of the base found, is the bending downward of his instrument, or the bringing of them one neere unto another: it is sufficient for any of these to proceed to their proper worke and operation: But a naturall philosopher who searcheth into the trueth of things, onely for meere knowledge and speculation, maketh not the know-30 ledge of these last causes the end, but rather taketh from them his beginning, and arifeth from them to the primitive and highest causes. And therefore well did Plato and Democritue, who fearching into the causes of heat and of heavinesse, staicd not the course of their inquisition, when they came to fire and earth, but referring and reducing things fenfible unto intelligible principles, proceeded forward, and never stated untill they came unto the least parcels as it were to the smallest seeds and principles thereof. Howbeit, better it were first to handle and discusse these sensible things, wherein Empedocles, Straton, and the Stoicks do repose the effences of all powers: the Stoicks attributing the primitive colde unto aire, but Empedocles and Straton unto water: and another peradventure would inppose the earth rather to be the fubstantiall subject of cold. But first let us examine the opinions of these 40 before named. Confidering then that fire is both hot and shining ; it must needs be that the nature of that which is contrarie unto it, should be colde and darke: for obscuritie is opposite unto brightneffe, like as cold to heat: and like as darkneffe and obscuritie doth confound and trouble the fight; even so doth colde the sense of feeling: whereas heat doth dilate the sense of him that toucheth it, like as elecrenesse the fight of him that seeth it: and therefore we must needs fay, that the thing which is principally darke and miltie, is likewife colde in nature. But that the aire above all things els is dimme and darke, the very poets were not ignorant: for the aire they call darkenesse, as appeareth by these verses of Homer:

For why, the aire stood thicke the shows about,

And no moone shine from heaven showed throughout.

50 And in another place:

The aire anon he foone diffatch's, and miss did drive away: With thus, the sunne stone out full bright, and battell did display.

And hereupon it is, that men call the aire wanting light 30 season as one would say, xwire edus, that is to say, void of light: and the grosse aire which is gathered thicke together, rise @, by way of privation of all light. Airealso is called \$200 and \$200 s, that is to say, a mill: and looke what

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things foever hinder our fight, that we cannot fee thorow, be differences all of the aire; and that part of it which can not be seene and hath no colour, is called alone, that is to say, and it, invisible, azeror, which is as much to say, as azeros, for want of colour. Like as therefore the aire remaineth darke, when the light is taken from it; even so when the heat is gone, that which remaineth, is nothing but colde aire. And therefore, such aire by reason of coldnesse, is named Tartaru, which Hestodus seemeth to infinuate by these words, and processing that is to say, the airie Tartarus; and to tremble and quake for cold, he expresseth by this verbe, represelent. These are the reasons allodged in this behalte. But forasimuch as corruption is the change of anything into the contrary, let us confider whether it be truely faid, The death of fire is the birth of aire? For fire dieth as living creatures, either quenched by force, or by languishing and going 10 out of it selfe. As for the violent quenching and extinction thereof, it sheweth evidently, that it turneth into aire: for smoake is a kinde of aire, and according as Pindarus writeth,

The vapour of the aire thicke,

Is wont against the smoake to kicke. And not onely that, but we may see also that when a slame beginneth to die for want of nourishment, as in lamps and burning lights, the very top and head thereof doth vanish and resolve into a darke and obscure aire: and this may sufficiently be perceived, by the vapour which after we are bathed or fit in a flouph, flieth and fleimeth up along our bodies, as allo by that fmoake which arifeth by throwing cold water upon; namely, that heat when it is extinguithed, is converted into aire, as being naturally opposite unto fire: whereupon it followeth necessarily, that 20 the aire was fulf darke and cold. But that which is more, the most violent and forcible impress. on inhodies by cold, is congealation, which is a passion of water, & action of the aire; for water of it felfe is given to forcad and flow, as being neither folide nor compact and faft by nature; but hard it becommeth, thicke also and stiffe, when it is thrust close to by the aire, and cold together

comming betweene: and therefore thus we fay commonly: If after South, the North-winde straight do blow,

We Shall be fure anon to have some snow. For the South winde prepareth the matter which is moisture, and the aire of the North winde comming upon it, doth frize and congeale the same: which appeareth manifestly in snow, for no fooner hath it evaporated and exhaled a little the thinne and colde aire in it, but immediatly 30 it resolveth and runneth to water. And Aristotle writeth, that plates and pluminets of lead doe melt and resolve with the cold and rigor of Winter, so soone as water only commeth unto them and be frozen upon them. And the aire (as it should seeme) by pressing such bodies together with colde, breaketh and knappeth them afunder. Moreover, the water that is drawen out of a well or fpring, is fooner frozen and turned to ice, than any other, for that the airchath more power over a little water, than a great deale. And if a man draw up a small quantitie of water in a bucket out of a pit or well, and let the fame downe againe into the well, yet to, as the veffell touch not the water, but hang in the aire, and so continue there but a while, that water will be much colder than that which is in the bottome of the well: whereby it appeareth manifeltly, that the primitive cause of cold, is not in water, but in aire. And that so it is, the great rivers will testifie, 40 which never are frozen to the bottome, because the aire is not able to pierce and enter so low, but as much as it can take holde of with the colde, either in touching or approching neere unto it, so much it frizeth and congealeth. And this is the reason that Barbarians when they are to paffe great rivers frozen over with ice, fend out foxes before the: for if the ice he not thicke, but Superficiall, the foxes hearing the noise of the waterrunning underneath, returne backe againe. Some also that are disposed to fish, do thaw and open the ice with casting hot water upon it, and fo let downe their lines at the hole; for then will the fifthes come to the bait and bite. Thus it appeareth that the bottome of the river is not frozen, although the upper face thereof fland all over with an ice, and that fo strong, that the water thereby drawen and driven in so hard, is able to cruth and breake the boats and veffels within it; according as they make credible relation unto 50 us, who now doe winter upon the river Donow with the emperour, And yet, without all these farre-fet examples, the very experiments that we finde in our owne bodies, doe testifieno lesse: for after much bathing or fweating, alwaies we are more colde and chill; for that our bodies being then open and refolved, we receive at the pores, cold together with aire in more abundance. The fame befalleth into water it felfe, which both fooner cooleth and groweth also colder after it hath beene once made hot : for then more subject it is to the injurie of the aire : considering also that even they who fling and cast up scalding water into the aire, do it for no other purpose,

but to mingle it with much aire. The opinion then of him, O Phavorinu, who affigueth the first cause of cold unto aire, is founded upon such reasons and probabilities as these. As for him who ascribeth it unto water, he laieth his ground likewise upon such principles : for in this maner writeth Empedocles:

Beholde the Sunne how bright alwaies, and hot he is beside, But raine is ever blacke and darke, and colde on every side.

For in oppofing cold to heat, as blackneffe unto brightneffe, he giveth us occasion to collect to and inferre, that as heat and brightneffe belong to one and the fame fubstance, even so cold and blackneffe to another. Now that the blacke hew proceedeth not from aire, but from water, the very experience of our outward fenfes is able to proove : for nothing waxeth blacke in the aire, but every thing in the water. Do but cast into the water and drench therein a locke of wooll or peece of cloth beit never so white, you shal when you take it foorth againe, see it looke blackish, and so will it continue, untill by hear the moisture be fully sucked up and dried, or that by the preffe or some waights it be squeized out. Marke the earth, when there falleth a showre of raine, how every place whereupon the drops fall, seemes blacke, and all the rest beside retaineth the fame colour that it had before. And even water it felfe, the deeper that it is, the blacker hew it hath, because there is more quantity of it: but contrariwise, what part soever thereof is neere

20 unto aire, the fame by and by is lightforne and cheerefull to the eie.

Confider among other liquid fubstances, how oile is most transparent, as wherein there is most aire: for proofe wherof, see how light it is; and this is it which causeth it to swim above all other liquors, as being carried aloft by the meanes of airc. And that which more is, it maketh acalme in the sea, when it is flung and sprinkled upon the waves, not in regard of the slipery smoothnesse, whereby the windes do glide over it and will take no hold, according as Aristosle faith; but for that the waves being beaten with any humor whatfoever, will fpred themselves and ly even; and principally by the meanes af oile, which hath this speciall and peculiar property above all other liquors, that it maketh clere, and giveth meanes to fee in the bottome of the waters, forthat humidity openeth and cleaveth when aire comes in place: and not onely yeel-30 dethacleere light within the fea to Divers who fifth ebb in the night for fpunges, and plucke them from the rocks whereto they cleave, but also in the deepest holes thereof, when they spure it out of their mouths, the aire then is no blacker than the water, but leffe colde: for triall heerof, looke but upon oile, which of all liquors having most aire in it, is nothing cold at all, and if it frize at all, it is but gently, by reason that the aire incorporate within it, will not suffer it to gather and congeale hard: marke worke men also and artisanes, how they doe not dippe and keepe their needles, buckles, and claspes, or other such things made of iron, in water, but in oile, for feare left the excessive colde of the water would marre and spoile them quite. I Rand the more hecreupon, because I thinke it more meet to debate this disputation by such proofes, rather than by the colours; confidering that fnowe, haile, and ice, are exceeding 40 white and cleere, and with all most colde; contrariwise, pitch is hotter than hony, and yet you fee it is more darke and duskith. And heere I cannot chuse but woonder at those who would needs have the aire to be colde, because for footh it is darke; as also that they consider not how others take and judge it hot, because it is light: for tenebrositie and darknesse be not so familiar and necre cousens unto colde, as ponderositie and unweldinesse be proper thereto; for many things there be altogether void of heat, which not withflanding are bright and cleere: but there is no coldething light and nimble, or mounting upward; for clouds the more they stand upon the nature of the aire, the higher they are caried and flie aloft, but no sooner resolve they into a liquid nature and substance, but incontinently they fall and loofe their lightnesse and agilitic, no leffe than their heat, when colde is engendred in them: contrariwife, when heat commeth 50 in place, they change their motion against to the contrary, and their substance mounterh upward to foone as it is converted into aire. Neither is that supposition true as touching corruption; for every thing that perisheth is not transmuted into the contrary: but the tructh is, all things are killed and die by their contrary: for so fire being quenched by fire turneth into aire. And to this purpose Aeschylus the poer faid truely, although tragically, when hee called water the punishment of fire, for these be his words:

maie บังโพp Sixlus muess.

The water stay, which fire doth slay.

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And Homer in a certaine battell opposed Vulcane to the river, and with Neptune matched pollo, not fo much by way of fabulous fiction, as by phylicall and naturall reason: and as for Archilochus, a wicked woman, who meant cleane contrary to that which the faid and thewed, wrote elegantly in this wife:

Of Primitive colde.

The crafty queane in right hand water cold,

And in the left, hot fire did closely hold. And among the Perfians the most effectuall maner of supplication and that which might in no wife be rejected and denied, was, if the suppliant with fire in his hand entred into a river, & there menaced to fling it into the water, if he might not have his request granted: & then he obtained verily his peritio, but afterwards punished he was for that threatning which he used, as being wic- 10 ked, wretched & unnatural. And what proverbe is there readier in every mans mouth than to fay, when we would fignify an unpossible thing, This is to mingle fire and water together? which tefifieth thus much, that water is the mortall enimy unto fire, warring with it, punishing & quenching it, and not the aire, which receiveth & entertaineth fire, & into the substance whereof it is transmuted: for if that into which a thing is turned when it perisheth, were contrary unto it, then fire should be more contrary to aire than water is. For aire when it doth gather and thicken is converted into water, but when it is made more fubtil it refolveth into fire: as also in like case, water by rarefaction is refolved into aire and by condenfation becommeth earth, not upon any enmity or contrariety that it hath to these both, as I take it, but rather by reason of some amity and kindred that is between them. Wel, whether way of these two it is that these philosophers 20 will take, they overthrow still their intent and purpose. But to say that it is the aire which caufeth water to frize and become yee, it is without all fense and most absurd: for we see that the very aire it felfe is never conglaciate nor frozen, nor hardened, confidering that mifts, fogs and clouds are no congealations, but onely gatherings and thickenings of a moilt and vapourous aire : for the true aire indeed which hath no vapour at all and is altogether drie, admittethno fuch refrigeration as may alter it to that degree and height. And certeine mountaines there be which are not subject either to clouds, mists, or dewes, for that their heads reach up to that tegion of the aire which is pure and exempt from all humidity : wherby it is apparent, that thele gatherings and thickenings which are scene in the aire beneath, proceed from cold and mossiture, which is mingled therewith & ruuneth from els where. As for the bottoms of great rivers which 30 be never frozen to yee; great reason there is of it: for that the upper part being glazed over with ice, suffreth not the exhalation which atifeth from beneath to paffe thorow, but keepethit enclosed & striketh it downward, wherby is engendred a certaine heat in the water that runneth in the bottome. And hecreof we may fee a faire demonstration in this, that when the yee is broken, the water rifeth up, and there mounteth withall a great quantity of vapours and exhalations; which is the reason also that the bellies and other concavities within the bodies of living creatures, are alwaies hotter in winter, for that they hold and containe the heat, which the coldneffe of the circumstant aire driveth inward. As for the drawing & flinging up of water into the aire, it taketh not onely the heat away from waters but also their cold, and therefore they that defire to have their snow or the liquor expressed out of it exceeding cold, moove it as little as 40 they can, for this stirring chaseth away the colde both of the one and the other. But that it is the inward power of the water and not of the aire that doth it, a man may thus discourse and begin againe: First and formost, it is not probable that the aire being so neere as it is to the elementarie fire, touching also as it doth that ardent revolution, and being touched of it againe, hath a contrary nature and power unto it: neither is it possible that it should be so, considering that their two extremities are contignate, yea, and continuate one to the other: neither foundethit and is conformable to reason, that nature hath sastened with one tenon (as they say) and placed to neere together the killer and that which is killed, the confumer and that which is confumed; as if the were not the mediatressebetweene them of peace, unitie audaccord, butrather the workmittreffe of warre, debate and discord. For surely her order and custome is not to 50 joine front to front, substances that be altogether contrarie, and open enemies one to the other; but to place betweene them fuch as participate with the one and the other, which are lo feated, disposed and interlaced in the middle, as that they tend not to the destruction, but to the affociation of two contraries. Such a fituation and region hath the aire in the world, being fored under the fire, and before the water, for to accommodate and frame it felfe both to the one and the other, and to conjoine and linke them both together, being of it selfeneither hot nor colde, but is as it were a medley and temperature of them both; not (I fay) a pernicious mixture, but a gra-

cious, which gently enterteineth and receiveth these contrarie extremities. Furthermore, the aire is alwaies equall, and yet the Winter is not ever more colde a little: but some parts of the world be cold and exceeding moift; others colde and as dry, and that not calually and by fortune, but for that one and the fame fubiliance is susceptable both of heat and colde. For the greater part of Africke is hot and dry, alrogether without water. And those who have travelled through Scithia, Thracia and Pontus, doe report that there be exceeding great lakes therein, and that those kingdoms be watered with many mighty deepe rivers; also that the countries in the midft betweene, and those parts which adjoyne upon those huges, meres, and fens be extreeme colde, by reason of the vapours that arise from them. As for Positionius when he faith that the to cause of that moisture is this, that the fenny and morish aire is ever fresh and moist, he hath not folved the question which was probable, but made it more doubtfull and without probability; for the aire feemed not alwaies to much colder as it is more fresh, in case cold be not engendred ofmoisture: and therefore Homer faid much better:

The winde from river, if that it hold,

Is alwaies bleake, and blowes full cold. as if he pointed with his very finger to the fource and fountaine of colde. Moreover, our fense doth oftentimes beguile and deceive us, asnamely, when we ctouch wooll or clothes that be colde, for we thinke that they be moift and wet, for that there is one substance common to both these qualities, and both these natures be neighbours and familiar. Also in those climates 20 of the world where the winter is extreme hard and rough, the colde many times cracketh and breaketh vessels of brasse and of earth; nor any I meane that is voide and emptie, but all full, by reason that the water by the coldnesse thereof doth violence unto them: howsoever Theophrastus thinketh, that it is the aire that bursteth such vessels; using colde as it were a spike or great naile to doe the feat. But take heed that this be not rather a prety & elegant speech of his, than founding to trueth; for if aire were the cause, then should vessels full of pitch or milke, fooner burft than other. More likely it is therefore, that water is colde of it felfe and primitive ly, for contrary it is to the heat of fire, in regard of that coldnesses, like as to the drinesse thereof, in respect of humidity. To be briefe, the property of fire ingenerall, is to dissipate, divide, and fegregate; but contrariwife, of water to joine, conglutinate, unite, and binde, knitting and 30 cloting together by the vertue of moisture. And this makes me thinke that Empedacles upon this occasion, ever and anon calleth fire a pernicious debate, but water a fast amity, for sewell and food of fire, is that which turneth into fire, and every thing turneth which is most proper and familiar; as for that which is contrary, the fame is hardly to be turned, as water which of it felfe it is impossible to burne, causing both greene or wet herbs, as also most or drenched wood hardly to take fire, and to in the end with much a doe, they kindle and catch fire, although the fame benotlight and cleere, but darke, dimme, and weake, because the viridity or greenenesse by the meanes of colde, fighteth against the heat, as his naturall enemie.

Peifing now and weighing thefe reasons, conferre them with the others. But for that Chryfipus esteeming the aire to be the primitive colde, in that it is dimme and darke, hath made 40 mention of those onely who say, that water is more distant and farther remote from the elementary fire, than the aire, and being defirous to fay fomewhat against them: By the same reason (quoth he) may a man aswel assume that the earth is the faid primitive colds for that it is farthest from the elementary fire, rejecting this argument and reason as salse, and altogether absurd. Me thinks that I can well thew that the earth it felfe wanteth no probable proofes, laying my foundation even upon that which Chrysppas hath taken for the aire : And what is that? namely, because it is principally and above all things els obscure & dark; for if he taking two contrarictics of powers, thinketh of necessitie the one must follow upon the other; certes, there be infinitoppolitions and repugnances betweene the earth and the aire, for the earth is not oppolit unto the aire, as heavy unto light, nor as that which bendeth downward unto that which tendeth 50 upward onely; nor as maffie, unto rare; or flow and ftedfaft unto quicke and mooveable; but as motheavy unto most light; most massic unto most rare; and finally, as immooveable in it felfe, unto that which mooveth of it felfe; or as that which holdeth fill the center in the mids, unto that which turneth continually round. Were it not then very abfund to fay 3 that upon fo many, and those so great oppositions, this also of heat and cold did not likewise jointly follow? Yes verily: but fire is electe and bright, and earth darke: nay rather it is the darkett of all things in the world, and most without light; for aire is that which doth participate of the first light & brightnesse, which soonest of all other burneth: being also once full thereof, it distributes that Pppp 2

light every where, exhibiting it felte as the very body of light; for as one of the Dithyrambick poets faid:

No fooner doth the funne appeere In our horizon faire and cleere, But with his light the pallace great Of sire and windes is all repleat.

And then anon it descendeth lower, and imparteth one portion thereof to the lakes and to the fea; the very bottomes of the rivers doe rejoice and laugh for joy, fo fatte foorth as the aire pierceth and entreth into them: the earth onely, of all other bodies, is evermore destitute of light, and not penetrable with the radiant beames of finne and moone; well may it be warmed alittle, and prefent it felfe to be fomented with the heat of the funne, which entreth a little way into it, but furely the folidity of it will not admit the resplendent light thereof; onely it is superficially illuminated by the sunne, for all the bowels and inward parts of it be called Orphne, Chaos, and Ades, that is to fay, darkeneffe, confusion, and hell it selfe: and as for Erebus, it is nothing elfe, to fay a truth, but terrestrial obscurity, and mirke darknesse within the earth. The poets feigne the night to be the daughter of the earth; and the mathematicians by reason and demonstration, proove, that it is no other thing than the shadow of the earth, opposed against the sume: for the aire as it is full of darknesse from the earth, so it is replenished with light from the funne; and looke how much of the aire is not lightned not illuminate, to wit all the thadow that the earth caffeth, fo long is the night, more or leffe; and therefore both man 20 and beaft make much use of the aire without their houses, although it be night season; and as for beatls, many of them goe to reliefe and palturage in the night, because the aire hath yet fome reliques and traces left of light, and a certeine influence of brightnesse, dispersed heere and there; but he that is enclosed within house, and covered with the rouse thereof, is as it were blinde and full of darkneffe, as one environed round about within the earth: and verily the hides and hornes of beafts, folong as they bee hole and found, transmit no light through them: let them be cut, fawed, pared, and scraped, they become transparent, because aire is admitted into them. And I thinke truely that the poets eftfoones heereupon call the earth blacke, meaning thereby darke and without light, to that the most important and principall opposition, between cleere and darke, is found rather in the earth than in the aire: But this is impertinent to our 30 question in hand; for we have shewed already that there be many cleere things which are knowen to be cold, and as many browne and darke which be hot.

But there be other qualities and puissances more proper unto colde, namely, ponderositie, fleadineffe, foliditie, & immutability, of which the aire hath not fo much as one, but the earth in part hath them all more than the water. Furthermore, it may be faide, that colde is that which most sensibly is hard, as making things stiffe and hard : for Theophrastus writeth, that those fithes which be frozen with extreme rigour of colde, if they be let fal upon the ground, breake and knap in pieces, no leffe than glaffes or earthen veffels: and your felfe have heard at Delphi, of those who passed over the hill Pernassus, to succour and relieve the women called B.iceh.e. who were furprized with a tharpe pinching winde and drifts of fnow; that their cloakes 40 and mantels through extremity of colde, were as Harke and Hiffe as pieces of wood, infomuch as they brake and rent into tattars, so soone as they went about to stretch them out. To say yet more, excellive colde caufeth the finewes to be fo stiffe, as hardly they will bend: the tongue likewife for thanke, that it will not flirre or utter any voice, congealing the moift, foft, and tender parts of the body; which being feene by daily experience, they proceed to gather this consequence: Every power and facultie which getteth the maistrie, is woont to turne and convert into it selfe, that over which it is predominant: whatsoever is overcome by heat, becommeth fire; that which is conquered by spirit or winde, changeth into aire; what falleth into water, if it get not foorth againe, dissolveth, and in the end runneth to water. Then must it needs follow, that fuch things as are exceeding colde, degenerate into that primitive colde 50 whereof we speake: nowexcessive colde is first; and the greatest alteration that can be devised by colde, is when a thing is congealed & made an ice, which congelation altereth the nature of the thing formuch, that in the end it becommeth as hard as a stone; namely, when the cold is to predominant, as well all the moisture of it is congealed, as the heat that it had driven out perforce. Heereupon it is that the earth toward her center, and in the bottom thereof, is frozenalrogether, and in maner nothing else butice, for that the excessive colde which never will yeeld and relent, there dwelleth and abideth continually, as being thrust and driven into that corner,

farthest off from the elementary fire. As touching those rocks, cragges, and cliffes, which we fee to appeare out of the earth: Empedocles is of opinion, that they were there let, driven up, fulleined, & supported by the violence of a certeine boiling and swelling fire within the bowels of the earth: but it should seeme rather, that those things out of which all the heat is evaporate and flowen away, be congealed and conglaciat fo hard by the meanes of colde: and this is the cause that such cragges be named in Greeke #124, as one would say, congealed: toward the head and toppe whereof, a man shall see in them many places blacke againe, namely, whereas the hear flew out when the time was, fo as to fee to, one would imagine that they had herretofore beene burnt; for the nature of colde is to congeale all things, but some more, others leffe; to but above all, those in which it is naturally at the first inharent: for like as the property of fire is to alleviate, it cannot otherwise be, but the hotter that a thing is, the more light also it is : and so the nature of moisture is to soften; insomuch as the moister any thing is, the softer also it is found to be : femblably, given it is to colde, to aftringe and congeale : it followeth therefore of necessity, that whatfoever is most aftrict and congealed, as is the earth, is likewife the coldett; and looke what is colde in the highest degree, the same must be principally and naturally that colde, whereof we are in question. And thereupon we must conclude, that the earth is both by nature colde, and also that primitive colde; a thing apparent and evident to our very sense; for dirt and clay is colder than water: and when a man would quickly fuffocate and put out a fire he throweth earth upon it. Blacke-fmithes alfo, and fuch as forge iron, when they fee it redde hot, 20 and at the point to melt, they firew upon it finall powder, or grit of marble or other flones that have fallen from them, when they were squared and wrought, for to keepe it from resolving too much, and to coole the excessive heat: the very dust also that is used to bee throwen upon the bodies of wreftlers, doth coole them and reprefletheir sweats. Moreover, to speake of the commodity that caufeth us every yeere to remoove and change our lodgings, what is the meaning of it? winter maketh us to feeke for high lofts, and fuch chambers as be farte from the earth; contrariwife, fummer bringeth us downe to the halles and parlours beneath, driving us to feeke retiring roomes, and willingly we love to live in vaults within the bofome of the earth: doe we not thus thinke you, directed by the inflinct of nature, to feeke out & acknowledge that which is naturally the primitive colde? and therefore when winter comes, we lay for houses 30 and habitations neere the fea fide, that is to fay, we flie from the earth as much as we can, because of colde, and we compasse our selves with the aire of the sea, for that it is not : contrariwise, in summer time, by reason of immoderate heat, we cover mediterranean places faither within the land, and farre remooved from the sea, not for that the aire of it selfe is colde, but because it seemeth to spring and budde as it were out of the primitive colde, and to have a tin-Eture as I may fo fay, after the maner of iron from the power which is in the earth: and verily among running waters, those that arise out of rocks, and descend from mountaines, are evermore coldeft: but if welles and pittes, fuch as be deepest yield the coldest waters: for by reason of their profunditie, the aire from without is not mingled with these; and the others passe thorough pure and sincere earth, without the mixture of aire among. 40 As for example, such is the water neere the cape of Tanarus, which they call Styx, destilling by little and little out of the rocke, and so gathered unto an head: which water is so extreeme colde, that there is no veffell in the world will holde it, but onely that which is made of an affes hoofe; for put it into any other, it cleaveth and breaketh it. Moreover, we heare physicians fav, that to speake generally, all kinds of earth do restraine and coole; and they reckon unto us a number of minerals drawen out of entrails of the earth, which in the use of physicke yeeld unto them an aftringent and binding power: for the very element it felfe from whence they come, is nothing incifive, nor bath the vertue for to flirre and extenuate; it is not active and quicke, not emollitive, nor aprito spread; but firme, steadfast and permanent, as a square cube or die, and not to be removed: whereupon, being maffic and ponderous as it is, the colde also thereof ha-50 ving a power to condensate, constipate and to expresse forthall humors, procureth by the asperity and inequalitie of the parts, flakings, horrors and quakings in our bodies: and if it prevaile more and be predominant, so that the heat be driven out quite and extinct, it imprinteth an habitude of congealation and dead stupefaction. And hereupon it is, that the earth either will not burne at all, or els hardly and by little and little: whereas the aire many times of it felfe fendeth forth flaming fire, it (hooteth and floweth, yea, and feemeth as inflamed, to lighten and flash: and the humiditie which it hath, ferveth to feed and nourish the hear thereof. For it is not the Pppp 3 folide and spent, the solide substance remaineth drie, and is nothing els but ashes. As for those who labour and endevour to shew by demostration, that the same also is changed and consumed, for which purpose they sprinckle it estsoones with oile, or temper it with greace, and so put it into the fire againe, prevaile nothing at all: for when the fattie and uncteous substance is burnt, there

NATURALL QUESTIONS.

What is the cause that sea water nourisheth no trees?



Sit for the same reason, that it nourisheth no land-creatures? for that aplant according to the opinions of Plato, Anaxagoras and Demoeritus, is a living creature of the land. For fay that it ferves for food to plants growing within the fea, as also to fishes, and is to them their drinke, yet we must not inferre thereupon, that it feedeth trees that be without the fea and upon the land; for neither can it pierce downe to their rootes, it is fo groffe, nor rife up in the nature of fappe, it is fo heavy. That it is groffe, heavy, and terreftriall, appeareth by many other reasons, and by this especially, for that it beareth up and susteineth both vessels and swimmers more than any other.

Or is it principally for this, that whereas nothing is more offenfive and hurtfull to trees than drinesse, the water of the sea is very deficuative? which is the reason that falt withstandeth putrifaction formuch as it doth, and why the bodies of those who are washed in the sea, have in-20 continently their skin exceding dry and rugged.

Or rather may it not be, for that oile is naturally an enimy to all plants, causing as many of them as are rubbed or anointed therewith to die ? Now the fea water standeth much upon a kinde of fattinesse, and is very unceous, in such fort that it will both kindle and also increase fire: and therefore we give warning and forbid to throw fea water into flaming fire.

Or is it because the water of the sea is bitter and not potable, by reason (as Aristotle faith) of the burnt earth that is mixed with it? like as lie, which is made by cafting fresh water aloft upon after : for the running and paffing through the faid after marreth that sweet and potable quality of the water: as also within our bodies, the unnaturall heats of an ague turne humors into cholar. As for those plants, woods or trees, which are faid to grow within the red sea, if they 30 doc, certainly they beare no fruit; but nourished they are by the fresh rivers, which bring in with them a deale of mud; an argument heereof is this: for that fuch grownor farre within the fea but neere unto the land.

What might the reason be, that trees and seeds are nourished better with raine, than any other water that they can be watered withall?

S it for that raine as it falleth, by the dint that it maketh, openeth the ground and causeth litle holes, whereby it pierceth to the rootes, as Laten faith?

Or is this untrue? and Latus was ignorant hecreof, namely that morifh plants and fuch as 40 grow in pooles, as the reed mace, canes and ruthes, will not thrive if they want their kinde raines in due scason But true is that which Artstorle faith: That the raine water is all fresh and new made, whereas that of meeres and lakes is old and stale.

Or haply, this carieth more shew and probabilitie, with it than trueth, for certeine it is, that the water of fountaines, brookes, and rivers, come as new and fresh as they: for as Heraclitus faith: It is impossible for a man to enter into one and the same rivertwice, because new water commeth still, and runneth away continually, and yet these nourish lesse than raine wa-

Is this therefore the reason, because the water from heaven is light, subtile, aircous, and mixed with a kinde of spirit, which by that subtilitie, entreth soone, and is easily caried to the 50 root of plants: and heereupon in the fall it raifeth little bubbles, because of the aire and spirit enclosed within.

Or doth raine water nourish more in this regard, that it is sooner altered and overcome by that which it nourisheth; for this is it that we call concoction properly: contrariwise, cruditie and indigestion, when things are so strong and hard that they will not suffer; for such as be thinne, fimple, and unfavory, are most easily and soonest altered : of which kinde is raine water, for being engendred as it is in the aire and the winde, it falleth pure and cleane; whereas fpringing waters, are like to the earth, out of which they iffue, or the places through which they paffe,

remaine still evermore behinde, the terrestrial parts. And therefore earth being not onely immooveable in respect of fituation, but also immutable in regard of the very substance, the ancient called 65ta, that is to fay, vefta, standing as it were fure and stedfast within the habitation of the gods: of which steadinesse and congealation, the bond and linke is cold, as Archilochus the Naturallilt faid: And nothing is there able to relax or mollifie it, after it hath once bene baked 10 in the fire or hardened against the Sun. As touching those who say that they feele very sensibly the winde and the water colde, but the earth not fo well; furely thefe do confider this earth here. which is next unto us, and is no other thing intructh, than a mixture and composition of aire,

water, finne and heat; and me thinks this is all one, as if a man should say, that the elementarie fire is not the primitive and originall heat, but rather fealding water, or an iron red hot in the fire; for that in trueth there is no touching of these or comming neere unto them; as also that of the faid pure and celestiall fire, they have no fensible experience nor knowledge by feeling, no more than they have of the earth which is about the center, which we may imagine to be true, pure and naturall earth, as most remote and farthest separate from all other: howbein wee may have some guesse and token thereof by these rockes heere with us, which from their 20

profunditie fend forth a vehement colde, which is in maner intolerable. And they likewife who defire to drinke their water passing colde, use to throw pibble stones into it, which thereby commeth to be more colde, sharpe and piercing, by occasion of the great and fresh colde that arifeth from the faid flones. And therefore we ought thus to thinke, that when our ancients, those deepe clearks and great scholars I meane, thought there could be no mixture of earthly things with heavenly, they never looked to places high or low, as if they hung in the scales of a ballance, but unto the difference and diversitie of their powers; attributing the qualities of heat, elecrenesse, agilitie, celeritie and lightnesse, unto that immortall and eternallinature: butcolde, darkneffe and tarditie, they affigned as the unhappie lot and wretched portion of those infernall wights that are dead and perished. For the very bodie of a creature, all while 30 that it doth breathe and flourish in verdure as the Poets fay, hath life and heat, but so soone as it is deftitute of these, and left in the onely portion and possession of the earth, it presently becom-

meth stiffe and colde, as if heat were in any other body naturally, rather than in that which is terrestriall. Compare now good fir Phavorinus, these arguments with the reasons of other men, and if you finde that they neither yeeld in probabilitie, nor over way them much, bid all opinions and the stiffe mainteining of them farewell, and thinke that to forbeare resolution and to holde

off in matters obscure and uncerteine, is the part of the wifest philosopher, rather than to seule his judgement and affent to one or other.



NATURALL QUESTIONS.

The Summarie.



Hu collection of divers questions taken out of Naturall philosophie, and resolved by the authour according to the doctrine of Naturalists, being so cleerely distinguished by it felfe, requireth no long deduction: for that at the very first sight ech question may (ufficiently be under stood. NATVRALL

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* Coaxant, Lat. Prezenenet,

Aristophia

gathering thereby many qualities, which cause them unwilling to be digested, and more slow to be reduced by concoction, into the fubstance of that which is to be nourished thereby; on the other fide, that raine waters be eafie to be changed and transmuted, it appeareth by this; that more subject they are to corruption and putrefaction, than those either of rivers, or of pittes and welles : and concoction feemeth to be a kinde of putrefaction: as Empedocles beareth witnesse saying:

When in vine-wood the water putrifies, It turnes to wine, whiles under barke it lies.

Or rather the truest and readiest reason that can be alledged, is the sweetnesse and holsomneffe of raine waters, falling as they doe fo prefently, fo foone as the winde fends them downe: 10 and heereupon it is that beafts defire to drinke thereof before any other: yea, and the frogges and paddocks expecting a raine, for joy fing more shrill and merily, ready to receive and enterreine that which will feafon the dead and dormant waters of standing lakes, as being the very feed of all their sweetnesse: for Aratus reckoneth this also for one of the signes of a showre toward, writing thus:

When wretched brood, The adders food, from out of standing lake, (The tad pole fires, Imeane)desires fresh raine, and loud doth * coake.

What might be the cause that skepherds and other herdmen give salt unto their sheepe and cattell which they feed?

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S it as most men doe thinke, to the end that they should fall the better to their mear, and so confequently feed fatte the fooner? because the actimony of salt provoketh appetite, and opening the pores, maketh way unto the nourishment for to be digested and distributed more casily throughout the whole body? in regard whereof the physician Apollonius, the sonne of 30 Herophilus, gave counsell and prescribed leane folke and such as thrived not in their flesh; not groffe sweet wine, thicke gruell, and frumentie, but falt fish out of the pickle, anchoves, powdred meats, and fuch as were condite in brine: the fubtile acrimonic whereof might in maner of fetting a peruke for want of haire, ferve to apply nutriment through the pores of the body into those parts that need it.

Or rather may it not be for health-fake? in which regard they use their cattell to little falt, thereby to take downe their ranke feeding, and restreine their grossenesse and corpulencie? for fuch as grow exceeding fatte, are subject to breed diseases: but salt consumeth and dispatcheth this fatte; and by this meanes also when they be killed, they are sooner and with greater expedition flaied, because the fatte which knit and bound the skinne fast to the flesh, is now be- 40 come more thinne, gentle, and pliable through the acrimony of the falt: befides, the bloudalfo of fuch as be ever licking of falt, becommeth more liquid; and nothing there is within, that will gather and grow together, in case there be salt mingled therewith.

It may be moreover, that they doe it for to make them more fruitfull and apter for generation; for we fee that falt bitches which have beene fed with falt meats, are more hot, apter to goe proud, and fooner with whelpe. And for this cause, those keeles and barges that transport salt, breed greater store of mice, for that they engender the oftener.

How commeth it to paffe, that of raine waters, fuch as fall with thunder and lightning, which there so upon be called as earner, are better for to water feeds or yong plants, than any other?

May it not be, because they be full of winde and ventositie, by reason of the trouble and Confused agitation of the aire. And the nature of wind and spirit is to stirre the humiditie 3 and by that meanes doth fend it forth and distribute it the better?

Or is it not rather, that heat fighting against colde, is the cause of thunder and lightning in the aire? which is the reason that seldome there is any thunder in winter: but contrariwise, very

often in the Spring and Autumne, for the inconstant and unequall diffemperature of the aire which being supposed; the heat concocting the humiditie, causeth it to be more pleasant and profitable unto the plants of the earth.

Or suby may it not be, because it thundreth and lightneth especially and more often in the Spring, than in any other feafon of the yeere, for the reafon before alledged : now the Spring showers and raines are most necessarie for seeds and herbs, against the Summer time : whereupon the fecountries wherein there be many good ground thowers in the Spring, as the ifle Steille, bring forth plentie of good fruits.

How is it, that there being eight kind of * favours, there is no more but onely one of them, to wit. " How were faltish, that can not be found naturally in fruits? For as touching the buter savour, the olive I make choice hath it at first; and the grape is source at the beginning: but as these fruits begin to change and or samue so grow to their ripenesse, the bitternesse of the olive turneth into a fastie and unctuous savour, objectiof salic, and the sharpe werdure of the grape into a smacke of wine: semblably, the harshnesse in the un-commune so ripe dates, as also the austere and unpleasant sharpnesse in pomgranats changeth into sweetnesse, doubtoos. Asfor pomgranats, some there be, as also other apples, which are samply source, and never have o fore, and can ther tafte. And as for the sharpe and biting favour, it is ordinarie in many roots and feeds.

Sit for that the falt favor is not primitive nor engendred originally, but is rather the corrup- This means 20 Ition of other primitive favors; and in that regard can not ferve to nourifh any creature, living favours or with graffe or graine? but it is to some in stead of a fauce, because it is a meanes that they should when sallenot upon fulneffe either lothe or distaste that which they feed upon.

Or because, that like as they who boile sea water, rid it from that salt, brackish and biting quaknow.we colitie that it hath: fo, in those that are hot by nature, the falt savour is dulled and mortified by monly attri-

Or rather, for that a favour or smacke, according as Plato saith, is a water or juice passing thorow the stem or stalke of a plant: but we see that the sea water runing as thorow a streiner, loseth personas, as the faltnesse, being the terrestrial and grossest part that is in it. And hereupon it is, that when as Tthinke. men digge along by the sea side, they meet with springs of fresh and potable water. And many to there be, who draw out of the very fea, fresh water and good to be drunke; namely, when it hath rnnne thorow certeine veffels of wax, by reason that the terrestriall and saltish parts thereof be ffreined out. In one word, *cley or marle also, yea, and the carrying of seawater in long con- * express, haply duct pipes, caufeth the fame when it is fo streined, to be potable, for that there are kept still in relieuring them the terrestrial parts, and are not suffered to passe thorow. Which being so, very probable it is that plants neither receive from without forth any falt favour, nor if haply any fuch qualitie breed in them, doe they transfule the same into their fruits; for that the conducts of their pores being very fmall and streight, there can not be transmitted thorow them any groffe or terrestriall fubstance.

Or els we must say, that saltnesse is in some sort a kinde of bitternesse, according as Homer 40 fignifieth in these verses:

Bitter falt-water at mouth he cast againe, And all there with his head did drop amaine.

And Plate affirmeth, that both the one and the other favour is abster five and liquefactive; but the faltish, leffe of the twaine, as that which is not rough: and so it will seeme that bitter differeth from falt in excesse of drinesse, for that the salt favour is also a great drier.

What is the cause, that if folke use ordinarily and continually to goe among yong trees or shrubs full of deaw, those parts of their bodies which do touch the twigs of the said plants, are wont to have a Scurfe or mange rife upon their skin?

Sit (as Lærus faith) for that the deaw by the fubtilitie thereof doth fret and pierce the skin? Or rather, because like as the blast and mil-deaw is incident to those seeds or plants that take wet and be drenched; even fo, when the smoothe and tender superficial parts of the skinne be fretted, fearified, and diffolved a little with the deaw, there arifeth a certeine humour, and filleth the fretted place with a smart and angry scurse: for lighting upon those parts which have but little bloud, fuch as be the smalles of the legs and the feet, it biteth & gnaweth the superficies

of them. Now that there is in deaw a certeine inordinate qualitie, it appeareth by this, that it maketh those who are grosse and corpulent, to be leaner and more spare of bodie: with effe our women who are given to be fat, and would be fine, who gather deaw with linnen clothes, or els with locks or sleeces of wooll, thinking therewith to take downe and spend their fogginesse, and make themselves more gant and slender.

What is the cause that barges and other vessels in Winter time, go more slowly upon the rivers than at other seasons; but they do not so upon the seas

What fay you to this? May it not be, for that the aire of rivers being alwaies groffe and heavy, in Winter is more infpiffate by reason of the circumstant cold, and so hin-

Or haply this accident is to be imputed to the water of rivers, rather than to the aire about them; for colde driving in and restraining the water, maketh itmore heavy and grosse; as we may perceive in water houre-glasses, for the water runneth out of them more leasurely and showly in winter then in summer. And Theophrasse written that in Thrasia, neere unto the mount called Pangaon, there is a sountaine, the water whereof istwice as much heavie in winter than it is in summer, waigh it in one & the same vessell full. That the thicknesse of water maketh a vessell to passe more sluggishly, it may appeare by this, that the barges of the river carry greater straights by farre, in winter than in summer: because the water being thicke, is stronger and able to be are more. As for the sea water it cannot be made more thicke in winter, by reason of the owne hear, which is the cause that it congealeth not, and if it gather any thickening, it seen neith to be very slender and little.

What is the reason that we observe, all other waters, if they be mooved and troubled, are the colder, but the sea the more surging and waving, the hotter it is?

Is it because, if there be any heat in other waters, the same is a stranger unto it, and comming from without, and so the motion and agitation thereof doth dissipate and drive the same forth againe: but that heat of the sea which is proper and naturall to it, the windes doe stirre up and augment. That the sea is naturally hot, may evidently be proved by this, that it is so transparent and shining; as also for that it is not ordinarily frozen, heavy though it be and terrestrial.

What should be the cause that in winter the seawater is less bitter and brackish in taste?

Or so (by report) written Dienysia the great convaier of conduicts, who in a treatise of that argument, saith that the bitternesse of the sea water is not without some sweetnesse, seeing that the sea receive the many and so great rivers: sor admit that the sunne doe draw up that which is fresh and potable out of it, because it is light and subtill; that is but from the upper part onely: and withall, it doth more in Summer than in any other season, by reason that in Winter his beames are not so strong to strike, sor that his heat skewise is but saint and feeble: and so a good portion of the sweetnesse remaining behinde, doth delay that excessive bitternesse and all other that be potable: for even such in Summer time become worse and more offensive to the taste than in Winter, by how much the heat of the sume doth resolve and dissipate the light and sweet parts thereof: but in Winter it runneth alwaies new and fresh; where such that the rivers running into it, be great and impart their fresh water unto it.

What is the reason, that men are wont to powre sea water into their wine vessels, among the wine? So Multhe common report goeth that there were sometime certeine mariners and sisher men who broughs with them an oracle, commanding to plunge and sis Bacchus in the sea: And such as awell faire from the sea, instead of sea water, put in baked plaster of Lacynthus?

I Sit to this end, that it cheat thereof thould helpe to refift the colde, that it take not away the heart of the wine? Or rather cleane contrary, doth it not weaken the headinesse of wine, by extinguishing the power and strength thereof?

Or

Orit may be, that feeing wine is much fubied to alteration, and will quickly turne, the terrefiriall matter which is cast into it, having a naturall property to restraine, to binde and to stoppe,
doth in some fort condensate and stay the waterish and spirituall substance of it. Now the salt
together with the sea water, comming to substiliate and consume that which is superstuous, and
naught in the wine, and not the proper substance thereof, keepeth it so, as it will not suffer any
strong & evil smell or corruption to be ingended therin: Besides all the grosse and terrestriall
patts of the wine, sticking and cleaving to that which fetlets to the bottom, and being drawen
downward with it, maketh a residence of the lees and dregges, and by consequence leaveth the
rest more cleare, pure, and neat.

What is the cause that those who faile upon the sea, are more suck in the stomacke, than they that faile upon rivers, yea, though thoweather be saire and the water calme?

Is it for that of all the fenfes, finelling, and of all paffions, feare's caufeth men most to be stomacke sicke? for so soone as the apprehension of any pertill seifeth upon a man, he trembleth and quaketh for seare, his haire stareth and standeth upright, yea and his belly groweth to be loose. Wheras there is none of all this that troubleth those who saile or row upon the river: for why, the simel is aquainted with all fresh and potable water, neither is the sailing so perillous: whereas upon the sea men are offended with strange and unusuall smelles, yea, and be estable so soone sattraid, how faire soever the season be, not trusting upon that which they see present, but missed within that which may fall out. And therefore little or nothing serveth the calme without, when the minde within is tossed, troubled, and wexed, partly with seare, and in part with distrust, drawing the body into the sellowship of like passions and perturbations.

What is the reason that if the sea be sprinckled alost with oile, there is to be seene a cleere transparence sogether with a calme and tranquility within?

Whether is it (as Ariftotle faith) because the winde gliding and glauncing over oile which is smooth and even, bath no power to stirre it, or to make any agitation.

30 Or, this reason may well carie with it some probability as touching the outward part, and upmost superficies of the sea: but seeing that they also by report, who plunge and dive to the bottome thereof, holding oile within their mouthes, if they spurt the same foorth when they are in the bottome, have a light all about them, and are able to see cleerely in the deepe; a man cannot attribute the cause thereof unto the gliding over of the wind. See therefore if it may not rather be, for that the oile by the solidity and thicknesses that that, doth drive before it, cut, and open the sea water first, being terrestriall and unequall; which after being returned and drawen together againe into it selfe; there be left still in the mids betweene, certeine little holes which yeeld unto the eies a through-light and transparence.

Or rather is it, for that the aire mingled within the fea, is by reason of heat, naturally light40 some and perspicuous; but when it is troubled and stirred, becommeth unequall and shadowy;
when as the oile therefore by meanes of solidity commeth to pollith and smooth the said inequalitie, it resumeth againe the owne plainnesse and perspicuity.

What is the reason that fisher mens nets doe not in Winterrather than in Summer, notwithstanding that all other things putrific more in Summer than in Winter?

I Sit because (as Theophrasses supposets) the heat then beset round about with the circumfant colde, giveth place thereto, and therefore causeth the bottome of these as well as of so the carth, to be the hotter? which is the reason that spring waters be warrier, yea and both lakes and rivers doe reike and smooke more in Winter than in Summer, because the heat is kept downe, and driven to the bottome by the colde, which is predominant over it?

Or rather are we to fay, that the nets rot not at all, but when foever they be fiffee congealed with colde which drieth them up, foone broken afterwards they are with the violence of the waves, and so seems as if they were rotten and putrified indeed; for in more danger they are in colde and frostly weather; and like as strings and sinewes over-stretched doe breake, seeing especially that the sea in Wintermost commonly is troubled, which is the reason that they use to

restreine

restreine and thicken them with certeine tinctures, for feare they should be overmuch relaxed and resolved; for otherwise, if it were not for that doubt, being not so died and besmeared all over, they would fooner deceive fishes, because they could not perceive them so soone; for that the colour naturally of the lines and threds refembling the aire, is very meet to deceive within the fea.

14
What is the reason that the * Dorians, * pray for to have ill inning of their hey?

* Amenis, fome translate it husbandmen,reading reporta.

S not this the cause, because hey is not well inned wet, or having taken a showre ? for mowen downe it is not dry, but while it is greeneand full of fappe; and if it take wet withall, it rot. 10 teth incontinently and is marred; whereas contrariwife if standing come be moistened with raine a little before harvest, it taketh much good against hot foutherne windes, which will not fusfer the come to gather and knit in the eare, but cause it to be loose that it cannot eare well by meanes of heat, were it not by the drenching and watering of the ground, the moisture did coole and mollifie the earth.

What is the reason that a fat, strong, and heavy clay ground, beareth wheat best: but contrarinise alight and fandy foile, is better for barley?

MAy not this be a reason, that of all corne, that which is more strong and solide, requireth 20 larger food, and the weaker lesse, and more slender nourishment 2 now it is well known that barley is a more feeble and hollow graine than wheat is: in which regard it will not abide and beare plentifull nouriture and strong. An argument and testimonie hereof we may have of that kinde of wheat which is called three-moneth wheat, for that in drier grounds it liketh better, and commeth up in greater plenty: the reason is, because it is not so firme and solid as others, and therefore requireth leffe nutriment: in regard whereof, also it commeth sooner to ripenesse and persection.

How commeth this common proverbe: Sow wheat in durt, and barley in dust?

r Karbarly it should be ditaling, or ourceen, that is to fay, to fow, unleffe Hand it thus, that their ricks of corne and thrathing

necre unto

their corne

breed in drie

ground.

lands.

S it not as I faid before, because wheat is able to overcome more nourishment, but barley can not endure much moisture to drench and drowne it?

Or in this respect, that wheat being a stiffe and hard kinde of graine, resembling the nature of wood, doth sooner come and chit within the ground, in case it be well soked and sostened with moisture, and therefore liketh better of a wet ground; whereas the drier soile at the first fowing agreeth better with barley, and is more commodious for it, being as it is, a more loofe and fpungcous kinde of graine.

Or because such a temperature of the ground in regard of the heat, is more proportionable

Howres were and leffe hurtfull unto barley, being as it is the colder graine?

Or rather, husbandmen are affraid to * thrash their wheat upon a dry and sandy sloore, be-40 cause of * ants; for some will they take to that kind of graine in such a place. As for barley, they Torpinites use leffe to beare it, because the cornes thereof be hard to be carried and recaried from one place to another, they are fo bigge.

> What is the cause that fishers chuse the haire of stone-horsetailes, rather than of mares, to make their angling lines?

S it because the male, as in all other parts, so in hairealso, is more strong than the semale? Or rather, for that they thinke the haire of mares tailes, drenched and wet as it is ever and 50 anon with their staling, is more brittle and woorse than the other?

* Sometakeit What is the resson that when the * Calamacie fish is seene in the sea, it is a signe of a great tempest? for the cutic.

S it because all soft and unscaly fishes are very impatient of colde and of soule-weather, they be so bare and naked, and have withall their flesh exceeding tender, as being covered, neither with shell nor thicke skinne, ne yet scale; but contrariwise, having their hardy, griftly, and bony fubstance within? which is the reason that all such fishes be called Malacia, as one would say. Softand tender. For which cause naturally they soone foresee a tempest, and seele colde comming, for that it is offenfive unto them : and therefore likewife, when the Poulpe or Polyp runneth to land, and catcheth holde of some little rocks, it is a token that there is great winde to ward. And for the Calamacie, he leapeth forth for to avoid the colde and the trouble or agitation of the water in the bottome of the fea: for of other foft fifthes, his flesh is most tender and aptest to be pierced and hurt.

Naturall questions.

19 Why doth the Polyp change his colour?

Sitaccording to the opinon of Theophrastum, because it is a fearefull and timorous creature Lynature; and therefore when he is troubled or amazed as his spirit turneth, so he altereth withall his colour, even as we men do? whereupon we fay in the common proverbe:

The coward, in view Soone changeth bew.

Or may this be a good probable conjecture of the change, but not fufficient, for the refemblance? confidering that he changeth fo, as herefembleth the rocks which he fetleth upon, unto which propertie, Pindarus alluded in these verses:

Hisminde doth alter most mutable, To Poulpe the fea-fish skin semblable; Which changeth hue to echibing futable: To live in all worlds he ispliable.

And Theognis:

Put on a minde like Polype fijh, and learne so to dissemble: Which of the rocke whereto it flicks, the colour doth resemble.

Alfo, men usually fay, such as surpasse others for cunning and cautelous dealing, studie and practife this: that for to fave themselves, and not to be seene or knowen of those about them, 20 they alwaies will be like unto the poulpe, and change their colours, that is to fay, their maneis

Or do they thinke fuch an one to make use of his colour readily, as of a garment, to change

and put on another whenfoever he will?

Well then, the poulpe fith himfelfe, by his feare may haply give the occasion and beginning of this change and paffion; but the principall point of the cause consisteth in something els. And therefore weigh and confider what Empedocles writeth:

Wot well, all mortall things that be, Defluxions have in some degree.

For there passe away continually, many defluxions, not onely from living creatures, plants, 40 earth and sea, but also from stones, braffe and iron : for all things perish and yeeld a smell, in that there runneth fomething alwaies from them, and they weare continually: infomuch as it is thought that by these defluxions are all attractions and infultations: and some suppose their embracings and connexions; others, their fmilings: fome their impulfions, and I wot not what circumplexions and environments, to be attributed unto such defluxions; and especially from rocks and stones along the sea continually, washed and dashed with the waves, there be decisions palle of some parcels and small fragments, the which do cleave unto other bodies, and cling about those which have their pores more strict and close, or els passe thorow such as have the fame over rare and open. As for the flesh of the Polype, it is to see to, fishulous and spongeous, like unto hony-combs, apt to receive all fuch defluxions and decisions from other bodies, 50 when as then he is afraid, his windegoeth and commeth, and withall, shutteth up his bodie, and bringeth it together, that he may receive and reteine in the superficies of his skin, the defluxions that come from that which is next it: for the rivels and wrinckles of his foft skin, which are knit with feare, are in stead of crooke and bending cleies fit to enterteine the defluxions and parcels lighting upon them, which featter not heere and there, but gathering upon the skin, make the superficies thereof to be of semblable colour. And that this is a true cause, it may appeare by one great argument, namely, that neither the Polyp doth resemble in colour all that which is neere unto it, nor the Chamæleon the white colour; but both the one & the other, fuch things onely, as the defluxions whereof are proportionate unto their pores and small passages.

10 that is the cause that the teares of wilde boares be sweet, but of stagges and hinds, saltish and unpleasant to the tasse?

Hat and colde are the cause of both 3 for the stagge is colde of nature, but the bore exceeding hot and sierie: whereupon it is, that the one sleeth away, the other maketh head, and stands to it when he is assaulted, and then is it most of all that he sheddeth teates, upon a sell to heart: for when plentie of heat (as I said before) mounteth up unto his cies,

Hu bristles stare and stand upright, His ardent eyes like fire are bright.

and so the humour that distilleth from his cies, is sweet. Others say, that these teares are pressed and wrong out from the bloud being troubled, like as whey from milke: and of this opinion was Empedocles. And forasmuch as the bloud of the wilde bore is blacke and thicke in regard of heat, but that of stags and hinds, thin and waterish, great reason there is that the teares which passes from the one in anger, and the other in seare, should be such as is aforesaid.

11 What ushe reason, that tame swine do farrow often in one yeere some at one time, and some at another; whereas the wide of that kinde, bring forth pigs but once in the yeere, and all of them in a maner upon the same daies, and those are in the beginning of Summer: whereupon we say in our vulgar proverbe:

The night once past, of wilde sowes farrowing: T'will raine no more be sure, for any thing.

Is it (thinke you) for the plentie they have of meat; as in trueth, fulnesse brings wantonnesse, and of full feeding comes lust of breeding; for abundance of food causeth superfluitie of seed, as well in living creatures as in plants. As for the wilde swine, they seeke their victuals them-30 selves, and that with travell and seare: whereas the tame have alwaies store thereof, either naturally growing for them, or els provided by mans industry.

Or is the cause of this difference to be attributed unto the idle life of the one, and the painfull labour of the other: for the domesticall and tame are sluggish, and never wander farre from their swineherds: but the other range and rove abroad among the forrests and mountaines, running to and fro, dispatching quickly all the food they can get, and spending it every whit upon the substance of their bodies, leaving no superfluities, expedient for geniture or seed.

Or may it not be, that tame fowes dockeepe company, feed and goe in heards together with their bores, which provoketh their lust, and kindleth the defire to engender: according as Empedocles hath written of men in these verses:

The fight of ese, doth kindle lust in brest, Of looking, liking, then loving and the rest.

Whereas the wilde, because they live apart, and pasture not together, have no such desire and lust one to another; for their naturall appetite that way is dulled and quenched.

Or rather, that is true which Ariffoile faith, namely that Homer calleth a wilde bore 2006 as having but one genetorie, for that the most part of them, in rubbing themselves against the trunks and stocks of trees, doe crush and breake their stones.

What is the reason of this usual speech: that beares have a most sweet hand, and that their slesh is 50 most pleasant to be eaten?

Because those parts of the body which doe best concoct and digest nourishment, yeeld their flesh most delicate: now that concocteth and digestesh best, which stirreth most, and doth greatest exercise: like as the beare mooveth most this part, for his forepawes he uses he uses a goe and runne withall, he maketh use also of them as of hands to apprehend and catch any thing.

What

What is the cause that in the spring time wilde beasts are hardly hunted by the sent, and sollowed by the trace?

S it forthat hounds, as Empedocles faith, By fent of noshbrils, when they trace Wilde beast, to finde their resting place.

dot take hold of those vapours and defluxions which the said beasts leave behind them in the wood as they passe: but in the spring time these are consounded or unterly extinct by many other sines of plants and strubs, which as then be in their flower, and comming upon the aire that the beasts made, and intermingled therewith, do trouble and deceive the sent of the hounds, whereby they are put out and at default, that they cannot truly hunt after them by their trace; which is the reason, (men say) that upon the mountaine Aetma, in Stellie, there is never any hunting with hounds, for that all the yeere long there is such abundance of flowers, both in hilles and dales, growing as it were in amedow or garden, whereof the place simelish all over so sweet the sum of sweets, has the way gathering flowers there: in which regard the inhabitants honouting the place with great reverence and devotion, never put up or hunt the beasts that pasture about that mountaine.

What is the reason, that when the moone is at the full, it is very hard for hounds so meet with wilde beasts by the trace or sent of the sooting?

Is it not for the fame cause before alledged, for that about the sull moone there is engendred store of deaw: whereupon it is that the poet Aleman calleth deaw the daughter of Jupiter, and the moone in these vertes:

Dame Deaw is nour se, whom of god Jupiter And lady Moone, men call the daughter.

For the deaw is nothing elle but a weake and feeble raine: and why? because the heat of the moone is but infirme: whereof it commeth to passe, that she draweth up vapours indeed from 30 the earth, as doeth the sunne, but not able to setch them up alost, nor there to comprehend them, letteth them fall againe.

What is the cause that in a white or hourie frost, wilde beasts are hardly traced?

WHether is it for that they being loth for very colde to range farre from their dennes, leave not many marks of their footings upon the ground: which is the reason that at other times they make spare of that prey which is neere unto them, for searce of danger if they should be forced to range farre abroad in Winter, and because they would have ready at hand about them at such an hard season to seed upon.

40 Or else is it requisit that the place where men doe hunt, have not onely the tracts of the beast to be feene, but also of force to affect the fent of the hounds, and to fet their nothrils a worke; but then doe they moove this fense of theirs, when as they are gently dissolved and dilated as it were by heat: whereas the aire if it be extreme colde, congealing as it were the sinels, will not suffer them to spread and be diffused abroad, thereby to move the sense; will not folke say) that perfumes, ointments, and wines, be lesses fragrant and odoriserous in Winter, or incold weather, than at other times, for the aire being it selfe bound and shut close, doth likewise stay within it all sents, and will not suffer them to passe footh.

59. What is the cause that brute beasts, so often as they are sicke, or feele themselves amisse, seeke after divers meditionable meanes for remedie, and using the same, finde many times beloe? as for example: dogges when they be stornacke sicke, fall to eat a kinde of quitchy grasse, because they would cast and avamit choler; hogges search for craissibes of the river, for by seeding upon them they cure their headach; the tortois likewise having eaten the slish of a wiper, eateth upon it the herbe origan; and the beare when she is full in the stornacke and dot boath all victuals, licketh up pismires with her tongue, which she no sooner hash swallowed downe, but she is warished, and yet none of all this were they taught, either by experience, or some casuall occasion?

Is it then the finel that mooveth them to feeke theferemedies, and like as the hony combes by the odor fittre up the bee: and the flesh of dead carions the vultures, drawing and alluring them a farre of : fo the craifishes invite unto them swine, origan the tortoile, and pismires the beare, by certaine fents and fluxions which are accommodate and familiar unto them, without any sense leading them thereto by discourse of reason, and teaching them what is good and profitable?

Or rather be they the temperatures of the bodies disposed unto sicknesse, that bring unto these creatures fuch appetites, engendring divers ceremonies, sweetnesses, or other strange & unusuall qualities; as we fee it ordinary in great bellied women, who during the time that they go with to childe fall to cat grit & earth with greedinefferin fo much as expert philitians fore-know by the fundry appetites of their patients, whether they shall live or die, for so Mnesa beau the phisitian doth report, that in the beginning of the Pneumonie or inflamation of the lungs, one patient of his, longing for to eate onions escaped that maladie; and another whose appetite stoodto figgs, died for it, of the fame disease: for that the appetites follow the temperatures, and the temperatures are proportionate to the diseases.

It flandeth therefore to great reason that beasts likewise, such as are not surprised withmor. tall maladies, nor ficke to death, have that disposition and temperature, whereby their appetites doe moove and provoke each one to that which is good and holfome, yea and expedient to the cure of their ficknesse.

What is the cause that must or new wine, connucth sweet a long time, in case the vessell whereinit is kept be colde round about it?

IS it because the alteration of this sweet savour into the natural taste of wine, is the very con-Lcoction of the wine; and colde hindereth the faid concoction, which proceedeth from heat

Or contrariwife, because the proper joice and naturall favour of the grape is sweet, for wefay that then the grape beginneth to ripen, when it waxeth sweet. Now colde not suffring new wine to exhale, but keeping the kinde heat thereof within, preferveth the faid sweetnesse still. And this is the very cause that those who make their vintage in a rainy constitution of the weather, 20 doe finde that their new wine wil not worke fo wel in the vault, because that such ebullition proceedeth of hear, and the colde doth restraine and refresh the said heat.

What is the cause that of all savage beasts, the beare doth never lightly gnaw the net andtoile with her teeth, whereas wolves and foxes use ordinarily to eate the same?

Sit for that her teeth grow farre within her mouth, in fuch fortthat the cannot get within I the cords of the nets, having befides fo great and thicke lippes betweene, that they hinderher for catching hold with her faid fangs.

Or rather because she having more force in her fore-feet, which she useth in stead of hands 40 therewith the doth teare and breake the cords; or elfe having ufe both of her pawes and alfo of her month: the imploieth those to the burfting of the nets, and with her teeth fighteth, and maketh her part good against the hunters. Besides the tumbling and rolling of her body that she doth practife, ferveth her in as good flead as any thing elfe. And therefore feeing her felfe in canger to be taken within the toile many times, casteth her selferound upon her head, and indevoureth that way to escape, rather than either by pawes or fangs to burst the toile.

What is the reason that we woonder not to see any sources or springs of coldewater, like as we doe of hot? not with standing it is evident that as heat is the cause of these so is colde of the other.

Or we must not say as some holde opinion, that heat indeed is an habitude of it selfe, but colde nothing else but the privation of heat: for it were in truth more woonderfull how that which bath no subfistance, should be the cause of that which hath a beeing. But it seemeth that nature would have us to woonder hecreat, onely for the rare fight hecreof; and because it is not often seene, therefore we should enquire for some secret cause, and demand how that may be, which is but feldome observed,

But feelt thouthis starry firmament, So high above and infinitly vaft, In bosom moist of water element, The earth beneath how is encloseth fast,

How many strange and woonderfull fights doth it representanto us in the night season, and what beauty sheweth it unto us in the day time? and the common people woonder at the na-* * As also at the rainebowes, and the divers tinctures formes and ture of these things pictures of the clouds appearing by day: and how they be adorned with fundry shapes, breaking out of them in maner of bubbles.

What is the cause that when vines or other young plants, which be ranke of leaves, and otherwise fruitlesse, are said reagant

T Sit because that goats in Greeke (2001), which are exceeding fat, be lesse apt to engender, and hardly for their fatneffe can leape the females. For generative feed is the superfluous excrement of that nourishment which is conglutinate to the substantial parts of the body. Now when as any living creature or plant is in very good plight and growen groffe, it is an evident figne, that the nouriture is imploied and spent altogether in the maintenance of it selfe, leaving 20 no excrement at all, or the fame very finall, and not good for generation.

What is the reason, that if a vine be sprinkled and drenched with wine, e specially that which came of the owne grape, it drieth and withereth away?

I S there not the same reason heereof as of the baldnesse in great drinkers, when as the wine by I meanes of heat, causeth the moisture to evaporate which should feed the haire of their head? Orisit not rather, because the very liquor of wine commeth in some fort of putrefaction, according to the verses of Empedacles:

When in vine-wood the water putrifies, It turnes to wine, whiles under barke it lies.

When as then a vine commeth to be wet with wine outwardly, it is as much as if fire were put into it, which doth corrupt the naturall temperature of that humour which should nourish it?

Or rather, pure wine, being of an aftringent nature, foketh and pierceth to the very root, where shutting up and enclosing the pores, it empeacheth the entrance of that sap (by vertue whereof, the vine is woont to bud, burgen, and flourish) that it can not runne to the stocke?

Or may it not be, it is cleane contrary to the nature of a vine, that the liquor which once went out of it, should return eagaine into it? for a liquor or humour whiles it is within the plant in the nature of a fap, may well have power to feed the fame; but that being departed once from 40 thence, it should joine thereto againe, or become a part thereof, I cannot see how it is possible.

Wby doth the date tree onely of all others arife archwife, and bendupward, when a weight is laide nall, or the thereupon?

WHether may it not be that the fire and spiritual power which it hath and is predominant translation it in it, being once provoked, and as it were angred, putteth footth it felfe fo much the followethon more, and mounteth upward?

50 Or because the poste or weight aforesaid forcing the boughes suddenly, oppresset and keepeth downe the airie substance which they have, and driveth all of it inward: but the same afterwards having refumed strength againe, maketh head afresh, and more egerly withstandeth the

Or lastly, the softer and more tender branches not able to susteine the violence at first, so foone as the burden resteth quiet, by little and little lift up themselves, and make a shew as if theyrose up against it.

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33 What is thereason that pit-water is lesse nurritive than either that which arisethout of springs, or falleth downe from heaven?

I S it because it is more colde, and with all hath lefte aire in it?

Or, for that it conteineth much falt therein, by reason of such store of earth mingled there.

with: now it is well knowen, that falt above all other things caufeth leannesse.

Or because standing as it doeth still, and not exercised with running and stirring, it gettetha certaine malignant quality, which is hurtfull and offensive to all living creatures drinking thereof; for by occasion of that hurtfull qualitie, neither is it well concocted, nor yet can it 10 feed or nourish anything. And verily the same is the very cause that all dead waters of pooles and meares be unholfome, for that they cannot digeft and dispatch those harmefull qualities which they borrow of the evill propertie, either of aire or of earth.

Why is the west wind held commonly to be of all other the swiftest according to thu verse of Homes: Let us likewise bestir our feet, As fast as westerne winds do fleet.

 \mathbf{I} S it not thinke you, because this winde is woont to blow when the skie is very well clensed, 20 and the aire exceeding cleere and without all clouds; for the thicknesse and impuritie of the aire, doth not (I may fay to you) a little impeach and interrupt the course of the winds.

Or rather, because the funne with his beames striking through a cold winde, is the cause that it passeth the faster away; for what soever is drawen in by the restrigerative force of the windes, the fame if it be overcome by heat as his enemie, we must thinke is driven and set forward both farther, and also with greater celeritie.

35 What should be the cause that bees cannot abide smoake?

m V Hether is it because the pores and passages of their vitall spirits be exceeding streight, 30 and if it chance that smoke be gotten into them and therekept in and intercepted, it is

enough to stop the poore bees breath, yea and to strangle them quite?

Or is it not the actimony and bitterneffe (thinke you) of the finoke in cause? for bees are delighted with sweet things, and in very trueth they have no other nourishment, and therefore no marvell if they detelt and abhorre smoke, as a thing for the bitternesse most adverse and contrary unto them: and therefore hony mafters when they make a fmoke for to drive away bees, are woont to burne bitter herbes, as hemlock, centaury, &c.

14 but might be the reason that bees will sooner sting those who newly before have committed 40

S it not because it is a creature that woonderfully delighteth in puritie, cleanlinesse and elegancie? and withall the hath a marvellous quicke fense of smelling: because therefore such uncleane dealings betweene man and woman in regard of fleshly and beastly lust, immoderately performed, are wont to leave behind in the parties much filthineffe and impurity; the bees both fooner finde them out, and also conceive the greater hatred against them: heereupon it is that in Theoerissa the Shepherd after a merry and pleasant maner, fendeth Venus away into Anchifes to be well fluing with bees, for her adultery; as appeareth by these verses: 50

Now go thy wate to Ida mount, go to Anchifes now, Where mightie okes, where banks along of square Cypirus grow, Where hives and hollow truncks of trees, with hony sweet abound, Where all the place with humming noise of busie bees resound.

And Pindarus: Thou painfull bee, thou pretie creature, Who hony-combs fix angled, as they be, With feet doest frame, false Rhoecus and impure, With sting hast pricks for his leand villaning

37 What is the cause that dogges follow after a stone that is throwen at them, and biteth it, letting the man alone who flang it?

Sitbecause he can apprehend nothing by imagination, nor call a thing to minde: which are I gifts and vertues proper to man alone ? and therefore, feeing he can not difcerne nor conceive the partie indeed that offered him injurie, he supposed that to be his enemie which seemeth in his cie to threaten him, and of it he goes about to be revenged?

Or thinking the stone whiles it runnes along the ground, to be some wilde beast, according to his nature he intendeth to catch it first: but afterwards, when he feeth himselfe deceived and

put besides his reckoning, he setteth upon the man?

Orrather, doth he not hate the stone and man both alike; but pursueth that onely which is next unto him?

What is thereason that at accretine time of the yeare, shee woolves doe all whelpe within the compaffe of twelve dates?

Ntipater in his booke containing the historie of living creatures, affirmeth, that shee A woolves exclude foorth their young ones about the time that mast trees doe shed their bloffomes; for upon the tafte thereof their wombs open: but if there be none of such blowmes to be had, then their yoong die within the bodie, and never come to light. He faith moreover, that those countries which bring not foorth oaks and mast, are never troubled nor spoiled with wolves. Some there be who attributeall this to a tale that goes of Latena; who being 30 with childe, and finding no abiding place of reft and fafetie by reason of Juno, for the space of twelve daies; during which time, the went to Delos, being transmuted by Jupiter into a wolfe, obteined at his hands, that all wolves for ever after might within that time be delivered of their

39
How commethit, that water sceming white aloft, sheweth to be blacke in the bottome ?

Sit, for that depth is the mother of darkeneffe, as being that which doth dimme and marre the Sunne beames before they can descend so low as it: as for the uppermost superficies of the water, because it is immediatly affected by the Sunne, it must need receive the white $4^{\rm o}$ brightnesse of the light , the which Empedocles verily approve h in these veries :

Ariver in the bottome seemes, by Shade of colour blacke; The like is seene in caves and holes, by depth, where light they lacke.

Or many times the bottome of the lea and great rivers being full of mud, doth by the reflexion of the Sunne-beames reprefent the like colour that the faid mud hath?

Or is not more probable, that the water toward the bottome is not pure and fincere, but corrupted with an earthly qualitie, as continually carying with it fomewhat of that, by which it runneth and wherewith it is stirred; and the same setling once to the bottome, causeth it to be more

50 troubled and leffe transparent 2





PLATONIQVE QVE-STIONS.

The Summarie.



N these gatherings, Plutarch expoundeth the sense of divers hard places, which are found in the disputations of Socrates, conteined in the Dialogues of Plato his disple, but especially in Timacus; which may serve to allure young students to the reading of that great Philosopher, who under the barke of words, hath delivered grave and pleasant matters.

10

29

PLATONIQUE QUESTIONS.

What is the reason, that God other-whiles commanded Socrates to do the part of a Midwisein had ping others to be delivered of child-birth, but for had himsels in any wise to procreate children? according as it is written in a treatise entitled. The executs. For we ought not to thinke that if be had bene displosed to easyll toosels to specifically in this place, he would have a bussel the name of God. Besides, in this selfe same treasise he astribute th many other high and magniscall specehes unto Socrates, on namely this among many others: Certes (quoth he) there be many mengo (right good fir) who eary this minde to me-ward, that they are disposed plainly to carpe and bits me, in case at any time I seeme to rid them of any soldshopinion that they have, neither thinke they that I do it of good will and meaning well unto them; shewing therefoleves herein far short of this dostrine. That no God be are hevill will so men: no more verily do I this unto them upon any malice: but surely I can not otherwise chuse, neither doe I thinke it lawfull for me either to smoother up and pardon a lie, or to dissemble and suppressed trueth.



Sit for that he tearmeth his owne nature, as being more judicious

This minde, this our intelligence. In trueth is of divine essence.

And Heraclitus :

Mans nature we must needs confesse, Is heavenly and a god doubtlesse.

Or rather in very trueth, there was some divine and celestial cause, which suggested and inspired into Socrates this maner of philosophy; whereby sisting as heedid continually, and examinate the source of the sou

ning others, he cured them of all swelling pride, of vaine errour, of presumptuous arrogancy; likewise of being odious, first to themselves, and afterwards to those about them of their company: for it fortuned about his time, that a number of these sophisters swarmed over all orece, so unto whom yong gentlemen resorting & paying good summes of money for their salary, were filled with a great weening and opinion of themselves, with a vaine persuasion of their owne learning and zelous love to good letters, spending their time in idle disputations, and frivolous contentions, without doing any thing in the world, that was either good, honest, or profitable. Secrates therefore, who had a speciall gift by his maner of speech and discourse, as it were by some purgative medicine, to argue and convince, was of greater authority and credit when

he confuted others, in that he never affirmed nor pronounced resolutely any thing of his owner yea, and hepierced deeper into the foules and hearts of his hearers, by how much he feemed to feeke out the trueth in common, and never to favorize and mainteine any opinion of his owne: for this begetting of a mans owne fanfies, mightily empeacheth the facultie and power to judge another, for evermore the lover is blinded in the behalfe of that which he loveth: and verily there is nothing in the world that loveth fo much the owne, as a man doth the opinions and reason whereof himselse was the father; for surely that distribution and partition among children which is commonly faid to be most and equall, is in this case of opinions and reasons most unjust; for in the former every one must take his owne, but in this hee ought to to chuse the better, yea, though it were another mans: and therefore once againe, he that fathereth fomewhat of his owne, becommeth the worle judge of other mens. And like as there was fometime a fophister or great learned man, who faid: That the Elians would be the better impires and judges of the facred Olympick games, in cafe there were never any Elian came in place to performe his prizes; even fo, he that would be a good prefident to fit and determine of divers fentences and opinions; no reason there is in the world that he thould defire to have his owner fentence crowned, no nor to be one of the parties contending, and who in truth are to be judged by him. The Grecian captaines after they had defaited the Barbarians, being affembled in counfell to give their voices unto those whom they deemed woorthy of reward and honour, for their proweffe; judged theinfelves all to have done the best fervice, and to be the most valorous 20 warriours. And of philosophers I affure you there is not one but he would doe as much, unleffeit were Socrates and fuch as he, who confesse that they neither have, nor know ought of their owne: for these in truth be they who onely thew themselves to be uncorrupt, and competent judges of the truth, and fuch as cannot be chalenged: for like as the aire within our eares if itbenot firme and fleady, nor cleere without any voice of the owne, but full of finging founds, and ringing noifes, cannot exactly comprehend that which is faid unto us; even to, that which isto judge of reasons in philosophie, if it meet with any thing that resoundeth and keepeth an hammering within, hardly will it be able to understand that which shall be delivered without foorth: for the owne particular opinion which is domesticall and dwelleth at home, of what matter foever it be that is treated of, will alwaies be the philosopher that hitteth the marke, and 20 toucheth the truth best; whereas all the rest shall be thought but to opine probably the trueth. Moreover, if it be true that a man is not able perfectly to comprise or know any thing, by good right and reason then did God forbid him to call forth these false conceptions as it were of untrue and unconstant opinions, and forced him to reproove and detect those who ever had fuch: for no fmall profit, but right great commoditie comes by fuch a speech as is able to deliver men from the greatest evill that is, even the spirit of error, of illusion and vanitie in opi-

So great a gift as God of special grace, Gave never to Asclepius hisrace,

For the phylicke of Socrates was not to heale the body, but to clenfe and purific the foule, feste-40 stered inwardly and corrupt. Contrariwise, if it be so, that the trueth may be knowen, and that there be but one truth, he who learned it of him that found it not out, hath no leffe than the inventer himselfe; yea,& better receiveth it he, who is not perswaded that he hath it: nay, he receiveth that which is fimply best of all: much like as hee who having no naturall children of his owne body begotten, taketh the best that he can chuse, for to make his adopted childe. But confider heere with me, whether other kinds of learning deferve not haply to have much fludy imploied in them, as namely, Poetry, Mathematicks, the art of Eloquence, and the opinions of Sophisters and great clearks: Therefore God of that divine power whatfoever, forbad Socrates to engender them; but as touching that which Socrates effected to be the onely wifedome, to wit, the knowledge of God and spiritual things, which hee himselfe calleth the amorous sci-50 ence; there be no men that beget or invent it, but call the fame onely to remembrance: whereupon Socrates himsele never taught any thing, but proposing onely unto yoong men certeine beginning of difficulties and doubts, as it were the fore throwes of child-birth, flirred up, awakened, and drew toorth their ownenaturall wits, and inbred intelligences: and this was it that he called the midwives art, which brought nothing into them from without, as others would make them beloeve, who conferred with them, that they infused reason and understanding, but shewed onely and taught them, that they had already within themselves a minde and understanding Platonique questions.

understanding of their owne, and the same sufficient to nourish, though it were consulted and unperfect.

What is thereason that in some places he called the soveraigne God, father and maker of all things?

As it for that he is intruced the father of gods, such as were ingendred, and also of men, as Homer called him, like as the maker of those creatives which have not the father of gods, such as were ingendred, and also of men, as Homer callethhim, like as the maker of those creatures which have neither reason nor foule? for according as Clay ppus faith, we use not to cal him the father of the secondine where. in the infant is inwrapped within the wombe, who conferred generall feed, although the faid fe-

Or uleth he not a metal-hor, as his maner is, when figuratively he tearmeth him Father of the condine be made of the feed. world, who is the efficient caufe, according to his ufuall maner of speaking; as namely, in the Dialogue entituled Sympolium, where he maketh Phedrus the father of amatorious discourses, for that he it was , whio proposed and set abroad the same : like as he named Callipedas in a dialogue bearing his name, The father of philosophicall discourses, for that there passed many beautifull speeches in philosophy, whereof he ministred the occasion and beginning?

Or rather was it not, because there is a difference betweene father and maker, as also betweene generation and creation for whatfoever is ingendred, is made, but not econverse, whatfoever is made, is likewife ingendred : femblably, who hath begotten, hath also made; for generation is the making of aliving creature : but if we confider a workeman, to wit, either a malon or carpenter, a weaver, a lute maker, or imager; certes, the worke is diffined and feparate from the maker: whereas the mooving principle, and the puissance of him who begetteth, is installed into that which is begotten; it contemeth his nature, being as it were a parcell distracted from the very fubthance of him who ingended it. For a funch then, as the world doth not refemble a conjunction of many pieces, fet, joined, fastened and glued together; but hath in it a great portion of the animall life, yea, and of divinity, which God hath infused and mingled in the matter, as derived from his ownernature and substance; good reason it is therefore, that he should be sumamed both the father and maker of the world, being a living creature as it is. These points being very conformable and proportionate to the opinion of Plato, confider withall a little, if this allo which I thall deliver, be not likewife accordant thereunto; namely, that the world being com- 30 posed of two parts, to wit, of body and of soule: the one, which is the body, God hath not ingendred; but having the matter thereof exhibited unto him, he hath formed, flaped and fitted it, binding and limiting it according to the infinitie thereof, with termes, bounds and figures proper thereto: but the foule having a portion of understanding discourse of reason, order and harmonie, is not onely the worke, but also a part of God, not by him, but even of him, and issuing from his owne proper substance. In his booke therefore of Politiques or Common wealth, having divided the whole world, as it were aline into two fegments or fections unequall, he subdivideth either section into other twaine, after the same proportion; for two generall kindsho maketh of all things; the one fentiale and visible, the other intelligible: unto the intelligible kinde he attributeth in the first degree the primitive formes and Idea; in the fecond degree, the 40 Mathematicks: and as for the fenfible kinde, he attributeth thereto in the first ranke, all solide hodies; and in the fecond place, the images and figures of them. Alfo to every one of these foure members of his faid divition, he given his owne proper judge: to the first of Idaes, underflanding; to the Mathematicks, imagination; to the folide bodies, faith and beleefe; to theimages and figures, conjecture. To what end then, and upon what intention hath he divided the whole world into two fections, and the fame unequalle and of those two sections, whether is the greater, that of fenfible objects, or that of intelligible ? As for himselfe, he hath not shewed and declared it but presently it wil appeare, that the portion of sensible things is the greater: for the indivitible fubftance is of things intellectuall, being evermore of one fort, and refting upon the fame subject in one state, and reduced to very short and narrowroome, and the same pure and 50 neat: whereas the other being spread and wandering upon bodies, is that section of sensible things. Morcover, the propertie of that which is incorporall, is to be definite and determinate. And a bodie as touching the matter thereof, is indefinite and undeterminate; becomming fenfiele, when by participation of the intelligible it is made finite and limitable. Over and belides, like as every femble thing hath many images, many fhadowes, and many figures, and general ly, out of one onely patterne there may be drawen many copies and examples, imitated as well

by art as by nature; fo it cannot chuse, but the things that here be sensible, should be more in niber than they above, which are intelligible, according to the opinion of Plato, supposing this, that things sensible be as it were the images and examples of the original patterns, to wit, the intelligible Idea. Furthermore, the intelligence of these Idaes and formes by subtraction, deduction and division of bodies, is ranged answerable to the order of the Mathematicks, arising fro Arithmeticke which is the science of Numbers, into Geometry, to wit, the skill of measures; then afterwards to Astrologie, which is the knowledge of the stars, & in the highest place above all the rest, setteth Harmonica, which is the skill of sounds and accords: for the subject of Geometric is this, when as to quantity in generall, there is adjoined magnitude in length & bredth: 10 of Stereometrie, when to the magnitude of length and bredth, there is added depth or profunditie. Likewise, the proper subject of Astrology is this, when to the solid magnitude there cometh motion. The fubject of harmony or mulick, when to a bodic moving, there is adjoined found or voice. If we fubtract then and take away, from moving bodies, voice; from folid bodies, motion; from superficies, depth and profundity; and from quantities, magnitude; we shall come by this time to the intelligible Idea which have no difference among them, in regard of one and fole thing: for unitie maketh no number, unleffe it come once to touch binarie or two, which is infinite: but in this wife having produced a number, it proceedeth to points and pricks, from pricks to lines, and to forth from lines to superficies, from superficies to profundities; from thence to bodies, and so forward to the qualities of bodies subject to passions and alrerations. Moreover, 20 of intellectuall things, there is no other judge but the understanding or the mind; for cognation or intelligence, is no other thing but the understanding, so long as it is applied unto Mathematicals, wherein things intellectuall appeare as within mirrours; whereas, for the knowledge of bodies, by reason of their great number, nature hath given unto us five powers and faculties of severall and different senses for to judge withall: and yet sufficient they are not to discover all objects; for many there be of them fo * small, that they can not be perceived by the senses. And . Margarette

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like as, although every one of us being composed of soule and bodie, yet that principall part, some reade which is our spirit and understanding, is a very small thing, hidden and inclosed within a great that is to say maffe of flesh; even so, very like it is, that there is the fame proportion within the univerfall they are so world, betweene things sensible and intellectuall for the intellectuall are the beginning of cor- farre off, 30 porall: now that which proceedeth from a beginning, is alwaies in number more, and in mag-

nitude greater, than the faid beginning.

But on the contrary, a man may reason thus and say: First and formost, that in comparing sensible and corporall things with intellectuall, we doe in some fort make mortall things equal with devine, for God is to be reckened among intellectuals. Now this is to be granted, that the content is alwaies leffe then the continent; but the nature of the univerfall world, within the intellectuall, comprehendeth the sensible. For God having set the soule in the midst, hath spred and stretched it through all within, and yet without forth hath covered all bodies with it. As for the foule it is invisible, yea and inperceptible to all the natural fenses, according as he hath written in his booke of lawes : and therefore every one of us is corruptible; but the world 40 shall never perish: for that in each of us that which is mortall and subject to diffolution, containeth within it the power which is vitall; but in the world it is cleane contrary, for the principall puiffance and nature, which is ever after one fort immutable, and doth alwaies preferve the corporall part, which it containeth and imbraceth within it felfe. Besides, in a bodily nature and corporall, a thing is called individuall and importible for the smallnesse therof, to wit, when it is so little that it cannot be devided, but in the spirituall and incorporall, it is so called for the fimplicity, fincerity & purity thereof, as being exempt from all multiplicity & diverfity : for otherwise folly it were to cast a guesse at spirituall things by corporal. Furthermore the very prefent time which we call Now, is faid to be inpartible and indivisible: howbeit, instant together it is every where, neither is their any part of this habitable world without it : but all passions, all 50 actions, all corruptions & generations throughout the world are comprised in this very present Now. Now the onely instrument to judge of things intellectuall is the understanding, like as the eie, of light; which for fimplicity is uniforme, & every way like unto it selfe: but bodies having many diversities & differences, are comprehended by divers instruments, & judged some by this, and others by that. And yet some there be who unwoorthily disesteeme and contemne the intellectuall puissance and spirituall which is in us: for in truth, being goodly and great, it furmounteth every fensible thing and reacheth up as farre as to the gods. But that which of all others is most, himselfe in his booke entituled Symposium, teaching how to use love and love matters, in withdrawing the foule from the affection of beauties corporall, and applying the fame to those which are intellectuall, exhortest us not to subject and inthrall our selves into the lovely beauty of any body, nor of one study and science, but by erecting and lifting up our mindes a lost from such base objects, to turne unto that vast ocean indeed of pulcritude and beauty, which is vertue.

How commeth it to passe, that considering he assume the vermore the soule to be more ancient than the body, as the very cause of the generation of it, and the beginning likewise thereof spea contrarivise be saith, that the soule was never without the bodie, nor the understanding without the soule, and that of necessitie the soule must be within the bodie, and the understanding in the soule for it seems to that he tere in there is some contradiction; namely, that the body both is, and to not, in case the true, that it is together with the soule, and yet neverthess singendred by the soule?

I Sit bocause that is true which we oftentimes doe say? namely, that the soule without understanding and the body without forme have alwaies beene together, & neither the one nor the other had ever commensiment of being nor beginning of generation; but when the soule came to have participation of understanding and of harmonic, and became to be wise by the meanes of consonance and accord, then caused she mutation in matter, and being more powerfull and strong in her owne motions, drew and turned into her the motions of the other? and even so the society of the world had the first generation from the soule, whereby it was shaped and made uniforme. For the soule of her selfe, brought not foorth the nature of a body, not created it of nothing, but of a body without all order and forme whatsoever, he made it orderly and very obeisant: as if one said that the force of a seed or kernell is alwaies with the bodie, but yet nevertheless the body of the sig tree or olive tree is engendred of the seed or kernell, he should not speake contrarieties: for the very body it selfe being mooved and altered by the seed, springesh and groweth to be such: semblably the matter void of forme and indeterminate, having once bene shapen by the soule, which was within, received such a forme and disposition.

• What is the reason, that whereas there be bodies and figures some consisting of right lines and there of circular, he hath taken for the foundation and beginning of those which stand of right lines, the triangle Hoccles, with two equals sides, and scalenum, with three sides all unequals. Of which, the triangle with two even legs composed the cube or square bodie, which is the element and principle of the earth: and the triangle with three enequals legs made the pyramidal body, as also octaedron with eight saces, and coloradorn with swenty saces whereof the first the element and seed of sive, the second of aire, and the third of water: and yet he hat bover passed quite all bodies and sigures circular: not with standing that he made mention of the sphericall sigure or round body when he said that every one of those sigures above named is apt to divide a globe or sphericall body into equall parts?

Is it as some doe imagine and suppose, because he attributed the Dodecaedron, that is to say, the body with twelve faces unto the globe or round sphære, in saying that God made use of this forme and figure, in the framing of the world? for in regard of the multitude of elements, and bluntnesse of angles, it is farthest off from direct and right lines, whereby it is shexible, and by stretching foorth round in maner of a ball made of twelve pieces of leather, it approchet neerest unto roundnesse, and in that regard is of greatest capacitie; for it conteined twenty angles solid, and every one of them is comprized and environed within three state obtained by the sum of the sum

Or may not this be the reason, that by nature the right goeth before the round? or rather, to speake more truely, that a circular line seemeth to be some vicious passion or faulty qualitie of the right, for we use ordinarily to say, that the right line doth bow or bend; and a circle is drawen and

and described by the center, and the distance from it to the circumference, which is the verice place of the right line, by which it is measured out; for the circumference is on every fide equally distant from the center. Moreover, the Conus, which is a round pyramys; and the Cylindre, which is as it were a round columne or pillar of equal compaffe, are both made of figures withdirect lines, the one, to wit, the Conus, by atriangle, whereof one fide remaineth firme, and the other with the base goeth round about it: the Cylindre, when the same befalleth to a parallell. Moreover, that which is leffe, commeth neerest unto the beginning, and resembleth it most : but the least and simplest of all lines is the right; for of the round line that part which is within, doth crooke and curbe hollow, the other without doth bumpe and bunch. Over and beto fides, numbers are before figures, for unity is before a pricke; feeing that a pricke is in position and fituation an unity, but an unity is triangular, for that every number triangular, eight times repeated or multiplied, by addition of an unity becommeth quadrangular, and the same also befalleth to unity; and therefore a triangle is before a circle, which being fo, the right line goethbefore the circular. Moreover, an element is never divided into that which is composed of it:burcontrariwife, every thing else is divided and resolved into the owne elements whereof it doth confift. If then the triangle is not refolved into any thing circular; but contrariwife, two diametres croffing one another, part a circle just into fower parts; then we must needs inferre the figure confifting of right lines, went before those which are circular: now that the right line goeth first, and the circular doth succeed and follow after, Flato himselfe bath shewed 20 by demonstration, namely when hee faith, that the earth is composed of many cubes or fquare folid bodies, whereof every one is enclosed, and contained with right lined superfices, in such maner disposed, as yet the whole body and masse of the earth seemeth round like a globe, fo that we need not to make any proper element thereof round; if it be fo that bodies with right lines, conjoined and fet in fome fort one to another, bringeth forth this former Over and besides the direct line, be it little or be it great, keepeth alwaies the same rectitude: whereas contrariwise we see the circumferences of circles if they be small, are more coping, bending, and contracted in their outward curvature: contrariwife, if they be great, they are more extent, lax, and fpred, infomuch as they that fland by the outward circumference of circles, lying upon a flat fuperfices, touch the fame underneath, partly by a pricke if they be final, 30 and in part by a line if they be large; fo as a man may very well conjecture, that many right lines joined one to another taile to taile by piece-meale, produce the circumference of a circle. But confider whether therebe none of these our circular or sphæricall figures, exquisitely and exactly perfect; but in regard of the extentions and circumtentions of right lines, or by reafon of the exilitie and smalnesse of the parts, there can be perceived no difference, and thereupontheresheweth a circular and round figure: And therefore it is, that there is not a bodie heere, that by by nature doth moove circularly, but all according to the right line; fo that the round and sphericall figure is not the element of a sensible body, but of the soule and understanding, unto which he attributeth likewife the circular motion as belonging unto them naturally.

In what sense and meaning delivered he this speech in his booke entituled Phædrus, that the nature of a wing, where by that which is heavy and ponderous, is caried up alost, of all other things that belong unto a body, hath a certeine communion and participation with God?

Is it because he discourse the there of love; and love is occupied about the beauty of the body, and this beauty for the resemblance that it hath to divinity, doth moove the minde, and excite the reminiscence thereof?

Or rather are we to take it fimply without curious fearching farther into any mystery thereof namely, that the soulebeing within the body, hath many faculties & powers, whereof that
which is the discourse of reason and understanding, doth participate with the deitie, which hee
so notunproperly and impertinently tearmeth a wing, because it lifteth up the soule from things
base and mortall, unto the consideration of heavenly and celestiall matters.

How sist that Plato in some places saith, the Anteperistalis of motion, that is to say, the circumflant contrariety debarring a body to moove, in regard that there is no voidnesse or vacuity in nature, is the cause of those effects which we see in physicians ventoses and cupping glasses of swallowing downe our viands, of throwing of massy waights, of the course and convetance of wa-Rrr ters ters of the fall of lightenings, of the attraction that amber maketh of the drawing of the loaeflone, and of the accord and consonance of voices? For it seemeth egainst all reason to yeeld one onely cause, for so many effects so divers and so different in kinde. First as touching the respiration in living creatures, by the anteperistass of the aire, he hath elsewhere sufficiently declared, but of the other effects, which seeme as he saith to be miracles, and woonders in nature, and are nothing, for that they be nought else but bodies reciprocally and by alternative course, driving one another out of place round about, and musually succeeding in their roomes, he hat hieft for to be discussed by us, bow each of them particularly is done?

If It and formost for ventoses and cupping glasses thus it is. The aire that is contained with to in the ventose, stricking as it doth into the sless, being instanced with heat, and being now more fine and subtil than the holes of the brasse (box or glasse) whereof the ventose is made, getteth forth, not into a void place, for that is impossible, but into that other aire which is round about the said ventose without forth, and driven the same from it; and that forceth other before it, and thus as it were from hand to hand, whiles the one giveth place, and the other driveth continually, and so entreth into the vacant place which the first left, it commeth at length to fall upon the slesh which the ventose stricketh fast unto, and by heating and inchassing, it expresses the humor that is within, into the ventose or cupping vessell.

The fwallowing of our victuals is after the fame maner, for the cavities as well of the mouth as of the fromacke, be alwaies full of aire: when as then, the meat is driven within the paffage or 20 gullet of the throat, partly by the rongue and partly by the glandulous parts or kernelles called tonfells, and the micles which now are fireteched, the aire being preffed and firained by the faid meat, followeth it hard as it giveth place, and flicking close, it is a meanes to helpe for to drive it downeward.

Semblably the waighty things that be flung, as bigge ftones and fuch like, cut the aire and divide it, by reason that they were fent out and levelled with a violent force; then the aire all about behind, according to the nature thereof, which is to follow where a place is left vacant and to fill tup, pursue the mastle or waight aforesaid that is lanced or discharged forcibly, and setted forward the motion thereof.

The shooting and ejaculation of lightening is much what after the maner of these waights so throwen in maner aforesaid, for being enslamed and set on a light site, it shatheth out of a cloud by the violence of a stroke, into the aire, which being once open and broken, givith place unto it, and then closing up together above it, driveth it downe forcibly against the owne nature.

As for amber, we must not thinke that it draweth any thing to it of that which is presented before it, no more than doth the lode stone; neither that any thing comming nere to the one or the other, leapeth thereupon. But first, as touching the faid stone; it sendeth from it I wot not what ftrong and flatuous fluxions, by which the aire next adjoining giving backe, driveth that which is before it; and the fame turning round and reentring againe into the void place, doth thrult from it and withall carry with it the yron to the stone. And for amber it hath likewise a certeine flagrant and flatulent spirit, which when the out-fide thereof is rubbed, it putteth forth by reason 40 that the pores thereof are by that meanes opened. And verily that which iffueth out of it, worketh in some measure the like effect that the Magnet or lode stone did: and drawen there are unto it fuch matters neere at hand as be most light and dry, by reason that the substance comming thereof is but flender and weake: neither is it felfe ftrong not hath fufficient waight and force, for to chale and drive before it a great deale of aire, by means whereof it might overcome greater things, as the lode-stone doth. But how is it that this aire driveth and sendeth before it neither wood nor stone, but yron onely, and so bringeth it to the Magnet? This is a doubt and dificulty that much troubleth all those who suppose that this meeting and cleaving of two bodies together, is either by the attraction of the stone, or by the natural motion of the yron. Yron is neither fo hollow and spungeous as is wood, nor so fast and close, as is gold or stone, but it 50 hath small holes, passages and rough aspecties, which in regard of the unequality are well proportionate and fortable to the aire, in fuch wife, as it runneth not eafily through, but hath certaine staies by the way to catch hold of, so as it may stand steady and take such sure footing, as to be able to force and drive before it the yron untill it have brought it to kiffe the lode-frone. And thus much for the causes and reasons that may be rendred of these effects.

As confidering the running of water above ground, by what maner of comprefition and coarctation roud about, it should be performed it is not so easy either to be perceived or declared.

Butthus much we are to learne, that for waters of lakes, which stirre not but continue alwayes in one place, it is because the aire, spred all about, and keeping them in on every side, mooveth not nor leaveth unto them any vacant place. For even fo the upper face of the water, as well in lakes as in the sea, riseth up into waves and billowes, according to the agitation of the aire; for the water still followeth the motion of the aire, and floweth or is troubled with it, by reason of the inequalities. For the stroke of the aire downeward maketh the hollow dent of the wave : but as the same is driven upward it causeth the swelling and furging tumor of the wave untill such time as all the place above containing the water be fetled and laied, for then the waves also doe ceale, and the water likewife is still and quiet. But now for the course of waters which glide and to run continually above the face of the ground: the cause thereof is because they alwaies follow hardafter the aire that giveth way and yet are chased by those behinde by compression and driving forward, and to by that meanes maintaine a continuall streame that never resteth: which is the reason also that great rivers when they are full and doe overflow the banks, run with a more fwiftand violent streame : and contrariwise when there is but a little water in the chanell, they glide more flowly, because the aire before doth nothing to much give place, for that they are more feeble: neither is there fo great an antiperistasis to urge and presse them forward; and even fothe spring waters must of necessity boile and rife upward, for that the outward airc entering closely into the void hollow places within the ground fendeth up againe the water forth.

The paved floore of a darke close house, contening in it a great deale of flill aire, without any winde from without entring into it, if a man doe call water upon it, engendreth presently a winde and colde vapour; by reason that the aire is displaced and removed out of his sear, by the water which fell, and is thereby beaten, and receiveth the stroake and dint thereof. For this is the nature of them, to drive one another, and likewise to give place one to the other interchangeably, admitting in no wise any emprinesse, wherein the one of them should be so settled, as that it did not reciprocally seele the change and alteration of the other.

To come now unto the above named lymphonic and confonance, himfelfe hath declared how it is that that founds and voices do accord: for the finall and treble is quicke and fivilf; whereas the bigge and bafe is heavie and flow. And thereupon it is, that finall and thrill founds do move the fentle of hearing before others: but if when these begin to fall and decay, the flow 30 and base begin to succeed and receive then the mixture and temperature of them both, by a kind of conformitie yeeldeth a delight and pleasure to the eare, which they call a symphonic or accord. And that hereof the aire is the instrument, it may evidently appeare by that which we have said already: for voice is a stroake or percussion by the aire of that which the eare doth heare; so that the institute by motion, so it frikethagaine the auditoric organ forcibly, if the motion be quicke; and gently, if the same bestow: and that which is stricken forcibly with a violence, commeth first into the sense of hearing, but afterwards, turning about and meeting with that which is more flow, it followeth and accompanieth the sense.

40 What is the meaning of Timzeus, when he faith: That the foules are differfed and fowen (as it were) upon the ground the moone and all other instruments of time what sever.

Is it because he was of opinion, that the earth did move like unto the funne, moone and other five planets, which he calleth the instruments of time, because of their conversions? and held besides, that we ought notto imagine the earth so framed, as if it were firme and immoveable, fast fixed and perpetually to the axlettee or pole that passet theorew the world; but that it turneth round in maner of a wheele: like as afterwards Aristarchia and Seleucia have themed; the one supposing it onely, the other affirming so much statly. To say nothing of that which Theophias wrote; namely, how Platotoward the latter end of his daies, repented that he had associated with the center and middle of the world, a place twis unfit and unmeet for it?

Ortather, because this is directly repugnant unto many sentences which this philosopher undoubtedly held, we ought therefore to change the writing of this place of Timesus, by putting the dative case in stead of the generic yea, with a property of the sentences of time, not the planets of startes, but the bodies of living creatures; according as Assistant before the sold, the sold of a bodie, Naturall, Organicall, having sife potentially: so that the sentence in the forestaid place should be read thus; The soules have been differentiated and sowen by time in organicall bodies, meet and agreeable for them. And yet

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even this also is contrary unto his own-opinion: for that not in one onely place, but in many, he hath called the startes, instruments of time, considering that he affirment that the very sume was made to distinguish and keepe the number of time with other planets. The best way is therefore to understand, That the earth is the instrument of time, not because it moveth as doe the startes, but for that so continuing as it doeth, alwaies firme and steady in itselfe, it gives meanes unto the startes moving round about it, to rise and to fall; whereby are limited the day and the night, which are the first measures of time: and therefore himselfe hath called it the Guardien, yea, the A-tizan in deed and right truely of night and day: for the Gnomons in Sun dials, not moving with the shadowes, but standing still and keeping their place, are the instruments and measures of time, representing the obstacle of the earth opposite unto the Sun mooto to ving round about it; like as Empedoeles stath:

The earth fet just twixt Sun beames and our sight, Shuts up the day and bringeth in the night.

And thus much for the enodation of this knot. But haply this a man may doubt to be a strange and absurd speech, to say that the Sun, together with the Moone & the planets, were made for diffinction of times: for otherwise by it felle. great is the dignitic of the Sun; and Plato himselfe in his books of Common wealth, calleth him the king and lord of all the sensible world, like as Good he pronounceth to be the sovereign of the intelligible world. And the Sun (faith he) is the very iffue extract from that Good, gi. ving unto things visible, together with their apparance, being also, & subsistance; like as Good 20 giveth unto intelligible things this gift, both to have a being, and also to be knowen. Now, that God having such puissance and so great, should be the instrument of time, and an evidentrule and measure of the difference that is of swiftnesse or of slownesse among the eight heavenly fphæres, seemeth not very decent; no nor any consonant to reason. It remaineth therefore thus much to fay, those who trouble themselves about these points, for very ignorance are deceived, supposing that time according to the definition of Aristotle, is the measure of motion, and the number in regard of prioritic and posteriority: or the quantity in motion after the opinion of Speulippus: or elfe the distance of motion, and no other thing, as the Stoicks describe it, desining forfooth one accident, but never comming neere unto the substance and power thereof, which as it should seeme, the poet Pindarus imagined and conceived not amisse when he said: 20

In right of age, time hath thu ods,

That is surpassed all the gods.

Pythagor as also, who being asked what time was ? answered: The soule of the heaven: for time be it what it will be, is not some accident or passion of any motion, but it is the cause, the pussion and the principle of that proportion, and order that conteineth and heldeth together all things, according to which, the nature of the world, and this whole universality, which also is animate, doth move, or rather the very same proportion it selfe and order which doth moove, is the thing that we call time:

40

For walke it doth with filent pace, In way where as no noife is made: Conducting justly to their place, All mortall things that paffe and fade.

And verily according to the minde of auncient philosophers, the substance of the soule was defined to be a number mooving it selfe; which is the reason why Plato said: That time and heaven were made together; but motion was before heaven, at what time as there was no heaven at all; for why, there was no order nor measure whatsoever, no nor any distinction, but an undeterminate motion, like as the matter was rude without forme & sigure: but after that nature once had cast this matter into a colour, and had shaped it with forme and figure, and then determined motion with periodicall revolutions, she made withall, both the world and time both at once; which two are the very images of God: to wit, the world of his substance, and time of so his eternitie; for God in that he mooveth, is time, and in that he hath being, is the world. This is the reason why he saith: That both of them comming together, shall likewise-both be dissolved together, in case that ever there will be any dissolution of them. For that which had a beginning and generation, cannot be without time, no more than that which is intelligible without eternity; in case the one is to continue for ever, and the other being once made, shall never perish and be dissolved. Time then being so necessarily linked and interlaced with the heaven, is not simply a motion, but as we have said already, a motion ordeined by order, which

hath a just measure, set limits and bonds, yea and certeine revolutions; of all which, the sume being superintendent, governour and directour, for to dispose, limit, and digest all; for to discover, set out and show, the alterations and seasons the which bring sooth all things, as Herallia sith: consessed it must be, that he is a workeman cooperant with that chiese and soverages God, the prince of all, not in petie, base, and frivolous things, but in the greatest and most principall works that be.

Plate in his books of common-wealth, having excellently well compared the fymphony of the three faculties & powers of the foule, to wit, the reasonable, the irascible & concupici-10 ble, unto the mulicall harmony of the notes, Mefe, Hypate, and Nete, hath given occasion for aman to doubt, whether hee fet the irafcible or reasonable part, correspondent to the meane? feeing that he shewed not his meaning in this present place; for according to the situation of the parts of the body, wherein these faculties are seated, furely the couragious and irascible is placed in the middes, and answered to the region of Mese the meane: but the reasonable is ranged into the place of Hypate: for that which is aloft, first and principall our auncestours used to call Hypaton: according to which fense Xenoerates calleth Jupiter or the aire (that I meane which converfeth above where all things continue the fame, and after one fort) Hypatos; like as that which is under the moone, Neatos. And before him Homer speaking of the toveraigne God and prince of princes, faith thus to dire xperbrary, that is to fay, our foveraigne and fupreme 20 of all rulers. And in trueth, nature hath by very good right given unto the best part of the foule, the highest place in lodging the discourse of reason, as the governour of the rest within the head; but hath removed farre from thence to the base and inferior members, the concupiscible: for the low situation is called Neate, according as appeareth by the denomination of the dead, who are tearmed Nepress and Ever, that is to fay, inferior or infernall: and for this cause, some there be who say, that the winde which bloweth from beneath, and out of placesunfeene, that is to fay, from the pole Antarticke, is called None, that is to fay, the fourth, Since then it is fo, that there is the fame proportion of contrariety between econcupifcible and reasonable parts of the soule, as there is betweene lowest and highest, last and first; it is not posfible, that reason should be the highest and principall, and not withall, correspondent to Hygopate, but to some other note in musicke: for they who attribute unto her as unto the principall faculty and power Mefe, that is to fay, the meane, fee not (ignorant as they be) how they take from her that which is more principall, to wit, Hypate, which cannot fit well either with ire or luft, for both these, the one and the other are made for to follow, and be commanded by reason, and not to command or goe before reason. Moreover, it should seeme by nature, that anger ought to have the meane and middle place, confidering that naturally reason is to command; and anger both to command and be commanded, as being on the one fide fubject to the discourse of reason, and on the other side, commanding lust, yea, and punishing it, when the is disobedient to reason. And like as in grammar, those letters which wee call semivowels, be of a middle nature, betweene mute confonants and vowels: for that as they found 40 more than the one, fo they found leffe than the other: even fo in the foule of man, wrath is not fimply a meere paffion, but hath many times an apparence of duty and honefty mixed with defire of revenge. And Plate himselfe comparing the substance of the soule unto a couple of hotles drawing a chariot, and guided by a chariot man, who driveth them, and understandeth by the driver & guide, as every man well knowes the discourse of reason: now of the two steeds, that of lusts and pleasures is frampold, skittish, flinging, winsing, unruly altogether, and unbroken, stiffenecked, deafe, hardly caring either for whip or spurre; where as the other of ire, is for the most part tractable, and obeisant to the bridle of reason, yea, and ready to joine with it in execution of good things. And like as in a chariot with two horses, the driver or chariot-man is not in vertue and puissance the middle, but rather one of the horses, which is woorse than the 50 chariot man, and better than his fellow that draweth with him: even fo likewise hath not he given the middle place unto that part which doth rule and governe in the foule, but unto that wherein there is leffe paffion than in the first, and more reason than in the third: for this order and disposition observeth the proportion of the irascible to the reasonable part, as is of Diatellaron to Hypate; and to the concupifcible, as Dapente to Nete: also of the reasonable Part to the concupifcible, as Hypate to Nete, which is Dia pason: But if we draw reason and the discourse thereof to the meane, anger shall be farther off from lust and concupiscence, which Rrtt 3

fome of the philosophers held to be one and the selfe-same thing, for the great similitude and resemblance betweene them.

Orrather, it is but a ridiculous thing to attribute unto the places, first, middet, and last. feeing (as we do) how in a harpe, lute, or stringed instrument, Hypate hath the first and highest place; but in flutes and pipes the lowest & the last: furthermore, the meane in what place soever of the harpe or lute you fet it, you shal find it foundeth alwaies the same note still, to wit, smaller than Hypate, & bigger than Neresfor the very eie it felfe hath not the fame fituation in al creatures, but in any creature, and in what place foever it is fet according to nature, alwaies it is or. deined and made for to fee. Like as therefore the pædagogue or governour of youth, who or dinarily commeth behinde, and goeth not before his children, is notwithstanding faid to lead to and guide them: And the captaine of the Trojanes in Homer:

Who with the formost in the front, sometimes appeer'd in sight, And in the receivard other whiles,

his men strr'dup to fight. As well in the one part as the other, was alwaies the chiefe, and had the principall power: even fowe ought not to force the parts of the foule to any places or names, but to examine and fearch the power and proportion of them; for that the discourse of reason in situation should be fer in the first and principall place of mansbody, falleth out accidentally: but the first and principall power it hath, as being Mele or the meane, in regard of Hypate, the concupifible 20 part; and Nete the irafcible, by letting downe and fetting up, by making confonance and accord, by taking from the one and the other that which is excessive; and againe, by not suffring them either to be let loofe and flacke altogether, or to lie afleepe: for mediocrity and a competent temperature, is limited by a meane; or rather to speake more properly, a principall piece of worke this is, and a fingular gift and puiffance of reason, to make and imprint in passions, meanes and mediocrities, if we may fo fay, which are called holy and facred, confifting in a temperature of two extremities with reason, yea and betweene them both by the meanes of reason: for the teeme of two steeds hath not for the meane & in the middest, that of two which is better: neither are we to imagine, that the government of them is one of the extremities; but rather we ought to thinke, that it is the middes and mediocritic betwixt the immoderate ce-20 leritie or flownesse of the two steeds; like as the power of reason which holdeth in the passions when they stirrewithout measure and reason, and by composing and framing them unto her in measurable proportion, setteth downe a mediocritic and meane betweene too much, and over little, betweene excesse (I say) and defect.

What is the reasons hat Plato Saith: Our speech is tempered and composed of nownes and of verbes? for he seemesh so make no account of all other parts of speech be side these two: and to thinke that Homer in a gallant youthfull humour to shew his fresh wit affected to thrust them all eight into this one ver le:

* duris leur xxiorius, ro cor yepas, opp di eid es,

For heere you have a Pronoune, a Participle, a Nowne, a Verbe, a Preposition, an Article, a Conjunction, and an Adverbe for the Participle, se, is put in stead of the Preposition is, that is to fay, to: and xxioilude, that is to fay, to thy tent, is after the maner of abluage, that is to fay, to Athens: But what shall we answer in the behalfe of Plato.

ving the time Sit for that in olde time they called that winn Abpen, that is to fay, the first speech, which then as it flands, it was named netruns, that is to fay, a proposition, and now they tearme attours, that is to fay, digto be done in nitie: which when they utter first, they either lie or speake trueth. And this proposition is compounded of a Nowne and a verbe, whereof the one is called by the Logicians, refers, that is to fay, 50 the case; the other, yangfengua, that is to say, the predicable or pradicatum. For when we heare one fay, Socrates teacheth; and againe, Socrates is turned; we fay the one is true, and the other is falle: and we require no more words. For it is probable that men at the first had need of speech and voice articulate, when they were defirous to explaine and fignific one unto another the actions and the persons and the doers thereof: like as the passions and the persons who suffer the same. For almuch then, as by the Verbe we expresse sufficiently the actions and passions;

andby the Nowne, the perfons doing or fuffering according as he himfelfe faith; it feemeth that thele be the two parts of speech that he meaneth: as for the rest, a man may well and truely fay, that they fignific nothing, no more than doe the groanes, fighes and lamentations of plaiers in a tragoedie, yea, and many times iwis, a finile, a reticence or keeping filence, which otherwhiles may well expresse a speech, and make it more emphaticall; but surely, no necessarie and fignificative power have they to declare ought, like as the Verbe & the Nowne hath: onely they lerve as acceffary adjuncts, to vary, illustrate & beautifie the speech; like as they also diverfife the very letters, who put to their spirits and aspirations, their accents also to some, whereby they make them long & thort, and reckon them for elements & letters indeed, whereas they be 10 pullions, accidents, & divertifications of elements, rather than diffinet elements by themselves, as it appeareth manifestly by this, that our ancients contented themselves sufficiently to speake and write with fixteene letters and no more. Moreover, confider and fee whether we doe not take the words of Plato otherwife than he delivered them; when he faith that the speech is tempered of these two parts, and not by them. Take heed (I fay) we commit not the same errour ashedoth, who should cavill and finde fault with one for faying, that such an ointment or salve was made of wax and galbanum, alledging against him for so saying, that he left out fire and the veffell, without which a manknoweth not how to temper the faid fimples or drogues: for even fo, if we should reproove him because he omitted the naming of Conjunctions, Prepositions and other parts of speech, we were likewise to be blamed for in trueth, a speech or sentence is 20 not compounded of these parts, but by them and not without them. For like as he, who should pronounce fimply these Verbs, To beat, or To be beaten; or otherwise these bare Nownes, Sotrates or Pythagor as; giveth fome light (fuch as it is) of a thing to be conceived & understood: but he that should come out with these odde words, For, or Of, and say no more, a man can not Alisa see. imagine what he meaneth thereby, nor gather any conception either of action or of body; for if there be not some other words pronounced with them or about them, they resemble naked founds and vaine noises without any fignifications at all: for that neither by themselves alone, norone with another, it is possible that they should betoken any thing. Nay, admit that we should conjoine, mingle and interlace together Conjunctions, Articles and Prepositions all in one, minding to make one entire bodie of them all, we shall seeme rather to creake than speake: 20 but so soone as a Verbe is joined to a Nowne, that which resulteth thereupon is immediatly a fentence and fignificant speech. And therefore not without good reason some doe thinke that these two (to speake properly) be the onely parts of speech. And peradventure Homer had some fuch meaning, and gave us fo much to understand, by faying in fo many places,

> He spake the word, and with the same, Immediatly out came the name.

ETOS T Epat, ch T ovona (ev.

For by was, that is to fay, the word; his maner is to fignific a Verbe: as namely in this other verfe,

છે ગુર્યાલા માં દાવંત્રલ કેંજ જ દેશા ઉપાયમ મુદ્દેક કરામદક.

Now furely woman, much to blame thou art, This word to speake, it strikes so to my hart.

Asalfo elfewhere:

χαίρε πάτερ ὧ ξείνε, έπις δ' είτορτι λελεκ) θεινόν, άφαρ τὸ ρέξοιεν αναρπάζαπα άκλλαι. Adieu good Father; guest and friend

Farewell: And if some wordunkind Hath bene let fall, I wish it may By winds and stormes be caught away.

For furely it is neither Conjunction, Article, nor Preposition, that can be said either unkinde or to touch the heart, but some Verbe fignifying a shainefull deed, proceeding from an unde-50 centand dishonest passion. And therefore you see how we are woont to praise poets and historiographers, or otherwife to blame and difpraise them, faying in this wife: Such a poet hath ufed Atticke Nownes and elegant Verbs: and contrariwife, Such an historiographer hath used triviall and base Nownes and Verbs. And no man will say that either Euripides or Thueydides wrote a stile confissing of Articles that were homely and base, or otherwise elegant and Atticke.

How then (may some one say) serve these parts to no purpose in our speech? Yes iwis say I, even as much as falt in our meats, or water for our bread and gruell, Euenus was wont to fay that firealfo was an excellent kinde of fauce: and even fo be these parts of speech the seasoning of

ding of the precedent and füblequent

* The lenfe of

this is altoge-

ther unper-

fect,depen-

our language, like as fire and falt of our broths and viands, without the which we can not well do: and yet our speech doth not alwaies of necessitie stand in need of them: for so me thinks I may very well affirme of the Romane language, that all the world I see in maner wheth at this day: for the Romans take away all Prepositions, except a very sew; and as for those that be called Articles, they admit not so much as one, but whether Nownes plaine, and as one would say, without skirts and borders. Whereat we may wonder the lesse, considering that Homer, who for trimme and beautifull verses surpassed all other poets, set to very sew Nownes any Articles as eares unto cups and other vessels, for to take hold by, or as pennaches and cress upon morions: and therefore looke in what verses he wieth so to doe, be sure they were of speciall marke, or els suppositions and suspected to be none of his making. As for example:

สมสาก วิ ผสภารณ อินาร อองา วิขานอง อัยางร

τω τελαμωνιά Νι.

This speech the courage most of all

excited then anon,

Of Ajaz, him I meane, who was

the sonne of Telamon.

Againe:

ποίειν, ορραποκήτ Φ έπεκπείφυρων αλέοιτω.

This did he that, by flying thus apace,

He might escape the whale that was in chace.

And a few others befides these. But in the rest which are innumerable, although there be no Atticle, yet the phrase of speech is thereby nothing diminished or hurt either in beautie or perspicuitie. And thus we see, that neither living creature, if it be maimed or dismembred, nor instrument, nor armour, nor any thing in the world whatsoever, by the want and defect of any proper part belonging thereto, is the more beautifull or active thereby, neither more pleasant than it was therefore: whereas a speech or sentence, when all the Conjunctions be taken quite away, is many times more emphaticall, yea, and carieth a power and efficacie more patheticall and apter to move and affect, as this:

One found, unhurt she catching fast, another wounded new, Alive she held, another dead, in sight by heeles she drew.

3. Also this place of Demosthenes his oration against Midias: For many things may he doe who 3. striketh, whereof, some the party who suffereth, can not declare unto another, by jesture, his 3. port, by regard, his eie, in his voice, when he wrongeth insolently in a bravery, when he offereth 3. in jurie as an enemie, when with the clutched fist, when upon the cheeke, when upon the eare: 3. this mooveth, this is that remooveth, that transporteth men beside themselves, who are not acquainted with outrages, who have not beene used to be are such a buses. And againe another 3. place afterwards. But it is not Midias. He from this day is a speaker, he maketh orations, heraiselth, exclameth, he passent from what by his voice: Is there any election? Midias the Anagyraphic in the sum of the circumstance of the circumstance of the sum of the circumstance of the ci

Now whereas logicians have more need than any other profeffours in learning of Comjunctions copulatives, for to knit and connex their propositions or disjunctives, to disjoine and distinguish them; like as waine men or carters have need of yokes or geeres; or as Utifies 50 had of osters in Cyclops his cave to binde his sheepe together: This doth not argue, nor proove that the Conjunction is a substantiall member or part of speech; but a prety instrument and meanes to binde and conjoine according as the very name of it doth import, and to keepe and hold together not all words or sentences indifferently, but such alone as are not simply speken: unlesse unlesse unlesse unlesse unlesse and any speaken of the faid packe, or the paste and glue a part of the booke; or donatives and largess, a part of politike government; like as Demades was woontto say: That the dole of mony distri-

buted by the poll to the citizens in the theaters for to fee the plaies, was the very glew of the popular State. And tell me what conjunction is that which will make of many propositions one, by couching and knitting them together, as the marble doth unite the iron that is calt and melted with it by the fire; and yet I trow no man will fay, that the marble for all that is part of the iron, or to to be called. Howbeit, such things verily as enter into a composition, and which beliquested together with the drogues mingled therewith; are wontafter a fort to doe and inferreciprocally from the ingredients. But as for these conjunctions, there be who deny that they doe unite any one thing, saying: That this maner of speaking with conjunctions is no other but accrreince enumeration, as if a man should reckon in order all our magistrates, or some the daies of a moneth.

Moreover, of all other parts of speech; it is very evident; that the Pronouncis a kinde of Noune, not onely in this respect, that it is declined with cases, as the Nouncis; but also for that some of them being pronounced and uttered of things and persons determinate, doe make a most proper demonstration of them accordant to their nature: neither can I see, how he who hath expressly named Socrates, hath declared his person more, than hee who said: This man

heere

30

To come now unto that which they tearme a Participle, furely it is a very medly and mixture of a Noune and a Verbe, and not a part of speech substitute alone of it selfe, no more than those Nounes or names which are common to Malculine and Ferninine; and these Participles 20 are raunged with them both; with Nounes in respect of their cases, and with Verbes in regard of tenses: and verily the logicians call such, tearmes restected, as for example, **ervining, that is to say, wistely foreseeing; is a restex on of a wise foreseer: and **opening variety of the say, minding sobriety, is a restex on of a sobre minded person, that is to say, minding sobriety, is a restex on of a sobre minded person, that is to say,

as if they had the nature and power of Nounes and appellations.

As touching Prepofitions, a man may liken them very well to pennaches, crefts, or fuch like ornaments above motions or head attires, or elfe to bales, predftals, and footfteps under flatues and pillers: forafinuch as they are not fo much parts of speech, as busic and conversant about them: but see I pray you whether they may not be compared to truncheons, pieces, and fragments of words, like as those who when they write a running hand in haste, doe not alwaies 30 make out the letters full, but use pricks, minims and dashes. For these two Verbes individue, and individue, be both of them manifest clippings of the full and compleat words in the sum and in the sum of the manifest clippings of the full and compleat words in the sum and in the sum of the

therefore a man may well fay, that every one of these, excepting Noune and Verbe, doe some good in our speech, and helpe well in a sentence, but for all that, they cannot be called either elements of speech: for there is none but the Noune and the Verbe, as it hath beene said before, that maketh this composition, conteining verity and sality, which some tearme proposition, others axiome, and Plate nameth speech or oration.





COMMENTARIE

THE CREATION OF

SOULE, WHICH PLATO DE-SCRIBETH IN HIS BOOKE TIM AE uS.

The Summarie.



Mong those discourses which may exercise the wittes, and busie the braines of most curious spirits, those of Plato may be raunged, which in divers places of his dialogues. but especially in his Timaus he hath delivered, and namely, where he treateth of nature metaphysically, intermingling with a certeine deepe and profound maner of 20 doctrine (as a man may perceive by his writings) hu resolutions as I may say irresolute.

proseeding all from the ignorance of the facred flory and the true fense of Moyles. As for example, that which he faith as couching the foule of the world : an abfurd and fantasticall opinion, if it benot handled and expounded aright. Our authour being minded in this treatife to dispute philosophically upon the creation of the faid foule, runneth thorow numbers, tones, tunes and harmonies, aswellterrestriall as celestiall, for to declare the meaning of Plato: but with such brevitie in many places, that a man had need to reade with both his eies, and to have his minde wholly intentive and amused upon his words, for the under flanding of him. Meane while, this would be considered, seeing that in such matters we have (God be thanked) sufficient to resolve us in the word of God, and the good books of the doctours of the church, all this present discourses out do be read, as comming out of the hands of a man? walking in darkeneffe; and to speake in one word, of one blinde himselfe and following a blinde guide: to the ends hat in flead of highly admiring these subtilities of Plato, as some in these daies doe, whose heads are not flated and well fetled, we might know that the higher that man in his wifdome mounteh wish his pen, farre from Gods schoole, the lesse he is to be received and accepted of.

A COMMENTARIE OF THE

creation of the foule, which Plato describeth in his booke Timeus.

The father to his two sonnes Autobulus and PLUTARCH, Greeting.



Orafmuch as ye are of this minde, that whatfoever I have heere and there faid and written in divers places by way of exposition touching that which I supposed in mine opinion Plato held, thought and understood concerning the soule, ought to be reduced & brought rogether into one; and that I thould doe well to declare the fame at 50 large in a speciall treatife apart by it selfe, because it is not a matter which otherwife is easie to be handled and managed; as also for that feeming as it doth, fomewhat contrary to most of the Platonique philosophers themselves: in which regard it had need to be well mollified. I will therefore in the first place set downe the very

text of Plato in his owne proper tearmes, word for word, as I finde them written in his booke entituled Timers.

Of that indivisible substance which alwaies continueth about the same things; as also of that ,, which is divifible by many bodies, he composed a third kinde of substance in the mids of them , both, holding partly of the nature of The fame, and in part of The other: and this he ordeined ,, and fet in the mids betweene the indivifible fubflance converfant about the fame things, and the ,, other which is divifible by bodies. Then taking these three natures or substances, he mixed them ,, altogether into one forme or idea, and fitted perforce the nature of Theother, which was unto ward to be mixed, to that nature of The same. Having thus mingled them with Substance, and of three made one, he divided this whole againe into fuch portions, as were fit and conve-,, nient: ech one of them being mingled with The fame, with The other, and with Sub stance. And

10 this division of his he began in this maner, &c. To begin withall if I should discourse unto you at this present what a number of disputations and contentious debates, these words have ministred unto those who tooke upon them to expound the same, it were for my selfe a peece of worke endlesse, and for you who have read the most part of them together with me, a labour needlesse. But seeing that of the most principalland excellent professiours, Xenocrates hath drawen some unto his opinion, in defining the substance of the foule to be a number mooving it selfe : and others have ranged them selves to Cramor of Soli, who affirmed the foule to be tempered of the nature intellectuall & of the other which is opinionative about objects fensible; I suppose that these two sentences being well displaied and opened will make the way and give you an easie entrance to the understanding and 20 finding of that which we feeke for and is in question. And verily there need not many words for the exposition of them both. For * the one fort of them thinke that Plato meaneth no- Xinesian forme exponetion of memoria. For the one fortor mentalinese that Patto meaner morning ellebut the generation of number, by the faid mixture of indivisible with divisible; for creations that unity is indivifible, and plurality divifible: of which twaine is engendred and produced number, whiles unity doth determine plurality, and limit out an end to that which is infinit, to wit, the binary or two indeterminate: which is the reason that Zaratas the master of Pythagoras called two the mother, and one the father of numbers: as also for that the better numbers be those which resembled unity: and yet for all that this number is not the foulle, because that both themotor and the moovable is wanting: but when The same and the other were mingled together, of which the one is the beginning of motion and mutation, the other of rest and station, 10 then commeth the foule to have a being, which is as well the principall, to ftaic and to be ftaicd,

asitis to moove and to be mooved. But Cranter and his followers supposing that the proper and principall operation of the foulewas to judge things intelligible and fenfible, together with the similatudes and diffimilitudes which they have, as well them felves, as one in respect of another, affirme, that the foule is composed of All, to the end that the may judge of all. The which All aforesaid standeth upon fower principall kindes; the first is a nature intelligible, which is alwaies one and evermore after the fame fort: the second a nature passible and mutable concerning bodies: the third the nature of the same: and the forth the nature of the other: for the two first, participate in some fort both of the same and also of the other. But all these doe jointly and equally holde, that the soulc 40 was never after a certaine time, nor ever engendred, but hath many powers and faculties, into which Plate refolving for speculative disputation fake, the substance of her, supposeth in word onely, that the was engendred mixed and tempered, faying moreover that he thought as much of the world: for full well he knew, that eternal it was and ingenerable, but feeing it was not eafic to comprehend how, and in what order it was found, composed, governed and administred, for thole who at the first presupposed nor the creation and generation neither of it selfe, or of such things as concurred thereto, he therefore tooke the course to speake in such fort.

This much your fee in fum what they both doe fay: which when Eudorus well confidered, he thought there was good probability both in the one and the other of their opinions, but for mine owne part, perswaded verily I am, that neither of them twaine hath touched the point, or 50 come neere unto the minde and meaning of Plato.

If we will use the rule of probability & verifimilitude indeed, not fully building our owne properopinions, but be willing for to fay fomething agreeable & accordant thereto; for that mixture of the fubitance intelligible and fenfible which they fpeake of, giveth not us to understand thereby, that it is the generation of the foule, more than of any other thing what foever that a man may name. For the very world and every part thereof is compounded of a substance intelligible or spirituall, and of a substance sensible or corporall: whereof the one hath surnished the thing that is made and engendred with forme and shape, the other with subject matter. And as

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much of the matter as is forme by participation or refemblance of the intelligible, becommeth incontinently palpable and visible: but the soule is not perceptible by any sense. Neither was it ever found that Plate called the foule number, but alwaies a motion mooving of it felfe, yea the very fountain & beginning of motion. True it is, I confesse that embelished he hath & adorned the substance therof with number, proportion, accord & harmony, which he hath bestowed therein as in a subject capable & susceptible of the most beautifull forme that can be imprinted therein, by those qualities before faid. And I suppose it is not all one to say that the soule is composed by number, and that the substance thereof is number: for certaine it is that it hath the subfiftence and composition by harmony, but harmonie it is none, according as himselfe hath shewed in his treatise of the soule. Moreover altogether ignorant they are, what Plato mea- to neth, by the same and the other : for they say, that the same conferreth to the generation of the foule, the power or faculty of station and rest: the other, of motion: whereas Plato himselfein his booke entituled, The Sophister, putteth downe, that which is, the same, the other, motion and Mation, as five diffinct things differing the one from the other, fevering them a part, asha. ving nothing to doe in common one with another; which they all with one accord, yeaand many more even of those who lived and conversed with Plato, fearing and being mightily trou. bled with, doe devife and immagin all that they can, bestir themselves wresting forcibly, heaving and shooving and turning every waie, as in case of some abominable thing and not to benamed, supposing that they ought either altogether, for his honour and credit to denie, or at least wife to cover and conceale that which he had delivered, as touching the generation or creation 20 of the world, and of the foule thereof, as if the fame had not bene from all eternity, nor had time out of minde their effence: whereof we have particularly spoken a part else where; and for this present suffice it shall to say by the way, that the arguing and contestation, which Plato confesfeth himselfe to have used with more vehemencie than his age would well beare, against Atheists: the same I say they confound and shufflle up, or to speake more truely abolish altogether, For if it be fo, that the world be eternall and wasnever created, the reason of Plato falleth to the ground, namely that the foule being more ancient than the bodie, and the cause and principall author of all motion and mutation, the chiefe governour also and head Architect, ashe himselfe hath said, is placed and bestowed therein. But what, and whereof the soule is, and how it is faid and to be understood, that it is more ancient than the body and before it in time, the 30 progresse of our discourse hereafter shall declare: for this point being either unknowen or not well understood, brings great difficulty as I thinke in the well conceiving, and hinderance in beleeving the opinion of the trueth?

In the first place therefore I will shew what mine owne conceit is, proving and fortifying my fentence, and withall, mollifying the same (because at the first sight it seemeth a strange paradox) with as probable reasons as I can devise: which done, both this interpretation and proofe also of mine, I will lay unto the words of the text out of Plate, and reconcile the one unto theo-

ther. For thus (in mine opinion) stands the case.

This world (quoth Heraclitus) there was never any god or man that made: as if in so saying he feared, that if we disavow God for creatour, we must of necessitie confesse that man was the 40 architect and maker thereof. But much better it were therefore, that we subscribe unto Plato, and both fay and fing aloud, that the world was created by God: for as the one is the goodlieft piece of worke that ever was made, fo the other the most excellent workman and greatest cause that is. Now the substance and matter whereof it was created, was never made or engendred, but was for ever, time out of minde and from all eternitie, subject unto the workman for to difpose and order it, yea and to make as like as possible was to himselfe. For of nothing and that which had no being, there could not possibly be made ought: but of that which was not well made nor as it ought to bee, there may be made somewhat that is good; to wit, an house, a garment, or an image and statue. But before the creation of the world, there was nothing but a chaos, that is to fay, all things in confusion and disorder: and yet was not the same without a bo- so die, without motion, or without foule: howbeit, that bodie which it had, was without forme and confistence; and that mooving that it had, was altogether rash, without reason and understanding: which was no other but a disorder of the soule not guided by reason. For Godcreated not that bodie which was incorporall, nor a foule which was inanimate; like as we fay that the mufician maketh not a voice, nor the dancer motion; but the one maketh the voice weet, accordant and harmonious; and the other, the motion to keepe measure, time, and compasse with a good grace. And even so, God created not that palpable soliditie of a bodie, nor that

moving and imaginative puissance of the soule; but finding these two principles, the one darke and obscure, the other turbulent, foolish and senselesse: both impersect, disordered and indeterminate, he fo digested and disposed them, that he composed of them the most goodly, beautifull and absolute living creature that is. The substance then of the bodie, which is a certeine namethat he calleth fulceptible of all things, the very feat, the nourfe also of all things engendred, is no other thing than this. But as touching the substance of the soule, he tearmeth it in his booke entituled Philebus, Infinitie, that is to fay, the privation of all number and proportion, having in it neither end , limit , nor measure , neither excesse nor defect , neither similitude nor diffimilitude. And that which hee delivereth in Timens, namely, that it is mingled with to the indivisible nature, & is become divisible in bodies, we must not understand this to be either multitude in unities, or length and breadth in points or pricks, which things agree unto bodies, and belong rather to bodies than to foules: but that mooving principle, difordinate, indefinite, and mooving of it felfe, which hee calleth in manie places Necessitie, the same inhis books of lawes hee tearmeth directly, a diforderly fonle, wicked and evill doing. This is the foule fimply, and of it felfe it is so called; which afterwards was made to participate understanding, and discourse of reason, yea, & wise proportion, to the end that it might become the foule of the world. Semblably, this materiall principle, capable of all, had in it a certeine magnitude, diftance, and place: beauty, forme, proportionate figure, and measure it had none; but all these it gat afterwards, to the end that being thus digested and brought into decent or-20 der, it might affoord the bodies and organs of the earth, the fea, the heavens, the starres, the plants and living creatures, of all forts. But as for them who attribute & give that which he calleth in Timeso, necessitie; and in his treatise Philebso, infinity and immensity of excesse & defect of too much and too little; unto matter, and not unto the foule: how are they able to maintaine that it is the cause of evill, considering that he supposeth alwaies that the faid matter is without forme or figure whatfoever, destitute of all qualities and faculties proper unto it, comparing it unto thole oiles, which having no fmell of their owne, perfumers afe in the composition of their odors and precious ointments: for impossible it is that Plato should suppose the thing which of it felfe is idle, without active qualitie, without mooving and inclination to any thing, to be the cause and beginning of evill, or name it an infinity, wicked & evill doing; nor 30 likewise a necessirie, which in many things repugneth against God, as being rebellious, and refuling to obey him: for as touching that necessitie, which overthroweth heaven, as he faith in his Politiques, and turneth it cleane contrary; that inbred concupifcence and confusion of the first and auncient mature, wherein there was no order at all, before it was ranged to that beautifull disposition of the world as now it is; how came it among things, if the subject, which is matter, was without all qualities, and void of that efficacie which is in causes? and considering that the Creatour himselfe being of his owne nature all good, defired as much as might be, to make all things like unto himselfe? for a third, besides these two principles, there is none. And if we will bring evill into the world, without a precedent cause & principle to beget it, we shall run and fall into the difficult perplexities of the Stoicks; for of those two principles which 40 are, it cannot be that either the good, or that which is altogether without forme and quality whatloever, should give being or beginning to that which is naught. Neither hath Plato done assomethat came after him, who for want of seeing and understanding a third principle and cause, betweene God and matter, have runne on end, and tumbled into the most absurd and fallest reasons that is, devising for sooth I wot not how, that the nature of evill should come without forth cafually and by accident, or rather of the owneaccord: forasmuch as they will not graunt unto Epicurus that the least atome that is, should turne never so little or decline aside, saying, that he bringeth in a rash and inconsiderate motion, without any cause precedent; whereas they themselves the meane-while affirme that fin, vice, wickednesse and ten thoufand other deformities and imperfections of the body, come by confequence without any caufe 50 efficient in the principles. But Plato faith not fo, for he ridding matter from al different quality, and remooving farre from God all cause of evill, thus hath hee written as touching the world in his Politiques: The world (quoth he) received al good things from the first author who createdit; but what evill thing foever there is, what wickednesse, what injustice in heaven, the same it selfe hath from the exterior habitude, which was before, and the same it doth transmit, & give to the creatures beneath. And a little after he proceedeth thus: In tract of time (quoth he) as oblivion tooke holde and fee fure footing, the paffion and imperfection of the old diforder came in place and got the upper hand more and more; and great danger there is, least growing to dissolution, it be plunged againe into the vast gulte, and bottomlesse pit of confused dissimilitude.

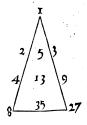
But diffimilitude there can be none in matter, by reason that it is without qualitie, and void of all difference: whereof Eudemus among others being ignorant, mocked Place for not putting that to be the cause, source, and first originall of evil things, which in many places he calleth mother and nutfe: for Plate indeed tearmeth matter, mother and nutfe: but he faith like. wife: That the cause of evill is the motive puissance resiant in the said matter, which is in bodies become divifible, to wit, a reasonlesse and disorderly motion; howbeit, for all that, not without foule, which plainly and exprelly in his books of lawes, he tearmeth a foule, contrary to and repugnant to that which is the cause of all good; for that the soule may well be the cause and principle of motion; but understanding is the cause of order and harmony in motion: for God made northe matter idle, but hath kept it from being any any more disquieted & troubled with a foolish and rash cause: neither hath he given unto nature the beginnings and principles of mutations and passions, but being as it was enwrapped and enfolded with all forts of passions and inordinate mutations, hee elected it of all enormities, disorders, and errors whatsoever, using as proper instruments to bring about all this, numbers, measures, and proportions; the effect whereof, is not to give unto things, by mooving and mutation the puffions and differences of the other and of diverfitie, but rather to make them infallible, firme, and stable, yea, and like unto those things which are alwaies of one fort, and evermore resemble themselves.

This is in my judgement the minde and fentence of Plato, whereof my principall proofeand argument is this: that by this interpretation is falved that contrariety which men fay, and feemeth indeed to be in his writings: for a man would not attribute unto a drunken fophister, much leffe than unto Plato, so great unconstance and repugnance of words, as to affirme one and the fame nature to be created, and uncreated; and namely in his booke entituled Phedrus, that the foule is eternall, and uncreated: but in Timaus, that it was created and engendied. Now as touching those words of his in the treatise Phedrus, they are well neere in every mans mouth verie rife; whereby he prooveth that the foule can not perish, because it was never engendred; and femblably he prooveth, that generation it had none, because it mooveth it selfe. Againe, in the booke entituled Timen, God (quoth he) hath not made the foule to be yoonger than the body, 30 according as now in this place we purpose to say, that it commeth after it, for never would he have permitted that the elder being coupled and linked with the yoonger should be commannded by it. But we flanding much (I wot not how) upon inconfiderate rathnesse and vanity, use to speake in some fort accordingly: for certaine it is, that God hath with the bodie joined the foule, as precedent both in creation and also in power and vertue, like as the dame or mistresse with her fubject, for to rule and commaund. Againe, when he had faid that the foule being turned upon her felfe, began to live a wife and eternall life, The body of the heaven (quoth he) was made visible, but the foule invisible, participating the discourse of reason and of harmony, engendred by the best of things intellectuall and eternall, being likewise it selfe the best of things engendred and temporall. Where it is to be noted that in this place expresly calling God the 40 belt of all eternall things, and the foule the best of things created and temporall, by this most evident antithefis and contrariety, he taketh from the foule that eternity which is without beginning and procreation.

And what other folution or reconciliation is there, of these contradictions, but that which himself giveth to those who are willing to receive it; for he pronounceth that soule to be ingenerable and not procreated, which mooved all things rashly and disorderly before the constitution of the world: but contrativishe he calleth that, procreated and engendred, which Godstamed and composed of the first, and of a parmanent, eternall, and perfect good substance, namely by creating it wise and well ordered, and by putting and conferring even from himselse unto sense, understanding; and order unto motion: which when he had thus made, he ordained and so appointed it to be the governor and regent of the whole world. And even after the same maner he pronouncesh; that the body of the world is in one forteternall, to wit, not created, nor engendred; and after a nother fort both created and engendred. For when he saith that whassever is visible, was never at rest, but mooved rashly and without all order; and that God tooke the same, disposed and ranged it in good order; as also when he saith that the fowre general elements, fire, water, earth, and aire, before the whole world was of them framed and ordered dements, fire, water, earth, and aire, before the whole world was of them framed and ordered dements, fire, water, earth, and aire, before the whole world was of them framed and ordered dements.

cently made a woonderfull trouble & trembling as it were in the matter, and were mightily that ken by it, fuch was their deformity and inequality. It appeareth plainly that he maketh their hodies in some fort to have a being and substittence before the creation of the world. Contrariwife when he faith that the body is yoonger than the foule, and that the world was made and created in as much as the fame is visible and palpable, as having a body, and that all things appeare to as they are, when they were once made and created, manifest it is, and every manimay fee, that he attributeth a kinde of nativity to the nature of the body; and yet for all that farre is he off, from being contradictory and repugnant to himselfe so notoriously, and that in the most maine points. For it is not the fame body nor of the fame fort, which he faith was created by 10 God, and to have bene before it was; for that were directly the cafe of fome mount-banke or jugling enchanter; but himselfe sheweth unto us, what we are to understand by this, generation or creation: For before time (quoth he) all that is in the world, was without order, measure and proportion: but after that the univerfall world began to be fathioned, and brought into fome decent forme, whereas he found the fire first, the water, the earth and the aire pell mell in the fame places, and yet having fome thew and token what they were, but confusedly hudled every where, (as a man may well thinke that every thing must needs be so, where God is absent) in this case as they were then, God I say finding them, first brought the same into frame and fashion, by the meanes of formes and numbers. Furthermore, having faid before that it was the worke not of one onely proportion, but of twaine, to joine and frame together the fabricke of the world, a 20 folid maffe as it was and carying a depth and thickneffe with it : and declared moreover, that God after he had bestowed water and aire, betweene fire and earth, conjoined withall and framed the heaven, together with them. Of these things (quoti he) such as they were, and sower in number, the body of the world was in engendred, agreeable in proportion and entertaining amity by that meanes: Infomuch as being once thus united and compact, there is nothing that can make difunion or diffolution, but he alone who first limited and brought all together; teaching us hereby most plainely that God was the father and author, not of the body fimply, nor of theframe, fabricke and matter onely of the world, but also of that proportion, measure, beauty and similitude which is in the body thereof : femblably thus much we are to thinke of the foule, as if one were not created by God, nor the foule of the world, but a certaine power of motion, 20 fantalticall, turbulent, subject unto opinion, stirring and moving of it selfe, and alwaies, but without any order, measure, or reason whatsoever. The other, when God had adorned it with numbers & proportions convenient, he ordained to be the regent & governesse of the world created like as it felfe was also created. Now that this is the true sentence & meaning of Plato, and not by a fantasticall manner of speculation and inquisition, as touching the creation or generation, as well of the world as of the foule: this befides many others, may be an argument, that of the foule, he faith it was created and not created; of the world alwaies, that it was engendred and created, but never eternall and not created. To proove this, we need not for to cite testimonies out of the booke Times, confidering that the faid booke throughout, from the one end to the other, treateth of nothing elfe, but of the generation or creation of the world. And of other 40 bookes, in his Atlanticke Timam making his praiers, nameth him who beforetime was by his worke, and now by his word, God. And in his Politique, his Parmenidian guest faith, that the worldbeing framed and made by God, became partaker of many good things: and in case there beany evill thing in it, the fame is a remnant mingled within the first habitude and estate wherein it was at first, before the constitution thereof, all irregular and disorderly. And in his bookes of Common-wealth, speaking of that number, which some call the Mariage, Socrates began to discourse and fay thus: The God (quoth he) who is created and engendred, bath his period and conversation, which the perfect number doth comprise. In which place, what can he call the Godcreated and engendred, but the world. * * * * *

The first copulation is of one and two, the second of three and soure, the third of five and six; of which there is not one that maketh a quadrate number either by it selse or by others: the south is of seven and eight, which being joined to the first, make in all the square quadrat number six and thirtie.



But of those numbers which Plate hath set downe the quaternarie, hath a more persect and absolute generation; namely, when even numbers are multiplied by even intervals, and un. even numbers likewise by odde intervals : for first it conteineth unitie as the very common flocke of all numbers as well even as odde and of those under it; two and three be the first flat and plaine numbers, and after them foure and nine are the first squares, then follow eight and feven and twentie, the first cubique numbers, putting the unitie out of this account. By which it appeareth that his will was not, that these numbers should be all set one above another directly in a right line; but apart, one after another alternatively, the even of the one fide and the odde 20 of the other, according to the description above made. Thus shall the files or conjugations also be of like with like, and make the notable numbers, aswel by composition or addition as by multiplication of one with another: by composition, thus, Two and three make five; source & nine make thirteene; eight and feven and twentie arise to five and thirtie. For of these numbers the Pythagoreans call five, resolv, as much to fay, as a found, supposing that of the spaces and intervals of Tone, the fift, was the first that spake or sounded : thirteene they tearmed a signer, that is to fay, the Remanent or Defect, like as Plate did; despairing to divide a Tone in two equal portions: and five and thirtie they tearme Harmonie, for that it is composed of the first numbers cubique, proceeding from even and od of the foure numbers, to wit, fix, eight, nine and twelve, contening an Arithmeticall and Harmonicall proportion. But this will appeare more evident- 30 ly by this figure here described and represented to the eies. Suppose then there be a figure set downe in forme of a tile, called Parallelogrammon, with right angles, A.B.C.D.

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whereof the one fide (to wit, the less) A. B. is of five; the other, and namely, the longer, A.D. is of feven parts: let the less fide be divided into unequall sections, to wit, into three and three, unto E. and the greater into other two unequall sections, three and source of F. Thendrawlines from the sections, crossing directly one another, by E. G. H. and F. G. I. So A. E. G. F. shall so be fix, A. B. I. G. nine, G. H. D. F. eight, and G. I. C. H. twelve. This tile-formefigure called Parallelogrammon, being more long than broad, composed of five and thirtie parts, content in it all the proportions of the first accords and consonances of Mussick in the numbers of the spaces into which it is divided. For fix and eight have the proportion Epitritos, towit, the whole and one third part; wherein consostent the symphonic Diatessaron, that is to say, a fourth. Six and nine carry the proportion Hemiolion, to wit, the whole and halfe; and therein

confifteth Diapente, that is to fay, a fifth. Betweene fix and twelve there is the double proportion & therin confisteth Diapason, that is to say, an eighth. There is also the proportion of Tone fefquioctave, in nine and eight, which is the reason that the number five and thirtie conteining the proportions of tones, the confonances also and accords, they call Harmonie, which being multiplied by fix, arifeth to two hundred and tenne, the very just number of daies wherein feven moneth children have their perfection in the wombe, and are ready to be borne. Item, goe to worke another way, and begin by multiplication in this wife: Twice three make fix, and foure times nine come to fix and thirtie, and seven and twentie multiplied by eight, ariseth to two hundred and fixteene. Now the perfect number is fix, for that it standeth of equal parts, and integral of the copulation of even and odde it is called the Mariage. Againe, that which is more, it confishesh of the beginning and foundation of number, to wit, unitie or One, of the first even number which is two, and of the first and odde number that is three. Moreover, six and thinie is the first number both foure square and also triangular. Foure-square, if it arise from the balis, fix, and triangular, from eight: for it arifeth by multiplication of two quadrate numbers, to wit, of foure, multiplying nine; and by addition of three cubes, one, eight, and feven and twentie, which being put together, make up fixe and thirtie, the number before described. Furthermore, it may be drawen out in forme of a tile, more one way than another from the two fides, and arifeth by multiplying twelve by three, or nine by foure. Now if a man take the numbers of the fides in those figures before described, to wit, fix of the foure-square, and eight of the 20 triangle; nine of one of Parallelograms, and twelve of the other; he shall finde that they will make the proportions of all the fymphonics or accords in Musicke. For twelve compared with nine, will be Diatessaron or the fourth, which is the proportion that Nete hath to Mese; but compared with eight, it is Diapente or a fifth, the proportion of Mese or the Meane to Hypate; with twelve, it will be Diapason or a just eighth, which is the proportion betweene Nete and Hypate. As for the number of two hundred and fixteene, it is a cubique, arifing from fix, as the baffs, and is equall to the owne compaffe or circuit. These numbers proposed, having such vertues and properties, yet the last feven and twentie hath this peculiar qualitie by it felfe, that it is equall unto all the other before it, being pur together; namely, one, two, three, fonce, eight, and nine. Moreover, it conteineth the just number of the daies of the moones revolution. 30 The Pythagoreans also doe place the Tone of distances & intervals of founds in this very nuber, which is the reason that they call 13 requer; as one would say, the default, for that it wanteth one of being the halfe of twenty feven. Moreover, that these numbers conteine the proportions of all the confonances & accords in mulicke, it is easie to be understood; for there is the proportion double of two to one, & therein confifteth Diapafon; the Hemiolion or one and halfe of three & two, wherein is Diapente: likewife Epitritos, of fower to three, and therein confifteth Diateffaron: also the triple of nine and three, wherein you shall finde Diapason and Diapente, to wit, a fift above a duple. Item, the quadruple of eight and two wherein is Dis diapafon. There is besides, the sesquioctave, of eight to nine, wherein is Tonizon. If then a man count the unitie which is common unto the numbers'as well even as odde unto foure, the 40 whole yeeldeth ten: and the even numbers betweene it and ten, with the unity being put togethermake fifteene, a number triangular, arising from the basis five: as for the odde numbers, to wit, one, three, nine, and twenty seaven, arise to forty, if they be summed together, and this number of forty is composed of thirteene and twenty seven, by which the mathematicians doeprecifely measure the intervals of musicke and melody in fong, calling the one Diefi, and the other Tonos: and the faid number of forty artifeth by way of multiplication, by the vertue of quaternity; for if you multiply foure times every one of the foure; first, whereas by them-Selves to wit, one, two, three, foure, there will arise soure, eight, twelve, and sixteene, which being all fumined together, make forty; which number conteineth befides, all the proportions of confonances and accords: for compare fixteene with twelve, you shall have the proportion 50 Epitritos, that is to fay, one and the third part, with eight duple, with foure quadruple: also twelve compared to eight, hath the proportion Hemiolion, that is to fay, one and a halfe, to fouretriple, which comprehend the proportions just of Diatessaron, Diapente, Diapason, and Dis-diapaton: Over and befides, the forefaid number of forty, is equall to the first two quadrats, and the two first cubicke numbers taken together, for the two first squares or quadrats be one and foure, the cubicks eight and twenty feaven, which if they be put together, amount to forty: So that the quaternity of Plato is in the disposition thereof more ample, of greater varictic and perfection than that quaternity of Pythagor as.

But for a finuch as the numbers proposed, affoord not places for the medieties which are inferred; necessary it was to extend the numbers to larger tearmes and bondes, reteining still the fame proportions: in regard whereof, we must fay somewhat what they be, and treat first of these medicties. The former then, is that which both surmounting, & being also surmounted in equall number, is called in these daies Arithmeticall: the other which surmounteth, and is surmounted by the same part of their extremities, is named Hypenantia, that is to say, subcontrary; as for example: The two limits or extremities and the mids of the arithmetical, be fix, nine and twelve: for nine which is in the middes, furmounteth fixe just as much in number as it is furmounted of twelve, that is to fay, by three: but of the fubcontrary, these be the extremities and the mids, fix, eight, and twelve, for eight which is the mids, furmounteth fix by two, and is fur- to mounted of twelve by foure, which foure is the third part of twelve, like as two is the third part of fixe. Thus it falleth out in the medictie Arithmaticall, the middes furmounteth the one of these extremities, and is surmounted of the other, equally by the same part of the owne. but in the fubcontrary by the fame part, not of the owne, but of the extremities out gone of the one, and outgoing the other: and heereupon it is called fubcontrary, and the famether likewise call harmonicall, because it affourdeth to the extremities the first resonances, to wit betweene the greatest and the least Diapason, that is to say, an eight; betweene the greatest and the mids, Diapente, that is to fay, a five; & betweene the mids and the least, Diatefferon, that is to fay, a fourth: for the greatest tearme or extremity being fet upon the note or string Nete, and the least upon Hypate, the middes will be found just upon Mese, that is to say, the meane, which 20 maketh in regard of the greatest Diapente, and of the least Diatestaron: so that by this reason, eight shall be upon the meane, twelve upon Nete, and fix upon Hypate: but how to knoweassly and readily these medicties aforesaid, Endorns hath shewed the maner plainly and simply; And first and formost in the Arithmeticall, consider thus much: for if you take the two extremities, and put them together, and then the moity of the entire furn, the fame will fall out to be the medietie Arithmeticall: or take the moitie of ech one of the extremities, & addethem one to the other, that which arifeth thereof shall be mediatic arithmeticall, in duples & triples alike: but in the subcontrary, or harmonicall, if the two extremities be one to the other in proportion duple, take the halfe of the greater, and the third part of the leffe, and the number arifing of those two shall be the mediene Harmonicall: but in case the two extremities be in pro- 30 portion triple, then contrariwife a man ought to take the moitie of the leffe, and the third part of the greater, for then the fumme will be the medicite that he looketh for: as for example, let the leffe extremity be in triple proportion fix, and the greater eighteene, if you take the halfe of fix which is three, and the third part of eighteene which is fix, you shall come to nine, for the medictic which doth furmount, and is furmounted by the fame part of the two extremities, that is to fay, the one halfe. Thus you fee how the medicties are taken: now the fame must be interjected and placed betweene, for to fill and make up the places or intervals double and triple; but of the number proposed, some have no place of the middle, others, not sufficient ; and therefore the maner is to augment and fet them out, in reteining alwaics still the same proportions, and so by that meanes make places and receptacles sufficient for to receive the 40 faid medieties or mediocrities: First therefore, for the leffe end or extremity, in stead of one they put fix, because of all numbers it is the first that hath a halfe and a third part, and multiply all the numbers under by fix, as it is written underneath, for to receive both the medicties in duple intervals:

> 12. 2. 1. 3. 18. 24. 4. 9. 54. 48. 8. 27.162.

And for that Plato hath faid, the intervals being made fesquialterall, sesquitertia, and sesquite octaves, out of these links in the precedent distances, he filled all the epitrites, with the intervals of sesquite octaves, leaving one part of ech, and this distance of this part being lest number to 30 number, having for the tearmes & extremities, two hundred fifty six, and two hundred forty three, &c. Upon these words of the text, forced they were to reduce these numbers, and make them greater, for by order two ought to have sesquite desired by cutting the units peece-meale, the intelligence and doctrine thereof would be very intricate and hard to be conceived, therefore he called this operation in some fort multiplication, like as in the harmonicall mutation, where if you extend and augment the first number, necessarily the discription of all the other

notes must be stretched our and enlarged likewise. And therefore Endorse following herein Crantor, taketh for the first number three hundred fowre-score and fowre, which ariseth by multiplying three-score and sowre, by fix: and these were induced so to doe by the number threeforce and fowre, having for the fefquioctave, eight, which is the proportion betweene three fore and fowre and threefcore and twelve. But it agreeth better with the text, and the wordes of Plato to Suppole a moity. For the default which they call AGUMA, will have the sequioctave proportion in the numbers which Plate hath fet downe, two hundred fix and fiftie, and two hundred three and fortie, having put for the first one hundred fourescore and twelve: and if the double of irbe supposed for the first, the rique shall be of the same proportion, but in number double, to which five hundred and twelve hath to foure hundred eighty foure: for two hundred fiftie & fix are in epitrite or fesquitertiall proportion to one hundred four escore and twelve, and five hundred and twelve to foure hundred fourefcore and foure. And verily, the reduction to this number was not without reason and proportion, but yeelded a probable reason to Cranter: for the number of threescore and foure is a cube, proceeding from the first quadrate, and a quadrate likewife, arifing from the first cube, and being multiplied by three, the first odde number: the first mangular number, the first perfect number and fesquialter, make one hundred sourcescore and twelve, which number alfo (as we will shew) hath his sesquioctave. But first of all you shall understand better what is resigned, as also what is the meaning of Plato, if you call to minde a little, that which is usually taught and delivered in the Pythagoreans schooles: for Diastema, that is 20 to fay, intervals or space in matter of song, is whatsoever is betweene two sounds different in Tenour or Tension. Of these intervals, one is called Tonus, to wit, that whereof the harmonie Diapente surmounteth Diatessaron. Of this entier Tone, as Musicians do holde, cut in twaine, by the moitieare made two intervals, and both of them, the one aswell as the other, goe under the name Hamitonium, But the Pythagoreans do not thinke that it can be equally divided : whereas therefore the two fections be unequall, they call the leffe ringer, that is to fay, the default, because it is somewhat lesse than the one halfe. And therefore some masters of Musicke there be, who make the accord Diatefferon, of two Tones and a Demi-tone or Hæmitonion: others againe of two Tones and a request. So as it seemeth that the testimonic of hearing accordeth with the harmonicall Musicians 3 and of demonstration with the Mathematicians: and their proofe 30 of demonstration goeth in this maner. This is put downe by them for certeine, and approoved by their instruments, that Diapason hath a double proportion, Diapente a sesquialterall, Diateffaron a fesquitertiall, and a Tone a sesquioctave. And the trueth hecreof, a man may trie presently by an experiment, namely, by hanging two weights double, unto two strings that be equall, or by making two concavities in pipes, the one twice as long as the other, otherwise equall: for the shawme or hauthoies, which is the longer, will found more base and loud, as Hypatein regard of Nete: and of the two strings, that which was stretched by the heavier weight will found higher & smaller as Nete in comparison of Hypate: and this is the very confonance Diapafon. Semblably, three compared unto twaine, be it in length or in weight, will make Diapence; and foure to three, Diateffaron: for the one hath the proportion epitrite, and the other 40 hemiolion. And if the unequalitie of the forefaid lengths or weights be in proportion hemioctave, that is to fay, of feven to eight, it will make the intervall Toniaon, not altogether an harmonicall accord, howbeit (as one would fay) fomewhat muficall and melodious; for that these founds, if one strike, touch or found one after another, make a pleafant noise and delectable to the eares; but if altogether, the noise will be troublesome and offensive: whereas contrariwise, in consonances and accords, howsoever one touch them, either together, or one after another, thecare receiveth the confent and accord with great delight. And yet this may moreover be shewed by reason, for the harmonie Diapason is composed of Diapente and of Diatessa ton, like as in number the double is composed of Hemiolion and Epitritos; for twelve is in Proportion of Epitritos to nine, and Hemiolion to eight, and double to fix: fo that the double 50 proportion is compounded of the fesquialterall and the sesquitertion, like as Diapason of Diapente and Diateffaron: but as there Diapente is greater than Diateffaron by a Tone, so heere in numbers, Hemiolion is greater than Epitritos by a sesquioctave. This being thus prooved by demonstration, let us see now, whether our sesquioctave may be divided into two equals sections; for if it can not, no more then, can the Tone : and for that eight and nine make the first proportion sesquioctave, and have no intervall betweene; both the one and the other being doubled, the number falling out betweene, maketh two intervals; fo that it appeareth, that if the two intervals be equall, the fefquioctave may be equally divided in twaine. Now the double

of nine is eighteene, and of eight, fixteene, which admit betweene them, seventeene. Soit falleth out that one of the intervals is greater, and the other leffe; for the former is of eighteene to feventeene, and the other of seventeene to fixteene. Then the sequioctave proportion is divided into portions and sections unequall, and so consequently the tone also: and therefore this division being made, none of the sections is properly a Demytone, but one of them by good right hath beenetearmed by the mathematicians Acipum : and this is it that Plato faid : God when he filled the epitrites with lefquioctaves, left a portion of ech : whereof there is the fame reason and proportion, that two hundred fiftie fix have unto two hundred forty three; for take a Diateffaron in two numbers, which have betweene them a proportion Epitritos, as two hundred fifty and fix, to one hundred nintie two; of which let, the leffe number, one hundred nintie two to befet upon the base note of a tetracord, and the greater, to wit, two hundred fiftie and fix upon the highest note: It must be shewed, that if this be filled with two sesquioctaves, there remaineth an intervall as great as is betweene two hundred fiftie fix and two hundred forty three. For if the baser found be stretched one tone; which is the proportion sesquioctave it maketh two hundred and fixteene: and againe if it bestretched another tone, it becommeth two hundred forty three, which furmounteth two hundred & fixteene, by twenty & feven, and two hundred and fixteene furmounteth one hundred fourescore & twelve by foure and twenty, of which, the feven and twenty is the fefquioctave of two hundred and fixteene, and foure and twentie, of one hundred fourescore and twelve: and therefore of these three numbers, the greatest sesquiocave is of the middest, and the middle of the least; and the distance or intervall, from the least to the 20 greatest, to wit, from one hundred fourescore and twelve unto two hundred fortie and three, two tones filled with two fesquioctaves: which intervall being taken away, there remaineth the intervall of the whole, which is betweene two hundred fortie and three, and two hundred fiftie and fixe, and that is thirteene: and that is the reason why they called that number xoquea, that is to fay, a default or refidue.

For mine owne part, I thinke verily, that the fense of Plato is most cleerely expounded and declared in these numbers. Others having put downe the ends and tearmes of Diatesseron, for the treble two hundred eighty eight, and for the bafe, two hundred fixteene; goe through with the rest proportionably, fave onely that they take the two defaults or remnants, betweene the two extremities: for the base being set up one tone or note, maketh two hundred fortie three: 30 and the treble being let downe another note, becommeth two hundred fiftie fix: for these be sesquioctaves, two hundred forty three, and two hundred fixteene; likewise two hundred eighty eight, and two hundred fifty fix; so that either of the intervals is Tonizon: and there remaineth that which is betweene two hundred forty three, and two hundred fifty fix, which is not a Demytone, but leffe: for two hundred eighty eight, is more than two hundred fifty fix, by thirty two; and two hundred forty three, more than two hundred fixteene, by twenty feven; and two hundred fifty fixe more than two hundred forty three, by 12: and both these are lesser than the advantages or furpluffages by halfe: and therefore Diateffaron is found to be of two tones and a resulta, and not of two and a halfe. And thus you fee the demonstration of this: and so it is no hard matter to understandby that which we have delivered: what is the reason 40 who Plate having faid, that intervals fefquialterall, fefquitertian and fefquioctaves are made by filling the fefquitertians with fefquioctaves; made no mention of the fequivalterons, but hath left them behind, namely, for that the sesquialter is filled, when one putteth a sesquioctave to asesquitertiall, or rather a sesquitence to a sesquioctave.

These things thus shewed in some sort by way of demonstration: now to fill the intervals, and to interject the Medictics if none before had shewed the meanes and maner how, I would leave you to do it for your exercise: but the same having beene done already by many worthy personages, and principally by Crantor, Clearchus, and Theodorus, all borne in the city Soli: It will not be impertinent to deliver somewhat as touching the difference betweene them; for Theodorus maketh not two files of numbers as the other doe, but rangeth them all in the tame 50 line directly one after another, to wit, the duple and the triple: and principally he groundeth and fortifieth himselfe by this position (which they so call) of the substance drawen out in length, making two branches as it were from one trunke, and not foure of twaine; then he faith, that the interpositions of the Medieties ought so to take place; for otherwise there would be a trouble and confusion: and anon passeth immediately from the first duple to the first triple, when they should be that which ought to fulfill the one and the other. On the other side, there maketh for Cramor, the polition and lituation of plaine numbers with plaine, squares with

fquares, and cubes with cubes, which are fer one against another in opposite files, not according to their range, but alternatively,

in the one

which is of one fort as Idea or forme: but that which is divided by bodies, is the tubject and the mall matter; and the mixture of them both in common, is that which is complet and perfect.

Astouching then the fubltance indivifible, which is alwaies one and of the fame fort; wee are not thus to thinke, that it admitteth no divition for the finalneffe thereof, like to those little bodies called Atomi: but that of it which is fimple, pure, and most subject to any passion oralteration whatfoever, alwaies like it felfe, and after one maner, is faid to be indivilible, and to have no parts; by which fimplicity, when it comments to touch in fome fort, such things as be compounded, divilible, and carried to and fro, it can feth that divertitie to ceale, reftremeth that multitude, and by meanes of fimilitude, reduceth them to one and the fame habitude. And if aman be disposed to call that which is divisible by bodies, matter, as subject unto it, and participating the nature thereof, uting a certaine homonymic or equivocation, it mattereth not much, neither skilleth it as touching the thing in question: but those who would have the corporall matter to be mixed with the indivisible substance, be in a great errour : first, because Plane hath not now used any names thereof, for that he hath evermore used to call it a receptacle to receive all, and a nurse, not divisible by bodies, but rather a body divided into individuall particulars. Againe, what difference would there be, betweene the generation of the world, and of the foule, if the conflitution of the one and the other, did conflit of matter and things

Certes, Plate himselfe as one who would in no wife admit the soule to be engendred of the body, faith: That God put all that which was corporall within her; and then, that without forth the fame was enclosed round about with it: In fum, when he had framed and finished the soule according to proportion, he inferreth and amexeth afterwards a treatife of matter, which befor when he handled the creation of the foule, he never required nor called for, because crea-

tedit was without the helpe of matter.

The like to this may be faid by way of confutation against Posidonius and his sectaries; for very farre they went not from matter; but imagining that the fubitance of tearmes and extremittes, was that which he called divifible by bodies, and joining with the intelligible, they affirmed and pronounced, that the foule is the Idea of that which is diffant every way, and in all thedimensions, according to the number which conteineth harmony, which is very erronious: For the Mathematicks (quoth he) are fituate betweene the first intelligible and sensible things: but the foule having of intelligible things an eternall effence, and of tenfible objects, a paffible nature: therfore meet it is that it should have a middle substance between both. But he was not ware, that God after he had made and finished the soule, used the bounds & termes of the body, for to give a forme to the matter, determining the substance thereof dispersed, and not linked or conteined within any limits, by environing it with superficies, composed of triangles, all joined together. And yet more abfurd than that it is, to make the foule an Idea, for 40 that the foule is alwaies in motion; but the Idea is immooveable, neither can the Idea be mixed with that which is fenfible , but the foule is alwaies linked fast with the body: besides, God didimitate Idea as one who followed his patterne; but he wrought the foule as his piece of worke: And that Plate held the foule not to be a number, but rather a thing ordeined by number, we have already thewed and declared before.

But against both these opinions and their patrons, this may be opposed in common: That neither in numbers nor in tearmes and limits of bodies, is there any apparence or shew of that Puillance, whereby the foule judgeth of that which is fenfible; for the intelligence and facultie that it hath, was drawen from the participation and societie of the intelligible principle: But opinions, beliefs, affents, imaginations, alto to be pattive and fenfitive of qualities inherent in 50 bodies, there is no man will thinke that they can proceed from unities, pricks, lines, or superficies: and yet not onely the foules of mortall men have the power to judge of all the exterior qualities perceptible by the fenfes; but also the very soule of the world, as Plato saith, when it returneth circularly into her-felfe, and toucheth any thing that hath a fubftance diffipable and apt to be dispersed; as also when it meeteth with ought that is indivisible, by mooving herselfe totally, the telleth in what respect any thing is the same, and in what regard divers and different; whereto principally ech thing is meet, either to doe or to fuffer, where, when, and how it is affected, alwel in luch as are engendred, as in those that are alwais the same. Moreover,

making a certeine description with all of the ten predicaments, hee declareth the fame more cleerely afterwards: True reason (quoth he) when it meeteth with that which is sensible, and if there with the circle of the other goeth directly to report the fame, throughout the whole foule thereof, then there be engendred opinions and beliefes that be firme and true : but when it is converfant about that which is intelligible and discoursing by reason, and the circle likewise of the fame, turning roundly with facility, doth flew the fame, then of necessity there is bred perfect and accomplish science; and in whatsoever these two things be infused, if a man callit otherwise than soule, he faith any thing rather than the truth : whence commeth it then that the foule had this motion opinative, which comprehendeth that which is fenfible, divers and different from the other intellective that endeth in science? Hard it were to set this downe, unlesse a man firmly prefuppose that in this place, and at this present, he composeth not the soule simply, but the foule of the world, with the parts above mentioned, of a better fubflance, which is indivisible; and of a woorle that he calleth divisible by bodies; which is nothing else, but an imaginative & opinionative motion, affected & accordant to that which is fenfible, not engendred, but as the other of an eternall fublishance: for nature having the intellectuall vertue, had allo the facultie opinionative: but the intellective power is unmoveable, impaffible, founded & fer upon that fubitance, which abideth alwaies in one fort: whereas the other is divifible and wandering, in as much as it toucheth a matter that is alwaies floting, carried to and fro and diffipable. For the matter fenfible had before time no order at all, but was without all forme, bound or limitation what foever, and the faculty therein had neither expresse opinions articulate and diffinct, nor her motions all cettaine and composed in order: but for the most part resembling turbulent and vaine dreames, troubling that which was corporall, unlesse haply they fell upon a. ny thing that was better. For betweene two it was, having a nature conformable, and accordant to the one ond the other: chalenging matter by that which is fenfitive, and by the judiciall patt those things which are intelligible. And this declareth he himselfe in these proper termes: By my reckoning (quoth he) let this be the fumme of the whole account that these things had their being three waies before the heaven was, to wit, effence, space, and generation. Asfor space or place, he calleth matter by that name, as it were the seat, and otherwhiles a receptacle the effence, that which is intelligible; and the generation of the world as yet not made, canbe no other thing but a fubstance subject to motions and alterations, fituate betweene that which imprinteth a forme and which is imprinted, dispensing and distributing the images from thence hither: which is the reason it was called divisible, for that of necessitie both the sensitive must be divided and goe with the fenfible, and also the imaginative with the imaginable. For the fensitive motion being proper unto the soule mooveth toward the sensible without: but the intelligence & understanding was of it felfe, stable, firme and immovable: howbeit being infused once into the foule and become mafter and lord thereof, it rolleth and turneth upon it felfe, and accomplished a round & circular motion, about that which is alwaies permanent, and touching that principally which is, and hath being. And therefore hard was the mixtion and affociation which mingled the divisible with the indivisible, that which is every way moovable, with that which never mooveth, and forcing in one word the other to meet and joine with the same, 40 So the other was not motion, no more than the same was station; but the beginning both of Diversity and also of Identity or The samenesse: for the one and the other descend from divers principles, to wit, the same from unity, and the other, from binary, and were at the first mingled confutedly here in the foule; as tied by numbers, proportions and medicties harmonicall: and the other being imprinted into the fame, maketh difference : but the fame infused into the other, cauleth order; as it appeareth manifestly in the first powers of the soule, to wit, the faculties of moving and of judging. As for motion, it sheweth incontinently about the heaven diversity in identity by the revolution of the planets, and identity in dive. fity by the fetled order & fituation of the fixed starres; for in these, the same beareth sway and is more predominant; but contrariwile, the other, in those that be necrer to the earth. But judgement hath two principles, to wit, so understanding, from the same, for judging of things universall; and sense, from the other, to judge of particulars. Now reason is mingled of them both, being intelligence in things generall and intelligible; but opinion onely in matters tenfible, using for instruments, both the fansies and imaginations betweene, and also the memories; whereof the former make the other in the Jame; but the latter, the Jame in the other. For intelligence is the motion of the intelligent 2bout that which is stable and permanent; but opinion is the mansion of the sentient about that which moveth. As for imagination or fansie, being a connexion of opinion to the sense, the

fime, placeth it in memorie; and contratiwife, the other thirreth it in the difference and diffunction of that which is past, and that which is present, touching both identity and diversitie toge-

Creation of the foule.

Now the better to understand the proportion wherewith he made the soule, we must take a patterne and example, from the conflictation of the bodie of the world: for whereas the two exrienies, to wit, pure fite and earth, were by nature hard to be tempered one with another; or, to fav more truely, impossible to be mixed and incorporate together: he placed in the middles betweene, aire before fire, and water before earth : and fo contempered first these two meane e lements, and afterwards by their helpe, the other extremes alfo, which he fitted and framed to to gether, both with the faid meanes, and also with themselves one with another. And heere againe, the same and the other, being contrary puissances and extremities, sighting one against the other as meere enemies, he brought together, not immediatly by themselves, but by putting betweene other fubflances, to wit, the indivisible, before the fame, and the divisible before theother, according as in some fortthe one had affinitie and congruency with the other : afterwards when these were mixed together, he contempered likewise the extreames, and so warped and wove, as one would fay, the whole forme of the foule, making as farre as it was peffible, of things unlike, semblable, and of many one. But some there bee who give out, that it was not well faid of Plato: That the nature of the other, was hard to bee mixed and tempered; confidering (fay they) that it is not altogether infusceptible of mutation, but a friend to it, and 20 rather the nature of the fame, being firme and hard to be turned and remooved, admitteth not eafily any mixture, but flieth and rejecteth it, to the end that it may remaine simple, pure, and without alteration : but they who reproove this, are ignorant that the fame, is the Idea of fuch things as be alwaies of one fort; and the other, the Idea of those that change. Also that the effect of this, is evermore to divide, separate, and alter that which it toucheth; and in a word, to make many of one: but the effect of that is, to conjoine and unite by fimilitude, many things thereby into one forme and puiffance. Thus you fee what be the powers and faculties of the foule of this univerfality, which entring into the fraile, mortall, and paffible inflruments of bodies, however they be in themselves incorruptible, impatible and the same; yet in them now appear reth more the forme of an indeterminate duality: but that forme of the fimple unitie, the weth 30 it felfe more obscurely, as deepely setled within: howbeit for all that, hardly shall one see and perceive in a man, either paffion altogether void of reason, or motion without understanding, wherein there is no luft, no ambition, no joy or griefe: and therefore fome philosophers there be, who would have the perturbations of the mind to be reasons; as if for sooth, all diffre, storow, andanger, were judgements. Others also doe hold, that all vertues be passions: for in valour (faythey)there is foure, intemperance, pleafure, injuffice, lucre. Howbeit, the foule being both contemplative, and also active at once, as it doth contemplate universal thing; so it practifeth particulars, feeming to conceive the one by intelligence, and to perceive the other by fence: common reason meeting alwaies the same, in the other, and likewise, the other, in the same, endevoureth verily to fever by divers bonds and partitions, one from many; and the indivisible 40 from the divisible, but it can not bring it so about, as to be purely in the one or the other, for that the principles be fo enterlaced one within another, and hudled pell-mell together.

In which regard, God hath appointed a certeine receptacle for the fame, and the other, of a divilible, and indivilible fubstance, to the end, that in diversity there thould be order; for this was as much as to be engendred. Seeing that without this, the same should have had no diversitie, and confequently no motion nor generation; neither should the other have had order, and so by consequence also, neither confistence nor generation: for if it should happen to the same, to be divers from the other, and againe, to the other, to be all one with the same; fuch a communion and participation, would bring foorth of it felfe nothing generative, but require fome third matter to receive them, and to be digested and disposed by them. And this is that which God 50 ordeined and composed first, in defining and limiting the infinity of nature, mooving about bodies, by the firme iteadineffe of things intellectuall. And like as there is one kinde of brutish voice, not articulate nor distinct, and therefore not fignificant; whereas speech confishesh in voice, that giveth to understand what is in the minde: and as harmony doeth confist of many founds and intervals; the found being fimple and the fame, but the intervall a difference and diversitie of founds, which when they be mixed and tempered together, make song and melody: Even fo the passible part of the soule, was infinit, unstable, and disordinate; but afterwards became determinate, when tearmes and limits were fet to it, and a certeine forme expelled to

slast

that divisible and variable diversity of motion. Thus having conceived and comprised the same, and the other, by the similitudes and dissimilitudes of numbers, making accord of difference: thereof the life of the universall world became wise and prudent, the harmony consonant, and reason drawing with her necessitie, tempered with grace and perswasion, which the common fort call stall destiny; Empedaeles named concord and discord together: Heractism the oppositie tension and harmony of the world, as of a bow or harpe, wherein both ends bendone against another: Parmendes, light and darknesse: Anaxagarus, understanding and infinitie:

Zoroasses, God, and the devill; tearning the one Oromasses, and the other Arimanius: But Euripides did not well to use the disjunctive for the copulative, in this verse,

Jupiter, natures necessity,
Or humane minde, whether he be?

For in truth, that puiffance which pierceth and reacheth through all things, is both necessitie. and also a minde. And this is it which the Acgyptians would covertly give us to understand under the vaile of their mysticall fables, that when Horas was condemned and dismembred, his spirit and bloud was given and awarded to his father, but his slesh and grease to his mother: But of the foule there is nothing that remaineth pure and fincere, nothing unmixt and apart from others; for as Heraelitus was woont to fay: Hidden harmony, is better than the apparant for that therein, God who tempered it, hath bestowed secretly and concealed, differences and diverfities: and yet there appeareth in the unreasonable part, turbulent perturbations, in the reafonable fetled order: in tenfes necessitie and constreint; in the understanding full power and 20 entier libertie: but the terminant and defining power, loveth the univerfall and indivifible, by reason of their conjunctions and confanguinity. Contrariwise, the dividing puissance, enclineth and cleaveth to particulars by the divisible. The totall universalitie joieth in a setledorder, by the meanes of the fame, and againe, fo farre foorth as need is, in a mutation by the meanes of the other: but the difference of inclinations to honefly or dishonefly, to pleasure, or displeasure; the ravishments and transportations of the spirit in amorous persons, the combats in them, of honour against voluptuous wantonnesse; doe evidently shew, and nothing so much, the commixion of the nature divine and impaffible with the mortall and paffible partin bodily things; of which himselfe calleth the one the concupiscence of pleasure ingenerate and inbred in us, the other an opinion induced from without defirous of the foveraigne good: 30 for the foule of it selfe produceth and yeeldeth passibility; but the participation of understanding commeth to it without foorth, infused by the best principle and cause, which is God: so the very nature of heaven is not exempt from this double focietie and communion; but thata man may fee how otherwhiles it doth encline and bend another way, by the revolution of the the fame which is more predominant, and so doth governe the world: and a portion of time will come, like as it hath beene often heeretofore, when as the wifedome thereof shall be dulled and dazeled, yea and laid afleepe, being filled with the oblivion of that which is meet and decent for it : and that which from the beginnings is familiar and conformable to the body, shall draw, weigh downe, and turne backethe way and course of the whole universality on the right hand : but breake and undoe the forme thereof quite it shall not beable, but reduce it againe to 40 the better, and have a regard unto the first pattern of God, who helpeth the endevours thereof, and is ready to reforme and direct the fame.

Thus it is showed unto us in many places, that the foule is not altogether the worke of God; but having a portion of evill inbred in her, the hath bene brought into order and good dispose by him who hath limited infinity by unity; to the end that it should becom a substance bounded within the owne tearmes: and hath set by the meanes of the same and the other, order, change, difference, and similitude: and hath contracted and wrought a society; alliance and amity of all things one with another, as sarre as possible it was, by the meanes of numbers and proportions. Of which point, albeit you have heard much speech, and read many books and writings; yet I shall not doe amisse, but greatly to the purpose, it briefely I discourse thereof. First setting 50 addwne the words of Plato. God (quoth he) deducted first from the universall world, one part; and then double so much: afterwards a third portion, to wit, the one, and halse of the second, and the triple of the first: Soone after a south, to wit, the double of the second: & anon a fift, namely the triple of the third: After that a sixt, to wit, the octuple of the first, and a seventh, which was the first seventy sold. This done he filled the double and triple intervals; cutting from them also certaine parcels from thence, which he interjected betweene these: in such fort as in severy intervall there were two medicties: the one surmounting, and surmounted by the same severy intervall there were two medicties: the one surmounting, and surmounted by the same

portion of the extremites: the other, furmounting by equal number, one of the extremities " and furmounted of another by the like. But feeing the intervals carry the proportions fefquialterall, fesquitercian and sesquioctave : of these ligaments in the first precedent distances, he filledupall the fefquiterces with the intervall of the fefquioctave, leaving of each of them one " part: And this diffance of the part or number being left of number to number, it had for the " tearmes and bonds thereof in proportion to that which is betweene, two hundred fiftic fix, and " two hundred forty three. Here first and formost a question is mooved as touching the quantity " of these numbers: and secondly, concerning the order: and thirdly, of their power. For the quantity and fum: what they be which he taketh in the duple intervals? For the order, to wit, to whether they ought to be fet and disposed all in one range, as Theodorm did? or rather as Crantor, in the figure of the letter lamda, A. fetting upon the point or top thereof unity or the first, & then in one file apart, the duples, and the triples in another, for the use and power, namely what they conferre to the constitution and composition of the soule. As concerning the first, we will reject those who say, that it sufficeth in these proportions to colider of what nature be the intervals, and of what the midieties which fill them up, in what numbers foever a man may suppose that they have places capable betweene of the proportions aforefaid: for that the doctrine goethafter the fame maner. And albeit that which they fay, were true, yet the proofe and demonfiration thereof is but flender without examples, and hindreth another speculation, wherein there is contained a pleafant kinde of learning and philosophy. If then, beginning at unity, we 10 put apart by them felves the numbers duple and the triple as he himfelfe teacheth us, there will be of the one fide two, foure, and eight, on the other, three, nine, and twenty feven; which are in ail feven, taking the unity as common, and proceeding forward in multiplication unto fowre. For itis not in this place onely, but also in many others, where the consent and agreement is very evident, that is betweene the quarternary and the septenary. And as for that quaternity of the Pythagoreans fo much voiced and fo highly by them celebrated, it is of thirty fix, which hath this admirable matter in it above all others, that it is compounded of the fowre first even numbers, & of the fowre first od numbers: and it arises by the fourth couple or conjugation of number, ranged in order one after the other. * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Forthe first is of one and two: the second of one and three which be od. For setting one in the first place, as indifferent and common to both; then taketh he eight, and twenty seven, shewing and as it were pointing with the singer, what place he giveth to the one and the other kinde.

Butto treat hereofaster a more exact and exquisit maner, appertaineth unto others: But that which remaineth is proper to the subject matter in hand. For it was not upon any oftentation of skill and sufficiencie in the Mathematical larts that Plato hath inferted within a treatife of naturall philosophy, this Arethmeticall and harmonicall medieties, but as a discourse verice meet and fit to serve for the composition and constitution of the soule; howsoever there bee some who seeke for these proportions in the swiftnesse more or lesse of the wandring 40 spheres; others rather in their distances; some in the magnitudes of the starres; and others again, after a more curious maner, in the Diamiters of the Epicycles, as if that creatour had in regardthereof, and for this cause applied and fitted the soule distributed into seven parts, unto the celestiall bodies. Many there be moreover who bring hither and accomodate to this matter the Pythagoreans inventions, tripling the distances of bodies from the midst: which they doe after this maner, fetting upon fire unity; and upon the earth opposit unto ours, three; upon the earth nine; upon the Moone twenty feven; upon Mercurie fowre-fcore and one; upon Vemustwo hundred forty three; and upon the Sun himselfe 729. for that it is both quadrat and cube: which is the reason that they call the sun also one while quadrat and another while cube: and after the fame fort they reduce the other starres by way of triplation. But these philosophers 50 doemilcount greatly, and stray farre from reason and proportion indeed, if so be that Geometricall demonstrations do availe ought: yet in comparison of them, well fare they who goe to worke another way; and albeit they prove not their positions exactly, yet (I say) they come necret to the marke, who give out, that the Diameter of the funne, compared to the Diameter of the earth, is in the same proportion that twelve is to one: that the Diameter or Dimetient line of the earth is triple to that of the moone: and the least fixed starre that is to be seene, hath no lesse a Diameter, than the third part of the Diameter of the earth: also that the totall globe of the earth, compared with the sphare of the moone, carieth the proportion of twentie

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feven to one: The Diameters of Venus and the earth, are in double proportion, but their globes or sphæres beare octuple proportion, to wit, eight for one. Semblably, the intervall of the ecleptory, and the shadow which causeth the eclipse, is triple to the Diameter of the moone, Also the latitude of the moones declination from the Zodiaque on either side, is one twelfth part: likewise that the habitudes and aspects of her to the sunne, in distances triqueter, or quadrangular, take the formes and figurations either of the halfe moone, at the first quarter, or else when the swelleth and beareth out on both fides: but after the hath passed fixe figues of the Zodiaque, the maketh a full compasse, and resembleth a certeine harmonicall symphonic of Diapafon in Hexatonos. And for a finuch as the funne about the folftices or tropicks, as well of fummer as winter mooveth least, & most slowly; but contrariwise, about the two equinoxes to in Spring and Autumne, most swiftly, and exceeding much: the proportion of that which he taketh from the day, and putteth to the night, or contrariwife, is after this maner in the first thirty daies; for in that space after the solftice in winter, hee addern to the day the fixt part of that exuperance, whereby the longest night furmounteth the shortest day and in another thirtie daies following after that, a third part, and fo forward in the rest of the daies one halfe, until you come to the æquinox, in fextuple and triple intervals, to make even the inequality of the times. But the Chaldeans fay, that Spring in regard of Autumne carieth proportion Diateffaron, in respect of winter Diapente, and in comparison of summer Diapason: But if Euripides hath well limited the foure quarters of the yeere when he faid:

> For fummer hot, foure moneths or defined be, For winter colde likewife are other foure: Shorter is rich Autumne by one mottle, And pleaf ant Spring whiles it remaines in floure.

then the seasons doe change after the proportion Diapason. Some attribute to the earth, the place of the muficall note Proflambanomenos; unto the moone Hypate: unto Mercurie and Lucifer Diatonos and Lichanos: the funne they fet upon Mefe(they fay) containing Diapafon in the middes, distant from the earth one fifth or Diapente, and from the sphære of the fixed flarres a fourth, or Diatefferon. But neither the prety conceited imagination of these toucheth the trueth any way, nor the reckoning and account of those other, commeth precisely to the point. Well, those who affirme that these devices agree not to the minde of Plato, are yet of 30 opinion, that those other agree very well to the propositions described in the Tablature of musicians, which consisteth of five tetrachords, to wit, the first Hypaton, as one would say, of base notes; the second, Meson, that is to say, of meanes; the third, Synemmenon that is to say, of conjuncts; the fourth, Diezeugmernon, that is to fay, of disjuncts; & the fift, Hyperbolzon, to wit, of the high and excellent notes: femblably, fay they: The planets be fet in five diffances, whereof the one is from the moone unto the funne, and those which have the same revolution with him, as Mercurie and Venus; a fecond, from these three unto the first planet Mars; the third, from thence to Jupiter; the fourth, from him to Saturne; and the fift reacheth unto the starry skie: so that the founds and notes which determine the five tetrachords, answere to the proportion of the planets or wandring starres. Moreover, we know very well, that the an-40 cient musicians, did set downe no more notes but two Hypates, three Netes, one Mese, and one Parame: fo as their musicall notes were equall in number to the planets: but our moderne maflers of musicke, have added that which is called Proflambanomenos, namely, lower by one note than Hypate, and enclining to the base: and so the whole composition they made Disdiapafon; not keeping and observing the order of the consonances according to nature, for Diapente is before Diatesseron, by adding one note or tone to Hypate toward the base; whereas it is certaine that Phiotooke one note to it toward the treble; for hee faith in his books of Common-wealth: That every one of the eight sphæres hath a firene fitting upon it, caufing the fame to turne about, and that ech one of them hath a feverall and proper voice of their owne: but of altogether there is contempered a certeine harmonie: these strenes being dispo-50 fed to folace themselves, sing for their pleasure divine and heavenly tunes, dauncing withall a facred daunce, under the melodious confent of eight strings: as also there were eight principall tearmes at first of proportions double and triple; counting for one of these tearmes or limits unitie to either part: but the more auncient fort have given unto us nine muses, to wit, eight as Plato himselfe faith, about the celestiall bodies, and the ninth about the terrestriall, called foorth from the rest to dulce and set them in repose, in stead of errour, trouble, and inequality. Consider now I pray you, whether the soule being become most just and most wife, doth

not manage the heaven and celestiall things by the accords and motions therein? And thus cudued the is by proportions harmonicall; the images whereof are imprinted upon the bodies and visible parts of the world which are seene: but the first and principall power is visibly inferted in the foule which sheweth herselfe accordant & obeisant to the better & more divine part, all the rest consenting likewise thereto. For the soveraigne creatour, finding a disorder and confusion in the motions of this disordinate and soolish soule, being evermore at discord with her felfe, divided and separated some; reconciled and reunited others; using thereto numbers and proportions; by meanes whereof, the most dease bodies, as blocks and stones, wood, barks of trees, and the very rennets and mawes of beafts, their guts, their galles and finewes, being fra-10 med, contempered, and mixed together in proportion, exhibite into us the figures of statues woonderfull to fee to, and drogues and medicines most effectuall, yea and founds of musicall instruments right admirable. And therefore Zeno the Citiean, called foorth young men to see and beholde minstrels playing upon flutes and hauthoies: That they might heare (quoth he) and learne, what fweet founds and melodious noifes, hornes, pieces of wood, canes and reeds do yeeld, yea and whatfoever matters els muficall inftruments be made of, when they meet with proportions and accords. As for that which the Pythagoreans were woont to fay and affirme. namely, that all things refembled number, it would aske a long discourse for to declare it. But that all the gods who were before at discord and debate, by reason of their diffimilitude, and whatfoever els jarred, grew to accord and confonance one with another, whereof the caufe was 20 the contemperature, moderation and order of number and harmonie, the very Poets were not ignorant of, who use to call such things as be friendly, amiable and pleasing, apoques but adversaries and enemies they terme arapties, as if discord and enmitte were nothing els but disproportion: and verily that Poet whoever he was, that made a funerall dittie for Pindarus, when he faid thus of him,

ર્જાન્ભાળ હિંદું દેવારા તામ તેમોર્જી હીર,ક્ષેડ્રાંતિ તેરહોંડ. To strangers kınde he was and affable,

To citizens friendly and pliable.

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fhewed very well, that he held it for a fingular vertue to be fociable, and to know how to fort and agree with others: like as the fame Pindar in himselfe,

When God did call he gave attendance,

Andnever bragd of all his valiance, meaning and fignifying Cadmus. The olde Theologians and Divines, who of all Philosophers are most ancient, have put into the hands of of the images of the gods, musicall instruments, minding nothing leffe thereby, than to make this god or that a minftrell, either to play on lute or to found the flute, but because they thought there was no greater piece of worke than accord and harmonicall fymphonic could befeeme the gods. Like as therefore, hee that would feeke for fesquitertian, sesquialterall or double proportions of Musicke, in the necke or bridge, in the belly or backe of a lute, or in the pegs and pinnes thereof, were a ridiculous foole (for howfoever these parts ought to have a symmetrie and proportion one to another in regard of 40 length and thicknesse; yet the harmonie whereof we speake, is to be considered in the founds onely.) Even fo, probable it is, and standeth with great reason, that the bodies of the starres, the distances and intervals of sphæres, the celeritie also of their courses and revolutions, should be proportionate one unto the other, yea and unto the whole world, as inftruments of muficke well fet and tuned, albeit the just quantitie of the measure be unknowen unto. But this we are to thinke, that the principall effect and efficacie of these numbers and proportions, which that great and fovereigne Creatour used, is the consonance, accord, and agreement of the soule in it felfe; with which the being endowed, the hath replenithed both the heaven it felfe, when

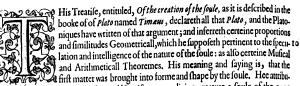
the was fetled thereupon, with an infinite number of good things; and alfo difpofed and ordeined all things upon the earth, by feafons, by changes and mutations, tempered and meafured moft excellently well and with furpaffing wildome, alwell for the production and generation of all things, a sfor the prefervation and lafety of them, when they were crea-

ted and made.

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AN EPITOME OR BREVIARIE

of a Treatise as touching the creation of the Soule, according to Plato in Timaus.



teth to the univerfall world a foule; and likewife to every living creature a foule of the owne by it selfe, which ruleth and governeth it. He bringeth in the faid soule in some fort not engendred, and yet after a fort subject to generation. But hee affirmeth that eternall matter to have bene formed by God; that evill and vice is an impe fpringing from the faid matter, To the end (quoth he) that it might never come into mans thought, That God was the authour or caule of evill.

All the rest of this Breviarie, is word for word in the Treatise it selfe, therefore may be well spared in this place, and not rehearfed a second time.



FATALL NECESSITY.

This little Treatife is so pitiously torne, mained, and dismembred thorowout, that a man may sooner divine and guesse thereat (as I have done) than translateit. Ibeseechthe readers therefore, to holde me excused, in case I neither please my selfe, nor content them, in that which I have written.



Ndevour I will, and addresse my selse to write unto you (most deere 40 and loving friend P1/0, as plainly and compendiously as possible I can) mine opinion as touching Fatall destinie, for to satisfie your request: albeit you know full well how wary and precise I am in my writing. First and formost therefore, thus much you must understand, That this terme of Fatall destinie is spoken and understood two maner of waies: the one, as it is an action, and the other, as it is a substance. In the first place, Plate hath figuratively drawer it forth, & under a type described it as an action, both in his diologue entituled Phadrus, in these words: It is an Adrastian law or inevita-

ble ordinance, which alwaies followeth and accompanieth God. And also in his treatise called 50 Timeus, after this maner: The lawes which God hath pronounced and published to the immortall foules, in the procreation of the univerfall world. Likewife, in his books of Commonwealth, he faith, That Fatall necessitie is the reason and speech of Lachesis the daughter of Neceffitie. By which places he giveth us to understand, not tragically, but after a theologicall maner, what his minde and opinion is. Now if a man (taking the faid places already cited & quoted) would expound the fame more familiarly in other words, he may declare the former description

in Phedrus after this fort, namely, that Fatall destinie is a divine reason or sentence intransgresfible and inevitable, proceeding from a cause that cannot be diverted nor impeached. And according to that which he delivereth in Timan, it is a law confequently entuing upon the nature and creation of the world, by the rule whereof all things paffe and are differenced, that be done. For this is it that Lache sis worketh & effecteth, who is in trueth the daughter of Necessity, as we have both alreadie faid, & alfo shall better understand by that which we are to deliver hereafter in this and other treatifes at our leafure. Thus you fee what Deftinie is, as it goeth for an action; but being taken for a fubstance, it feemeth to be the universall soule of the whole world, and admitteth a tripartite division. The first Destiny is that which erreth not; the second seemeth to to erre; and the third is under heaven & conversant about the earth: of which three, the highest is called Clotho; that next under it is named Atropos; and the lowest, Lachesis: and the receiveth the influences of her two celeftiall fifters, transmitting and fastening the same upon terrestriall things, which are under her governmet. Thus have we thewed fummarily, what is to be thought & faid as touching Destiny, being taken as a substance; namely, What it is; what parts it bath; after what fort it is; how it is ordeined; and in what maner it standeth, both in respect of it selfe, and also in regard of us: but as concerning the particularities of all these points, there is another fable in the Politiques of Plato, which covertly in some fort giveth us intelligence thereof; and the fame have we affaied to explane & unfolde unto you, as wel as possibly we can. But to returne unto our Destiny as it is an action, let us discourse thereof, forasmuch as many que-20 flions, naturall, morall and rationall depend thereupon. Now for that we have in some fort sufficiently defined already, what it is, we are to confider confequently in order, the qualitie and maner thereof; howfoever there be many that thinke it very strange and abfurd to search thereinto. Ifay therefore, that Destiny is not infinite, but finite and determinate, however it comprehend as it were within a circle the infinitie of all things that are, and have beene time out of minde, yea and shall be worlds without end : for, neither law, nor reason, nor any divine thing whatfoever, can be infinite. And this shall you the better learne and understand, if you consider the totall revolution and the univerfall time, when as the eight fphæres, as Timam faith, having performed their fwift courfes, shall returne to the same head and point againe, being measured by the circle of The fame, which goeth alwaies after one maner: for in this definite and determi-20 nate reason, all things as well in heaven as in earth, the which doe consist by the necessitie of that above, be reduced to the fame fituation, and brought againe to their first head and beginning. The onely habitude therefore of heaven, which flandeth ordeined in all points, aswell in regard ofitfelfe, as of the earth, and all terrestrial matters, after certaine long revolutions, shall one day returne, yea and that which consequently followeth after, and those which are linked in a continuity together, bring ech one by confequence that which it hath by necessity. For to make this matter more plaine, let us suppose that all those things which are in and about us, be wrought and brought to passe by the course of the heavens and celestiall influences, all being the very efficient cause both of that which I write now, and also of that which you are doing at this prefent, yea and in that fort as you do the fame : fo that hereafter, when the fame cause shall 40 turneabout and come againe, we shall do the very same that now we do, yea and after the same maner; yea we shall become againe the very fame men. And even so it shall be with all other men; and looke whatfoever shall follow in a course or traine, shall likewise happen by a consequent and dependant cause: and in one word, what soever shall be fall in any of the universall revolutions, shall become the same againe. Thus apparent it is, as hath already beene said, That Destiny being in some fort infinite, is neverthelesse determinate and not infinite; as also, that according as we have shewed before, it is evident that it is in maner of a circle: for like as the motion of a circle in a circle, and the time that measureth it is also a circle; even so the reason of those things which are done and happen in a circle, by good right may be esteemed and said to be a circle.

Of Fatall necessitie.

This therefore, if nought els there were, the weth unto us, in a maner fufficiently, what is defliny in generality, but not in particular, nor in ech severall respect: What then is it? It is the generall, in the same kinde of reason, so as a man may compare it with civill law: For first and formost, it commaundeth the most part of things, if not all, at leastwise by way of supposition, and then it comprise thas much as is possible all matters appetteining to a city or publike state, generally: and that we may better understand both the one and the other, let us exemplifie and consider the same in specialty: The civill or politique law speaketh and ordeineth generally of avaliant man, as also of a run-away coward, and so consequently of others: howbeit, this is not

Tett 3

to make a law of this or that particular person; but to provide ingenerall principally, and then of particulars by confequence, as comprised under the faid generall; for we may very well favthat to remunerate and recompense this or that man for his valour is lawfull; as also to punish a particular person for his cowardise, and for saking his colours; for that the law potentially and in effect, hath comprized as much, although not in expresse words: like as the law (if I may so fay) of Physicians, and of masters of bodily exercises, comprehendeth speciall and particular points within the generall: and even so doth the law of nature, which first and principally doth determine generall matters; and then particulars fecondarily & by confequence. Semblably, may particular and individuall things in some fort be said to be destined, for that they be so by confequence with the generals. But haply fome one of those who fearch and enquire more cti- 10 rioufly and exactly into these matters will hold the contrary, and say; that of particular & individuall things, proceed the composition of the generals, and that the generall is ordeined and gathered for the particular. Now that for which another thing is, goeth alwaies before that which is for it; but this is not the proper place to speake of these quiddities; for wee are to referre them to some other: howbeit, that deftiny doth not comprehend all things purely and exprefly, but onely fuch as be univerfall and generall, is refolved upon for this prefent, and ferveth for that which we have to fay heereafter, yea, and agreeth alfo to that which hath beene delivered fomewhat before; for that which is finite and determinate, properly agreeable todivine providence, is more feene in univerfall and generall things, than in particular; of this nature is the law of God, and fuch is likewise the civill law, whereas infinity consistesth in parti-20 culars.

After this we are to declare, what meaneth this tearme, By supposition: for surely destiny is to be thought such a thing. We have then called, By supposition, that which is not set downe of it selfe, nor by it selfe, but supposed and joined after another; and this signifiest a sure aconsequence. This is the law or ordinance of Adrassia, that is to say, a decree inevitable; unto which, if any soule can affociate it selfe, the same thall be able to see by consequence, all that willensure, even unto another generall revolution, and be exempt from all evill; which if it may be able alwaies to doe, it shall neither sustein any damage nor doe harme. Thus you see what it is that we call, By supposition & in generall. Now that Fatall destiny is of thiskind evidently appecreth, as well by the substance as the name thereof; for it is called in Greek what is one would say vie when, that is as much as dependant and linked, and a law it is and ordinance, for that things therein be ordeined and disposed consequently, and in maner of those which are done civilly.

Heereunto is to be annexed a treatife of relation, that is to fay, what reference and respect hath Fatall destiny unto divine providence, as also unto fortune : likewise, what is that which is in us; what is contingent; and fuch like things. Moreover, we are to decide, wherein and how it is falle; wherein allo, and how it is true; that all things happen and come to passe by Farall destiny for a it import and imply thus much, That all things are comprised and conteined in Fatall destiny, we must grant this proposition to be true; and say one out thereto all things done among men, upon the earth, and in the very heaven, and place them within Fatall deftiny, let 40 us grant as much for the prefent. But if we understand that this word Fatall (as it rathersee meth)doth import not all things, but that onely which followeth and is dependant, then wee may not grant and fay, that all things be comprehended in Farall destiny; considering all that which the law doeth comprehend, and whereof it speakets, is not lawfull, nor according to law : for why? it comprises treason; it treatest of cowardife; of running away from ones colours and place in battell; of adultery and many things femblable: of which we cannot fay, any one is lawfull: forasmuch as, even to performe valorous service in the wars, to kill tyrants, or to exploit any vertuous deed, I would not tearme lawfull, because properly that is lawfull, which is commanded by the law; and if the law did command those things, how can they avoid to be rebellious and transgressors of the law, who have not done valiant exploits in armes, have not 50 killed tyrants, nor performed any other notable acts of vertue? and in case they be offenders of the law, why are they not punished accordingly? But if to punish such, be neither just nor reafonable, then confesse we must, that these matters be not legall, nor according to law; for legall and according to law is that, which is namely prescribed, set downe, and expresly commanded by the law, in any action whatfoever. Semblably, those things onely be Fatall and according to destiny, which are done by a divine disposition proceeding, so that Fatall destiny may well coprise all things: howbeit many of those which be comprised therein, and in maner all that went

before, to speake properly, cannot be pronounced Fatall, nor according to Fatall destiny, which being fo, we ought to declare now in order confequently, how that which is in our owner power, to wit, free will, how fortune, possible, contingent, and other such like things, which be ranged and placed among the premiffes, may fubfill fafely with fatall diftiny; and how fatall diffuny may fland with them: for fatall diffiny comprehendeth all, as it feemeth: and yet thete things happen not by any necessity, but every of them according to there owne nature. The nature of politible is to have a prefublittence as the gender, and to goe before the contingent, and the cottingent as the subject matter ought to be presupposed before the things which are in our power: for that which is in us, as a lord and mafter ufeth the contingent. And fortune is of this to nature, to intercurre betweene our free will and what is in us, by the property of contingencie enclining to the one fide and to the other, which you may more eafily apprehend and underfland, if you confider, how every thing that is produced forth, yea and the production it selfe and generation, is not without a certaine puissance: and no puissance or power there is without a fubstance : as for example the generation of man, and that which is produced and engendred, is not without a power, and the same is about the man, but man himselfe is the substance. Of the puillance or power being betweene, commeth the fubltance which is the puillant: but the production and that which is produced, be both things possible. There being therefore these three, puissance, puissant, and possible : before puissance can be, of necessitie there must be presupposed a puissant, as the subject thereof: and even so it must needs be that puissance also sub-20 fill before that which is possible. By this deduction then, in some fort is declared, what is that which we call poffible; to as we may after a groffe maner define it to be, that which puiffance is able to produce: and to speake more properly of the same, by adjoining thereto thus much, provided alwaies that nothing without forth doc impeach or hinder it, But among possible things, fomethere be that never can be hindred, as namely in heaven, the rifing and fetting of the stars, and fuch like : others may be impeached, as the most part of humane affaires, yea and many meteors in the aire. As for the former, as things hapning by necessitie, they be called necessarie; theother for that they fall out sometime contrariwise, we tearme contingent; and in this sort may they be described. Necessary is that possible thing, which is opposit to impossible: contingent is that possible, whereof possible also is the contrary. For that the sun should go downe, is a 30 thing both necessary & possible, as being contrary unto this impossibility, namely, that the sun should not fet at all : but that when the sun is set, there should come raine or not raine, are both of them possible and contingent. Againe of things contingent, some there be which happen oftentimes and for the most part; others rare and feldome; some fall out indifferently, as well one wate as another, even as it hapneth. And plaine it is, that these be opposit and repugnant to themselves as for those which happen usually and very often, contrary they be to such things aschance but seldome: and these indeed for the most part are subject to nature: but that which chanceth equally, one way as well as another, lieth in us and our will: for examples fake, that under the Dog starre it should be not and colde; the one commonly and for the most part, the othervery feldome, are things both, fubmitted to nature: but to walke or not to walke and fuch 40 things whereof the one and the other be subject to the free will of man, are said to be in us and in our choife and election: but rather and more generally, they be faid to be in us. For as touching this tearme, Tobe in us, it is to be understood two maner of waies, and thereof are two kindes, the one proceedeth from paffion as namely from anger or concupifence; the other from discourse of reason or judgement and understanding, which a man may properly say, to be in our election. And fome reason there is that this possible contingent which is named to be in us, and to proceed from our appetite and will, should be called so, not in the same regard, but for divers: for in respect of future time it is called possible and contingent; but in regard of the present it is named. In us and in our free will: so as a man may thus define and distinguish of thefe things : Contingent is that which both it felfe and the contrary whereof is possible : that so which in us, is the one part of contingent, to wit, that which presently is in doing according to our appetite. Thus have we in maner declared, that by nature possible goeth before contingent, and contingent sublisteth before that which in us; also, what ech of them is, and whereupon they are so called, yea and what be the qualities adjoining thereto: it remaineth now, that we should treat of Fortune and casuall adventure, and of whatsoever besides, that requireth discourse and consideration. First, this is certeine, that Fortune is a kinde of cause: but among causes, some are of themselves, others by accident : as for example, of an house or thip, the proper causes and of themselves, be the Mason, Carpenter or Shipwright; but by accident, the Musician

Musician and Geometrician, yea, and whatsoever incident to the mason, carpenter, or shipwright, either in regard of body or minde, or outward things: whereby it appeareth, that the effentiall cause which is by it selfe, must needs be determinate, certeine in one; whereas the accidentall causes are not alwaics one and the same, but infinit, and indeterminate; for many accidents in number infinit, and in nature different one from another, may be together in one and the fame subject. This cause then by accident, when it is found not onely in such things which are done for some end, but also in those wherein our election and will taketh place, is called fortune: as namely, to find treasure when a man diggeth a hole or grave to planta tree in, or to do and fuffer any extraordinary thing, in flying, purfuing, or otherwise going and marching, or onely in retiring: provided alwaies, that he doeth it not to that end which enfueth to thereupon, but upon some other intention. And heereupon it is, that some of the auncient philosophers have defined fortune, to be a cause unknowen, and not foreseene by mans reason: But according to the Platoniques, who come neerer unto it in reason, it is defined thus: Fortune is an accidentall cause in those things that are done for some end, and which are in our election; and afterwards they adjoine moreover, not foreseene nor knowen by the discourse of humane reason; although that which is rare and strange, by the same meanes, appeareth also in this kinde of cause by accident. But what this is, if it appeare not manifestly by the oppositions and contradictory disputations, yet at leastwife it will be declared most evidently, by that which is writte in a treatife of Plato, entituled Phedon, where these words are found. What Have you not heard how & in what maner the judgement passed? Yes iwis: For one there was, who 20 came and told us of it: whereat we marvelled very much, that feeing the fentence of judgement was pronounced long before, he died a good while after. And what might be the cause thereof, ô Phedon? Surely, there hapned unto him, ô Echecrates, a certeine fortune: For it chanced that the day before the judgement, the prow of the galley which the Athenians fent to ille Delos was crowned: In which words it is to be noted, that by this tearme; There hapned, you must not understand, There was; but rather, it so befell, upon a concourse and meeting of many causes together, one after another. For the priest adorned the ship with coronets for another end and intention, and not for the love of Socrates; yea, and the judges had condemned himalfo for some other cause: but the event it selfe was so strange & admirable, as if it had hapned by fome providence, or by an humane creature, or rather indeed by some superior nature. And 30 thus much may fuffice as touching fortune, and the definition thereof: as also, that necessarily it ought to fubfill together with some one contingent thing of those which are meant to some end; whereupon it tooke the * name: yea, and there must be some subject before of such things which are in us and in our election.

But casuall adventure reacheth and extendeth farther than fortune: for it comprises both it, and also many other things which may chance aswell one way as another: and according as the very etymologie and derivation of the word do toputato, sheweth it is that which hapneth for and in fread of another, namely, when that which was ordinary fell not out, but another thing in lieu thereof: as namely, when it chanceth to be colde weather in the Dog daies; for fometimes it falleth out to be then colde: and not without cause. In summe, like as that which is in us and 40 arbitrary, is part of contingent; even so is fortune a part of casuall or accidental adventure; and both these events are conjunct and dependant one of another; to wit, casual adventure hangeth upon contingent, and fortune upon that which is in us and arbitrarie; and yet not fimply and in generall, but of that onely which is in our election, according as hath beene before faid. And hereupon it is, that this casuall adventure is common aswell to things which have no life, as to those which are animate; whereas fortune is proper to man onely, who is able to performe voluntarie actions. An argument whereof is this, that to be fortunate, happie and bleffed, are thought to be all one; for bleffed happineffe is a kinde of well doing; and to doe well, properly belongeth to a man and him that is perfect. Thus you fee what things are comprised within fatall destiny, namely, contingent, possible, election, that which is within us, fortune, castiall acci- 50 dent or chance & adventure, to gether with their circumstant adjuncts, signified by these words, haply, peradventure or perchance: howbeit, we are not to inferre, that because they be conteined within destinie, therefore they be fatall.

Itemaineth now to discourse of divine providence, considering that it selfe comprehendeth fatall destinie. This supreame and first providence therefore, is the intelligence and will of the sovereigne god, doing good unto all that is in the world; whereby all divine things universally and thorowout, have bene most excellently and wifely ordeined and disposed. The second pro-

vidence, is the intelligence and will of the fecond gods who have their courfe thorow the heaven; by which, temporall and mortall things are ingendred regularly and in order; as also whatfoever perteineth to the prefervation and continuance of every kinde of thing. The third, by all probabilitie and likelihood may well be called the providence and profpicience of the Damonds or angels, as many as be placed and ordeined about the earth as superintendents, for to obleve, marke and governe mens actions. Now albeit there be feene this threefolde providence, yet properly and principally that first and supreame is named Providence : so as we may beholde, and never doubt to fay, howfoever herein we feeme to contradict fome Philosophers, That all things are done by fatall deftinie, and by providence, but not likewife by nature : howto beit, some by providence; and that after divers sorts, these by one, and those by another: yea and some also by fatall destinie. As for fatall destinie, it is altogether by providence; but providence inno wife by fatall destinie: where; by the way, this is to be noted, that in this present place I understand the principall and sovereigne providence. Now whatsoever is done by another (be it what it will) is evermore after that which causeth or maketh it; even as that which is erected by law is after the law; like as what is done by nature, must needs succeed and come after nature. Semblably, what is done by farall deftiny, is after farall deftiny, & of necessity must be more new &moderne: and therfore the supreme providence is the ancientest of all, excepting him alone, whole intelligence it is or wil, or both twaine together, to wit, the fovereigne authour, creatour,

maker and father of all things. And for what cause is it, Taith Timeus, that he hath made & framed this fabricke of the world? co for that he is all good, and in him being all good, there can not be imprinted or engendred any a envie: but seeing he is altogether void and free from it, his will was, that as much as possibly as might be, all things should resemble himselfe. He then who shall receive and admit this for the se moltprincipall and and proper originall of the generation and creation of the world, fuch as see wifemen have delivered unto us by writing, is in the right way, and doeth very well. For God a willing that all things should be good, and nothing at all (to his power) evill, tooke all that was co visible, restlesse as it was, and mooving still rashly, confusedly, irregularly and without order, se which he brought out of confusion, and ranged into order, judging this to be every way farre as better than the other: for neither it was, nor is convenient and meet, for him who is himselfe as 30 right good, to make any thing that should not be most excellent and beautifull. Thus there- sc fore we are to esteeme that providence (I meane that which is principall and soveraigne) hath se conflituted and orderned these things first, and then in order such as ensue and depend thereof, so even as farre as to the foules of men. Afterwards having thus created the universall world, hee ac ordeined eight sphæres, answering in number to so many principall starres; and distributed to ac every one of them a feverall foule; all which he fet, ech one (as it were) within a chariot over the se nature of the whole, shewing unto them the lawes and ordinances of Fatall destiny * * * * ca What is he then who will not believe, that by these words he plainly sheweth and declareth Fatall destiny, and the same to be (as one would fay) attribunall, yea, & a politicke constitution of civill lawes, meet and agreeable to the foules of men whereof afterwards he rendreth areason. 40. And astouching the fecond providence, he doeth after a fort exprelly fignifie the fame in thefe words, faying: Having therefore prescribed all these lawes unto them, to the end that if afterwards there should be any default, he might be exempted from all cause of evill: he spred and fowedfome upon the earth, others about the moone, and fome againe upon other organs and instruments of time: after which distribution, he gave commandement and charge to the young gods for to frame and create mortall bodies, as also to make up and finish that which remained and was wanting in mans foule; and when they had made perfect all that was adharent and confequent thereto, then to rule and governe after the best and wifest maner possible, this mortall creature, to the end that it felfe should not be the cause of the owne evils and miseries: for in these words where it is said: That he might be exempt, and not the cause of any evill enso fuing afterwards, he sheweth cleerely and evidently to every one the cause of Fatall desting. The order also and office of these petie-gods declareth unto us the second providence, yea, and it seemeth that in some fort it toucheth by the way, the third providence, in case it be so, that for this purpose these lawes and ordinances were established, because he might not be blamed or accused as the author of any evill in any one afterwards: for God himselfe being cleere & exempt from all evill, neither hath need of lawes, nor requireth any Fatall destiny : but ech one of these petie-gods, led and haled by the providence of him who hath engendred them, doth their owne devoir and office belonging unto them. That this is true, and the very minde and

opinion of Plato, appeareth manifestly in my conceir, by the testimonie of those words which are reported by the law-giver in his books of lawes in this maner: If there were any man(quoth he) fo by nature sufficient, or by divine fortune so happily borne, that he could be able to comprehend this, he should require no lawes to command him: for no law there is, nor ordinance of more woorth and puiffance, than is knowledge and science: neither can he possibly be a fervile flave or subject to any, who is truely and indeed free by nature, but he ought to command all. For mine owne part thus I understand and interpret the sentence of Plato: For whereas there is a triple providence: the first, as that which hath engendred Faralldestiny, in some fort comprehendeth it: the second being engendred with it, is likewise wholly comprised in it: the third engendred after Fatal destiny, is comprised under it, in that maner, as, That which is in us, to and fortune, as we have already faid: for those whom the affistance of the power of our Dæmon doth aid (according as Socrates faith) expouding unto Theages what is the inevitable ordinance of Adraftia, thele (I fay) are those whom you understand well enough; for they grow and come forward quickly with speed, so as, where it is said, that a Dæmon or angell doth favourany, it must be referred to the third providence; but that suddenly they grow and come to proofe, it is by the power of Fatall destiny: And to be short, it is very plaine and evident, that even this alfo is a kinde of destiny. And peradventure it may feeme much more probable, that even the second providence is comprehended under destiny; yea, and in summe, all things whatsoever be made or done, confidering that deftiny according to the fubffance thereof, hath benerightly divided by us into three parts. And verily that speech as touching the chaine and concarenation, comprehendeth the revolutions of the heavens, in the number and raunge of those things which happen by supposition: but verily of these points I will not debate much, to wit, whether we are to call them, Hapning by Supposition, or rather conjunct unto destiny; considering that the precedent cause and commander of destiny it selfe, is also fatall. And thus to speake fummarily, and by way of abridgement, is our opinion: but the contrary fentence unto this ordeineth all things to be not onely under deftiny, but also according to destiny, and by it. Now all things accord unto the other, and that which accordeth to another, the same must be granto be the other: according then to this opinion, contingent is faid to be the first; that which is in us the fecond; fortune the third; accident or cafuall chance and adventure the fourth, together with all that dependent thereupon, to wit, praife, blame, and those of the same kindes the fifth and last of all, may bee said to be the praiers unto the gods, together with their services of and ceremonies. Moreover, as touching those which are called idle, and harvest arguments, as also that which is named beside or against destiny, they are no better than cavils and sophistics according to this opinion; but according to the contrary sentence, the first and principal conclusion is, that nothing is done without cause, but all thing depend upon precedent caufes: the fecond, that the world is governed by nature, which conspireth and is compatible with it selfe; the third may seeme rather to be testimonies unto these; whereof the first is divination, approved by all nations, as being really and truely in God; the fecond the æquanimite and patience of wife men, taking and bearing well all accidents and occurrents whatfoever, as comming by divine ordinance; the third, which is fo common a speech, and divulged in, 40 every mans mouth, namely, that every proposition is either true or falle. Thus have in we drawen this discourse into a small number of short articles, to the end that we might remember and comprise in few words, the whole matter and argument of Destinie. All which points, both of the one and

the other opinion, are to be discussed and examined with more diligent inquisition, whereof particularly we will treat afterwards.



COMPENDIOVS RE-

VIEW AND DISCOURSE,

THAT THE STOICKS DELIVER MORE STRANGE OPINIONS, THAN DO THE POETS. alslan.

The Summaric.



Petie declaration this is against the feet of the Stoicks, which briefly and in a word is makethodious; giving out in plaine tearmes, that (uch per sons be the loudest liers in the world; and that their opinion as touching the change and alteration of that party who rangeth himselfe unto them, is so monstrous and rediculous, that the discovery only thereof is a sufficient resutation.

A COMPENDIOUS REVIEW and discourse, That the Stoicks deliver more strange opinions, than do the Poets.

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Indar us was reprooved, for that after a strange maner, and without all sense and probabilitie hee fained Caneus one of the Lapitha, to have had a bodie fo hard, as it could not be pierced by any weapon of iron and steele, but that he remained unhurt, and so afterwards

Went under earthwithouten wound, When with stiffe foot he cleft the ground.

But this Lapith of the Stoicks, to wit, their imagined wife man, being forged by them of impaffibilitie, as of a mettall harder than the diamond, is not fuch an one as is not otherwhiles wollded, difeated and affailed with paine: howbeit, as they fay , he abideth still feare-

40 lesse and without forrow and heavinesse; he continueth invincible, he susteineth no force nor violence, howfoever he be wounded, what paine foever he fuffereth, be he put to all tortures, or fee his native countrey facked and destroied before his face, or what calamities els beside be presented to his eies. And verily, that Caneus whom Pindarus describeth, notwithstanding hee were finitten, and bare many ftroakes, yet was unwounded for all that: but the wife man whom the Stoicks imagine, although he be kept enclosed in prison, yet is not restreined of libertie; say he be pitched downe from the top of a rocke, yet fusteineth no violence; is he put to the strappado, to the racke or wheele, yet for all that is he not tormented; and albeit he frie in the fire, yet he hath no harm; nay, if in wreftling he be foiled and take a fall, yet he perfifteth unconquered; when he is environed within a wall, yet is he not befreged; and being folde in port fale by the e-

50 nemies, yet is he no captive, but remaineth impregnable; refembling most properly for all the world, those ships which have these goodly inscriptions in their poups, Happie voyage, Luckie navigation, Saving providence, and Remedie against all dangers : and yet the same neverthelesse be toffed in the feas, fplit upon the rocks, cast away and drowned. Iolius, as the Poet Euripides hathfained, by a certeine praier that he made unto the gods, of a feeble and decrepit olde man, became all of a fudden a yong and luftic gallant, ready for to fight a battell; but the Stoicks wife man, who longer agoe than yesterday, was most hatefull, wretched and wicked, all at once to day

is changed into a good and vertuous person; he is of a rivelled, pale, leane and poore sillie aged man, and as the Poet Aeschylus saith,

Who sufferesh pangs in flanke, in reines and backe, With painfull cramps, strescht as upon aracke.

become, a lovely, faire, beautifull, and personable youth, pleasant both to God and man, Manerva in Homer rid Uliffes from his wrinkles, his baldnesse, and ill fovoured deformity, that he might appeare full of favour and amiable: but this wife man of there making, albeit withered olde age leave not his body, but contrariwife increase still and grow more and more with all the discommodities that followit, continuing still for example sake bunch backt, if he were so before, one eied, and toothleffe, yet for footh is not for all this, foule, deformed and ill favoured to For like as by report the bettils fly from good and sweet odors, seeking after stinking sents, even fo the Stoicks love (converting with the most foule ilfavoured and deformed, after that by their fapience and wisdome they be turned into all beauty and favor) departeth and goeth from them. With these Stoicks he who in the morning haply was most wicked, will proove in the evening a right honest man: & who went to bed foolish, ignorant, injurious, outragious, intemperat, yea a very flave, a poore & needy begger, will rife the morrow morning, a king, rich, happie, chafte, just, firme and constant, nothing at all subject to variety of opinions: not for that he hath all on a fuddaine put forth abeard, or become under growen, as in a yoong and tender body: butrather engendred in a weake, soft, effeminate and inconstant soule, a perfect minde, perfect underftanding, foveraine prudence, a divine disposition, comparable to the gods, a settled and affirm 22 fcience, not wandring in opinions and an immutable and stedfast habitude: neither went that leawd wickednesse of his away by little & little, but all at once (I may well neere say) he was transmuted from a most vile beast into a demy god, adæmon, or avery god indeed. For so some once as a man hath learned vertue in the Stoicks schoole, he may say thus unto himselfe:

Wish what thou wilt, and what thou list to crave, All shall be done; doe thou but aske and have.

This vertue brings riches, this carieth with itroialty, this giveth good fortune, this makes men happie, standing in need of nothing, contented in themselves, although they have not in all the world so much as a single drachme of silver, or one grey groat. Yet are the sales of Poets device with more probability and likelihood of reason: for never doe they leave Hercules altoge 30 ther destitute of necessaries: but it seemeth that he hath with him alwaies one living source or other, out of which there runneth evermore fois on and plenty for himselse and the companyabouthim. But he who hath once gotten the goat Amalthea by the head, and that plential horne of abundance which the Stoicks talke of, he is rich incontinently, and yet beggeth his bread and victuals of others; he is a king, although for a peece of mony he teacheth how to resolve fyllogismesshe onely possessed things, albeit he pay rent for his house, buieth his meale and meat with the silver that many times he takethup of the usurer, or essential their hands who have just nothing of their ownetto give. True it is indeed, that usifes the king of Ithus begged almes, but it was because he would not be knowen; counterfaiting all that he could

To make himfelfea begger poore, Like one that went from doore to doore.

whereas he that is come out of the Stoicks schoole, crying aloud with open mouth, I onely amaking, I am rich and none but I, is seene often times at other mens doores standing with this note,

Give Hipponax a cloke, his naked corps to folde, For that I quake and shiver much for colde.



Contradictions of Stoicke philosophers.

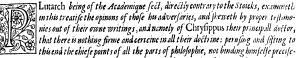


THE CONTRADIC

TIONS OF STOICK

PHILOSOPHERS.

The Summarie.



ly to any speciall order, but proposing matters according as they come into his remembrance, or were presented to his eies. Moreover, in the recitall of their resugnancies and contradictions, he intermingleth certain expositions, to aggravate the absurdaty of this sect of his adversaries, and to withdraw the reader from them: which his avery proper and lingular maner of declaming and disfluting against inviterate errors, and such as have a great name in the world: for instructing that these who are reputed most able to the above a great name in the world: for instructing that these who are reputed for and sufficient to teach and maintemethem, know not what they say, and do consound the sufficient of the most of the most of the imparation, that his is deprived of common sense, in receiving that for a certaine verity, wherein their very masses are not well resolved, or admitting that which they practise, otherwise than they say.

THE CONTRADICTIONS of Stoicke philosophers.



Irst above all things, I would have to be seene a conformitie and accord betweene the opinions of men and their lives: for it is not so necessary, that the oratour, according as Lysics faith, and the law, should sound the same note, as requisite that the life of a philosopher should be conformable and confonant to his words and doctrine: for the speech of a philosopher is a voluntary and particular law which hee imposeth upon himselse, if it beso as men efterme, that philosophie is (as no doubt it is) the profession of that which is serious, grave, and of weighty importance, and not a gamesome sport, or vaine and toysth pratting, devided onely for

to gaine glory. Now we fee, that Zeno himfelie hath written much by way of disputation and discourse; Cleanthes likewise, and Chrysppus most of all, concerning the politique government of common-wealth, touching rule and obedience, of judgement also and pleading at the barre; and yet looke into all their lives throughout, you shall not finde that ever any of them were cap; to tain and commanders, neither law-givers, nor senatours, & counsellers of State, ne yet orators or advocates pleading judicially incount before the judges; nay, they were not so much as emploied in any warre, bearing armes, and performing martiall service for the desence of their countries; you that not find (I say) that any of them was ever sent in embassage, or bestowed any publicke largesse or donative to the people; but remained all the time of their life (and that was not thort, but very long) in a strange and forren country, seeding upon rest and repose, as they had tasted of the herbe Lotus in Homer, and forgotten their native soile, where they spent their time in writing books, in holding discourses, and in walking up and downe. Heereby in manifestive

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manifestly appeareth, that they lived rather according to the sayings and writings of other, than answerable to that which themselves judge and confesse to be their duty, having passed the whole course of their life in that quiet repose, which Epicurus and Hieronymus so highly praise and recommend. And verily to proove this to be a trueth, Chrysppus himselfe in his fourth booke entituled, Of Lives, is of opinion, and so hath put downe in writing, that a scholasticall life, to wit, that of idle students, differeth not from the life of voluptuous persons. And to this purpose I thinke it not amisse to alledge the mans speech word for word: They (quoth he) who thinke that this scholastical and idle life of students even from the first beginning, is most of all befeeming and agreeable to philosophers, in my conceit, feeme much deceived weening as they do, that they are to philosophize for their pastime or recreation, and so to draw out in 10 length the whole course of their life at their booke in their studies, which is as much to say in plaine tearmes, as to live at ease and in pleasure. Neither is this opinion of theirs to be hidden and diffembled; for many of them give out as much openly, howfoever others, and those not a few deliver the fame more obscurely; and yet where is he who grew old and aged more in this idle scholasticall life, than Chrysippes, Cleanthes, Diogenes, Zeno and Antipater? who forfooke and abandoned even their native countries, having no cause or occasion in the world to complaine of or to be discontent; onely to this end, that they might lead their lives more sweetly at their pleasure, studying and disputing with case, and letting out their girdle slacke as they lift themselves. To approove this that I say, Aristocreon the disciple of Chrysippes, and one of his familiar friends, having caused a statue of braffe to be erected for him, set over it these elegant 20 verses in maner of an epigram:

This image, Arittocreon erected fresh and new For Chrysip, Academicke knots who like an ax did hew

Lo, what maner of perfon was Chrysppus, an aged man, a philosopher, one who praised the life of kings, and of those who are conversant in weale publike, and he who thought there was no difference betweene the idle scholasticall life, and the voluptuous. And yet others among them as many I meane as deale in state affaires, are found to be more repugnant and contradictory to the resolutions of there owne sect: for they bearerule as chiefe magistrates, they are judges, 30 they be Senatours and set in counsell, they ordaine and publish lawes, they punnish malefactours, they honour and reward those that doe well; as if they were cities indeed wherein they governe and manage the state; as if those were senatours, counsellers and judges, who yearly alwaies are by lot created or otherwise to such places; captaines and commanders who are cleated by the suffrages and voices of citizens; and as if those were to be held good lawes which Clistheres, Lyeurgus & Solonmade: and yet the same men they avow and maintaine to have bene witessed fooles, and seawd persons. Thus you see how albeit they administer the common weale, yet they be repugnant to their owned of time.

In like maner Antipater, in his booke of the diffention, betweene Cleanthes, and Chryfippu reporteth, that Zeno and Cleanthes would never be made citizens of Athens, for feare for footh 40 left they might be thought to offer injurie to their owne country. Now if they herein did well, let Chrysppu goe, and say wee nothing of him that he did amisse, incausing himselfe to been rolled and immatriculated in the number of Athenian citizens; for I will not stand much upon this point: onely this I holde, that there is a strange and woonderfull repugnance in their deeds and actions, who referve still the bare names of their native countries, and yet bereave the same of their very persons and their lives, conversing so farre off in forraine lands: much like as if a man who hath cast off and put a way his lawfull wedded wife, should dwell, live and lie ordinary with another as his concubin, yea and beget children of her body, and yet will in no wife espoule her and contract marriage with her, left for footh he might feeme to doc wrong and injurie to the former, Furthermore Chrysppus in his treatise that he made of Rhetoricke writing thus, that 50 a wifeman will in fuch fort plead, make orations to the people, and deale in state matters, as if riches reputation and health were fimply good things, teftifieth hereby and confesset that his precepts and resolutions induce men not to goe forth of doores nor to intermedle in politicke and civill affaires, and so by consequence that their doctrines and precepts cannot fort well with practife, nor be agreeable unto the actions of this life.

Moreover, this is one of Zenoes quodlibets or positions: that we ought not to build temples to the honour of the gods; for that a temple is no such holy thing, nor so highly to be este-

med confidering it is the workemanship of masons, carpenters and other attificers: neither can any worke of such artifans be prifed at any woorth. And yet even they who avow and approve this as a wife speech of his, are themselves professed in the religious mysteries of those churches; they mountup to the castle and frequent there the sacred temple of *Minerva*; they adore the shrines and images of the gods; they adorne the temples with chaplets and guarlands; notwithstanding they be the workes of masons, carpenters and such like mechanicall persons. And will she men seeme indeed to reproove the Epicureans as contrary to themselves, who denying that the gods be occupied or imploied in the government of the world, yet offer facrifice unto them, when as they checke and refute themselves much more in facrificing unto the gods to within their temples and upon their altars, which they maintaine that they ought notto stand at all, nor once to have benebuilt?

Zeno putteth downe & admitteth many vertues according to their feveral differences, like as plate doth, to wit, prudence, fortitude, temperance & justice; faying that they be all in very deed and in nature infeparable nor distinct a funder: howbeit in reason divers and different one from another. And againe when he would feemer to define them feverally one after a nother, he faith That fortitude is prudence in the execution of matters: justice is prudence in the distribution of things, &c. as if there were no more but one fole vertue; which according to divers relations, unto affaires and actions, feemeth to differ and admit distinction. So you see, that not Zeno alone seemeth to be repugnant unto himselfe in these matters, but Chryspopus also, who to reprooveth Ariston faying, that all vertues are nothing else but the divers habitudes and relations of one and the same, and yet defendeth Zeno when he define the ch vertue in this wise by itselfe.

As for Clearches in his commentaries of nature, having fet this downe, that the vigour and firmitude of things, is the illifton and firmiting of fire, which if it be in the foule fo fulficient, that it is able to performe the duties prefented unto it, is called firength and power, he annexethafterward these words: And this very power and firength (quoth he) when as it is emploied insuch objects wherein aman is to persist, and which he ought to conteine, is called Continency; if in things to be endured and supported, then it is named Fortitude; if in estimation of worthinesse and defert, beareth the denomination of Justice; if in choises or resultals, it carieth to the name of Temperance. Against him who was the authour of this sentence,

For beare thy sentence for to passe, and judgement see thou stay, Untill such time as thou hast heard what parties both can say.

Zeno alledged fuch a reason as this on the contrary side. Whether the plaintife who spake in the first place hath plainly proved his cause or no, there is no need at all to heare the second, for the matter is at an end already, and the question determined; or whether he hath not proved it, all is one; for it is even the same case, whether he that is cited be so stubburne as not to appeare for to be heard, or if he appeare, doe nothing els but cavill and wrangle: so that proove he or 40 proove he not his cause; needlesse it is to heare the second plead. And yet even he who made this Dilemma, and wrote against the books of Policie and common wealth that Plato composed, taught his scholars how to associate and avoid such Sophisticall arguments, yea and exhorted them to learne Logicke with all diligence, as being the art which thewesh them how to performe the same. Howheit a man might come upon him by way of objection in this maner: Cettes, Plato hath either proved or els not proved those points which he handled in his Politicks: but whether he did or no, there was no necessitie at all to write against him as you did; for it was altogether vaine, needlesse and superstuous. And even the same may be said of Sophisticall arguments and cavillations.

Chrysppw is of opinion, that yong scholars and students should first learnethose arts which so concerne speech, as Grammar, Logicke and Rhetoricke; in the second place, morall sciences; in the third, naturall philosophie; and after all these, in the last place, to heare the doctrine as touching religion and the gods: which Being delivered by him in many passages of his ritings, it shall be sufficient to alledge that onely which he hath written thus word for word in the third booke of his Lives. First and formost (quoth he) it seemeth unto mee, according to the doctrine of our ancients, that of Philosophicall speculations there be three kinds; Logicall, as touching speech; Ethicall, concerning maners; and Physicall, belonging to the nature of things: of which, that which is respective unto speech ought to precede and be ranged first; se-

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condly, that which treateth of maners; thirdly, that which handleth naturall causes. Now of these Physicks and naturall arguments, the last is that which treateth of God: and this is the reafon that the precepts and traditions of divine matters and of religion, they called TRASTRIS, as one would fay, the very last and comming in the end. Howbeit, this treatise of the gods, which by his faying ought to be fet last, himselfe in the very same booke, rangeth above maners, and serteth before all other morall questions. For neither feemeth he to speake of the ends, nor of juflice, nor of good and evill things, nor of marriage, nor of the nouriture and education of childrenane yet of law nor of the government of the Common wealth in any fort; but as they who propose and publish decrees unto cities and States, make some preamble before of good licke or happic fortune; so he useth the preface of Jupiter, of Fatall destinie, of Divine providence: alfo, that there being but one world, the fame doth confift and is mainteined by one mightie power. Which points, no man doth firmly believe nor can be refolutely perfwaded in unleffe he wade deeply into the profoundest secrets and discourses of natural Philosophie, Buthearken I befeech you, a little, to that which he faith of these matters, in his third booke of the gods: It is not possible (quoth he) to finde out any other fountaine and original beginning of justice. than from Fapiter and common nature : for from hence it must needs be, that every such thing is derived, if that we meane to discourse of good things and evill. Againe, in his Treatise of naturall politions, there is no other way, or at leastwife not a better, of proceeding to the discourse of good things and bad, nor of of vertues, nor of fovereigne felicitie, than from common nature, and the administration of the world. Moreover, as he goeth forward in another place, We 20 are to annex and adjoine hereunto (quoth he) a treatise of good and evill things, considering there is not a better beginning thereof, nor yet a reference and relation more proper: neither is the speculation and science of nature in any other respect requisit or necessarie to be learned, but onely for to know the difference of good and evill. And therefore according to Chrysippus, this naturall science both goeth before and also followeth after morall things; orto fay a trueth at once in more expresse termes, it were a strange and difficult inversion of order, to holde, that it is to be placed after them, confidering that without it it were impossible to comprehend any of the other: and a very manifest repugnance it were to affirme, that science naturall is the beginning of morall, which treateth of good and evill, and yet ordeine nevertheleffe, that it should be taught not before, but after it. Now if any man fay unto me, that Chryfip-30 pus in his booke entituled, Theuseof speech, hath written, that he who first learneth Logicke, I meane the knowledge and philosophie concerning words, ought not altogether for to forbeare the learning of other parts, but that he ought to take a tafte of them, according as he hath meanes thereto, well may be speake a trueth, but withall, confirme he shall my accusation still of his fault: for he fighteth with himfelfe, in ordering one while that a man should learne in the last place and after all, the science that treateth of God, as if that were the reason why it was called TEAST, which is as much as TEASUTUED, that is to fay, Finall; and another while teaching cleane contrarie, that the fame is to be learned even with the very first, and at the beginning: for then farewell all order for ever, and welcome confusion, if we must learne all things hudled together at all times. But yet this is not the woorst, for having set this downe for a reasolution: That 40 the doctrine as touching good things and evill, ought to begin and proceed from the knowledge of God; yet, he will not have them who fettle themselves and enter into the studie of morall philosophic, to take their beginning there: but that in learning this, to catch somewhat of that by the way, even as much as they have easie meanes to come by; and afterwards to repasse from morall philosophy unto Theologie, without which (he saith) there can bee neither entrance nor progreffe in the knowledge of maners.

Moreover (he faith) that, To dispute of one and the same question, pro & contra, to and fro, he difalloweth not fimply and in generality: but his advice is, to use the same so warily and with such discretion, as otherwhiles oratours doe in pleading, when they alledge the reasons of their adverfaries, not to uphold and mainteine the same, but onely for to refute and disproove that 50 likelihood and probabilitie which they pretend: For otherwife (quoth he) thus to doe, is the maner of those Skepticks, who be alwaies doubtfull, and withhold their consent in every thing: a meere shift that serveth their turne, for whatsoever they hold: but as for those who would worke and establish in mens hearts, a certeine science, according to which they might undoubtedly guide and conduct themselves, they ought to found and search the contrary, and from point to point by stepmeale, to direct their novices newly entred, even from the beginning to the very end: wherein there falleth out otherwhiles fit opportunity to make mention

of contrary fentences and opinions, for to refute and refolve that which might feeme to have apparence of trueth; asthe maner is in pleading before judges: for these be the very words and proper tearmes that he useth. Now what an abfurd and impertinent a thing it is, that philosophers should thinke they were to put downe the contrary opinions of other philosophers, and not withall, their reasons and arguments, but onely as advocates pleading at the barre to difable and weaken their proofes, and fo to weary their adversaries; as if disputation were onely to win the honour of victory, and not to finde out a trueth: we have elsewhere discoursed against him fufficiently. But that himfelfe not heere and there in his disputations, but oftentimes and in many places hath confirmed with might and maine, yea, and with fo great affeveration and 16 contention, contrary refolutions, unto his owne opinions, that it were a right hard matter for any man to discerne, which of them he approove th most, they themselves in some fort doe fay, who admire the fubrilty of the man, and the vivacity of his spirit, who also both thinke and flickenot to affirme, that Carneades spake nothing of his owne invention, but by the helpe and meanes of which arguments Chrysppus used to proove his owne affertions, hee returned the fame contrariwife upon himselfe to confute his precepts, insomuch as effloores in disputation he would, alluding to a verse in Homer, cry out aloud in this maner:

unhappy man, thus for to doe,

Thine owne pure strength will worke thy woe.

asificlay open and ministred great advantages and meanes against himselfe, to those who 20 went about for to infringe and calumniate his opinions. But as touching those treatises and discourses which he hath put foorth and set out against ordinary custome, his followers do so glorioully boalt and joy, that they give out, if all the books of the Academiques that ever lived, were laid together, they deferved not to be compared with that which Chrysippus wrote in calumniation of the fenfes: an evident figne either of their ignorance who fay fo, or els of their owneblinde selfe-love. Howbeit, certeine it is, that afterwards being defirous to defend cuflome and the lenfes, he was found much inferior to himselfe, and the latter treatise came farre short of the former, and was nothing at all so pithy; in such fort as he is contradictorie and repugnant to himfelfe: whiles he alwaies prescribeth and willeth to conferre and oppose contrary fentences, not as one patronizing any, but making an oftentation that they be false: and af-30 terwards sheweth himselfe to be a more vehement accuser, than a defender of his owne proper fentences; and counfelling others to take heed of repugnant and contrary disputations, as thosewhich distract and impeach their perception, himselfe is more studious and diligent to addreffe fuch proofes as overthrow perception, than those which are to establish and confirme the same: and yet that he feared no leffe, hee declareth plainly in the fourth booke of his lives, wherehe writeth thus: We are not rashly nor without good respect and advisement to admit and allow repugnant disputations and contrary opinions to be proposed, nor to answere those probable arguments which are brought against true sentences: but heerein we must warily goe to worke, and cary our felves fo, as fearing alwaies lest the hearers being thereby distracted and diverted, let goe this apprehention and conception, and be not of fufficient capacity to 40 comprehend their folitions, but after fuch a feeble fort, as that their comprehensions be ready to faker and shake, considering that even they who customably comprehend sensible objects and other things which depend of fenfes, quickly forgo the fame, being diffracted as well by Megatian interrogatories, as by others more forcible, and in greater number. Now would I gladly demand of these Stoicks whether they thinke these Megarian interrogatories more puissant than those which Chrysippus hath written in fixe bookes; or rather Chrysippus himselse would be asked the question. For marke I pray you, what he hath written of the Megarian disputation in his booke entituled; The use of speech, after this maner: Such a thing as befell in the disputation betweene Stilpo and Menedemus, both renowmed personages for their learning and wisedome; and yet the whole maner of their arguing is now turned to their reprochand 50 Plain mockery, as if their arguments were either very groffe, or else too captious & sophistical: andyet good fir thele arguments which it pleafeth you to scorne and tearme the reproach of those who make such interrogatories, as containing in them notorious leawdnesse, you scare lest they should divert any from perception: And even your owne selfe writing so many books as you doe against custome whereunto you have adjoined whatsoever you could devise and invent, labouring to furmount and furpasse Arcesidam; did you never expect and looke to scare and terrifie any of the readers that should light upon them? For Chrysippus verily useth not onely flender and naked arguments in disputing against custome, but as if he were an advocate pleading pleading at the barre, mooveth affections being paffionate and affectionate himselfe, breaking out efficiences into these tearmes of giving the foole, and imputing vanity and sottishnesses, and to the end that he might leave no place for contradiction at all, but that he delivereth repugnances and speaketh contraries, thus hath he written in his Positions naturall. A man may very well, when he hath once perfectly comprised a thing, argue a little on the contrary side, and apply that defence which the matter it felfe doth affoord; yea and otherwhiles, when he doth comprehend neither the one nor the other, discourse of either of them pro & contra, as much as the cause will yeeld. Also in that treatise of his concerning the use of speech, after he had said, we ought not to use the power and faculty of disputation, no more than armes or weapons, in things that tend to no purpose, and when the case requireth it not, he addeth soone after these to words: For we ought to imploy the gift of reason and speech to the finding out of trueth, and fuch things as refemble it : and not contrariwife; howfoever many there be that are wont fo to doe. And peradventer by these Many, he meaneth those Academicks, who ever doubt and give no affent to any thing : and they verily, for that they comprehend neither the one nor theo. ther, doe argue on both parts to and fro, that it is perceptible: as if by this onely or especiall meanes the trueth yeelded a certeine comprehension of it selfe, if there were nothing in the world comprehenfible. But you who accuse and blame them, writing the contrary to that which you conceive as touching custome, and exhorting others to doe the same, and that with an affectionate defence, doeplainly confesse, that you use the force of speech and eloquence, in things not onely unprofitable, but also hurtfull, upon a vaine ambtious humor of shewing your 20 ready wit, like to fome yoong icholar.

These Stoicks affirme, that a good deed, is the commandement of the law, and sin the prohibition of the law: and therefore it is that the law forbiddeth fooles and leawd folke to doemanythings, but prescribeth them nothing; for that indeed they are not able to doe ought well, And who feeth not that impossible it is for him who can doe no vertuous act, to keepe himselfe from fin and transgreffion? Therefore they make the law repugnant to it selfe, if it command that which to performe is impossible, and forbidthat which men are notable to avoid, Forhe that is not able to live honeftly, cannot chuse but beare himselfe dishonestly; and whoseverhe be, that cannot be wife, must of necessity become a foole; and even them selves doe holde that those lawes which are prohibitive, say the same thing, when they forbid one, and commandlike 10 wise another. For that which faith thou shalt dot steale, faith verily the same, to wit, Steale not, but it forbiddeth withall to steale; and therefore the law forbiddeth fooles and leawd persons nothing, for otherwife it should command them somewhat. And thus they say that the Physician biddeth his apprentise or Chyrurgian to cut or to cauterize, without adding thereto these words, handfomly, moderatly, and in good time. The Musician likewise commandeth his scholar to fing or play upon the harpe a leffon, without putting thereto, in tune, accord and good measure. Howbeit they punnish and chastice those that doe amisse and contrary to the rules of art, for that they were willed and enjoined to doe the thing well, but they did it ill. And even for a wife man commanding his fervant to fay or doe a thing, if he punnish him for doing it untowardly, out of feafon, and not as he ought, certeine it is that he commanded him to performe a 40 good duty, and not a meane and indifferent action. Now if wife men command fooles and lewd persons to doe things indifferent, what should hinder them but that the commandements of the lawes may be femblable?

Moreover, that inftinct or natural motion which is called \$\frac{\phi}{\phi}\text{m}\$, according to him, is nothing els but the reason of man, inciting him to do a thing, as himself hathwritten in his treatife of the law, \$ergo\$, that diversion, contratiwise called \$\Phi\text{esp}\$, can be nothing els but reason withdrawing a man from the doing of a thing: and therefore that inclination is a reasonable inclination: and this warry caution, is as much as the reason of a wise man, forbidding him to doe a thing; forto beware, and to take heed, is the part and property of wise men and not of sooles. If then thereason of a wise man be one thing, and the law another, wise men have this warie caution repugnant 50 unto the law; but in case law, and the reason of a wise man be both one, it will be found that the law forbiddeth wise men to doe those things, which they doubt and be affraid of. To foolish and wicked persons (quoth \$Chrys\text{ppw}\$) there is nothing profitable, neither bath such an one, is need of ought. Having delivered this sentence in his first booke of persect duties or offices, he commeth afterwardes and saith, that utility or commodious fields and grace perteine and each unto meane and indifferent things, whereof according to the Stoicks doctrine there is not one profitable: and more than that, he saith there is nothing proper, nothing meet and convenient

for a foolish leawed man: and so by consequence it followeth upon these words; there is nothing strange; nothing unfitting for a wise and honest man, like as nothing fit and familiar for a leawed foole: for as goodnesse is proper to the one, so is leawed nessent the other. How commeth it then to passe the maketh our heads to ake againe, with tellifig us so often in all his bookes as well of natural philosophy as morall, that presently from our nativity and birth, we be affectionate to our selves, to our proper members, and to the issue descending from us which in the first booke of Justice he faith, that even wilde beasts are propense and affected unto their yoong according as their need and necessary requires, all save fithes: for their yoong fry are nourished by themselves. But there is no sense, where is no sense the sense and proper and familiar: for furely this appropriation seemeth to be the sense and perception of that which is samiliar. And this opinion is conformable to their principles.

Moreover, Christippus, albeit in divers places he write many things contrarily, yet he accordeth to this sentence manifestly, that there is no one vice greater, nor sinne more grievous than another; as also reciprocally, there is not one vertue more excellent, not one vertuous deed (which they call perfect duetie) better than another, confidering that he liath this in the first hooke of Nature: that like as it beforemeth Jupiter well, to magnific and glorific himfelfe and his life, as also if we may fo say, to beare his head aloft, highly to esteeme his owne greatnesse, and to speake big, considering he leadeth a life woorthy of grandeloquence and hautie speech : even fo it befitteth and becommeth all honest men to do the like, confidering that in no respect they 20 be infetior to Jupiter. And yet himselfe againe in the third booke of Justice faith, that those who affirme Pleasure to be the end and sovereigne good of man, overthrow Justice; but who soever fay it is fimply good, do not destroy Justice. And the very words which he useth, be these: Peradventure (quoth he) it may be, that if we leave unto Pleasure this attribute, To be simply and onely good, although it be not the end of all good things, and that honefty and vertue is of the kinde of those things which be eligible for themselves : haply, by this meanes we may fave Juflice, in esteeming Honesty and Justice to be a more perfect and absolute good thing than is Pleasure: but in case it be so, that the thing onely which is honest is good, he erreth much who affirmeth that pleasure is good; howbeit, lesse than he who should say that it is the end of all goodthings; for that as the one doth abolifh and deftroy utterly all Juffice, the other doth fo 30 preserve and mainteine it: for according to the latter of the twaine, all humane societie perisheth, whereas the former referveth yet some place for bountie and civill humanitie. I let passe to relate what he faith in the booke entituled, Of Jupiter, namely, that vertues grow, that they also paffe; because I would not be thought to lie at vantage, and to catch at words; howsoever Chry-Input himselfe in this kind of reprehension dealeth bitterly with Plato and other Philosophers, for taking holde of words: but whereas he forbiddeth to praise all that is done vertuously, he giveinus to understand, that there is some difference in dueties and offices. Now this is the verice text in his treatife of Jupiter. For albeit vertuous acts be commendable, yet we are not to infer thereupon and fay, that we ought to commend all that seemeth to proceed from vertue, as namely, to praise for a valiant act, the stiffe stretching out of the singer; or for temperance and 40 continenencie, the abstinence from an old trot, who hath one foot already in her grave; or for prudence, to understand aright and without errour, that three will not make foure: for he that went in hand to praise and commend a man for such things as these, should shew himselfe to be very bold and abfurd even in the highest degree. And as much as this in a maner writeth he in the third booke of the gods: For I thinke verily (quoth he) that the praises of fuch matters be impertinent and abfurd, although they feeme to depend of vertue, as namely, to forbeare an old trot now at the pits brincke, or to abide a flie-biting. What other accuser should he looke for thenof his opinions, but himselfe: for if it be so, that hee is absurd who commendeth these things, then must be be thought much more abfurd, who suppose thech one of these vertuous deeds to be not onely great, but also most magnificent. For if it be a valiant act to endure the 50 biting of affie; and likewise the part of a chaste and continent person, to abstaine from carnall dealing with an olde woman ready to drop into her grave; then it makes no matter, but it is all one, to praise an honest man aswell for one thing as another. Moreover, in his second booke of Friendship, when as he given a precept, that we ought not to dissolve amities for every fault or defect, he usern these very tearmes: For there be faults (quoth he) which we must overpasse Patte, and make no stay at them; others there be againe, whereat we should a little stand, and take offence; and others befides, which require more chaltifement; but fome there are, which we must thinke sufficient to breake friendship for ever. And more than all this, in the same booke he faith, that we ought to converse and be acquainted with some more, and with others leffe, according as they be our friends more or leffe: which difference and diversitie extendeth very far, infomuch as fome are worthy of fuch an amitie, others of a greater; fome deferve thus much trust and confidence, others more than it : and so it is in other matters semblable. And what other is his drift in all these places, but to put a great difference betweene those things, for which friend hips are engendred? And yet in his booke of Honestie, to shew that there is no. thing good but that which is honest, he delivereth these words: A good thing is eligible and to be defired : that which is eligible and defirable, is also acceptable : that which is acceptable, is likewise commendable: and that which is commendable, is honest withall. Againe, agood thing is joious and acceptable: joious is venerable, and venerable is honeft. But thele speches to are repugnant to himselfe: for beit, that all that is good were laudable (and then chastly to forbeare for to touch an olde riveled woman, were a commendable thing) or fay that every good thing were neither venerable nor joious and acceptable; yet his reason falleth to the ground: for how can it be that others should be thought frivolous and absurd in praising any forsuch things, and himselfe not worthy to be mocked and laughed at, for taking joy and pleasing him-

felfe in fuch ridiculous toies as these?

Thus you see how he sheweth himselse in most part of his writings; and yet in his disputation ons which he holdeth against others, he is much more carelesse to be contrary and repugnant to himselfe: for in his treatife which he made as touching exhortation, reproving Plataforsaying, that it was not expedient for him to live at all, who is not taught, nor knoweth not how to 20 live, he writeth in these very tearmes: This speech of his (quoth he) is both contradictory & repugnant to it felfe, and befides, hath no force nor efficacy at all to exhort: for first and formost in showing us that it were expedient for us, not to live at all, and giving us at itwee counsell to die, he exhorteth us to any thing rather than to the practise or studie of philolofophie, because it is not possible for a man to philosophize, unlesse he live: nether can he become wife, survive he never so long, if he lead an evill and ignorant life. And a little after hee faith farther: That it is as meet and convenient also even for leawd and wicked persons to remaine alive. But I care not much to fet downe his very words: First of all, like as vertue brely in it felfe confidered, hath nothing in it, for which we should desire to live: even so vice hath as little, for which we ought to leave this life. What need we now turne over other books of Chr. 30 fippus, and drip leafe by leafe, to proove how contrary and repugnant he is to himfelfe: foreven in these which now we cite and alledge, he commeth out otherwhiles with this saying of Antisthenes, for which he commendeth him, namely, that a man is to be provided either of with understand, or else of a with to under-hang himselse: as also this other verse of Tyrtam:

The bounds of vertue first come nie, Or else make choise before to die.

And what other meaning is there of these words but this, that it is more expedient for solish and lewd persons to be out of the world, than to live: and in one passage, seeming to correct Theognis: He should not (quoth he) have faid xph meritus: ediporta &c.

A man from poverty to flie, (O Cyrnus) ought himfelfe to caft Headlong, from rocks most steepe and hie, Or into sea as deepe and vast.

But rather thus, xpiì nanian odi portu, &c. Aman from sinne and vice to flie,&c.

What other things else seemeth he to doe, than to condemne and scrape out of other mens writings, the fame things, propositions and sentences, which himselfe hath inserted in his own books? For he reprooveth Place when he prooveth and sheweth, that it is better not to live at all, than to lead a life in wickednesse or ignorance: and in one breath hee giveth counsell to Theognis to set downe in his poesie; That a man ought to fling himselfedowne headlong into 50 the deepe fea, or to breake his necke from some high rocke for to avoid finne and wickednesse. And praising as hee did Antishbenes for sending sooles and witlesses like, to an halter wherewith to hang themselves; he blamed him neverthelesse who said, that vice was not a sufficientcaule, wherefore we should shorten our lives. Moreover, in those books against Plate himselfe, concerning justice, he leapeth directly at the very first into a discourse as touching the gods, and faith: That Cephalin did not divert men well from evill dooing, by the feare of the gods: affirming moreover, that the discourse which he made as touching divine vengeance,

Contradictions of Stoicke philosophers. might eafily be infringed and refuted, for that of it felfe it ministreth many arguments and pro-

bable reasons on the contrary side; as if the same resembled for all the world the fabulous tales of Acco and Alphio, wherewith women are woont to scarre their little children, and to keepe them from doing firewd turnes. Thus deriding, traducing, and backbiting Plato, hee praifeth essewhere, and in many places essealledgeth these verses out of Euripides:

Well, well, though some this doctrine doe deride, Be fure, in heaven with other gods beside, Sits Jupiter, the deeds of men who fee, And will in time revenged surely bee.

to Semblably, in the first booke of justice, when he had alledged these verses heere out of He-

(paus,

Then Saturnes fonne, god Jupiter, great plagues from heaven did fend, Even dearth and death, both which, of all the people made an end.

hefaith, that the gods proceed in this wife, to the end that when the wicked be thus punished, others also advertised and taught by their example, might beware how they commit the like,

or at leastwife sinne lesse.

What should I say moreover, how in this treatise of Justice, having affirmed, that those who an hold pleasure to be good, but not the soveraigne end of good, may in some fort withall preserve &mainteine justice, for, so much he hath put downe in these very termes: For haply, admitting pleasure to be good although not the supreme good or the end; and honesty to be of the kind of those things, which are eligible and to be defired for their owne fake, wee may by that meanes favejustice, while we permit and allow that which is honest and just to be a greater good than pleasure. Having (I say) delivered the same also in his books of pleasure: yet in his treatise against Plate, reprooving him for raunging health in the number of good things, he affirmeth, that not onely justice, but also magnanimity, temperance, and all other vertues are abolished and perish, in case we hold that either pleasure, or health, or any other thing whatsoever, can be numbred and reputed among good things, unlesse the same behonest. Now as touching the 30 apologie or answer that may be made in defence of Plato, I have elsewhere written against Chrysppus: but even in this very place there is manifestly to be seene a repugnancy and contradiction against himselse: considering that one while hee faith, that justice may stand well enough, if a man suppose pleasure joined with honesty to be good; and another while contrariwife, he findeth fault with all those, who repute any thing else to be good, but onely that which is honeft; as if thereby they abolished and overthrew all vertues. And because he would leave no meanes at all to falve and fave his contradictions, writing of justice against Aristotle, he challengeth him for untrueth, in that hee affirmeth, that if pleasure were granted to bee the foveraigne good, both Justice were overthrowen, and therewith also every vertue besides: For this is certaine (quoth he) that those who are of this opinion, doe indeed abolish Justice; 40 howbeit I fee no let why other vertues may not fland, if not those which be of them selves expetible, yet fuch at leastwife as be good and vertuous really. And thereupon he proceedeth presently to name them every one severally. But it were not a misse to recite his ownelwords as he delivered them: For suppose (quoth he) that by this discourse and reason, Pleasure seeme thevery end of all good things, yet we are not to inferre hereupon, that all is comprised under it: and therefore we must say, that neither any vertue is to be defired, nor vice to be eschued for it selfe, but all these things are to be referred unto a scope and marke proposed: and yet in the meane time what should hinder, but that fortitude, prudence, continence, patience, and other fuch vertues, may be good and expetible, like as their contraries bad and to be avoided. What man therfore was there ever in his speeches and disputations more rash and audacious than he? 50 considering that he charged the two princes of Phylosophers with imputations: the one for abolishing all vertue, in that he confessed not that onely to be good which is honest: and the other, in that if pleasure were supposed and set downe to be the end of good things, he thought not that all vertues except onely justice might subsist and be maintained? what a woonderfull liberty, and monstrous licentiousnefferather is this, in discoursing of one and the same subject matter, to tax and reproove that in Ariflotle, which he setteth downe himselfe: and afterwards in accusing Plate, to subvert and undo the very same ? And yet in his demonstrations, as touching Justice, he affirmeth expresly that every perfect ducty, is a lawfull deed and a just action. Now, whatfoever is performed by continence, by patience, by prudence, or by fortitude is a perfect duty, ergo, it followeth, that it is likewife a lawfull action. How chanceth it then that he leaveth not justice for them, in whom he admitteth prudence, continence, and valour, confidering that all the acts which they performe according to these vertues, be perfect duties, and by

confequence just and lawfull operations? Whereas Plato, in a certeine place hath written, that injustice being a certaine intestine sedition and corruption of the foule, never cafteth off and lofeth her power even in those who have it within them: for the caufeth a wicked man to fight with himfelfe, the troubleth, vexeth, and tormenteth him. Chrysippus reproving this affertion of his, faith, that it was fallely and abfurdly spoken, that any one could doe wrong or injurie to himselfe: For (quoth he) all injurie and to outrage must needs be to another: but afterwards forgetting himselfe and what he had said, in that treatife of his entituled, The demostrations of justice, he affirmeth, that who sever doth injustice, wrongeth himselfe, and in offering injurie to another, doth himselfe wrong, in that he is the very cause why himselfe transgresseth the lawes: wherein unworthily he hutteth and woundethhis owne person. Lowhat he said against Plato, discoursing that injustice could not be against a mans selfe, but against another: For to be perticularly and privately unjust, there must (quoth he)be many fuch as speake contrary one unto another; and otherwise this word injustice is taken as if it were amongst many that are in such fort injuriously affected one to another: wheras no fuch matter can properly and fitly argree to one alone, but in as much as he is so difposed and affected to another. But contrary to all this, in his demonstrations he argueth and 20 reasoneth thus, to prove that the injust man doth wrong and injury to himselfe: The law (quoth he) followeth expresly, to be the author or cause of transgression; but to commit injustice is a transgression : he therefore who causeth himselse to doe injury, transgresseth the law of himselse, Now he that trespasses against any one, doth him wrong and injurie: he therefore who wrongeth any other whomsoever, doth injure to himselse. Againe, sinne is of the kinde of huns and dammages that are done; but every man that finneth, offendeth and finneth against himselse : and therefore, whosoever finneth, hurteth also and endamageth himselse unwoorthily; and if he doe to, then by confequence he must needs wrong himselfe. Furthermore, thus also hee reasoneth: Hee that suffereth huit and dammage by another, woundeth and offendeth himfelfe with all unworthily: and what is that elfe but to doe wrong and injury? hethere-30 fore that receiveth injury of any other whatfoever, wrongeth his owne felfe. That the doctrine of good things and evill (which himselfe bringeth in and approoveth) he saith, is most accordant unto mans life, yea and connexed as much as any thing elfe with those prenotions and anticipations which by nature are inbred and ingenerate in us: for, fo much hathhedelivered in his third booke of Exhortations: but in the first booke he affirmeth quite contrary, that this doctrine doth divert and withdraw a man from all things elfe, as if they were of no moment nor helpefull and effectuall any jot to the atteining of happinesse & soveraigne felicity. See how he accorded herein with himfelfe, when he affirmed that doctrine of his which plucketh usaway from life, from health, from indolence and integrity of fenses; and teacheth besides that whatfoever we crave in our praiers at gods hands, concerne us not at all nor appertaine unto us, 40 to be most accordant unto humane life, and the common prenotions & inbred anticipations of knowledge abovefaid. But to the end that no man might denie that he is repugnant and contrary to himselfe, loe what he saith in his third booke of justice. This is it (quoth he) that by reafon of the furpaffing grandure & beauty of our fentences, those matters which we deliver, seeme feined tales and devited fables exceeding mans power and farre beyond humane nature. How can it be that any man should more plainly confesse, that he is at war with himselfe, than he doth who faith that his propositions and opinions, are so extravagant and transcendent, that they refemble counterfeit tales, and for their exclency furmount the condition and nature of man: and yet forfooth for all this, that they accord and agree paffing well with humane life, yea and come neerest unto the said inbred prenotions and anticipations that are in us,

Hee affirmeth that the very essence and substance of infelicitie, is vice; writing and firmly mainteining in all his books of morall and naturall philosophy, that to live in vice, is as much as to live in misery and wretchednesse: but in the third booke of Nature, having said before that it were better and more expedient to live a senselesse foole, yea though there were no hope that ever he should become wise, than not to live at all, he addeth afterwards thus much: For there be such good things in men, that in some fort the very evill things goe before, and are better than the indifferent in the middes betweene. As for this, how he hath written elswhere, that there is

nothing expedient and profitable in fooles, and yet in this place fetteth downe in plaine termes, that it is expedient to live foolith and fenfeleffe, I am content to overpaffe; but feeing hee faith now that evill things goe before, and one better than the indifferent or meane (which with them of his feet are neither good nor ill) furely it is as much as if hee affirmed that evil things are better than things not evill: and all are, as to fay that to be wretched is more expedient than not to be wretched; and fo by that meanes, he is of opinion, that not to be miferable is more unprofitable than to be miferable; and if it be more unprofitable, than also it mult be more hutfull and dammageable. But being defitous in some fort to mollifie this abfurditie, and to falve this fore, he fubnexeth as touching evill things, these words: My meaning is not (quoth to he) that they should go before and be preferred, but reason is the thing wherewith it is better to live, although a man should ever be a foole, than not to live at all. First and formost then, hee callethvice an evill thing, as also whatsoever doth participate of vice and nothing els: now is vice reasonable, or rather to speake more properly, reason delinquent: so that to live with reafon if we be fooles and void of wifdome, what is it els, but to live with vice? now to live as fooles, is all one as to live wretched. Wherein is it then, and how commeth it about, that this fhould go before meane and indifferent things? for it was not admitted that happie life should go beforemiferie: neither was it ever any part (fay they) of Chrysppus his meaning to range and countamong good things, To remaine alive; no more than among bad, To depart this life: but he thought that these things were of themselves indifferent and of a middle nature; in which 20 regard otherwhiles it is meet for happy men to leave this life, and for wretches to continue alive. And what greater contrariety can there be, as touching things eligible or refulable, than to fay that for them who are happy in the highest degree, it is fit and beforming to forgoe and for fake the good things that be prefent, for want of some one thing that is indifferent? And yet Chryjippuisof this minde, that no indifferent thing is of the ownenature to be defired or rejected; but that we ought to chuse that onely which is good, and to shun that alone which is bad : so as according to their opinion, it comes to passe, that they never divert their dessignments or actions to the pursure after things desirable, nor the avoidance of things refusable; but another marke it is that they shoot & aime at, namely, at those things which they neither eschue nor chuse, & according thereto, they live & die. Chrysppus avoweth & confesseth that there is as great a dif-30 ference betweene good things & bad, as possibly may be; as needs there must, in case it be true, that as the one fort of them cause those in whom they are, to be exceeding happy, so the other, extreme wretched & miserable. Now in the first booke of the end of good things, he saith that aswell good things as bad, be sensible; for these be his very words: That good and evil things be perceptible by fenfe, we must of necessity acknowledge upon these arguments: for not onely the very passions indeed of the minde, together with their parts and severall kinds, to wir, sadneffe, feare and fuch like, be fenfible; but also a man may have a fenfe of theft, adultery, and femblable finnes; yea and of follie, of cowardife, and in one word, of all other vices, which are in number not a few: and not onely joy, beneficence, and other dependances of vertuous offices, but also prudence, valour and the rest of the vertues, are object to the sense. But to let passe all 40 other abfurdities conteined in these words, who will not confesse, but that there is a meere contradiction in that which they delivered, as touching one that becomes a wife man, and knowes not thereof? for, confidering that the prefent good is fenfible, and much different from that which is evill, that one possibly should of a wicked person proove to be vertuous, and not know thereof, & not have fence of vertue being prefent, but to thinke that vice is still within him; how can this otherwisebe, but most absurd ? for either no man can be ignorant and out of doubt, whether he hath all vertues together; or els he must confesse, that there is small difference and the same hard to be discerned, betweene vice and vertue, felicity and infelicity, a right honest life, and a most dishonest, in case a man should passe from the one to the other, and possesse one for the other, without ever knowing it.

One worke he wrote, entituled, Of lives, and the fame divided into foure books: in the fourth whereof, he faith, That a wife man medleth not with great affaires, but is occupied in his owne bufinesse onely, without being curious to looke into other mens occasions: his very words to this purpose, be these; For mine owne part; of this opinion I am, that a prudent man gladly avoideth a stirring life, intermedseth little, and in his owne matters onely: for to deale simply in a mans owne affaires, and to enter into little businesse; and the properties of civill and laudable persons. And in maner the same speeches or ve-

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* See a Intile

ry like thereto, he hath delivered in the third booke of fuch things as be expetible and to be chofen for themselves, in these termes: For in truth (quoth he) it seemeth, that the quiet life should be without danger, and in perfect fecurity, which few or none of the vulgar fortare able to comprehend and understand. Wherein first and formost, it is evident, that he commeth very neere to the errour of Epicarus, who in the government of the world disavoweth divine providence: for that he would have God to rest in repose, idle, and not emploied in any thing. And ver Chrysippus himselfe, in his first booke of Lives faith: That a wife man willingly will take a kingdome upon him, yea, and thinke to make his gaine and profit thereby: and if he be not able to reigne himselse, yet he will at least wise converse and live with a king, yea, goe foorth with him to warre, like as Hydanthyr fus the Scythian did, and Leucon of Pontus. But I will fetdowne his 10 owne words, that we may fee whether, like as of the treble and base strings, there ariseth a confonance of an eight; fo there be an accord in the life of a man, who hath chosen to live quietly without doing ought, or at least wife to intermeddle in few affaires, yea, and yet afterwards accompanieth the Scythians riding on horsebacke, and manageth the affaires of the kings of Bos phorus upon any occasion of need that may be presented? For as touching this point (quoth he) that a wife man will go into warlike expeditions with princes, live, and converfe with them, we will confider againe thereof heereafter; being as it is, a thing that as fome upon the like arguments imagine not, so we for the semblable reasons admit and allow. And a little after: Not onely with those who have proceeded well in the knowledge of vertue, and been efufficiently inflittited and trained up in good maners, as were Hydambyrfus and Leucon above faid. Somethere 20 be who blame Califthenes for that he paffed over the feas to king Alexander into his campe, in hope to reedifie the city Olynthus, as Aristotle caused the city Stagyra to be repaired, who highly commend Ephorus, Xenocrates and Menedemus, who rejected Alexander: But Chrifippus driveth his wife man by the head forward, for his gaine and profit, as fatre as to thecity Panticapeum, and the deferts of Septina. And that this is (I fay) for his gaine & profit he shewed before, by fetting downe three principall meanes, befeeming a wife man for to practile and feeke his gaine by: the first by a kingdome, and the beneficence of kings; the second by his friends; and the third befides thele, by teaching literature: and yet in many places he wearieth us with citing this verse of Euripides:

For what need mortall men take paine?

Onely for things in number * twaine.

But in his books of Nature he faith: That a wife man if he have lost the greatest riches that may be, esteemeth the losse no more than if it were but a single denier of silver, or one grey groat. Howbeit, him whom he hath there so highly extolled and puffed up with glory, heere hee taketh downe and abaseth as much, even to make him a meere mercenary pedante, and one that is faine to teach a schoole: for he would have him to demaund and exact his salary sometime before hand of his scholar, when he enters into his schoole; and otherwhile after a certeine prefixed time of his schooling is come and gone: And this (quoth hee) is the honester and more civill way of the twaine; but the other is the furer, namely, to make him pay his mony aforehand; for that delay and giving attendance is subject to receive wrong and susteine losse; and 40 thus much he attereth in these very termes: Those teachers that be of the wifer fort, cal for their schoolage and minervals of their scholars, not all after one maner, but diversly: a number of them, according as the prefent occasion requireth, who promise not to make them wise men, and that within a yeere; but undertake to doe what lies in them, within a fet time agreed upon betweene them. And foone after, speaking of his wife man: He will (quoth he) know the best time, when to demand his pension, to wit, whether incontinently upon the entrance of his scholar, as the most part do; or to give day, and set downe a certeine time; which maner of dealing is more subject to receive injurie, howsoever it may seeme more honest and civill. And how can a wife man, tell me now, be a despifer of money, in case hee make a contract and bargaine at a price to receive money, for delivering vertue; or if he doe not deliver it, yet require 50 his falary nevertheleffe, as if he he had performed his part fully ? Either how can he be greater than to fulleine a loffe and damage, if it be fo that he stand fo strictly upon this point, and be fo warie, that he receive no wrong by the paiment of his wages ? For furely no man is faid to bee injuried, who is not hurt nor endamaged: and therefore how ever otherwise he hath flatly denied, that a wife man could receive warning; yet in this booke he faith, that this maner of dealing, is expoted to loffe and damage.

Inhis booke of Common-wealth, he affirmeth, that his citizens will never doe any thing for pleasure, no not addresse and prepare themselves therefore, praising highly Euripides for these

What need men, but for two things, onely [winke? Bread for to eat, and water shere to drinke.

And soone after, he proceedeth forward, and praiseth Diogenes, for abusing himselfe, by forcing his nature to passe from him in the open street, and saying withall to those that stood by: Oh. that I could chase hunger as well from my belly. What reason then is there, in the selfesame hookes to commend him for rejecting pleafure, and withall for defiling his owne body as hee to did, to beaftly in the fight of the whole world, and that for a little filthy pleasure? In his books of Nature, having written that nature had produced and brought foorth many living creatures for beauty onely, as delighting and taking pleasure in such lovely varietie, and therewith having adjoined moreover a most strange and absurd speech, namely, that the peacocke was made for his tailes sake, and in regard of the beauty thereof: cleane contrary to himselfe, in his books of Common-wealth, he reprooveth very sharpely those who keepe peacocks and nightingals, as if he would make lawes quite contrary to that foveraigne law-giver of the world, deriding nature for taking delight, and employing as it were her fludy in bringing foorth such creatures; unto which a wife man wil give no place in his city and common wealth. For how can it otherwife bebut monstrous and abfurd for to finde fault with those who nourish such creatures, as if itwere wantonnesse to doe, in case he praise the divine providence for creating them? In his fiftbooke of Nature, afterhe had shewed that wal-lice or punaises serve in good stead to awakenusout of fleepe, as also that mice advertise us to beware and take heed where we lay up and bellow every thing; and that it is probable that nature taketh pleasure in producing faire creatures, and joieth in diversitie, he commeth out with this sentence word for word: This appeerethmost evidently in the peacockstaile: for heere he signifieth that this bird was made for the tailes fake, and not contrariwife; and so when the cocke was once created, the hen followed

In his booke of common-wealth when he had faid, that we are come almost to the painting of dung hils, a little after: There be fome (quoth he) who adorne & embelith their corn-fields, with 20 vines climbing and growing upon trees, ranged directly in order, as also with myrtle rowes; who nourish also peacocks and doves, yea and partridges, for to heare them cal and record unto them, as also nighting ales for their pleasant fong. But I would gladly know of him, what hee thinketh, and what his conceit is of bees and of hony; for it would by good confequence follow, that he who had faid, that punaifes and wal-lice were profitably created; should also inferre that bees were made for no profit. Now if he allowed these a place in his Commonwealth, how is it that he forbiddeth his citizens to enterteine those things which delight the eare. To be briefe, like as he were very abfurd who should find fault with those guests at a feast, who fell to eat comfits, and fweet banketting conceits, to drinke wine also, and to feed of delicate viands; and in the meane while commend the man who invited them to fuch dainties, 40 and provided the same for them: even so, he who praising the divine providence for creating delicate fishes, deinty birds, sweet hony, and pleasant wine, should reproove those who reject not these gifts, nor be content to eat bare bread, and drinke sheere water, things that be ever at hand, and which are sufficient for our food, were as farre our of reason, and makes no reckoning at all how he doth contradict himselfe, and what contrary opinions he holdeth.

Moreover, having in his treatife of Exhortations faid, that it was no reason, that folke should be defamed or blamed, for having to doe carnally with their owne mothers, daughters, or fisters; for cating any kinde of meats whatfoever, for going directly out of the bed from a woman, or from a dead body and mortuarie, unto a temple or facrifice: And heerein (quoth he) we ought to have a regard and cie unto brute beafts, and taking example by them, to collect 50 and conclude, that in all this, there is no abfurdity at all, nor any thing against nature; for fitly and to the purpose very well a man may alledge this, and compare the usage of other creatures, to shew that they neither being coupled together nor engendring, no nor dying in temples, do Pollute and defile the divinitie. Contrary to all this, in the fift booke of nature he faith: That the poet Hesiodus did very well to admonish and forbidus, not to pisse into sountaines, nor running rivers; yea, and much rather to forbeare to make water against an altar, or any image and statue of the gods: neither mattereth, or skilleth it all, if dogs, affes, and yoong children, doe so, seeing they have no discretion nor consideration in such things: and therefore it is

Contradictions of Stoicke philosophers. very abfurd to fay in one place: That it is meet to confider the favage example of wilde beafts. and in another, as abfurde to alledge the fame.

Some philosophers there be, who imagine a certeine acceffary motion from without in the principall part of our foule; for that a man feemeth to give the head and liberty unto divers inclinations, when he isforced to a thing by outward causes: which motion appeareth principally in doubtfull and variable things; for when of two objects equall in power, and every way femblable, we are of necessity to chuse one, and there is no cause at all to incline us more to the one than to the other, this forefaid acceffary and adventitious puiffance, comming in otherwise, and seazing upon the inclination of the soule, decideth all the doubt. Against these philosophers , Chrysppus disputing, as if they did violence to nature by the contrary, and by deviling an effect without a cause; among fundry other examples, alledgeth the cockall bone, the balance, and many fuch like things which cannot fall, incline and bend now on one fide, and then on another, without fome cause & difference which is entirely in them.or elie commeth from without forth: for this is generally held; that whatfoever is without cause can have no subfittence, no more than meere hazard and chance : but in these adventitions and acceffarie motions which they suppose, there be certeine hidden irreptitious causes, which secredy moove and induce our appetite and inclination, even without our knowledge to one part or other; and this is that which he often repeateth in the most notable works that he hath pur forth; but that which himselse afterward delivereth cleane contrary, because it is not exposed so openly to the view of the whole world, I will alledge verbatim as he hath delivered it : For inhis 20 treatife concerning the office of a Judge, supposing for example sake, that two curriers who ranne a courfe, were come both rogether unto the goale, he demandeth what the Judge thould doe in this case; namely, whether it were lawfull for him, to give unto whether of them hee pleased, the victorious branch of the date tree? this being supposed withall, that they were both To inward & familiar with him, that he should rather gratific them both, even out of his owne in fome fort, than feeme to defraud either of them of the victorious garland, which feemeth to be common to them both: Whether (I fay) it be lawfull for him to encline unto one or to the other, and so award the victory as if they had drawen lots therefore: To encline (I say) casually & without any reason; like as when two groates are presented unto us, every way semblable one to the other, we incline rather to that which we take. And in the fixt booke of Duties, having faid, 30 that there becerteine things that require no great adoo, nor intentive confideration, heeis of opinion, that in such cases we are to yeeld the choise into the casuall propension of the minde, even as to the adventerous hazard of a lot; as for example; if the question be to make triall of the faid two groates, one faith, this is the better, and another that: but for that we are to take one of the twaine, without more adoo and farther triall of their betterneffe, we take that which comes first; and in another place he saith; in putting this to the aventure of a lot, it fallethout otherwhiles, that wee hit upon the woorfe: in these places the casuall inclination of the minde, to the first object, and the putting of the matter to the hazard of a lot, is nothing elle but to bring in a choise of things indifferent without any cause.

In the third booke of Logique, having premifed thus much, that Plato, Arifforle and their 40 fucceflours and disciples even as farre as to Polemon and Straton, had bestowed great study and travelled much therem: but above all others, Socrates, with this addition, that a man would with with formany and fuch noble personages to erre for company: he commeth in afterwards with these words: If they had (quoth he) treated and discoursed hereof curfarily or by the way, a man haply might laugh at this place well enough: but fince that they have fo ferioufly and exactly disputed of Logique, as if it were one of the greatest faculties and most necessarie sciences, it is not like that they were fo grofly deceived, being men throughout all the parts of philosophy, fo fingular as we repute them to be. How is it then, may a man reply and fay, that you never rest baying and barking at thefe to woorthy and excellent perfonages, and convincing them as you fuppose to have erred? For there is no likelihood that they writing so diligently and exactly 25 50 they have done of Logique, should of the principles and elements, of the end of good things, of Justice and the gods, write carelessely and after a loose maner, howsoever you are disposed to cearme their treatifes and discourses, blinde, repugnant to themselves, and stuffed with an infinit tort of faults and errors. In one place he denieth that the vice im zuperavia, that is to fay a joy to tee evill happen unto another, hath any being or reall subsistence: For that (quoth he) no good man was ever knowen to rejoice at the harme of another: but in his second booke as touching Good, having declared what Envie is, namely a griefe for another mans well-fare : because

men are desirous to detract and debase their neighbours, to the end they might be superiours themselves: he addeth afterwards, the joy for another mans harme, and that in these words: Annexed thereunto (quothhe) is the joy for another mans harme, because men are desirous that their neighbours about them, should be brought low for the like causes: but when they decline and turne to other naturall affections, there is engendred Pity and Mercie: In which words it appeareth that he ordaineth emaure works to be a thing really substittent as well as envie and pittie, which notwith standing elsewhere he said had no being at all in the world no more than the hatred of wickednesse or the desire of filthy lucre.

Having in many places affirmed, that men are never a whit more happie, for long continuto ance of felicity, but that they be still as happy who enjoy felicity but one minute of an houre; in as many other places againe he avoucheth the contrary, faying that a man should not so much asput forthhis finger for a transitory and momentany prudence, which endureth but a while, &palleth away like unto the flash and learne of a lightening. But it shal suffice to relate the very words, which he hath written in his fixth booke of morall questions as touching this matter: for when he had premifed thus much, that every good thing doth not cause equall joy, nor all vertuous duties like vantery, he commethafter with these words: For if a man is to have prudence one moment of time, or the last daie onely of his life, he should not so much as hold up orstretch out his finger for a prudence that lasteth so small a while: although no man is faid to bethemore bleffed for long continuance of happinesse, neither is eternall beatitude more 20 expetible or defirable, than that which paffeth away within a minute of an houre. Now if he had thought that prudence were a good thing bringing forth bleffednesse, as Epicurus did, a man could have found fault with nothing elfebut the abfurdity onely of fo strange an opinion and paradox. But feeing that prudence is no other thing than beatitude, of it felfe, and even very felicity, how can it be avoided that herein there should not be a contradiction and repugnancy of speech, namely, to say that transitory happinesse is as eligible and as much to be defired, as that which is perpetuall: and to hold, that the felicity of one moment is worth naughr

He affirmeth that vertues doe follow and accompany one another not onely in this respect. that he who hath one, hath likewife all the rest, but also in this that he who worketh by one, worketh with all according to the other: neither (faith he) is any man perfect, unleffe he be poffef-30 fed of all vertues. Howbeit in the fixt booke of morall questions, Chrysippus faith that neither a goodand honest man doth alwaies beare himselfe valiantly, nor a naughty man behave himselfe cowardly, forthat as certeine objects be presented into mens fantasies, it behooveth one man to persevere and persist in his judgements, and another to for sake and relinquish the same: for probable he faith it is that even the wicked man is not alwaies lascivious. Now in case it be so, that to be a valiant man, is as much as to shew valour, and to be a coward, the same that to use cowardife, they speake contraries who affirme, that a naughty person practifing one vice, workethby all together: and that a valiant man ufeth not alwaies valour, nor a dastard cowardise.

Hedenieth Rhetorique to be an art, as touching the ornament, dispose and order of an oration pronounced: and befides in the first bookehe hath thus written: And in mine opinion re-40 quifit it is to have not onely a regard of an honeft, decent & fimple adorning of words, but alfo acare of proper gestures, actions, pauses and staies of the voice, as also a meet conformation of the countenance and the hands. Being as you fee thus exquisit and curious in this paffage: yet in the same booke cleare contrary, having spoken of the collision of vowels, and hitting one of them upon another: We are not only (quoth he) to neglect this, and to thinke of that which is of greater moment and importance but also to let passe certeine obscurities and defects, folæcismes also and incongruities, of which many others would be ashamed. Now one while to permit and allow such exquisit curiosity in the orderly dispose of a manstongue, even as far as to the decent fetting of the countenance and gefture of the hands: and another while not to balhat the committing of groffe incongruities, defects and obscurities, is the property of a 50 man who cares not what he faith, but speakes what soever comes in his head,

Over and besides in his naturall positions, treating of those things which require the view of the cie and experience, after he had given warning that we should go warily to worke, and notrashly yeeld our affent thereto, he saith, Let us not therefore be of Platoes opinion, to thinke that our liquid food, to wit, our drinke, paffeth directly to the lungs, and our dry nourishment, that is, our meat, into the stomacke; neither let us fall into such like errours as these. For mine owne part, thus I thinke, That for a man to reprehend others, and afterwards to incurre the same faults and errours which he reproved, is the greatest repugnancy and contrariety that may

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be, and the fouleft and most shamefull fault of all others. And verily himselfe faith, that the connexions which are made by the ten principall Axiomes, that is to fay, Propositions, exceed in number ten hundred thousand 3 when as neither he had by himselfe diligently enough enquired and fearched into the thing, nor by other men well exercised in that art of Arethmeticke, attained to the trueth. And yet Plato had to testifie on his side, the most renowned Phyficians that were, namely, Appearates, Philistion and Dioxippes the disciple of Hippocrates : alio of Poets, Euripides, Alexens, Eupolis and Eratoft benes, who all with one voice affirme, that the drinke passeth by the lungs. And as for all the Arithmeticians well practifed in the knowledge of numbers, they reprove Chrylippus: and Hipparebus among thereft, proving and shewing that in the forefaid speech of his, he cered most grosly in his computation, if it be true that the affir- 10 mative maketh of the faid ten Axiomes to the number of 103049 connexions, and the negative 952, over and above three hundred and ten thousands. Some of the ancients said of Zeno that it befel unto him as unto one who had fowte wine of his owne, which he could not fell and, make away either for vineger or wine: for, that precedent of his which they call semplates her could not put off neither for a thing that is good, nor fo much as indifferent. But Chryfippia hath made the matter farre more intricate and different : for in some passages of his, he saith, that they are starke mad, who make no account of riches, health, voidnesse of paine and integrity of the body, nor care how to attaine thereto; and having alledged this verie out of Hesindus, O Perses, borne of noble race,

Thy businesse plie, and worke ap.ice. he addeth thereto and faith, it were meere madaeffe to advise the contrarie, and fay,

o Perfes, borne of noble race, Plie not thy worke in any cafe.

And in his treatife of Lives he writeth, that a wife man will court it with kings and princes, if he may raife his commoditie and gaine thereby; yea, he will keepe a schoole and teach for money, taking of some scholars his minervals aforehand, and bargaining with others for a certeine time. Also in the seventh booke of his offices, he saith, that he will not sticke to tumble downe upon his head; and that three times, so he may be fure to have a talent for his labour. In his field booke of Good things, he permitteth and granteth unto who foever will, to call those works or precedents aforesaid, Good, and the contrary thereto, Bad, in these very tearmes: If aman 20 list (quoth he) according to such premutations as these, he may call one thing good unto himfelfe, and another thing ill; so as he have an eie and regard unto the things, and wander not inconfiderately, nor faile in the understanding of things fignified, but otherwise accommodate himselse to the use and custome of the denomination. Having thus in this place set his Precedent so necre and linked it with Good; in other paffages he faith cleane contrary, that none of all this concerneth us at all, but reason doth divert and pluckeus quite away from all such thinger for, so much hath he set downe in his first booke of Exhortations. But in the third bookeof Nature, he faith, that fomekings and rich persons are reputed blessed and happie; which is as much as if they were to be accounted happy, who made water in golden chamber pots, or fivept the floure with the golden traines of their coilly robes. But a good man, if he loie his whole pa-40 trimonie and all his estate, weigheth it no more than the losse of a grote or single denier, and maketh no greater matter of ficknesse, than of stumbling or tripping alittle with his foot. And therefore, filled he hath with fuch contrarieties, not vertue onely, but also providence. For vertue will appeare exceeding base, mechanicall and foolish, if it be emploied in things so vile and contemptible, commanding a man to faile for them as farre as to Bosporus, yea and to throw himselle upon his head. And Jupiter is very ridiculous, delighting to be called either Ctessius, that is to fay, The enricher and donor of possessions, or Epicar pius, that is to fay, The giver of morts, or Charidotes, that is to fay, The gratifier and authour of favours: for that unto leawd and and perfons he affoordeth golden chamber pots, and robes garded and bordered round anow the skirts with golde; but youch afeth unto good men, traffi hardly woorth a grote, when so they are become rich through the providence of Jupiter. And yet Apollo is much more ridiculous, if it be fo, that he fits giving answeres and oracles as touching golden chamber pots, gards and fringes of gold, yea and the tripping and flumbling of the foot. This repugnance and contransitie they make more evident and apparent still by their demonstration: For that (queth they) which may be well or ill used, is neither good nor bad. Now, certeine it is, that all evill and foolish persons use riches, health and strength of the body, amisse; and therefore none of these may be called Good. If then, God give not vertue unto men, but Honesty commeth of it

felfe, and yet bestoweth riches and health without vertue, furely it is upon them who will not use the same well but ill, that is to say, unprofitably, shamefully and mischievously. And verily if the gods can give vertue, they are not good if they doe not: and againe, if they can not make good men, neither are they able to helpe them any way, confidering, that without it, there is nothing good nor profitable. For, to fay that the gods judge those to be good by vertue and by strength, who are otherwise good than by them, is to no purpose, but a vaine conceit : for even fo good men do judge the evill by vertue and by ftrength: fo that by this reckoning, they profit men no more, than they be profited by men. And verily Chrysppus judgeth neither himselfe to be a good man, nor any either of his scholars or teachers. What is their opinion then, think 10 you, of others, if it be not that which themselves say, namely, that they are mad and senselse fooles, that they be miscreants and infidels, lawlesse, and in one word, come to the very heighth and pitch of all infelicitie and miferie? And yet forfooth they hold, that men fo wretched and unhappie as they be, are notwithstanding governed and ruled by divine providence. Now, if the gods, changing their minde, should determine to hurt, afflict, plague, destroy and crush us quite, they could not bring us to a woorfe state and condition, than wherein we are already; according as Chrysppus faith, That mans life can not be brought to a lower ebbe, nor be in woorse plight and case than now it is, infomuch as if it had a tongue and voice to speake, it would pronounce these words of Hercules:

> Of miseries (to say I dare be bold) So full I am, that more I can not hold.

And what affertions or fentences may aman possibly finde more contrary and repugnant one against another, than those of Chrysippus, as touching both gods and men, when he faith, That the gods are most provident over men, and carefull for their best; and men not with standing are

in as wofull state as they may be?

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Certeine Pythagoreans there are, who blame himmuch, for that in his booke of Justice he hathwritten of dunghill cocks, that they were made and created profitable for mans use: For (quoth he) they awaken us out of our fleepe, and raife us to our worke; they hunt, kill and devoure scorpions; with their fighting they animate us to battell, imprinting in our hearts an ardent defire to thew valour: and yet eat them we must, for feare that there grow upon us more 30 Pullaine, than we know what otherwife to do withall. And fo farre foorth mocketh he and fcorneththose who finde fault with him for delivering such sentences, that he writeth thus in his third booke of the Gods, as touching Jupiter the Saviour, Creatour and Father of justice, law, equity and peace: And like as cities (quoth he) and great townes, when they be over full of people, deduct and fend from thence certeine colonies, and begin to make warre upon fome other nations; even to God fendeth the causes that breed plague and mortalitie: to which purpose he clieth the testimony of Enripides and other authours, who write that the Trojan warre was railed by the gods, for to discharge and disburden the world of so great a multitude of men wherewith it was replenished. As for all other evident abfurdities delivered in these speeches, I let paffe, for my purpole is not to fearch into all that which they have faid or written amiffe, but 40 onely into their contradictions and contrarieties to themselves. But consider, I pray you, how Chrysippus hath alwaics attributed unto the gods the goodlicft names and most plausible termes that can be devised; but contrariwise, most favage, cruell, inhumane, barbarous and Galatian deeds. For fuch generall mortalities and carnages of men, as the Trojan warre first brought, and afterwards the Median and Peloponnesiacke warres, are nothing like unto colonies that cities fend forth to people and inhabit other places; unleffe haply one would fay, That fuch multitudes of men that die by warre and pestilence, know of some cities sounded for them in hell and under the ground to be inhabited. But Chryfippus maketh God like unto Deiotarus the king of Galatia, who having many fonnes, and minding to leave his realme and roiall efface unto one of them and no more, made away & killed all the rest besides him, to the end that he being lest 30 alone, might be great and mightie: like as if one should prune and cut away all the branches of a vine, that the maine stocke might thrive and prosper the better: and yet the cutter of the vine disbrancheth it when the shoots be yoong, small and tender: and we also take away from a bitch many of her whelps when they be fo yoong as that they can not yet fee, for to spare the damme: whereas Jupiter who hath not onely suffered and permitted men to grow unto their perfect age, but allo given them himfelfe their nativitie and growth, punisheth them and plagueth them afterwards, devifing fundry meanes, and preparing many occasions of their death and destruction, when as indeed he should rather have not given unto them the causes and principles XXXX 3

ciples of their generation and birth. Howbeit, this is but a small matter in comparison; and more grievous is that which I will now say: for there are no warres bred among men, but by occasion of some notable vice; seeing the cause of one is stelly pleasure; of another, avarice; and of a third, ambition and desire of rule. And therefore, if God be the authour of warres, he is by of a third, ambition and desire of rule. And therefore, if God be the authour of warres, he is by of a third, are sufficiently and the second booke of the Gods, writeth that it stands felfe in his treatise of judgement, yea and his second booke of the Gods, writeth that it stands for no sense and reason that God should be the cause of any wicked and dishonest things. For like as the lawes are never the cause of breaking and violating the lawes, no more are gods of impiete: so that there is no likelihood at all that they should move and cause men to commit any pietie: so that there is no likelihood at all that they should move and cause men to commit any foule and dishonest fact. Now what can there be more dishonest, than to procure and raise to some to worke the ruine and perdition of others, and yet Chrysppus saith, that God ministreth the occasions and beginnings thereof. Yea, but he contrarrivise (will one say) commendeth Euripides, for saying thus:

If Gods do ought the blewd and filthy is, They are no more accounted Gods, iwis.

And againe, Soone said that is: Mens faults t'excuse, Nothing more ready than Godst' accuse.

as if for footh we did any thing els now, but compare his words and sentences together that be opposit and meere contrary one unto another. And yet this sentence which now is heere commended, to wit,

we may alledge against Chrysppu, not once, nor twice nor thrice, but ten thousand times. For we may alledge against Chrysppu, not once, nor twice nor thrice, but ten thousand times. For first, in his treatise of Nature, having likened the eternity of motion to a drench or potion made consused in the state of Nature, having likened the eternity of motion to a drench or potion made consused in the government and adasterone fort and some after another, thus he faith, Seeing it is so, that the government and adasterone fort and some after another, thus he faith, Seeing it is so, that the government and adasterone for the universall world proceedeth in this fort, necessary it is that according to inministration of the universall world proceeded in that maner as we are; whether it be that we are diseased against our ownenature, mainted or dissinguistic form a surface of Missing in the season Musicians. And against, soone after, accerting to this reason, we may say the like of our vertue or vice, and generally of the knowledge or 30 ignorance of arts, as I have already said. Also within a little after, cutting off all doubt and ambiguity: There is no particular thing, not the very least that is, which can otherwise happen than according to common nature, and the reason thereof: now that common nature, and the reason of it is stall destine, divine providence and supiter, there is not one, search even as sareas to the Antipodes, but he knoweth: for this sentence is very rife in their mouthes: And as for this verse of Homer,

And as echthing thus came to paffe,

The will of Jove fulfilled wis. he faith that well and rightly he referred all to deftiny, and the univerfall nature of the world, whereby all things are governed. How is it possible then, that these two positions should sub. 40 fift together, namely, that God is in no wife the cause of any dishonest thing; and, that there is nothing in the world be it never so little that is done, but by common nature, and according to the reason thereof? For furely, among all those things that are done, necessarily there must be things dishonest: and yet Epicurus turneth and windeth himselfe on every side, imagining and deviling all the fubrill thifts that he can to unloofe; fet free, and deliver our voluntary free will from this motion eternall, because he would not leave vice excuseable & without just reprehension; whereas in the meane while he openeth a wide window unto it, and giveth it libertie to plead: That committed it is not onely by the necessitie of destiny, but also by the reason of God, and according to the best nature that is. And thus much also moreover is to be seene written word for word: For confidering that common nature reacheth unto al causes; it cannot 50 otherwise be, but all that is done, howsoever, and in what part soever of the world, must be according to this common nature, and the reason thereof, by a certeine stint of consequence without impeachment; for that there is nothing without, that can impeach the administration thereof, neither mooveth any part, or is disposed in habitude otherwise, than according to that common nature. But what habitudes and motions of the parts are these? Certeine it is that the habitudes be the vices and maladies of the minds, as covetous fnesse, lecherie, ambition, cowardife, and injuffice: as for the motions, they be the acts proceeding from thence, as adul-

teries, thefts, treasons, manslaughters, murders, and particides, Chrysippus now is of opinion. That none of all these, be they little or great, is done without the reason of Jupiter, or against law, justice, and providence: infomuch as to breake law, is not against law; to wrong another, is not against justice; nor to commit sinne against providence. And yet he affirmeth, that God punisheth vice, and doth many things for the punishment of the wicked. As for example, in the second booke of the gods: Otherwhiles there happen (quoth he) unto good men grievous calamities, not by way of punishment, as to the wicked, but by another kinde of economy and disposition, like as it falleth out usually unto cities. Againe, in these words: First, we are to understand, evill things and calamities as we have faid heeretofore; then to thinke, that distrito buted they are according to the reason and dispose of Jupiter, either by way of punishment, or else by some other occonomie of the whole world. Now surely, this is a doctrine hard to bee digeiled, namely, that vice being wrought by the disposition and reason of God; is also puniflied thereby: howbeit, this contradiction he doeth still aggravate and extend in the second booke of Nature, writing thus: But vice in regard of grievous accidents, hath a certeine peculiar reason by it selfe: for after a sortit is committed by the common reason of nature, and as I may so fay, not unprofitably in respect of the universall world: for otherwise than so, there were no good things at all: and then proceeding to reproove those who dispute pro & comra, and discourse indifferently on both parts, he (I meane) who upon an ardent defire tobroch alwaies and in every matter some novelties & exquisite singularities above all other, saith, It is not un-20 profitable, to cut purfes, to play the fycophants, or commit loofe, diffolute, and mad parts: no more than it is incommodious, that there should be unprofitable members, hurtfull and wretched persons : which if it be so, what maner of god is Jupiter, I meane him, of whom Chrysippus speaketh, in case (I say) he punish a thing, which neither commeth of it selfe, nor unprofirably: for vice according to the reason of Chrysippus were altogether irreprehensible, and Jupiter to be blamed, if either he caused vice, as a thing unprofitable, or punished it when he had made it not unprofitably. Moreover, in the first booke of Justice, speaking of the gods, that they oppose themselves against the iniquities of some: But wholly (quoth he) to cut off all vice, isneither possible nor expedient, isit is it were possible, to take away all injustice, all transgreffion of lawes, and all folly. But how true this is, it perteineth not to this prefent treatife for 30 to enquire and discourse. But himselfe taking away and rooting up all vice as much as lay in him, by the meanes of philosophy, which to extirpe, was neither good nor expedient, docth herein that which is repugnant both to reason and also to God. Furthermore, in saying that there be certeine finnes and iniquities, against which the gods doe oppose themselves, he givethcovertly to understand, that there is some oddes and inequality in sinnes. Over and besides, having written in many places, that there is nothing in the world to be blamed, nor that can be complained of, for that all things are made and finished by a most singular and excellent nature: there be contrariwife, fundry places, wherein hee leaveth and alloweth unto us certeine negligences reprooveable, and those not in small and trifling matters. That this is true, it may appeare in his third book of Substance; where having made mention, that such like negligences 40 might befal unto good & honest men: Commeth this to passe (quoth he) because there be some things whereof there is no reckoning made, like as in great houses, there must needs be scattered and lost by the way some bran, yea and some few graines of wheat, although in generality the whole befides, is well enough ruled and governed? or is it because there be some evill and malignant spirits, as superintendents over such things, wherein certeinly such negligences are committed, & the fame reprehensible? and he faith moreover, that there is much necessitie intermingled among. But I meane not hereupon to stand, nor to discourse at large, but to let passe what vanity there was in him, to compare the accidents which befell to fome good and vertuous persons, as for example, the condemnation of Socrates, the burning of Pythagoras quicke by the Cylonians, the dolorous torments that Zeno endured under the tyrant Demylus, or 50 those which Antiphon suffred at the hands of Dionysius, when they were by them put to death, unto the brans that be foilt and lost in great mens houses. Butthat there should becsuch wicked spirits deputed by the divine providence, to have the charge of such things, must needs redound to the great reproach of God, as if he were fome unwife king who committed the government of his provinces unto evill captaines and rash headed lieutenants, suffering them to abuse and wrong his best affected subjects, and winking at their rechlesse negligence, having no cate or regard at all of them. Againe, if it be fo, that there is much necessity and continant mingled among the affaires of this world, then is not God the foveraigne lord and omnipotent

master of all, neither be all things absolutely governed and ruled by his reason and counsell. Moreover he mightily opposeth himselse against Epicurus and those who take from the administration of the world divine providence, confuting them, principally by the common notions and conceptions inbred in us as touching the gods, by which perswaded we are that they be gracious benefactours unto men. And for that this is so vulgar and common a thing with them, needleffe it is to cite any expresse places to proove the same : And yet by his leave, all nations doe not beleeve that the gods be bountifull and good unto us. For doe but confider what opinion the Jewes and Syrians have of the gods: looke into the writings of Poets, with how many superstitions they be stuffed. There is no man in maner to speake of who imaginethor conceiveth in his minde, that god is either mortall and corruptable, or hath bene begotten: And 10 Antipater of Tarsis (to passe others over in silence) in his booke of Gods, hath written thus much word for word. But to the end (quoth he) that this discourse may be more perspicuous and cleare, we will reduce into few words the opinion which we have of God. We understand therefore by God a living nature or fubstance happie, incorruptible, and a benefactor unto men : and afterwards in expounding each of these tearmes and attributes, thus he faith: And verily all men doe acknowledge the gods to be immortall. It must needs be then, that by Antipaters faying, Chrysippus of all those, is none. For he doth not thinke any of all the godstobe incorruptible fave Jupiter onely: but supposeth that they were all engendred a like, and that one day they shall all likewise perish. This generally throughout all his bookes dott he deliver: howbeit one expresse passage will I alledge out of his third booke of the gods. After a divers 20 fort (quoth he) for some of them are engendred and mortall : others not engendred at all. But the proofe and demonstration hereof, if it should be fetched from the head indeed, appertement more properly unto the science of Naturall Philosophy. For the Sunne and Moone and other gods of like nature, were begotten : but Jupiter is sempiternall. And againe somewhat after: The like shall be said of Jupiter and other gods, as touching their corruption and generation: for fome of them do perith: but as for his parts they be incorruptible. With this I would have you to compare, a little of that which Antipater hath written: Those (quoth he) who deprive the gods of beneficence and well doing, touch but in some part the prenotion and anticipation in the knowledge of them: and by the same reason they also who thinke they participate of generation and corruption. If then he be as much deceived and as abfurd, who thinketh that the 30 gods be mortall and corruptible, as he who is of opinion that they beare no bountifull and loving affection toward men, Chrysippus is as farre from the trueth as Epicurus, for that as the one bereaveth God of immortallity and incorruption, so the other taketh from him bounty and li-

berality. Moreover Chrysppus in his third booke of the gods speaking of this point, and namely how other gods are nourished, saith thus: Other gods (quoth he) use a certaine nourishment, whereby they are maintained equally: but Jupiter and the world after a nother fort, than those who are engendred, and be confumed by the fire. In which place, he holdeth, that all other gods be nourished, except Jupiter and the world. And in the first booke of Providence, he saith that Jupiter groweth continually untill such a time, as all things be consumed in him. For death being the 40 Teparation of the body and foule, feeing that the foule of the world never departeth at all but augmenteth continually, untill it have confumed all the matter within it, we cannot fay that the world dieth. Who could speake more contrary to himselfe, than he who saith that one and the fame god is nourished and not nourished ? And this we need not to inferre and conclude by necessary consequence, considering that himselse in the same place hath written it plainly. The world onely (quoth he) is faid to be of it selfe sufficient: because it alone hath all in it selfe whereof it standers in no need, of it selfe it is nourished and augmented, whereas other parts are transmuted and converted one into another. Not onely then is he contradictorie and rupugnant to himselfe in that he saith, other gods be nourished, all except the world and Jupiter, but also here in much more, when he saith that the world groweth by nounfling it selfe: whereas 50 contratiwise there had bene more reason to say, the world onely is not augmented, having for foode the distruction thereof: but on the contrary side, other gods doe grow and increase, in as much as they have their nourishment from without: and rather should the world be confumed into them, if it be true that the world taketh alwaies from it selfe, and other gods from it. The fecond point conteined in that common notion and opinion imprinted in us as touching the gods, is that they be bleffed, happie and perfect. And therefore men highly praife Eurspides for faying thus.

If God be God indeed and really, He needs none of this poets verily; His praise in hymnes and verses for to write: Such ditties wretched are which they endite.

Howbeit our Chrysppu here, in those places by me alledged faith, that the world alone is of it felfe sufficient, as comprehending within it all that it hath need of. What then ariseth upon this proposition, that the world is sole-sufficient in it selfe, but this, that neither the Sun nor the Moone, nor any other of the gods whatfoever is fufficient of it felfe, and being thus infufficient,

they cannot be bleffed and happie.

Chrifippus is of opinion, that the infant in the mothers wombe, is nourished naturally, no otherwise than a plant within the earth; but when it is borne, and by the aire cooled and hardned (as it were) like steele, it mooveth the spirit, and becommeth an animall or living creature; and therefore it is not without good reason, that the soule was called 4%, in regard of 48%, that is to fay, refrigeration. But not forgetetting to be contrary unto himfelfe, he supposeth that the foule is the more fubtile, rare, and fine spirit of nature: For how is it possible that a subtile thing should be made of that which is groffe, and that a spirit should be rarefied by refrigeration and aftriction or condensation? Nay, that which more is, how commeth it about, that affirming as he doth the foule of an infant to be engendred by the means of refrigeration, he should thinke the fun to become animar, being as it is of a firy nature, & engendred of an 20 exhalation transmuted into fire? For thus he faith in his third booke of Nature: The mutation (quoth he) of fire is in this maner; by the aire it is turned into water, and out of water having earthunder it, there exhale thaire, which aire comming to be fubtilized, the fire is produced and environeth it round about 3& as for the stars, they are set on sire out of these, together with the funne; what is more contrary, than to be fet on fire and to be cooled? what more opposite to fubilization and rarefaction, than infpiffation and condenfation? the one maketh water and earth, of fire and aire; the other turneth that which is moift and terrestriall, into fire and aire. And yet in one place he maketh kindling of fire, and in another refrigeration, to beethe cause of quickning and giving foule unto a thing: for when the faid firing and inflammation comes generall throughout, then it liveth and is become an annimal creature; but after it commeth 30 to be quenched and thickned, it turneth into water and earth, and fo into a corporall substance. In the first booke of Providence, he writesh thus: For the world being throughout on fire, presently it is with all, the soule and governour of itselfe; but when it is turned into moisture and the foule left within it, and is after a fort converted into a foule and body, fo as it feemeth compounded of them both, then the case is altered: In which text he affirmeth plainly, that the very inanimat parts of the world by exustion and inflammation, turne and change into the soule thereof; and contrariwise by extinction, the soule is relaxed and moistned againe, and so returnethinto acorporall nature. Hecreupon I inferre that he is very abfurd, one while to make of fenfeleffethings, animat and living, by way of refrigeration; and another while to transmitte the most part of the soule of the world into insensible and inanimat things.

40 But over and above all this, the discourse which he maketh as touching the generation of the foule, conteineth a proofe & demonstration contrary to his owne opinion; for he faith: That the soule is engendred after that the infant is gone out of the mothers wombe; for that the spirit then is transformed by refrigeration; even as the temper is gotten of steele. Now to prove that the foule is engendred, and that after the birth of the infant, hee bringeth this for a principall argument; Because children become like unto their parents in behaviour and naturallinclination; wherein the contrariety that he delivereth is foevident, as that a man may fee it by the very eie; for it is not possible that the soule which is engendred after birth, should be framed to the maners and disposition of the parents before nativity; or else we must say (and fall out it will) that the foule before it was in effe, was already like unto a foule; which is all one, as

50 that it was by fimilitude and refembiance, and yet was not, because as yet it had not a reall substance: Now if any one doe say, that it ariseth from the temperature and complexion of the bodies, that this similitude is imprinted in them, howbeit when the soules are once engendred, they become changed, he shall overthrow the argument and proofe, whereby it is shewed that the foule was engendred; for hereupon it would follow, that the foule although it were ingenerable, when it entreth from without into the body, is changed by the temperature of the

Chrysippus sometime saith, that the aire is light, that it mounteth upward on high; and other-

If

whiles for it againe: that it is neither heavy nor light. To prove this, see what he faith in his second booke of Motion, namely, that fire having in it no ponderofity at all, ascendethaloft: semblably the aire; and as the water is more conformable to the earth, fo the aire doth rather resemble the fire. But in his booke entituled Naturall arts, he bendeth to the contrary opinion, to wit, that the aire hathneither ponderosity nor lightnesse of it selse: He affirmeth that the aire by nature is darke, and for that cause by consequence it is also the primitive cold; and that tenebrosity or darknesse is directly opposite unto light and cleerenesse, and the coldnesse thereof to the heat of fire. Mooving this discourse in the first booke of his Naturall questions, contrary to all this in his treatise of Habitudes, he saith: That these habitudes be nothing else but aires: For that bodies (quothhe) be contined by them, and the cause why every body contei- 10 ned by any habitude is fuch as it is, is the continent aire; which in iron is called hardnesse, in stone, spissitude or thicknesse; in silver whitenesse; in which words there is great contrariety, and as much false absurditie: for if this aire remaine the same still as it is in the ownenature, how commeth blacke in that which is not white, to be called whitenesse; softnesse in that which is not hard, to be named hardnesse; or rare in that which is not solide and massie, to be called solidity? But in case it be said, that by mixture therein it is altered, and so becommen femblable, how then can it be an habitude, a faculty, power, or cause of these effects, whereby it felfe is brought under and fubdued? for that were to fuffer rather than to doe; and this alteration is not of a nature conteining, but of a languithing impotencie, whereby it loseth all the properties and qualities of the owne: and yet in every place they hold, that matter of it felfe so idle and without motion, is subject and exposed to the receit of qualities, which qualities are spirits, and those powers of the aire, which into what parts soever of the matter they get and infinuate themselves, doe give a forme and imprint a figure into them. But how can they mainteine this, supposing as they do, the aire to be such as they say it is; for if it be an habitude and power, it will conforme and shape unto it felfe, every body, so as it will make the same both blacke and foft: but if by being mixed and contempered with them, it take formes contrary unto those which it hath by nature, it followeth then, that it is the matter of matter, and neither the habitude, cause, nor power thereof.

Chrylippes hath written often times, that without the world there is an infinit voidneffe; and that this infinitie hath neither beginning, middle, nor end. And this is the principall reason 30 whereby they refute that motion downward of the Atoms by themselves, which Epicurus hath brought in : for in that which is infinit, there are no locall differences, whereby a man may understand or specific either high or low. But in the fourth booke of Things possible, he suppofeth a cetteine middle space and meane place betweene: wherein he faith the world is sounded. The very text where he affirmeth this runneth in these words. And therefore we must say of the world that it is corruptible: and although it be very hard to proove it, yet me thinks rather it should be forthan otherwise. Nevertheleffer this maketh much to the inducing of us to believe that it hath a certeine incorruptibility, if I may fo fay, namely the occupation or taking up of the middle place, wherein it standeth, because it is in the mids: for if it were thought otherwise to be founded, it were altogether necessarie that some corruption should take holde of it. And a- 40 gaine, a little after: for even fo in fome fort hath that effence bene ordeined from all eternity, to occupie the middle region, being prefently at the very first such as if not by another maner, yet by attaining this place, it is eternall and fubject to no corruption. These words conteine one manifest repugnance and visible contrariety, considering that in them he admitteth and alloweth in that which is infinit a middle place. But there is a fecond also, which as it is more darke and obscure, so it impliethalso a more monstrous absurditie than the other: for supposing that the world can not continue incorruptible, if it were feated and founded in any other place of the infinitie, than in the mids; it appeareth manifellly that he feared, if the parts of the fubstance did not moove and tend toward the mids, there would ensue a dissolution & corruption of the world. But this would be never have feared, if he had not thought that bodies naturally 50 from all fides tend to the middes not of the fubftance but of the place that conteineth the fubstance; whereof he had spoken in many places, that it was a thing impossible and against nature, for that within voidnesse there is no difference, by which bodies can be said to move more one way than another: and that the construction of the world is cause of the motion to the center, as also that all things from every side do bend to the mids. But to see this more plainly, it may fuffice to alledge the very text in his fecond booke of Motion : for when he had delivered thus much, That the world is a perfect body, and the parts of the world not perfect, because they are

respective to the whole, and not of themselves. Having also discoursed as touching the motion thereof: for that it was apt and fitted by nature to moove it felfe in all parts; for to conteine and preferve, and not to breake, diffolve and burne it felfe, he faith afterwards, But the univerfall world tending and mooving to the fame point, and the parts thereof having the fame motion from the nature of the body; like it is, that this first motion is naturally proper to all bodies, namely, to encline toward the mids of the world, confidering that the world mooveth fo in regard of it felfe; and the parts likewife, in that they be the parts of the whole. How now my goodfriend, may fome one fay, what accident is befallen unto you, that you should forget to pronounce these words withall, That the world, in case it had not fortuned for to settle in the no mids, must needs have bene subject to corruption and diffolution ? For if it be proper and naturall to the world to tend alwaies to the same middle, as also to addresse the parts thereof from all fides thereto, into what place foever of the voidnesse it be carried and transported, certes thus containing and embracing (as it were) it felfe, as it doth, it must needs continue incorruptible, immortall, and past all danger of fracture or dissolution: for to such things as be broken, bruifed, diffipated and diffolved, this is incident, by the division and diffolution of their parts, when ech one runneth and retireth into their proper and naturall place, out of that which is against their owne nature. But you fir, supposing that if the world were seated in any other place of voidnesse but in the mids, there would follow a totall ruine and corruption thereof; giving out alfo as much, and therefore imagining a middle in that where naturally there can be none, to 20 wit, in that which is infinit, have verily quit cleane and fled from these tensions, coharences and inclinations, as having in them no affured meanes for to mainteine and holde the world together, and attributed all the cause of the eternall maintenance and preservation thereof, unto the occupation of a place. And yet, as if you tooke pleafure to argue and convince your felfe, you adjoine to the premisses, thus much: In what fortevery severall part moveth, as it is coherent to the rest of the body, it stands with good reason, that after the same maner it should moove by itselsealone; yea, if for disputation sake we imagine and suppose it to be in some void part of this world: and like as being kept in and enclosed on every fide, it would move toward the mids, foit would continue in this fame motion, although by way of disputation we should admit, that all on a fudden there should appeare some vacuity and void place round about it. And is it so 30 indeed, that every part what ever it be, compaffed about with voidnesse, forgoeth not her naturall inclination to move & tend to the mids; and should the world it selfe, unlesse some fortune &blind chance had not prepared for it a place in the mids, have loft that vigor & power which conteineth and holdeth all together, & so some parts of the substance of it moove one way, and fome another? Now furely heerein there be many other maine contrarieties repugnant even to natural reason; but this particularly among the rest, encountreth the doctrine of God & divine providence, to wit, that in attributing unto them the least and smallest causes that be, he taketh from them the most principall and greatest of all other. For what greater power can there be, than the maintenance and prefervation of this univerfall world, or to caute the fubfiance united together in all parts to cohere unto it felfe? But this according to the opinion of Chrysp-40 Pm, hapneth by meere hazzard and chance: for if the occupation of a place, is the cause of worlds incorruption and eternity, and the fame chanced by fortune, we must inferre thereupon, that the fafety of all things dependeth upon hazzard and adventure, and not upon fatall deftiny and divine providence. As for his doctrine & disputation we of Mundator, that is to say of things possible, which chrysippus hath delivered directly against that of fatall destiny, how can it chuse butberepugnant to it felfe: for if that be not possible, according to the opinio of Diodor w, which either is or shall be true, but whatsoever is susceptible naturally of a power to be, although the lamenever come into act or effe, is to be counted possible; there will be a number of things posfiblewhich never (hal have being, by destiny invincible, inexpugnable, & furmouting althings. And therefore either this doctrine overthroweth al the force and puissance of destiny or if it be 50 admitted as Chrysippes would have it that which potentially may be, wil fal out oftentimes to be impossible; & whatfoever is true, shall be also necessary, as being comprised & contained by the greatest and most powerfull necessity of all others; and whatsoever is false, impossible, as having the greatest and most puissant cause withstanding and impeaching it ever for being true. For looke whose destiny it is to die in the sea, how can it possible be, that he should be susceptible of death upon the land? And how is it possible, that he who is at Megara should come to Athens, being hindred and prohibited by fatall deftiny?

Moreover his refolutions as touching fantalies and imaginations repugne mainely against

fatall

fatall destiny: For intending to proove that fantasse is not an entire and absolute cause of affent he saith, that Sages and wise men will prejudice and hurt us much, by imprinting in our mindes false imaginations, if it be so that such standards doe absolutely cause affent. For many times wise men use that which is false, unto leawd and wicked persons, representing unto them a santassic that is but onely probable, and yet the same is not the cause of affent: for so also should the cause of salse opinion and of deception. If then a man would transferre this reason and argument from the said wise men unto stall destiny, saying that destiny is not the cause of affents ment from the said wise men unto stall destiny, saying that destiny is not the cause of affents ons, yea and men should be endamaged by destiny) certes the same doctrine and reason which exempteth a wise man from doing but at any time, sheweth withall that destiny is not the cause of all things. For if they neither opine nor receive detriment by destiny: certeinly they doe no good, they are not wise, they be not firme and constant in opinion, neither receive they any good and profit by destiny: so that this conclusion which they hold for most affured, salleth any good and profit by destiny: so that this conclusion which they hold for most affured, salleth any good and profit by destiny: so that this conclusion which they hold for most affured, salleth on the ground and comment to nothing, namely, that stall destiny the eause of all things.

folute cause of all things, but only a procatar dicall and antecedent occasion, here againe will he

discover how he is contradictorie to himselfe, whereas he praiseth Homer excessively for saving

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thus of Jupiter:
Take well in worth therefore what he
to each of you shall send;
And whether good or bad it be,
doe not with him consend.

As also where he highly extolleth Euripides for these verses:

O Jupiter what caufe have I to far, That mortall wretches we (hould prudent be? Depend we doe of thee, and nothing may Bring to effect, but that which pleafeth thee.

Himselfe also writeth many lentences accordant hereunto, and finally concludeth, that nothing doth rest and stay, nothing stirre and moove, be it never so little, otherwise than by the counsell and minde of Jupiter, whome he faith to be all one with fatall destiny. Moreover the antecedent 30 cause is more feeble and weake than that which is perfit and absolute, neither attaineth it to any effect, as being subdued & kept down, by others mightier than it selfe, rising up & making head against it. And as for fatall destiny Chrysopus himselfe pronouncing it to be a cause invincible, inflexible, and that which cannot be impeached, calleth it Atropos & Adrastia, as one would say, a cause that cannot be averted, avoided or undone. Likewise necessity and Pepromene, which is as much to fay as fetting downe meas that is to fay, an end and limit unto all things. How then? whether doe we not fay, that neither affents, vertues, vices, nor well or ill doing, lie in our free will and power: if we affirme fatall destiny is to be maimed or unperfect and mocration, that is to fay, a fatality determining all things, to be ampurants, that is to fay, without powerto finish and effect ought: and fothe motions and habitudes of Jupiters will to remaine imperfect and 40 unaccomplified? for of these conclusions the one will follow, if we say that destiny is an absolute and perfect cause: and the other, in case we hold that it is onely a procatarcticall or antecedent occasion. For being an absolute and all sufficient cause, it overthroweth that which is in us, to wit, our free will: and againe, if we admit it to be only antecedent it is marred for being effectuall and without the danger of impeachment. For not in one or two places onely but every where in maner throughout all his commentaries of naturall philosophy he hath written; that in particular natures and motions there be many obstacles and impediments, but in the motion of the univerfall world there is none at all. And how is it possible that the motion of the univerfall world should not be hindred and disturbed, reaching as it doth unto particulars, in case it be so, that they likewise be stopped and impeached. For surely the nature in generall of the whole 50 man is not at liberty and without impediment, if neither that of the foot nor of the hand, be void of obstacles: no more can the motion or course of a ship be void of let and hinderance, if there be some stay about the sailes, & oares, or their works. Over & besides all this, if the fantastes and imaginations, are not imprinted in us by fatall deftiny, how be they the cause of affents? Or if because it imprinteth fantasses that lead unto assent, thereupon all assents are said to be by fatall defliny, how is it possible that destiny should not be repugnant to it selfe? considering that in matters of greatest importance, it ministreth many times different fantasies; and those which

Contradictions of Stoicke philosophers.

diftract the minde into contrary opinions? whereas they affirme that those who settle unto one of the faid fantafies, and hold not of their affent and approbation doe erre and finne: For if they yeeld (fay they) unto uncertaine fantafies they stumble and fall: if unto false, they are deceived: if to fuch as commonly are not conceived and understood, they opine. For of necessity it must be one of these three : either that every fantasie is not the worke nor effect of destiny ; or that every receit & affention of fantalie is not void of error; or elle that deltiny it selfe is not irreprehenfible. Neither can I fee how it should be blamelesse, objecting such fansies & imaginations as it doth: which to withfland and refift, were not blameable, but rather to give place and follow them : and verily in the disputations of the Stoicks against the Academicks, the maine point a-10 bout which both Chrysippus himselfe, and Antipater also contended and stood upon, was this: That we doe nothing at all, nor be enclined to any action, without a precedent confent; but that these be but vaine fictions and devised fables, and suppositions, that when any proper fantaffe is presented, incontinently we are disposed, yea, and incited thereto, without yeelding or giving consent. Againe, Chrysppu faith: That both God and the wise man doe imprintfalse imaginations, not because they would have us to yeeld or give our consent unto them, but that we should doe the thing onely, and incite our selves to that which appeareth: As for us, if wee be evill by reason of our infirmity, we condescend to such fansies and imaginations. Now the repugnance and contrarietie in these words is easily seene; for hee who would not have us to consent unto the fantasses which he presenteth unto us, but onely to worke and doe them, be he 20 God or wife man, knoweth well enough that fuch fantafies are sufficient to cause us to fall to operation, and that those affents are altogether superstuous; and so if he knowing that the fantafic imprinteth no inflinct into operation without confent, ministreth unto us false or probable fantafies: wilfull and voluntary is the cause that we stumble, erre, and offend, in giving our asfentto fuch things as are not perfectly understood and comprehended.



OF COMMON CON-CEPTIONS AGAINST THE STOICKS.

The Summaric.

Aving shewed in my former discourse, that the Stoicks are contradictory to them-Colores in all the principal articles of their doctrine, and so consequently that he needed no more but their owne words to condemne them: In this dialogue he joineth more closely to them, disputing against their rules and precepts, which he examineth and refuteth; whereas before he was content to oppugne them by their owne selves. For to make an entrance into this dialogue, he bringeth in Lamprias, requesting Diadumenus to rid him of those scruples that certeine Stoicks had patinto his bead: Whereunto the other accordeth, and so they enter into the matter. The summe of whose whole discourse throughout is this: That the Stoicks would by their principles abolish mans senses, and the common conceptions proceeding from 50 thence, thereby more easily to establish their owneparadoxes : whom herefutes b, dividing his dialogue into three principall parts: in the first where of is considered, the morall; in the second, the naturall; in the third, the metaphy licall or supernatural philosophy of the Stoicks: Howbeit, he observeth no exact order nor method, in the disposation of his matters, but entrethout of one discourse into another, according as things were presented unto him, and came fust into his minde, yet in such sort, as there is sufficient to content the reader, who is desironato know what was the feet and doctrine of the Stoicks, and the maner of the auncient Academicks in their disputations: which being referred to the true marke and scope indeed of all that which we may learne in the world, teacheth every man to humble himselfe before the majestion of him who is onely wise, and out of whose sacred word we ought to setch the resolution of the questions debated heere in this dialogue, but of those above the rest, which treat of maners, religion, and divinity.

OF COMMON CONCEPTI

, ons against the Stoicks.

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Thould feeme verily that you Diadumenus passe not much what any man either thinks or faies of you & other Academicks, such as your selfe, in that you do philosophize cleane contrary to the common notions and conceptions, consessing as you doe, that you make no great account of the five naturall senses, from whence proceed the most part of the sid common conceptions, having for their soundation and seat, the beliefe and assurance of the imaginations which appeare unto us. But I pray you for to assay and goe in hand to cure me, either by some words, or charmes and enchant to ments, or by what other meanes and kinds of physicke that you

know, comming as I doe unto you, full in mine owne conceit of great trouble and strong perturbation, fo exceedingly troubled Havebeene, and held in perplexed suspense, I may tell you, by certeine Stoicks; men otherwise the best in the world, and I may say to you, my inward and familiar friends: howbeit, over bitterly bent, and in holfile maner fet against the Academic, who for very finall matters uttered by me, modefly and in good fort, with all respect and reverence, have(I will not lie unto you) reprooved, checked, and taken me up very unkindly, with some hard words, and breaking foorth in heat of choler, called our auncient Philosophers, Sophisters, corrupters, and perverters of good sentences in Philosophy, yea, and seducers of those who otherwise walked in the true path and traine of doctrine surely established; withma- 30 ny other more strange termes, both speaking and thinking of them very basely; untill in the end as if they had beene driven with a tempest, they fell upon the Common conceptions, reproching those of the Academie, as if they brought in some great confusion and perturbation in the faid notions: and one among them there was, who stucke not to fay; That it was not by fortune, but by some divine providence that Chrysippus was borne and came into the world, after Arcesslaus, and before Carneades: of which twaine, the one was the great authour and promoter of the injury and outrage done unto cultome; and the other flourished in name and renowmeabove all other Academicks. Now Chrysppus comming as he did betweene them, by his writings contrary to the doctrine of Arcefilaus, stopped up the way also against the powerful eloquence of Carneades, and as he left unto the fenfes many aides and fuccours, as it were to 40 hold out a long fiege; so he removed out of the way, and fully cleered all the trouble and confusion about anticipations and common conceptions, correcting ech one, and reducing them into their proper place; infomuch, as who foever afterwards would feeme to make new troubles, and violently disquiet matters by him fetled, should not prevaile nor gaine ought, but incutre the obloquic of the world, and be convinced for malicious persons, and deceitfull sophilters. Having thus (I fay) by these wordsbeene chased and set on fire this morning among them, I had need of some meanes to quench the heat as it were of an inflammation, and to rid me of these doubts, which are risen in my minde.

It fareth haply with you, as with many of the vulgar fort; but if you believe the poets who 50 give out; that the ancient citie Sipplus in Magressa, was in old time destroiced and overthrowen by the providence of the gods, when they chastised and punished Tamalus; you may as well be perswaded by our old friends the Stoicks to believe, that nature hath brought foorth into the world, not by chance and fortune, but by some special divine providence, Chrysspu, when she was minded to pervert and overturne the life of man and course of the world, turning all things up side downe, and contrariwise downessed en : for never was there man better made and

and framed for such a matter than he. And as Cato said of that Iulius Casar Dictator, that before him there was never knowen any to come sober and considerate to manage affaires of thate with a purpose to worke the ruin of the common weale; even so this man in mine opinion, with most diligence, greatest eloquence, & highest conceit of spirit seemeth as much as lieth in him to destroy and abolish custome. And there witnesse against him no lesse even they who magnifie the man otherwise: namely, when they dispute against him as touching that sophisme or iyllogisme which is called Pseudomenos, for to say my good friend, that the augmentation coposed of contrary positions is not notoriously salle, and againe to affirme, that syllogismes having their premisses true, yea and true inductions, may yet have the contrary to their conclusions to true, what conception of demonstrations, or what anticipation of beleefe is there, which it is not able to overthrow?

It is reported of the Pourcuttle or Pollyp fish, that in winter time he gnaweth his owne cleics and pendant hairy feet, but the Logicke of Chrysppus, which taketh away and cutteth off the principall parts of it, what other conception leaveth it behinde but that which well may be suspected? For how can that be imagined steady and sure which is built upon foundations that abide nothine, but wherein there be so many doubts and troubles? But like as they who have either doubt or durt upon their bodies, if they touch another therewith or rub against him, doe not so much trouble and molest him, as they doe begrime and beray themselves so much the more and seeme to exasperate that ordure which pricketh and is offensive unto them; even so, some there be who blame and accuse the Academicks, thinking to charge upon them those imputations, wherewith themselves are found to be more burdened. For who be they that pervert the common conceptions of the senses more, than do these Stoicks? But if you thinke so good, leaving off to acuse them, let us answere to those calumniations and slanders which they would seeme to fasten upon us.

LAMPRIAS.

Me thinks Diadamense that I am this day much changed, and become full of variety: me thinks I am a man greatly altered from that I was ere while: for even now I came hither much difmated and abafhed, as being deprefled, beaten downe and amazed, as one having need of fome advocate or other to fpeake for me and in my behalfe: whereas now I am cleane turned 30 to anhumor of accufation, and disposed to enjoy the pleasure of revenge, to see all the packe of them detected and convinced, in that they argue and dispute themselves against common conceptions and anticipations, in defence whereof they seeme principally to magnifie their owne seed, * * * faying that it alone doth agree and accord with nature.

DIADUMENUS

Begin we then first, with their most renowmed propositions, which they themselves call paradoxes, that is to say, strange and admirable opinions: avowing as it were by that name & gently admitting such exorbitant abstractions is sor example that such Sages as themselves are onely kings, onely tich and faire, onely citizens, and onely Judges: or pleaseth it you that we fend all this stuffe to the market of olde and stale marchandise, and goe in hand with the examination of 40 these matters which consists most in action and practise, whereof also they dispute most seriously?

LAMPRIAS

For mine owne part. I take this to be the better. For as touching the reputation of those paradoxes, who is not full thereof, and hath not heard it a thousand times?

Consider then in the first place this, whether according to common notions, they can possibly accord with nature, who thinke naturall things to be indifferent: and that neither health, nor good plight and habitude of body nor beawty, nor cleane strength be either expecible, prositable, expedient, or serving in any stead to the accomplishment of that perfection which is actording to nature: nor that the contraries hereunto are to be avoided, as hurtfull, to wit, maines and mutilations of members, deformities of body, paines, thannefull diffraces and diseases. Of which things rehearsed, they themselves acknowledge that nature estrangeth us from some, and acquainteth us with other. The which verily is equite contrary to common intelligence, that nature should acquaint us with those things which be neither expedient nor good, & alienate us from such as be not hurtfull nor ill: and that which more is, that the should cither traineus to them or withdraw us from them so farre forth, as if men misse in obtaining

the one, or fall into the other, they should with good reason abandon this life, and for just cause depart out of the world. I suppose that this also, is by the affirmed against common sense, namely, that nature her felfe is a thing indifferent; and that to accord and confent with nature hath in it fomepart of the foveraigne good. For neither to follow the rule of the law nor to obey reason is good and honest, unlesse both law and reason be good and honest. But this verily is one of the least of their errors. For if Chrysppus in his first booke of exhortations hath written thus: A bleffed and happie life confifteth onely in living according to vertue: and as for all other acceffaries (quoth hee) they neither touch nor concerneus at all, neither make they any whit to beatitude: hecannot avoid but he must avow, that not onely nature is indifferent, buralfo which is more, senselesse and foolish, to affociate and draw us into a league with that which in no respect concerneth us, and we our selves likewise are no better than fooles, to thinke that the foveraigne felicity, is to confent and accord with nature which leadeth and conducteth us to that which serveth nothing at all to happinesse. And yet what agreeth and sorteth sooner to common sense, than this, that as things eligible are to be chosen and desired for the profit and helpe of this life; so naturall things serve for to live answerable to nature ? But these men say otherwise: for although this be their supposition that to live according to nature is the utmost end of mans good, yet they hold, that things according to nature be of themselves indifferent. Neither is this also lesse repugnant to common sense and conception, that a well affected, sensible and prudent man, is not equally enclined and affectionate to good things that be equall and alike: but as some of them he waigheth not, nor maketh any account of, so for others again he is prest to abide and endure all things, although I say the same be not greater or lesse, one than 20 another. For these things they hold to be equall, namely, for a man to fight valiantly in the defence of his country, and chaftly to turne away from an olde trot, when for very age the is at the point of death: for both the one and the other doe that alike which their duty requireth. And yet for the one, asbeing a worthie and glorious thing, they would be prest and ready to lose their lives, whereas to boast and vaunt of the other were a shamefull and ridiculous part. And even Chrysppus himselfe, in the treatise which he composed of Jupiter, and in the third bookeof the Gods, faith that it were a poore, abfurd and foolish thing to praise such acts, as proceeding from vertue, namely to be are valiantly the biting of a flie, or iting of a wespe, and chastly to abstaine from a crooked old woman, stooping forward & ready to tumble into her grave. Donot these Philosophers then teach and preach even against common sense and notion, when those 30 actions which they are ashamed to commend, they avow and consesse to be excellent, and nothing in the world better? For where is that expetible, or how can that be approovable, which deserveth not that a man should praise and admire it, but is such as who soever doe commend and admire the fame, they are reputed no better than fots and abfurd fooles? And yet I suppose you will thinke it more against common sense and reason, that a wise and prudent man should not care nor regard a jot whether he enjoy or enjoy not the greatest goods in the world, but carty himselfe after one and the same maner in things indifferent, as he would in the management and administration of those good things which are so singular. For weall,

As many as on fruits do feed,

Which for our use the carth doth breed. are of this judgement, that the thing which being present bringeth us helpe and profit, and ifit be away, we defire to have, and find a miffe of it, is good, expetible and profitable butthat which a man paffeth not for neither in carnelt nor in game, and whereof he maketh no account either for his sport, pastime or commodity and ease, the same is indifferent: for by no other marke do we diftinguith a diligent, painfull and industrious man in deed, from a vaine busiebody, and a cutions medler in many matters, than by this, That as the one travelleth and troubleth himselfe in unprofitable trifles or things indifferent, fo the other laboureth for such as be commodious and expedient. But these Philosophers do quite contrary : for according to their doêtrine, a wife and prudent man, although he meet with many conceptions and the memories of 50 the faid comprehentions, yea and remember divers things whereof he hath a certeine and perfeet knowledge; thinketh some few of them to concerne him; and as for the rest, making no reckoning of them, he supposeth that he neither loseth nor winneth, by remembring that hee had the other day the comprehension, that is to say, the certeine knowledge either of Dion sneefing or Theon playing at tennis. And yet every comprehension in a wife man, and all memory that is firme and furely fetled, is prefently science, yea and a great good thing, nay the greatest

that is. How then? for I would gladly know, whether a wife man were fecure and careleffe alike, when his health faileth, when fome one of his fenfes decaieth or is amisse, and when he loseth his goods, thinking none of all this to touch him; sor whether when he seeleth himselfe sicke, giveth unto Physicians their sees when they come unto him; and for to gainer iches, saileth to Leucon a great prince and potentate about Bosporus, or travelleth as farte as to Indathyrsus the Scyhian king, as Chryspopus saith; and of his senses, if he lose some, he will not endure to live any longer? How is it then, that these men doe not acknowledge and confesse that they deliver doctrine even against common notions, who about things indifferent, carke, care and travell so much; and yet take the matter indifferently, and reake not much whether they enjoy or be with

to out great good things? Moreover, this also is an opinion of theirs, even against common conceptions, That he who is a man, feeleth no joy when out of the greatest evils and most grievous calamities he entreth into a world of good things and a most bleffed and happy state. And yet thus doth their wife man; for passing from extreame vice, unto exceeding great vertue; escaping also out of a most miserable life, and atteining unto the happiest condition that is, he sheweth no figne or token atall of joy: neither doth fo great a change lift up his heart, or once move him, feeing himselfe how he is delivered out of the greatest miserie and wickednesse that may be, and arrived now to a most firme affored accomplishment of all felicitie and goodnesse. Againe, contrary it is to common fense, That this should be the greatest good of a man, namely, a constant judge-20 mentand immutable resolution; and yet that he who is mounted up to the heigth and pitch of all hath no need hereof, neither careth for it when it is come; infomuch as many times he will not once put forth his finger for this affurance and stability, notwithstanding they esteeme it to be the fovereigne and perfect good. Neither do these Stoicks stay here, but still broch more paradoxes & strange opinions, namely, that continuance of time be it never so long, augmenteth not any good thing: but if a man chance to be wife and prudent but the minute onely of an houre, he is nothing inferior in felicity to him, who all his time hath lived in vertue, and led his whole life bleffedly therein. Howbeit, as bravely and as floutly as they deliver these positions, yet on the other fide, they flicke not to fay, that transitory vertue which continueth but a while, isworth nothing: for what would it availe or benefithim who incontinently is to fuffer ship-30 wracke and to perish in the sea, or otherwise to be throwen headlong downe from some steepe rocke, if he were possessed of wisdome a while before? And what would it have booted Lychas being flung by Hercules as it were out of a fling into the mids of the fea, if fuddenly he had bene changed from vertue to vice? These positions therefore savour of these men, who not onely philolophize against sense and common notions, of the whole world, but also consusedly huddle their owne conceits, making a mish-mash of them and contradicting themselves, if it be fo that they thinke, that the holding and pofferfing of vertue a fhort time, wanteth nothing of fovereigne felicity, & withall, make no account of fo thort a vertue, as if in deed it were nothing worth. And yet this is not it that a man would wonder most at in their strange doctrine, but this rather, that they efficience give out and fay: That when this foveraigne vertue & felicity is pre-40 fent, he that is poffeffed of it, hath no fente nor feeling thereof; neither perceiveth he how being erewhile most miserable and foolish; he is now all at once become both wise & happy: for not onely it were a pretie jest, and ridiculous conceit to fay; That a wife and prudent man is ignorant even of this one point, that he is wife; and knoweth nor that he is now past ignorance, and want of knowledge: but also to speake all in a word; they make goodnesse to be of no moment, norto cary any weight and poile with it, they make it I fay very obscure, enervat and seeble, in cale when it commeth, a man is not able to feele and perceive it: for according to them, it is notby nature imperceptible; and even Chrylippus himfelfe hath expresly written in his bookes entituled, Of the end, That good is perceptible by fenfe; and as hee thinkerh, to hee maketh proofe and demonstration thereof. It remaineth therefore that it is long either of weakenesse 50 or imalnesse that it is not perceived, when they who have it present, feele it not, nor have any knowledge thereof. Moreover, it were very abfurd to fay, that the eie fight should perceive and differne things that be but whitish a little, or middle colours betweene, and not bee able to see those that be exceeding white in the highest degree; or that the sense of feeling should apprehend that which is meanly hot or warme, and yet have no fenfe at all of fuch things, as be excee-

ding hor. But there is more abfurdity in this, that a man should comprehend that which mean-

ly and commonly is according to nature, to wit, health, or the good plight of the body; and

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be ignorant againe of vertue, when it is present, considering withall, that they hold it to be principally and in highest degree accordant to nature; for how can it otherwise be, but against common sense, to conceive well enough the difference between health and sicknesse, and to be ignorant of that diffinction which is betweene wiledome and follie; but to thinke the one to be present when it is gone, and when a man hath the other, not to know so much, that he hath it? Now forasmuch as after that one advanced and proceeded forward as farre as may be, he is changed into felicity and vertue, one of these two must of necessitie follow; that either this estate of progresse and profit, is neither vice nor infelicity; or else that there is no great difference and distance between e vice and vertue; but that the diversitie of good things and evill is very finall and unperceptible by the fense, for otherwise men could not be ignorant when they to had the one or the other, or thinke they had the one for the other: fo long then as they depart not from any contrariety of fentences, but will allow, affirme, and put downe all things whatfoever, to wit, That they who profit and proceed are still fooles and wicked; that they who are become wife and good, known ot so much themselves, but are ignorant thereof; that there is a great difference betweene wisedome and folly: Thinke you, that they shew a woonderfull constance and uniformity in the maintenance of their fentences and doctrines?

Well, if in their doctrine they goe against common sense, and are repugnant to themselves; certes, in their life, in their negotiations and affaires, they doe much more: for pronouncing flatly, that those who be not wife, are all indifferently and alike, wicked, unjust, disloiall, faithleste, and foolish; and yet forfoorth, some of them they abhorre and will not abide, but be 20 ready to fpit at them; others, they will not vouchfafe for much as to falute if they meet with them upon the way; and some againe they will credit with their monies, nominate and elect by their voices to be magistrates, yea and bestow their daughters upon them in mariage. Now in case they hold fuch itrange and extravagant positions in sport and game, ler them plucke downe their browes, and not make fo many furrowes as they doe in their foreheads: but if in earnest, and as grave Philosophers, furely, I must needs tell them, that it is against common notions, to reproove, blame, and raile upon all men alike in words, and yet to use some of them in deeds as honest persons, & others hardly to intreat as most wicked; and for example, to admire Chrysipput in the highest degree, & make a god of him; but to mocke and scorne Alexinus, although they thinke the men to be fooles alike, and not one more or leffe foolish than the other. True 30 it is fay they; and needs it must be so. But like as he who is but a cubit under the top of the water, is no lette strangled and drowned than he who lies five hundred fathom deepe in the bottom of the fea: even fo they that be come within a little of vertue, are no leffe in vice still than those who are agreat way off: and as blinde folke be blinde ftill, although haply they shall recover their eie-fight shortly after; even so they that have wel proceeded and gone forward, continue sooles still and sinfull, untill such time as they have fully attained to vertue; but contrary to all this, that they who profit in the schoole of vertue, resemble not those who are starke blinde, but such ratheras fee not clerely; nor are like unto those who be drowned, but unto them that swimme, yea and approch necre unto the haven; they themselves do beare witnesse by their deeds, and in the whole practife of their life; for otherwife they would not have used them for their counsellors, 40 captaines, and lawgivers as blinde men do guides for to lead them by the hands, neither would they have praised and imitated their deeds, acts, sayings and lives of some as they did, if they had feene them all drowned alike and fuffocated with folly and wickedneffe.

But letting that goe by, confider these Stoicks, that you may woonder the more at them in this behalfe, that by their owne examples they are not taught to quit and abandon these wise men who are ignorant of themselves, and who neither know nor perceive, that they cease to be stifled and strangled any longer, and begin to see the light, and being risen alost, and gottenabove vice and finne, take their winde and breath againe. Also it is against common sense, that for a man furnished with all good things, and who wanteth nothing of perfect bliffe and happinelle, it (hould be meet and befitting, to make himfelfe away and depart voluntarily out of this 50 life; yea, and more than fo; that he who neither prefently hath, nor ever shall have any good thing; but contratiwife, is continually haunted and perfecuted with all hortible calamities, miferies, and mishaps that can be, should not thinke it fit and covenient for himselfe to leave and for fake this life, unleffe fome of those things which they hold be indifferent, be presented, and doe befall unto him. Well these be the goodly rules and trim lawes in the Stoicks schoole; and verily many of their wife men they canfe indeed to go out of this life, bearing them in hand, that

they shall be more bleffed and happie; although by their faying a wife man is rich, fortunate, bleffed, happy every way, fure, and fecured from all danger: contrariwife, a foole and leawd man is able to fay of himfelfe,

Of wicked parts (to fay I dare be hold) So full I am, that unneth I can hold.

And yet forfooth, they thinke it meet and feemely for fuch as thefe to remaine alive, but for those to forgo this life. And good cause why, quoth Chrysippus, for we are not to measure our life by good things or evill, but by fuch as are according to nature. See how these Philosophers mainteine ordinary custome, and teach according to common notions. Say you so (good sit) to ought not he who maketh profession of looking into the estate of life and death, to search also and confider

What rule at home in house, what worke there is; How things do stand; what goes well, what amis.

Should not he (I say) ponder and examine as it were by the ballance, what things incline and bend more to felicity and what to infelicity, and thereby to chuse that which is profitable? but to lay his ground and make his reckoning to live happily or no by things indifferent, which neither do good nor hurt? According to fuch prefuppolitions and principles as these, were it not convenient for him who wanteth nothing of all that is to be avoided, to chuse for to live: & contratiwife, for him to leave this life, who enjoieth all that is to be wished for and defired? And al-20 beit (my good friend Lamprias) it be a fenfeleffe abfurdity, to fay that those who taste of no evill, fhould for fake this life: yet is it more abfurd and befide all reason, that for the not having of fome indifferent thing, a man should cast away and abandon that which is simply good; like as these men doe, leaving felicity and vertue, which they presently enjoy, for default of riches and health, which they have not. And to this purpose we may well and fitly alledge these verses out of Homer:

And then from Glaucus, Jupiter all wit and fenfe did take, When he with Diomedes would a foolish bargainemake; For brasen armour to exchange his owne of golde most fine, An hundred * oxen richly worth, for that which went for nine.

30

"Or pieces of

And yet those armes made of braffe, were of no leffe use in battell, than the other of golde: the forme of whereas the decent feature of the bodie and health, according to the Stoicks, yeeld no profit at ped upon all, nor make one jote for felicity. Howbeit, these men for all that, are content to exchange wish them. dome for health, in a fmuch as they holde that it would have become Heraclitus well enough and Pherecydes, to have cast off their wildome and vertue, had it beene in their power so to do, in case thereby they might have bene rid of their maladies, the one of the lowfie difease, and the other 40 of the dropfie. And if Circe had filled two caps with severall medicines and potions, the one making fooles of wife men, and the other, wife men of fooles, uly//es ought to have drunke that of folly, rather than to change his humane shape into the forme of a beast, having in it wildome withall, and by confequence felicity also. And they say, that even wisdome and prudence it selfe teacheth as much and commandeth in this wife: Let me alone, and fuffer me to perifh, in cafe I must be caried to and fro in the forme and shape of an affe. But this wisedome and prudence will some man say, which prescribeth such things, is the wisedome of an asse; if to be wise and happy is of it felfe good, and to beare the face of an affe indifferent. There is (they fay) a nation of the Aethiopians where a dogge is their king; he is faluted by the stile and name of a king, and hath all honours done unto him, and temples dedicated, as are done unto kings. But men they so be that beare rule and performe those functions and offices which apperteine unto governours of cities and magistrates. Is northis the very case of the Stoicks? for vertue with them hath the name, and carieth the shew and apparence of good, it alone they say, is expetible, profitable, and expedient; but they frame all their actions, they philosophize, they live and die, according to the will, prescript, & commandement as it were of things indifferent. And yet there is not an Aethiopian so hardy as to kill that dog their king; but he sitteth upon a throne under a cloth of estate, and is adored of them in all reverence: but these Stoicks destroy this vertue of theirs,

and cause it to perish whiles they are wholly possessed of health and riches. But the corollarie which Chrysppus himselfe, hath for a finiall set unto these their doctrines, easeth me of farther paines, that I need not to stand more upon this point: For whereas (quoth he) there be in nature things good, things bad, and things meane or indifferent; there is no man but hee would chuse rather to have that which is good, than the indifferent, or that which is bad; and to proove the truth hercof, let us take with effe of the very gods, when as we doe crave of them in our praiers and orifons, principally the possession and fruition of good things; if not, yet at leastwife the power and grace to avoid evils; but that which is neither good nor evill, we never defire for to have in flead of good; mary we can be content and with to enjoy it, in lieu of evill. But this Chry/ppu heere inverting and perverting cleane the order of nature, transposeth and 10 transferreth out of the middle place betweene, the meane and indifferent into the last, and reducing the last bringeth it backe into the mids; giving as tyrants doe to wicked persons, the preeminence of fuperior place, with authority and credit unto evill things; enjoining us by order of law, first to seeke for that which is good; secondly, for that which is evill; & last of all to repute that woorft, which is neither good nor evill: as if a man should next unto heaven fet hell, and reject the earth and all the elements about it into the pit of Tartarus beneath:

Right farre remote, where under ground

The gulfe that lies, no man can found. Having then faid in his third booke of Nature: That it is better for a man to live in the state of a foole, yea though henever should become wife, than not to live at all; he added thus much 20 moreover word for word: For fuch are the good things of men, that even the evill things after a fort are preferred before those which are meane and in the mids betweene; not that these go before, but reason, with which jointly to live, availeth more although we should continue sooks all the daies of our life: yea and to be plaine, albeit we should be wicked, unjust, breakers of the lawes, enemies to the gods, and in one word, wretched and unhappie; for all these concurrein those that live sooles. Is it better then to be unhappy, than not unhappie; to suffer harme, tather than not to fuffer harme; to commit injustice, than not to commit injustice; to transgresse the lawes, than not to transgresse the lawes: which is as much to say, as is it fit and expedient to do those things which are not fit and expedient; and beseemeth it to live otherwise than it befeemeth? Yeaforfooth: For worfe it is to bee without reason and senslesse, than to be soolish, 30 What aile they then, and what takes them in the head, that they will not avow and confessethat to be evill, which is woorfe than evill? And why do they affirme that we are to avoid folly alone, if it be meet to flieno leffe, nay rather much more, that disposition which is not capablenot fusceptible of folly? But wherefore should any man be offended and scandalized hereat, if hee call to mind that which this philosopher wrote in his fecond booke of Nature, where he avoicheth: That vice was not made without fome good use and profit, for the whole world? But it will be better to recite this doctrine, even in his owne words, to the end that you may knowin what place they range vice, and what speech they make thereof, who accuse Xenoerates and Speufippus for that they reputed not health to be an indifferent thing, nor riches unprofitable. As for vice (quoth he) it is limited in regard of other accidents beside: for it is also in some fort accor- 40 ding to nature; and if I may fo fay, it is not altogether unprofitable in respect of the whole, for otherwise there would not be any good; and therefore it may be inferred, that there is no good among the gods, in as much as they can have none evil: neither when at any time Jupiter having refolved the whole matter into himselse, shall become one, & shall take away all other differences, wil there be any more good, confidering there will be no evill to be found. But true it is, that in a daunce or quier, there wil be an accord & measure, although there be none in it that singeth out of tune & maketh a discord: as also health in mans body, albeit no part thereof were pained or diseased: but vertue without vice can have no generation. And like as in some medicinable confections there is required the poylon of a viper or fuch like ferpent, and the gall of the beaft Hyana; even so there is another kind of necessarie convenience between the wickednesse of 50 Mehten, and the justice of Socrates; betweene the dissolute demeanor of Cleon, and the honest catriage of Pericles. And what meanes could Jupiter have made, to bring foorth Hercules and Lieurgus into the world, if he had not withall made Sardanapalus and Phalaris for us? And it is a great marvell if they say not also, that the Phthisicke or ulcer of the lungs, was fent among men for their good plight of bodie, and the gout for fwift footmanship: and dehilles hadnot worne long haire, unlesse Thersates had beene bald. For what difference is there betweene those

that alledge these doting fooleries or rave so absurdie; and such as say that loosenesse of life and whoredome were not unprofitable for continence; and iniuffice for juffice? So that we had need to pray unto the gods that there might be alwaies finne and wickednes, Falle leasing smooth and glosing tongue,

Deceitfull traines and fraud among.

in case when these be gone, vertue depart and perish withal. But will you see now and behold the most elegant devise and pleasantest invention of his? For like as Comædies (quoth he) carrie otherwhiles ridiculous Epigrams or inferiptors, which confidered by themselves, are nothing woorth, howbeit they give a certaine grace to the whole Poeme : even fo, a man may well blame to and detell vice in it felfe, but in regard of others it is not unprofitable. And first to fay that vice was made by the divine providence, even as a lewd Epigram composed by the expresse will of the Poet, surpasseth all imagination of absurditie: for if this were true, how can the gods be the givers of good things, rather than of evill? or how can wickednes any more been emie to the gods, or hated by them? or what shall we have to say and answere to such blasphemous sentences of the Poets, founding foill in religious eares, as these:

God once diffos' à some houseto overthrow. Twixt men some cause and seeds of strife doth sow. Againe:

Which of the gods twixt them did kindle fire, Thus to contest in termes of wrath and ire.

Moreover, a foolish and leawd epigram doth embelish and adorne the Comedie, serving to that end for which it was composed by the Poet, namely, to please the spectatours, and to make them laugh. But Jupiter whom we furnamed, Paternall, Fatherly, Supreame, Sovereigne, Just, Righteous, and according to Pindarus, despreyeas, that is to fay, the best and most perfect artisan, making this world as he hath done, not like unto some great Comedic or Enterlude, full of varietie, skill, and wittie devices, but in maner of a city common to gods and men, for to inhabit together with justice and vertue in one accord and happily, what need had he, to this most holy and venerable end, of theeves, robbers, murderers, homicides, parricides and tyrans? for furely vice and wickednesse was not the entry of some morisque-dance or ridiculous care-sport, carry-30 ing a delectable grace with it and pleasing to God; neither was it set unto the affaires of men for recreation and pastime, to make them sport, or to move laughter, being a thing that carrieth not so much as a shadow, nor representeth the dreame, of that concord and convenience with nature, which is so highly celebrated and commended. Furthermore, the said lewed epigram, is but a small part of the Poeme, and occupieth a very little roome in a Comedie: neither do such ridiculous compositions abound overmuch in a play, nor corrupt and marre the pleasant grace of fuch matters as feeme to have beene well and pretily devifed; whereas all humane affaires are full thorowout of vice: and mans life even from the very first beginning and entrie as it were of the prologue unto the finall conclusion of all and epilogue, yea and to the very plaudite, being difordinate, degenerate, full of perturbation and confusion , and having no one part thereof 40 pure and unblamable, as these men say, is the most filthy unpleasant and odious enterlude of all others, that can be exhibited. And therefore gladly would I demaund and learne of them, in what respect was vice made profitable to this universall world: for I suppose he will not say it was for divine and celestiall things: because it were a mere reciculous mockery to affirme that unlesse there were bred and remained among men vice, malice, avarice, and lesing, or unlesse we robbed, pilled and spoiled, unlesse we slandered and murdered one another, the sun would not run his ordinary course, nor the heaven keepe the set seasons and usual revolutions of time, no yet the earth feated in the midst and center of the world, yeeld the causes of winde and raine. It remaineth then, that vice & fin was profitably engendred for us and for our affaires: and haply this is it which they themselves would seeme to say. And are we indeed the better in health for 50 being finfull? or have wethereby more plenty and aboundance of things necessary? availeth our wickednesse ought to make us more beautifull and better favoured, or serveth it us in any flead to make us more firong and able of body? They answere No. But is this a filent name onely, and a cretaine blinde opinion and weening of these night-walking Sophisters, and not like indeed unto vice which is conspicuous enough & exposed to the view of the whole world, in fuch fort as it is not possible that it should bring any detriment or ought that is unprofitable, and least of all, o good god, of vertue, for which we were borne. And what absurdity were it to

fay, that the commodious instruments of the husband man, the mariner or the carter, should ferve their turnes for to attaine unto their purpose and entended end: but that which hathbene created by God for vertue, should corrupt, mar, and destroy vertue? But peradventure it is more than time now, to passe unto some other point, and to let this goe.

LAMPRIAS

Nay I befeech you good fir of all loves and for my fake doe not fo: For I defire to know and understand how these membring in evill things before the good, and vice before vertue.

DIADUMENUS.

You say well, and certes my friend this is a point worth the knowledge: much vaine jangling and printle prattle verily doe these men make, but in the end they come to this conclusion, that reprudence is the science of good things & evil together: for that otherwise it could not standbut must needs altogether fall to the ground: For like as if we admit that there be truth, it cannot otherwise be but that fallity and untruth should be likewise hard by: so it is meet and stands to good reason, that if there be good things, the evill also must have their being.

LAMBETAS

To grant the one of these not to be amisse said, yet me thinks I see of my selfe, that the other is cleane contrary. For I discerne very well the disterence: because that which is not trueth, must immediatly be saids: but that which is not evill, is not by and by good: For betweene true and saids there is no meane: but betwixt good and evill there is: to wit, indifferent. Neither followeth it necessarily, that both good and evill things should have their substance together, and that 20 sithe one be, the other likewise should ensure. For it may be that nature had good, and required not the evill, so that it might have that which was neither good nor evill. But as touching the former reason, if your Academicks say ought of it. I would gladly heare from your mouth.

DIADUMENUS. Yes mary (quoth he) much there is alledged by them, but for this present relate I will, that which is most necessarie. First and formost, a mere folly it is to thinke that good things and evill have their subfiftence for prudence sake. For contrariwise, when good and evill was before, then prudence followed after: like as phylicke enfued upon things holfome and breeding difeafes, which are supposed to have bene before. For surely the good and the evill came not up nor were brought forth, to the end that there should be prudence; but that faculty or power whereby 30 we judge and discerne betweene evill and good is called prudence: like as the fight is a sense which lerveth to diftinguish blacke from white, which colours had not their being first, to the end that we should have our seeing, but contrariwise need we had of our seeing for to discerne the faid colours. Secondly when the world in that generall conflagration, which they hold and talke of, 'fhall be all on a light fire and burnt, 'there will remaine behind nothing that evill is, but all shall then be wife and prudent : And therefore confesse they must, will they nill they, that there is prudence although there be no evill, neither is it necessary, that if wildome be, evillalso should have a being. But fay it were absolutely so, that prudence were the science of evill and good, what harme or abfurdity would follow, if upon the abolifhing & annulling of evill things there were no prudence any more, but some other vertue in lieuthereof, which were not the 40 science of evill and good together, but onely of good? Like as among colours, if the blacke were quite perished and gone for ever, who will force us to confesse that the sense of seeing is likewise lost? And who would impeach or debarre us for saying that fight is not the sense of differning blacke and white: Surely if any man would force upon us the contrary, what inconvenience and abfurdity were there to answere him thus, Sir if we have not that sense that you fpeake of, yet we have another sense and naturall power insteed of it, whereby we apprehend colours that be white and not white. And verily for mine owne part I doe not thinke that if there were no bitter things in the world, our tafte should be therefore utterly lost, or the sense of seeling in cafe all dolour and paine were gone: no moream I perswaded that prudence should be abolifhed, if all evil were rid out of the way. But like as those senses would remaine to appre-50 hend fweet favours and pleafant objects of feeling, fo this prudence also would continue to be the sciences of things good and not good. As for thosewho are of another opinion, let them take the name to themselves, so they leave us the thing indeed. But over and besides all this, what should hinder us to fay, that the evill is in cogitation and intelligence; but good in reality and essence ? like as, I suppose the gods enjoy the reall presence of health, where as they have the intelligence of the fever and pleurifie: confidering that we also, albeit we were pessed with

all the evils in the world, and had no affluence at all of good things as these men say, yet we want not the understanding what is prudence, what is good and what is selicity.

And this is a woonderfull thing, if there being no vertue prefent, yet fome there are who teach what vertue is, and enforme us in the comprehension thereof; whereas if there were no fuch thing, it is impossible to have the intelligence of it; for doe but consider what they would perfivade us to, who reason philosophically against common conceptions, namely, That by foolifhnesse and ignorance, wee comprehend wisdome and prudence; but prudence without follie and ignorance, cannot conceive so much, as ignorance it selfe. And if nature had necesfarily need of the generation of evill, certes, one example or two at the most of evill were suffito cient; or if you will have it fo, requifit it was that there should be brought foorth ten wicked persons, or a thousand, or ten thousand, and not such an infinit multitude of vices, as the sands of the fea, the dust, or the feathers of divers plumed birds, could not affoord so great a number: but of vertue not so much as a bare dreame or vaine vision. They that were the wardens and maflers at Lacedamon, of those publike halles or dining places called Phiditia, were woont to bring foorth and shew openly unto their youth, two or three of their flaves called Helot a, full of wine, and starke drinken, that they might know thereby, what a shamefull and foule thing it was tobe drunken, and fo take heed of that vice, and learne to be fober. But in this life there be many fuch examples of vice in our actions; for there is not fo much as one fober unto vertue, but we all trip and stumble, nay we wander as if our braines turned round about, living shamefully in 20 milery; and so farre foorth are we intoxicate with our owne reason and selfe conceit, filled with fo great perturbation and folly, that wee may be well and fully likened to those dogs which as despote tels the tale, seeing certeine skinnes floting above the water, gaped so greedily for to have them, that they would needs drinke up all the sea before them, for to be sure of the said skinnes; but ere they could come by them, they drunke fo much as they burft againe: and even we hoping by reason to acquire glory and reputation, and thereby to attaine unto vertue, are spoiled, marred, and destroied therewith, before we can reach thereunto, being before hand loden with a mighty deale of meere, heady, and bitter vice, if it be fo, as these men give it our, that even they who have made good progreffe and proceeded to the end, feele for all that no eale, no alteration, no remission or breathing time at all from folly and inselicity. But marke I 30 pray againe, how he who faith, that vice was not produced and brought foorth into the world unprofitably, depainteth it unto you what maner of thing hee describeth it to be, and what an heritage it is for him who hath it ? For in his treatife of Duties or Offices he faith: That the vicious and finfull person, hath no want nor need of any thing; that nothing is profitable, nothing meet and convenient for him. How then is vice commodious, wherewith neither health it felfe is expedient, nor store of money, ne yet advancement and promotion? And hath a man no need of those things, whereof some are precedent, preeminent, and to be preferred, yea, and believe me, very profitable and commodious; others according to nature, as they themselves terme them? And of all these doeth no man finde need, unlesse he become wise? And so by this reckoning, hath the leawd and foolish man no need to become wise; neither be men thirsty 40 or hungry, before they are made wife? So that if they be dry, have they no need of water, nor if hungry, bread?

Refembling right those gentle guests,
who nought else did require,
Eut under rouse to shrowd their heads,
andwarme themselves at fire.
And so belike he had no need of covert nor of mantell, who said:

Give Hipponax a cloke his corps to fold, For why, I shake and shiver hard for cold?

But will you pronounce a paradox indeed, fuch an one as is extravagant and fingular by it selfer 50 Say hardly then; That a wife man wanteth nought, and hath need of nothing; he is rich, he is full and fortunate, he is of himfelfe sufficient, blessed, happy, & every way absolute. But what a dizzinesse & giddinessed of the braine is this to say; That he who is indigent of nothing, yet hath need of the good things which he hath; and that the lewd and vicious person is indigent of many things, and yet needeth nothing? for this is the very affertion which Cbrysspa holdesh: That wicked persons have no need, and yet are indigent, tutling, shifting, and transposing the common notions, like unto cockall bones or chessemen upon the boord. For all men deeme thus, that to have need, goeth before indigence, supposing him that standeth in need of things

prefently

which are not ready at hand, nor easie to be gotten, is indigent. To make this more plaine, no man is faid to be indigent of homes or of wings, for that he hath no need of them; but we fay truly and properly, that fome have need of armour, of monie, and of apparell, when in the penury and want of these things, they neither have them nor can come by them, to supply their necesfity. But these Stoicks are so desirous to be thought alwaies for to broch somewhat against common sense and conception, that many times they forget themselves and slip out of their owne proper opinions, so much affected they are and given to new conceits; like as in this place, if you please to cast your cie unto Chrysippus, and looke somewhat behinde, calling to minde what hath heeretofore beene delivered.

th necretorore beneather.

This is one of his politions, affirmed even against common sense, and vulgar opinion, that 10 no evill and foolish man can finde good and profit by any thing; and yet many of them by institution and teaching, proceed forward and profit; many who were flaves, become enfranchized; befieged, are delivered; drunken, are guided and lead by the hand; ficke and difeafed, are cured of their maladies: but for all this forfooth, they are never the better what foever is done unto them; no benefits they receive, no benefactours they have, no nor neglect those who deferve well of them: and fo vicious persons are not unthankfull, no more than are good and wife men. And thus ingratitude is not at all, nor hath any being; for that the good never intervert, nor micognize the favour and benefit which they have received; and the wicked are capable of none at all. But fee (I pray you) what shift they make to falve & answer all this: They say (forfooth) that grace, favour, or benefit is ranged in the number of meane things: and that to 20 helpe or be helped, apperteineth onely to the wife. True it is fay they, that wicked receive also a grace or benefit. What is that? Those who have part in a benefit, have not they also a part of use and commodity? and whereto a grace or benefit reacheth, doth nothing that is commodious and convenient, extend thither? And is there ought elfe that maketh a demerit or pleafine done to be a grace, than that the party who doth the pleasure should in some respect be commodious unto the needy receiver?

LAMPRIAS.

Bur let these matters passe, and tell us what is that ditarie, that is to say, utility, which they prife to highly, and whereof they make to great account? DIADUMENUS.

This is a thing (I may tell you) which they referve and keepe as a great matter and a fingula. 30 ritie for their Sages onely, and yet leave them not fo much as the name of it. If one wife man, fay they, do but put forth his finger prudently, wherefoever it be, all the wife men that are in the whole continent and habitable world find this operate and utility by it. This is the onely gift and worke of the amity that is among them, and in this doe determine and end the vertues of wife men, namely, the entercourse of common profit and utility, passing to and fro betweene them. As for Ariforle, he doted, Xenocrates also doted, who taught and affirmed that men had helpe from the gods, helpe from their parents, and helpe by ther teachers and scholemasters: butnever understood they this wonderfull helpe and commoditie, which these wise men receive one from another, when they be moved to vertue, although they be not together, no nor fo much as 40 know one another. And verily all men do thinke, that to gather, to lay up, to keepe, to difpense and beltow, is condrucible and profitable, when there is received profit and commodity by fuch things. And a good substantial housholder buyes himselfe locks and keies, he keepeth hiscellars, his closets and coffers,

Taking great joy his chamber doore with hand for to unlocke, Where lies of golde and silver both, his treasure and his stocke.

But to gather and lay up, to keepe with great care, diligence and paine, those things which are for nothing profitable, is neither honourable, nor yet feemly and honest. If then us to raught by Circe to make that fast knot, had with it tied fure and sealed up as it were, not the gifts of and prefents which Alcinous gave him, to wit, trefeets, pots, plate clothes, apparell and gold; but fonce trash, as flicks, stones and other pelferaked together, thinking it a great felicity for him to poll-fie and keepe charily such riffe-raffe and trumperie: who would have praised and commended him for it, or imitated this foolifh forecast, witlesse, providence, and vaine diligence? And yet this is the goodly and beautifull honefly of the Stoicks profession in generall, this is their honourable gravity, this is their beatitude; and nothing els is it, but an heaping up, akeeping

and preferving of things unprofitable and indifferent. For such be those which they say are according to nature; and much more those outward matters; for almuch as sometime they compare the greatest riches with fringes and chamber-pots of golde, yea and (I affore you) otherwhiles as it falleth out, with oile cruets. And aftewards, like as those who thinke they have most infolently and proudly abused with blasphemous words and polluted the temples, the facred ceremonies and religious fervices of fome gods or divine powers, prefently change their note, and become penitent persons, and falling downe prostrate, or sitting humbly below upon the ground, bleffe and magnifie the heavenly power of the Godhead; even fo they, as incurring the vengeance and plague of God for their prefumptuous follies, arrogant and vaine speeches, to are found puddering and raking againe in these indifferent things, nothing indeed pertinent unto them; fetting out a throat and crying as loud as they can, what a gay matter, what a goodly and honourable thing it is, to gather and lay up fuch commodities, and especially the communion and fellowship of enjoying and using them : also that who soever want the same, and cannot come by them, have no reason to live any longer; but either to lay violent hands on themselves, or by long fasting and abstinence from all viands, to thorten their lives, bidding vertue farewell for ever. And these men verily, howsoever they repute Theognis to be a man altogether of a base and abject minde, for faying thus in verse,

Aman from povertie to flie, O Cyrmis, ought himselfe to cast Headlong from rocks most steepe and hie, Or into fea as deepe and vaft.

themselves meane while in profe give these exhortations, and say, that to avoid a grievous maladie, and eleape exceeding paine, a man ought (if he had not a fword or dagger neere at hand, nor apoisoned cup of hemlocke) to cast himselse into the sea, or els fall headlong and breake his necke from some steeperocke: yet affirme they, that neither the one nor the other is hurtfull, evill or unprofitable; nor maketh those miserable, who fall into such accidents. Whence then shall I begin (quothhe) what ground-worke and foundation of ducty shall I lay, or what shall I make the fubject and matter of vertue, leaving nature, and abandoning that which is according to nature? And whereat (I pray you, good fir) begin Aristotle and Theophrastus? what princi-30 plestake Xenocrates and Polemon? And even Zeno himfelfe, hath he not followed them, in suppoling Nature and that which is according to Nature, for to be the elements of felicitie? But thefe great clerks verily, rested here in these things, as eligible, expetible, good and profitable; adjoining moreover unto them, vertue, which emploieth the same, and worketh by ech of them according to their proper use; thinking in so doing, to accomplish a perfect and entire life, and to confummate that concord and agreement which is in trueth fortable and confonant unto Nature. For they made no confused mith-mash, nor were contrary to themselves, as those who leape and mount on high from the ground, and immediatly fall downe upon it againe, and in naming the fame things, meet to be chosen, and yet not expetible; proper and convenient, and withall not good; unprofitable, and yet fit for good uses; nothing at all pertinent unto us, 40 and yet for footh, the very principles of ducties and offices. But looke what was the speech of thelenoble and famous personages, the same also was their life; their deeds (I say) were answerable and conformable to their words. Contrariwife, the feet of these Stoicks, doth according to that craftie woman whom Archilochus describeth, to cary water in the one hand, and fire in the other: for in some of their doctrines and affertions they receive and admit nature, in another they reject her: or to speake more plainly; in their acts and deeds they adhere and cleave unto those things which are according to nature, as being eligible and simply good; but in their disputations and discourses they refuse and condemne the same as things indifferent and nothing available to vertue for the acquiring of felicitie: nay, that which woorfe is, they give her hard and reprochfull tearmes. And for almuch as all men generally are perswaded in their so minds, that the fovereigne good is a thing joious, exoptable, happie, most honourable, and of greatest dignitie, sufficient of it selfe, and wanting nothing. See now this sovereigne good of theirs, and examine it according to this common opinion: To put forth ones finger like a fage and wife Philosopher, doth this make that joious good? or what exoptable thing I pray you, is a prudent torture? who casteth himselfe downe headlong from an high rocke, so he do it with a colour of reason and honesty, is he happy and fortunate? is that most honourable and of grearest price and dignity, which reason many times chuseth to reject, for another thing that of it felse is not good? is that all-sufficient in it selse, accomplished and perfect, which who so ever do

presently injoy, if haply they can not obteine withall, some one of these indifferent things, they will not deigne to live any longer? was there ever knowen any discourse or disputation wherein use and ordinary custome suffered more outrage and abuse, which stealing and plucking from it the true and naturall conceptions, as legitimate children of her owne, putteth in the place, baftards, changelings, of amonthrous and favage kinde, and confirmenth it to love, cherifh and keepe them in lieu of the other? And thus have they done in treating of good things and evill, expetible and to be avoided, proper and strange; which ought to have been more cleerely and plainly diftinguished, than hot from colde, or white colours from blacke. For the apprehensions and conceits of these qualities, are from withoutforth brought in by the senses naturall; but the other are within vs, taking their originall from those good things that we have within us, 10 Now these men entring into the question and common place of sovereigne felicity, with their Logicke subtilities, as if they were to handle the lying sophisme called Pfeudomenos; or that masterfull maner of reasoning named Kyrtton, have not solved one of the doubts and questions which there were, but mooved and raifed an infinite number of others that were not there beforc.

Moreover, there is no man who knoweth not that there being two forts of good things; the one which is the very utmost end, and the other, the meanes to attaine thereto: the one is more excellent and perfect of the twaine. And Chrysippus himselse knoweth well enough this difference, as it may appeare by that which he hath written in his third booke of Good things: for he disagreeth with those who are of opinion, that the end or sovereigne good, is science; and 20 putted this downe in his treatife of Juftice: If there be any who supposeth that pleasure is the end of good things, hee thinketh not that justice can be safe; if not the finallend, but simply good and no more, he is of another minde. Ido not thinke that you would heare me at this prefent to rehearfe his owne words, for his third booke as touching Justice, is extant and to be had everywhere. When as they fay therefore (my friend) elsewere, that no good thing is greater or leffe than another, but that the finall end is equall with that which is not the end, and no better than it, it is evident that they be contrary and repugnant not onely to the common notions, but also to their owne very words. And againe, if of two evils, the one maketh us woorsethan we were when it came unto us; and the other hurteth us indeed, but maketh vs not woorfe: that evillin mine opinion is the greater which maketh us worfe: neither doth that more hurr, which causeth us not to be the woorse. And Chrysippus verily consesseth, that there be certeine searcs, forrowes and deceitful illusions, which well may hurt and offend us, but not make us woorse. But reade over and perufe the first of those books which are written against Plato, as concerning Justice: for in respect of other causes, it were very well done and worth your labour, to note the frivolous babling in that place of this man, where he makes no spare to deliver all matters and doctrines whatfoever indifferently, even those aswell of his owne sect as of other strangers, flat opposit to common sense: as for example, That it is lawfull to propose two ends and two fcopes of our life, and not to referre all that ever we do unto one end. And yet more than that, is this also a common notion, That the end verily is one, but every thing that is done, ought to have a relation to another; and yet of necessitie, they must abide the one or the other. For if 40 the first things according to nature be not expetible for themselves and the last end; but rather the reasonable election and choise of them; and if every man doth what lies in him, to have and obteine those things which are first according to nature, and all actions and operations have their reference thither, namely, to acquire and enjoy the principall things according to nature: if (Ifay) they thinke fo, it must needs be that without aspiring and aiming for to get and atteine those things, they have another end to which they must referre the election and choise of the faid things, and not the things themselves: for thus will be the end, even to know how to chuse them well and to take them wifely; but the things themselves and the enjoying of them, will be of small moment, being as a matter and subject which hath the dignity and estimation : for thus 50 I suppose they use and put downe in writing this very word to shew the difference.

LAMPRIAS.

Certes you have passing well and woorthily reported unto us, both what they say, and how they deliver it.

DIADUMENUS.

But marke I befeech you, how they fare like unto those who will needs streine themselves to leape over and beyond their owne shadow; for they leave not behinde, but carie evermore with them some absurdity in their speech, and the same farre remote alwaies from common

fense: for as if one should say, That an archer doeth all that lieth in him, not to hit the marke, butto doe all that ever he can; he might be justly taken for a man, who spake anigmatically & by darke riddles, and uttered strange and prodigious words: even so doe these old dotting fooles, who with all their power endevour to maintaine, that to obteine the things according to nature, is not the end of aiming and aspiring to things according to nature; but for sooth to take and chuse them; and that the defire of health and seeking after it in any man, endeth not in health of ech one, but contrariwife, that health is referred to the appetite and feeking after it: faying moreover, that to walke, to read, or speake aloud, to endure sections or incisions, yea and to take purging medicines, so all be done by reason, are the ends of health, and not it, the 10 end of those meanes. Certes, these men dote, rave, & speake idly, as well as they who should fay; let me goe to supper, that we may facrifice, bath, or sweat in the stough. Nay (that which more is) that which these men say, perverteth order and cultome, and conteineth a confusion, shufling & turning upfide downe of all our affaires whatfoever: We study not say they, to walke in due time, for toconcoct & digeft our meats well; but we concoct and digeft our meat, because we might walke in due feason. Why? Hath nature given us health for Ellebore, or rather brought foorth Ellebor for health sike? For what could be uttered more strange and absurd, than such propositions as thefer and what difference is there betweene him who faith, that health was made for medicinable drogues, and not drogues medicinable for health? and another who holdeth, that the gathering, the choife, the composition and use of such medicines, is to be preferred before 20 health it felfe? or rather he thinks that health is not in any respect expetible; but hee setteth downe the very end in the penning and handling of those medicines, affirming for footh that appetite is the end of fruition, and not fruition of appetite: And why not (quoth he) all while there be added thereto these termes; considerately and with reason. True will we say againe, if aman have regard unto the obteining and enjoying of the thing which he purfueth; for otherwish that consider a te reason is to no purpose, in case all be done for to obtaine that, the fruition whereof is neither honorable nor happy.

LAMPRIAS.

And fince we are fallen upon this discourse, a man may fay, that any thing else whatsoever, is according to common fense rather, than to hold, that without having notice or conception 10 of good, a man may defire and pursue after it; for you see how Chrysppus himselfe driveth Ariflorinto these streights, as to imagine and dreame of a certaine indifference in things tending to that which is neither good nor ill, before that the faid good and ill is sufficiently knowen and understood; for so it might seeme that this indifference must needs subsist before if it be so, that a man cannot conceive the intelligence of it, unlesse the good were first understood, which isnothing elfe but the onely and foveraigne good indeed.

DIADUMENUS.

But confider I pray you, and marke now this indifference *taken out of the Stocks schoole, * inpublish. and which they call outhorian, after what maner, and whereby it hath given us the meane to ima-not appears. gine and conceive in our minde that good? for if without the faid good, it is not possible to 40 conceive and imagine the indifference respective to that which is not good; much leffe the intelligence of good things yeeldeth any cogitation unto them, who had not before fome prenotion of the good. But like as there is no cogitation, of the art of things which be holfome or breeding fickneffe in them who had not a precogitation before of those things: even so it is impossible for them to conceive the science of good and evill things, who had no fore conceit whatwere good and what were evill? What then is good? nothing but prudence; and what is Prudence, nothing but science: and so according to that old common proverbe * Data Kieger Pers, * A by word that is to fay, Jupiters Corinth; is oftentimes applied unto their maner of reasoning. For let which noteth be I pray you, the turning of the pestill round about, because you may not be thought to scoffe the paralogical property of the paralogical pr and laugh at them, although in trueth their fpeech is much after that maner; for it feemeth that in arguing, 50 for the intelligence of good, one hath need to understand prudence: & againe, to seeke for pru-called Paint deuce in the intelligence of good; being driven to purfue the one alwaies for the other, and so as do the to faile both of the one and the other, which implieth a meere contrariety, in that we must alturning also waies understand the thing before, which cannot be understood apart. Befides, there is another of the pession way, whereby aman may perceive and see, not the perversion and distortion, but the very everthe morter, fion and destruction of all their reasons.

They hold that the very substance of good, is the reasonable and considerate election of that which is according to nature; now this election is not confiderate which is directed to some

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end, as is before faid: And what is this? Nothing else fay they, but to discourse with reason in the elections of those things which be according to nature. First and formost then, the conception of the soveraigne good, is perithed and cleane gone; for this considerate discoursing in elections, is an operation depending of the habitude of good discourse; and therefore being compelled to conceive this habitude from the end, and the end not without it, we come short of the intelligence of the both. And againe, that which yet is more, by all the reason in the world, it must needs be that the said reasonable and considerate election, was the election of things good, profitable, and cooperant to the atteining of the end. For to chuse such things, which be neither expedient, nor honourable, nor yet any way eligible; how can it stand with reason: for suppose it were as they say; that the end were a reasonable election of things which have to some dignity and worthinesse, making unto felicitie. See Theseech you how their discourse and disputation ariseth unto a trim point and goodly conclusion in the end: For the end (say they) is the good discourse, in making choise of those things which have dignity, making unto happinesse. Now when you heare these words, thinke you not my good friend, that this is a very strange and extravagant opinion?

LAMPEIAS.

Yes verily; but I would willingly know, how this hapneth?

Then must you lay your care close, and harken with great attention, for it is not for every one to conceive this anigmaticall riddle: But heare you sir, and make me answer: Is not the 20 end by their saying, the good discourse in elections according to nature?

DIADUMENUS.

That is their faying.

LAMPRIAS.

And thefe things which be according to nature, they chuse (doe they not) as good, or having some dignities and preferences inducing to the end, or to some other thing else.

Diadumenus.

I thinke not fo : but furely, to the end.

LAMPRIAS

Having discovered thus much already, see now to what point they are come, namely, that 30 their end is to discourse well of selicity.

DIADUMENUS.

They say directly, that they neither have nor conceive any other thing of selicity, but this precious rectitude of discourse touching the elections of things that are of worth. Howbeit some there be who say that all this refutation is directed against *Antipater* alone, and not the whole seed of the Stoicks, who perceiving himselfe to be urged & hardly pressed by *Carneades*, fell into these vanities and soolith shifts for his evasion.

Moreover, as touching that which is discoursed and taught in the Stoicks schoole, Of Love, ven against common notions, it concernethall the Supposts in generall of that sect, who have every one of them their hand in the abfurdity thereof: for they avouch that yong youths, are 40 foule and deformed, if they be vicious and foolish: but the wife onely are beautifull: and yet of these that are thus faire and beautifull, there was never any one yet either beloved, or lovely and amiable. And yet this is not so absurd: but they say moreover, that such as are in love with those who be foule, cease to love them when they are become faire. And who hath ever seene or knowen fuch a kinde of love which should kindle and shew it selfe presently upon the discovery of the bodies deformity and the foules vice: and incontinently, be quenched and vanish away after the knowledge of passing beauty, together with justice and temperance? And verily such I fuppose doe properly resemble these gnats, which love to settle upon vineger, source wine or the fome thereof: but the good and pleasant potable wine they care not for but flie from it. As for that emphaticall apparence of beauty (for that is the terme they give it) which they fay is the al-50 luring & attractive bait of love: first and formost it carieth no probability with it nor likelihood of reason. For in those who are most soule and wicked in the highest degree there can be no fuch emphaticall apparence of that beauty: in case it be so as they say that the leawdnesse of maners the weth in the face and infecteth the vilage: for there be fome of them who expound this strange position as strangly, saying that a foule person is worthy to be loved, because there is some hope and expectance that one day he will become faire: mary when he hath gotten this beauty once, and is withall become good and honest, then he is beloved of no man. For love

fay they, is a certaine hunting as it were after a yong body, as yet rude and unperfect, howbeir framed by nature unto vertue.

LAMPRIAS.

And what other thing do we now, my good friend, but refute the errors of their feet, who do thus force, pervert and deftroy all our common conceptions with their actions which be fenseless, and their words and termes as unusuall and strange? For there was no person to hinder this love of wise men toward yong folke if affection were away: although all men and women to, both thinke and imagin love to be such a passion, as the woers of Penelope in Homer seems packnowledge,

o Whose heat of love was such that in their hart They wish in bed to lie with her apars.

Like as Jupiter also said to Juno in another place of the said poet:

Come let monow to be a both goe, and there with sweet delight Solaceour selves: for never earst before remember I

That any love to women faire no nor to Goddeffe bright

Thustam'dmy hart, or prict me so, with them to company.

DIADUMENUS

Thus you fee how they expell and drive morall philosophy into such matters as these, Somrieate and tortwow,

So winding quite throughout That nothing found is therein found,

But all turnes round about. And yet they deprave vilipend, difgrace and flour all others, as if they were the men alone who reflored nature and custome into their integrety as it ought to be, instituted their speech accordingly: But nature of it selfe doth divert and induce, by appetitions, pursuits inclinations and impulsions, ech thing to that which is proper and fit for it. And as for the custome of Logicke being so wrangling and contentious as it is, it receiveth no good at all nor profit : like as the eare diseased by vaine sounds is filled with thickenesse and hardnesse of hearing. Of which it youthinke fo good we will begin anew and discourse else were another time: but now for this 30 present let us take in hand to run over their naturall philosophy, which no lesse troubleth and confoundeth common anticipations and conceptions in the maine principles and most important points, than their morall doctrine as touching the ends of all things. First and formost this is apparently abfurd and against all common sense, to say, that a thing is, & yet hath no beingnor effence: and the things which are not, yet have a being: which though it be most abfurd, they affirme even of the univerfall world: for putting downe this supposition that there is round about the faid world a certaine infinit voidnesse, they affirme that the universall world is neither body nor bodileffe: whereupon enfueth that the world is, and yet hath no existence. For they call bodies onely, existent : for as much as it is the property of a thing existent, to doe and fuffer somewhat: And seeing this universall nature hath no existence; therefore it shall nei-40 ther doe nor fuffer ought: neither shall it be in any place, for that which occupieth place is a bodie, but that universall thing is not a body. Moreover that which occupieth one and the same place is faid to remaine and rest: and therefore the faid universall nature doth not remaine, for that it occupieth no place: and that which more is, it mooveth not at all, first because that which mooveth ought to be in a place and roome certaine. Againe, because what soever mooveth, cither mooveth it felfe, or elfe is mooved by another: now that which mooveth it felfe, hath certeine inclinations either of lightnesse or ponderosity: which ponderosity and lightnesse, be either certeine habitudes, or faculties & powers, or else differences of ech body: but that universa-

and fo by good confequence hath in it no principle or beginning of motion; neither shall it so be mooved of another, for without & beyond it there is nothing; so that they must be forced to say, as they doe indeed, that the said universall nature doth neither rest normoove. In sum, for that according to their opinion, we must not say in any case that it is a body, and yet the heaven, the earth, the suring creatures, plants, men and stones bebodies: that which is no body it selfe shall by these reckonings have parts thereof, which are bodies and that which is not pronderous, shall have parts weightie, and that which is not light; shall have parts light: which is as much against common sense and conceptions, as dreames are not more; considering that there is nothing so evident and agreeable to common sense than this distinction, If any thing be not a

lity, is no body: whereupon it must of necessity follow that the same is neither light nor heavy,

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nimate

nimate, the fame is inanimate: and againe, if a thing be not inanimate, the fame is animate. And yet this manifest evidence they subvert and overthrow, affirming thus as they do, that this univerfal frame is neither animate nor inanimate. Over and befides, no man thinketh or imaginorth that the fame is unperfect, confidering that there is no part thereof wanting: and yet they holde it to be unperfect : For (say they) that which is perfect, is finite and determinate; but the whole and univerfall world, for the infinitenesse thereof is indefinite. So by their faying, fomething there is, that is neither perfect not unperfect. Moreover, neither is the faid univerfall frame apart, because there is nothing greater than it; nor yet the whole: for that which is whole, must be affirmed likewise to be digested and in order; whereas being as it is, infinite, it is indeterminate and out of order. Furthermore, 7 he other, is not the cause of the universall 10 world, for that there is no other beside it; neither is it the cause of Theother, nor of it selfe, for that it is not made to do any thing : and we take a cause to be that which worketh an effect, Now fet case we should demand of all the men in the world, what they imagine Nothing to be, and what conceit they have of it, would they not fay (thinke you) that it is that which is neither a cause it selfe, nor hath any cause of it; which is neither a part, nor yet the whole; neither perfect nor unperfect; neither having a foule, nor yet without a foule; neither moving nor stil & quiet, nor substitting; and neither body nor without body? For what is all this, but Nothing? yer, what all others do affirme and verifie of Nothing, the fame doe they alone of the universall world: so that it feemeth they make All and Nothing, both one. Thus they must be driven to say, that Time is nothing, neither Prædicable, nor Proposition, nor Connexion, nor Composition, 20 which be termes of Logicke, that they nfe, no Philosophers so much; and yet they say, that they have no existence nor being. But (that which more is) they holde that Trueth, although it be, yet it hath no being nor subsistence, but is comprehended onely by intelligence, is perceptible and beleeved, although it have no jote of effence. How can this be falved and faved, but that it must surpasse the most monstrous absurdity that is ? But because it may not be thought that all this smelleth overmuch of the quirks and difficulties in Logicke, let us treat of those which are more proper unto Naturall philosophie. Forasmuch therefore, as

Jupiter is the first, the mids, the last, even all in all, By him all things begin, proceed, and have their siniall.

they themselves give out, they of all men especially ought to have reformed, rectified redressed 30 and reduced to the best order, the common conceptions of men as touching the Gods, is haply there had crept into them any errour and perplexed doubt; or if not so, yet at least wife, to have let every man alone, and left them to the opinion which the lawes and customes of the countreys wherein they were borne, prescribed unto them as touching religion and divinitie.

For neither now nor yesterday These deepe conceits of God began, Time out of minds, they have beene ay, But no man knowes, where, how, nor whan.

But these Stoicks having begunne even from the domesticall goddesse **Pessa date proverbe saith) to alter and change the opinion established and received in every countrey, touching re-soligion and the beliefe of God, they have not left so much as one conceit or cogitation that way found, syncere and incorrupted. For where is or ever was the man, besides themselves, who doth not conceive in his minde, that God is immortall and eternall? what is more generally acknowledged in our common conceptions as touching the Gods, or what is pronounced with more affent and accord than such sentences as these?

And there the Gods do alwaies joy
In heavenly blisse, without annoy.
Also,
In heaven the Gods immort all ever be:
On earth below, poor emort all men walke we.
Againc,
Exempt from all diseose and crasse age,
The Gods do live in joy, and paine seele none:
They seare no death nor dread the darke passage.

Over the Frith of rearing Acheron.

There may peradventure be found fome barbarous and favage nations, who thinke of no God at all; but never was there man having a conception and imagination of God, who efteemed him

him not withall to be immortall and everlafting. For even these vile wretches called 3360, that isto say, Atheists, fitch as Diagoras, Theodorus, and Hippon, godleffe though they were, could never finde in their hearts to fay and pronounce, That God was corruptible. Onely, they could not believe and be perswaded in their minde, that there was any thing in the world not subject to corruption. Thus howloever they admitted not a subsistence of immortality & incorruptibility, yet reteined they the common anticipation of the Gods: but Chrysppus & Cleanthes, having made the heaven, the earth, the aire and fea to ring againe, as a man would fay, with their words, and filled the whole world with their writings of the Gods, yet of so many Gods, they make not one immortall, but Jupiter onely; and in him they fpend and confume all the rest : fo to that this propertie in him, to refolve and kill others, is never a jote better, than to be refolved and destroied himselfe. For as it is a kinde of infirmitie, by being changed into another for todie; to it is no leffe imbecillitie to be mainteined and nourished by the resolution of others into it felfe. And this is not like to many other abfurdities collected and gathered by consequence out of their fundamentall suppositions, or inferred upon other affertions of theirs; but even they themselves crie out with open mouth expresly in all their writings, of the gods, of providence, of destiny and nature, that all the gods had a beginning of their effence, and shall perish and have an end by fire, melted and resolved, as if they were made of waxe or tinne. So that to fay that a man is immortall, and that God is mortall, is all one, and the one as abfurd and against common sense as the other: nay rather I cannot see what difference 20 there will be betweene a man and God, in case God be defined, a reasonable animall, and corrapible: for if they oppose and come in with this their fine and subtile distinction, that man in deed is mortall, but God not mortall, yet subject to corruption; marke what an inconvenience doth follow and depend thereupon: for of necessity they must say, either that God is immortall and corruptible withall; or elfeneither mortall nor immortall: then which a man can not (if he would of purpose study for it) devise a more strange and monstrous absurdity. I speake this by other; for that these men must be allowed to say any thing, neither have there escaped their tongues and pens, the most extravagant opinions in the world.

Moreover Cleanthes minding still to fortific and confirme that burning and conflagration of his, faith: That the funne will make like unto himfelfe, the moone with all other starres, and 30 turne them into him. But that which of all others is most monstrous, the moone and other starres, being for footh gods, worke together with the funne, unto their owne destruction, and conferre somewhat to their owne inflammation. Now surely this were a very mockerie, and ridiculous thing for us to powre out our praiers and orasons unto them for our owne safety, and to repute them the faviours of men, if it be kinde and naturall for them to make hafte unto their owne corruption and diffolution. And yet these men cease not by all the meanes they can to infultover Epicurus, crying, Fie, fie for shame, & redoubling, Outupon him, for that by denying the divine providence, he troubled & confounded the general prenotion and conception in our minds of the gods; for that they are held and reputed by all men, not onely immortall and happy, but also humane and benigne, having a carefull eie, and due regard to the good and welfare 40 ofmen, as in trueth they have. Now if they who take away the providence of God, doe with all abolish the common prenotion of men as touching God; what doe they then, who avouch that the gods indeed have care of us; but yet are helpefull to us in nothing, neither give they us any good things, but such onely as be indifferent; not enduing us with vertue, but bestowing upon ustiches, health, procreation of children, and fuch like, of which there is not one profitable, expedient, eligible or availeable. Is it not certeine that these over throw the common conceptions that are of the gods? neither rest they heere, but fall to flouting, frumping, and scotling, whiles they give out that there is one god, furnamed Emissions, that is to say, the superintendent over the fruits of the earth; another produces, that is to fay, the patron of generation; anothe thran, was, that is to fay, the protectour of plants; another much, and warmers, that is to fay, 50 the prefident of physicke and divination; meane while neither is health simply good, nor generation, ne yet fertilitie of the ground and abundance of fruits, but indifferent, yea and unprofitable to those who have them.

The third point of the comon conception of the gods is, that they differ in nothing so much from then, as in selicity and vertue: but according to Chrysppen, they are in this respect nothing superior to men: for he holdeth, that for vertue superior is no better than Dion; also that superior to men in the holdeth, that for vertue superior is no better than Dion; also that superior to men; and then wise, doe equally and reciprocally helpe one another: for this is the good that the gods doe unto men, and men likewise unto the gods, namely, when they proove

wife and prudent, and not otherwife. So that if a man be no leffe vertuous, he is not leffe happy; infomuch as he is equall unto Jupiter the faviour in felicitie, though otherwise infortunate. and who for grievous maladies and dolorous difmembring of his body, is forced to make himfelfe away, and leave his life, provided alwaies that he be a wife man. Howbeit, such an one there neither is nor ever hath bene living upon the earth: whereas contrariwife infinit thousands and millions there are and have beene of miserable men and extreme infortunate under the rule and dominion of Jupiter, the government & administration wherof is most excellent. And what can there be more against common sense, than to say, that Jupiter governing and dispensing all things paffing well, yet we should be exceeding miserable? If therefore (which unlawfull is once to speake) Jupiter would no longer be a faviour, nor a deliverer, nor a protectour, and sur- 10 named thereupon Soier, Lyfius, and Alexicacos, but cleane contrary unto these goodly and beautifull denominations, there can not possibly be added any more goodnesse to things that be, either in number or magnitude as they fay; whereas all men live in the extremitie of miserie and wickednesse, considering that neither vice can admit no augmentation, nor misery addition: and yet this is not the woorst nor greatest absurdity : but mightily angry and offended they are with Menander for speaking as he did thus bravely in open theater:

I hold, good things exceeding meane degree,

The greatest cause of humane miserie. For this (fay they) is against the common conception of men; meane while themselves make God, who is good and goodnesse it selfe, to be the author of evils: for matter could not verily 20 produce any evill of it felfe, being as it is without all qualities; and all those differences and varicties which it hath, it received of that which moved and formed it, to wit, reason within, which giveth it a forme and shape, for that it is not made to moove and shape it selfe. And therefore it cannot otherwise be, but that evill if it come by nothing, should proceed and have being from that which is not; or if it come by some mooving cause, the same must be God. For if they thinke that Jupiter hath no power of his owne parts, nor uleth ech one according to his owne proper reason; they speake against common sense, and doe imagine a certeine animall, whereof many parts are not obeifant to his will; but use their owne private actions and operations, whereunto the whole, never gave incitation, nor began in them any motion. For among those creatures which have life and foule, there is none foill framed and composed, as that against the 30 will thereof, either the feet should goe forward, or the tongue speake, or the horne push and ftrike, or the teeth bite; whereof God of necessity must endure & abide the most part, if against his will, evil men being parts of himselfe doe lie, doe circumvent and beguile others, commit burglary, breake open houses, to rob their neighbors, or kill one another. And if according as Chrysppus faith, it is not possible that the least part should behave it selfe otherwise than it pleafeth Jupiter, and that every living thing doeth rest, stay, and moove, according as he leadeth, manageth, turneth, flaieth and disposeth it:

Now well I wot, this voice of his, Sounds worfe and more mischeivous is.

For more tolerable it were by a great deale to fay, that ten thouland parts, through the impoten-40 cie and feeblenesse of *Jupiter*, committed many absurdities perforce even against his nature and will, than to avouch that there is no intemperance, no deceit and wickednesse, whereof *Jupiter* is not the cause

Moreover feeing that the world by their faying is a city, and the Sarres citizens: if it be fo, there must be also tribes and magistracies; yea and plaine it is, that the Sunne must be a Senatour, yea & the evenning starre, some provost, major or governor of the city. And I wot not well whether he who taketh in hand to confute such things, can broch and set abroad other greater absurdities in naturall matters than those doe, who deliver and pronounce these doctrines. Is not this a position against common sense to affirme, that the seed should be greater and more than that which is engendred of it? For we see verily that nature in all living creatures, and 50 plants even those that be of a wilde and savage kinde, taketh very small and slender matters, such as shardly can be seen, for the beginning & the generation of most great and huge bodies. For not onely of a graine or corne of wheat it produceth a stalke with an eare, and of a little grape shone it bringesth forth a vine tree, but also of a pepin, kernill, akorne or bery escaped and stallen by chance from a bird, as if of some sparkle it kindled and set on fire generation, it send that the stocke of some bush or thorne or essential and mighty body of an oake, a date or pinetree. And hereupon it is that genetall feed is called Empea, in Greeke, as one would say

also nature taketh the name of evers, as it were experiences, that is to say, the inflation and design of proportions and numbers, which are opened & loosened under it. And againe, the fire which they say is the feed of the world, after that generall conflagration, shall change into the owner feed, the world, which from a smaller body and little masse is extended into a great inflation and design on, yea and moreover occupieth an infinite space of voidnesse which it silles has augmentation; but as it is engendered, that huge greatnesse retirementation. We may heare them dispute, and reade many of their books, and discourses, wherein they argue and crie out at loud against the Academicks, for consonning all things with their Aparalixies, that is to say, indistinguishe identities striving and forcing to make in two natures, one endued with the like quality. And yet what man living is their who conceives and knoweth not as much? or suppose thou the contrary, namely, that it were a mervellous strange thing & a very absurdity, if neither slocke-dove to stocke-dove, beet o bee, wheat-corne to wheat-corne, and as the common proverbe goeth, one sigge unto another hath bene at all times alike and semblable.

But this in very deed and trueth is cleane contrary to all common fenfe, that these men holde and affirme: how in one fubstance, there be properly and particularly two qualified, and how the fame substance having particularly one qualified, when there commeth another to it, receiveth and keepeth them both, the one as well as the other. For if we admit two, I avouch it may 20 as well have three, fowre, five and as many as one will name, in one and the fame fubstance, I say not in divers parts, but all equally and indifferently, though they were infinit, even in the whole. Now Chry sippus faith, that Jupiter, as also the world, resembleth a man, and providence the soule: when as then that conflagration of the world shall be, Jupiter, who onely of all the gods is immortall, shall retire unto providence, and both twaine shall remaine together in the substance of theskie. But leave we now the gods for this prefent, and pray we unto them that they would vouchfafe to give unto the Stoicks, a common funce and understanding according with other men, and let us fee now what they fay as touching the elements. This first and formost standeth not with the received conceit and opinion of the world, that a bodie thould be the place of a body, and that one body should enter and pierce through another bodie, considering that nei-30 ther the one nor the other containeth vacuity: but that which is full entereth into that which is full, and that which hath no diffance receiveth into it felfe that which is mingled with it, but that which is full and folid, hath no void distance in it selfe by reason of continuity. And these men verily not thrusting one into one, nor two nor three, nor ten together, but cast all parts of the world cut peece-meale, into one, which they first meet with, even the least that is by sense perceptible: faying moreover that it will containe the greatest that shall come unto it. Thus in abraverie after their old maner in many other things, make of that which convince thand refelleth them, one of their fentences and resolutions, as they who take for suppositions, those things which be repugnant to common sense. And thus upon this supposall, there must needs enfue many monstrous and prodigious positions when they once confusedly mingle whole bo-40 dies with whole : and among those absurd paradoxes this also may goe for one, That three be fowce. For even that which others bring in & alledge for an exfample of that which cannot fall into mans imagination, they holde for an undoubted trueth: faying, that when one cyath of wine is mingled with two of water, it wanteth not but is equall in the whole, and thus confounding them together, they bring it so about, that one is made twaine, by the equal mixture of one with two: for that one remaineth, and is fored as much as twaine, making that which is equalto a duple. Now if by the mixture with two, it taketh the measure of two in the desusion, this must need sbe the measure together, both of three and of fowre: of three because one is mingled vith twaine: and of fower, for that being mingled with twaine, it hath as much in quantity, as those wherewith it is mingled. This fine device hapneth unto them, because they put bo-

3º dies within a body, and for that it cannot be imagined how they cause one to containe another. For, of necessity it must be that bodies making a penetration one within another by mixture, that he one should not containe and the other be contained, nor the one receive and the other be received within. For so this should not be a commixion but a contiguity and touching of superficies one close to another, whiles one entreth within forth, and the other enclose th without, when the other parts remaine pure and entire without mixture, and so thall be one of many divers and differing a sunder. But it cannot otherwise be as they would have it, that when there is a mixture, the things mingled, should not be mixed one within another: and that one selse

fame

1:03

fame thing being within should not withall be contained; and likewife in receiving, containe as nother : and possible it is not, that either the one or the other should be : but fall out it will, that the two which be mingled, should pierce one within the other; neither can fo much as one part of the one or the other remaine by it felfe apart, but necessarily they be all full one of another. And heere arifeth that legge of Arcefilam, fo much talked of in the schooles, which infulteth and daunceth upon their monstrous absurdities with much laughter; for if these mixtions be through the whole, what should hinder, but that if a legge bee cut off, putrified, cast into the sea, and in processe of time all disfused; not onely the seet of Antigonus might faile in and thorow it, as faid Arcefilaus, but also the 1200, faile of Xerxes, yea and the three hundred gallies of the Greeks might give a navall battell within the faid legge? for faile 10 it never will to be extended and spread more and more, nor the lesse cease within the greater, ne yet will that mixture ever come to an end, no nor the extremitie of it touch where it will end, and so pierce not thorow the whole, but will give over to be mingled; or if it be not mixed thorowout the whole, furely the faid legge will not affoord roome fo much as for the Greekesto give a navall battell in it, but even the fame must need sputrific and be changed. But if a cyash of wine, or no more but one drop, falling into the Aegean or Candiot-fea, paffe directly into the Ocean, or maine Atlantique fea, it shall not touch onely the superficial part of the water loft, but fored throughout, in breadth, depth & length. And verily Chry fopus admitteth fo much in the very beginning of his first booke as touching Naturall questions, faying that one drop of wine will not faile but be mingled throughout the whole fea. And that we should not marvell 20 fo much hereat, he faith moreover, that the faid drop by the meanes of mixture, will extend throughout the whole world: which is so absurd and without all appearance of reason, as I cannot devile any thing more. And is not this also against common sense, that in the nature of bodies, there is no supreame, nor first or last, to conclude & determine the magnitude of the body? but that which is proposed as the subject, runneth on still infinitely without end, so as whatfoever is added, yet form what more feemeth may be put thereto? for we cannot conceive or comprehend one magnitude greater or leffe than another, if it be incident to both parts thus to proceed in infinitum, which is as much as to take away the whole nature of inequalitie. For of two magnitudes that be underflood unequall, the one commeth first thort of the last parts, and the other goeth beyond and furpaffeth; but if there be no inequalitie of length in them, it follow- 30 eth that there will be no unevennesse in the upper superfices nor asperitie; for this unevennesse is nothing elfe, but the inequalitie of the superficies with it selfe; but asperitie is an inequalitie of the superficies with hardnesse. Of which qualities they allow none, who determine no bodie in an extreme or utmost part, but draw out all still by a multitude of parts infinitly: and yet who knoweth not evidently, that man is compounded of a greater number of parts, than is his finger, and the world more than a man? for all men know and thinke as much, unleffe they become Stoicks: but proove they once to be Stoickes, they both fay and opine the contrarie; namely, that man is not composed of more parts than is his finger, nor the world of more than is man: for fection reduceth bodies into infinitum; and in things infinite there is neither more nor leffe; neither is there any multitude that surpaffeth; neither shall the parts of that which is less, 40 cease to be alwaies subdivided still, yea and to furnish out a multitude of themselves. How then do they wind out of these difficulties and untie these knots? certes, with great slight, veriesubtilly and valiantly: for Chrysippus faith, that when we be demaunded, if we have any parts, and how many there be? also whether they be compounded of other, and of how many? we are to flic unto this diffinction; supposing and setting downe, that the whole entire bodie, consisted of head, breaft and legges, as if this were all that was demanded and doubted of. But if they should proceed in their interrogatories to the extreme parts: then saith he, no such answere is to be made, but we are to fay, neither that they confift of any certaine parts, nor likewise of how many? neither of infinite nor determinate. But I thinke it were better if I alledged his verice owne words, to the end you may fee how he keepeth and observeth the common conceptions, 50 forbidding us as he doth, to thinke, imagine or fay, of what parts, and how many ech bodie is compounded, and that it confilteth neither of finite or infinite. For if there were a meane be tweene finite and infinite, like as there is betweene good and bad, to wit, indifferent; he should pronounce what the fame was, and so falvethe difficultie. But, if as that which is not equall, incontinently becommeth unequall; and that which is not corruptible, prefently is incorruptible; so that which is not finite, is immediately infinit, I suppose, that to say, A bodie is composed of parts neither finit or infinite, is all one as to say, that an argument is composed

Of common conceptions against the Stoicks.

neither of true nor of false propositions, and a number neither of even nor odde. But after all this, younting himselfe youthfully, he letteth not to say, that whereas a pyramis consisteth of triangles, the fidesinclining to the commission or joint, are unequall, and yet exceed one another, in that they be bigger. Thus you fee how trimly he kept and observed common conceptious; for if there be any thing greater, and yet furpaffeth not, there must be also somewhat leffe, and yetthe fame faileth not, and fo there shall be also for thing unequall, that neither exceedeth nor wanteth, which is as much to fay, as it shall be equall and yet unequall, not greater but yet greater, not leffe and yet leffe. See moreover I pray you a little, how he answereth unto Democritus disputing and doubting physically and earnestly, if a cone or round pyramis be cut at to the base thereof by the plumb or level, what we ought to conceive and judge as touching the superficies of the fections whether they be equal or unequal; for if they be unequal, they wil make the faid cone or pyramis uneven; and admitting many deepe rabbotted incifions, and rough afperities in maner of steps and grees: and if they be equall, then the sections also must be equall, and so it will be found that the round pyramis or cone shall have the same befall unto it that a cylinder hath, namely, to confift of circles equall and not unequall, which were very abfund, Herein, making Democritus to be an ignorant person and one who knew not what he said, he commeth in with this, and faith, that the superficies be neither equal nor unequal, but that the bodies be unequall, in that the superficies be neither equall nor unequall. Now to set downe by way of ordinance and to affirme, that allowing the superficies to be unequall, it may fall out, 20 that bodies should not be unequall, were the part of a man who permitteth himselfe to have a woonderfull libertie to write and speake whatsoever comes into his head. For both reason and manifest evidence, giveth us to understand quite contrary, namely, that of unequal bodies the superficies also be unequall, and the bigger that a body is, the greater is the superficies, unleffe the exceffe whereby it furpaffeth the fmaller, be altogether devoid of a fuperficies: for if the superficies of greater bodies exceed not those of the lesser, but rather faile before they come to an end, then we must of necessitie say, that a part of that bodic which hath an end, is without end, and not determinate: for if hee alledge and fay that hee is driven perforce thereunto, lest the inequalitie of superficies might seeme to make unequall incisions, there is no such cause why hee should seare: for those rabbotted incisions which hee suspecteth in 30 a cone or round Pyramis, it is the inequalitie of the bodies, and not of the superficies that causeth them. So that it were a ridiculous follie, by taking away the superficies, for to be convinced to leave an inequalitie and unevennesse of the bodies. But to perfit still in this matter, what can there be more contrary to common conception, than to faine and devife fuch stuffe? for if we admit that one superficies is neither equall nor unequall to another, wee we may confequently affirme, that neither magnitude is equall or unequall, nor number either even or odde; confidering that we can not fet downe nor conceive in our minde, any meane betweene unequall and unequall, which is neuter. Moreover, if there were any superficies neither equall nor unequall, what should let but that we may imagine circles also neither equall nor unequall? for verily these superficies of the sections of cones or round Pyramides, be circles: and 40 if we allow thus much in circles, then we may aswell admit so much of the Diameters of circles, namely, that they be neither equall nor unequall. And if this goe for good, of angles likewife and triangles, of Parallelograms, and of superficies parallel or equally distant. For if longitudes be neither equall nor unequall one to another, then shall not weight, nor percussion, no nor bodies be equall or unequall. Furthermore, how dare they reproove those who bring in vacuities, and certeine indivisible bodies mainteining combat one against another, supposing that they neither stirre nor stand still; when as they themselves mainteine that such propositions as these be falle? If any things be not equall one to the other, the same be unequall one to the other: and these things here be not equall one to the other; neither are they unequall one to the other. But forasimuch as he saith, that there is something greater, which notwithstanding surpasseth 50 not; it were good reason therefore to doubt and demand, whether the same be agreeable and fitting one to the other? and if they agree, how then can either of them be the bigger? Now if it be not fortable, how is it possible that the one should not exceed, and the other come short? for these things can not hang together, to say, that neither the one nor the other surpasseth: and it agreeth not with the greater: or it agreeth, and yet the one is greater than the other. For ofnecessitie it must follow, that those who reteine not nor observe common conceptions, be troubled with fuch perplexities.

Over and befides, it is against all common sense, to say that no one thing toucheth another:

as alfo, that bodies touch one another, and yet do in no part touch. Now it must needs be, that they admit this, who allow not the least parts of a body, and so they suppose alwaies something before that which feemeth to touch, and never cease to passe on farther still which is the thing that they principally object against those, who defend & maintein the indivisible parcels called Atoms, namely, that there is no totall touching, but that it is a mixture, confidering that fuch indivisible bodies have no parts. How is it then, that they themselves fall not into the like inconvenience, seeing they admit no part to be either first or last? for that they say, bodies doe touch one another mutually in the whole by a certeine terme or extremity, and not by a part, and the faid terme or point is no body. Then a body shall touch a body, by athing which is no body: and contrariwife, shall not touch, the incorporall being betweene. And if it touch, it to shall do likewise and suffer somewhat, being it selfe a body, by that which is incorporall and no body. For the propertie of bodies, is to do and fuffer somewhat mutually, yea, and to touch one another : and if the body have a touching in part by the meanes of that which is incorporall, it shall likewise have a generall and totall connexion, even a mixtion and incorporation. Againe, in these connexions and mixtures, necessarie it is that termes or extremities of bodies, either continue or not continue, but perith: but both the one and the other is against common sense. For even they themselves allow not corruptions and generations of things incorporall : and impossible it is, that there should be a mixtion or totall touching of bodies reteining still their proper termes and extremities. For it is this terme or extremity that determine thand conflituteth the nature of a body: and as for mixtions (if there were no approching nor application of 20 parts to parts) they confound all things wholly which are mixed. And as these men fay, we must admit the corruption of extremities in mixtures; and likewife againe, their generations, in the distractions & separations of them, But no man there is able to comprehend this easily: for in regard that bodies touch one another, they also are pressed, thrust and crushed one by the other, And impossible it is, that a thing incorporall should suffer or do thus; neither can we imagine fo much : yet would they constraine us to thinke no lesse. For if a sphære or boule touch a flat orplaine bodie onely by a point, certeine it is, that it may be trained and rolled along the faid plaine or flat body, by a point. And if the foresaid boulebe painted in the superficies theref with vermillion, it shall imprint a red line onely upon the same plaine body; and being yellow, or of a firie colour, it shall likewife give the same tincture to the superficies of the slat bodie, 30 Now that a thing incorporall should either give or take a colour, is against all commonsense. And if we imagine aboule of earth, of Crystall or glaffe, to fall from on high upon a smooth bodic of stone, it were against all reason to thinke that it would not breake the same into pieces, namely, when as it shall light upon that which is solide, hard, and able to make resistance : but more unreasonable it were to say, that it were broken by a terme or point that is incorporall: in fuch maner, as in every fort, their anticipations & common conceptions as touching thingsincorporall and bodies, must needs be troubled and confounded, or rather utterly abolished, in supposing thus many things impossible.

Against common sense it is to say, that there is a future time, and a time past, but noneatall prefent; as alfo, that the time which was crewhile and not long fince, hath a fubliftence, whereas 40 that which now is hath no being at all. And yet this is an ufuall and ordinary matter with these Stoicke philosophers, who admit not the least time that is betweene, and will not allow the prefent to be indivisible; but of all that which a man doeth thinke and imagine as present, they affirme the one part to be of that which is already past, and the other of the future; infomuch as there remaineth and is left in the mids no piece at all of the time prefent; in case of that which is faid to be the very inflant, part is attributed unto things past, and part to things to come; whereupon of necessitie one of these twaine must follow, that either in admitting the tense, It was; or It shalbe; the tense It is, must wholly be abolished, or in admitting the present time, It is, one part thereof is past, and the other to come: as also to say, that of that which is, part is yet suture, and part already past: likewise of that which now is present, one parcell is before, and ano-50 ther behinde; in such fort as present, is that which yet is not present, and not present any more; for that is not present any longer, which is already past; nor present at all, which is yet to come: And thus in dividing the prefent, they must also needs say, that of the yeere and of the light, part was of the yeere palt, and part of the yeere to come; likewise of that which is together and at once, there is some before, and some after: For no lesse troubled are they, in hudling and confounding after a strange maner these termes, Not yet, Already, No more, Now & not now, as if they were all one; whereas other men doe conceive and thinke, that their tearmes, Ere

while, or not long fince, & a while after or anon, are different parts from the prefent time, fetting the one before, & the other after the faid present. And among these, Archidemus who affirmeth that the present Now, is a certeine beginning, joint or commissione of that which is already past and necre at hand to come, feeth now how in fo faying, he utterly abolisheth all time; for were it true that Now is no time, but onely a terme of extremity of time & that every part of time is as it were Now, it would feem then, that this present Now, hath no part at al, but is resolved wholy into ends & extremities, joints, commiffures, & beginnings. As for Chrylippus willing to thew himselfe witty & artificial in his divisions, in that treatise which he composed as touching voidneffe, and in other places affirmeth, that the Paft and the Future of time fublifteth not, but hath to fiblified; and that the prefent onely hath being: But in the third, fourth, & fift books of Parts, he avoucheth, that of the inftant or prefent, part is Future, & part Past; in such fort as by this means he divideth the substance of time, into those parts of subsistent, which are not subsistent, or to speake more truely, he leaveth no part at al subsistent, if the instant & present hath no part at al. which is not either past or to come : and therefore the conceit that these men have of time. refembleth properly the holding of water in a mans hand, which runneth and sheddeth the more, by how much harder it is preffed together. Come now unto actions and motions, all light and evidence is by them darkned, troubled, and confounded; for necessarily it ensueth, that if the Inflant or present is divided into that which is past, and to come, part of that which now moovethatthis inflant; should partly be moved already, and in part to remoove afterwards, and 20 withall, that the beginning and end of motion should be abolished: also that of no worke there shouldbe any thing first or last, all actions being distributed and dispersed together with time: for like as they fay, that of the present, some is past, and some to come : even so of every action indoing, fome part is already done, and other resteth to be done. When had then beginning, or when shall have end, To dine, to write, & to go, if every man who dineth, hath dined already, and shall dine; and who soever goeth, hath gone and shall go? and that which is (as they fay) of al ablurdities most monstrous, if it be granted, that he who now liveth, hath lived already, & shall live, life had neither beginning, nor ever shall have end; but every one of us as it should seeme by this reckoning, was borne without beginning of life, & shall die without giving over to live: for if there be no extreme part, but ever as one that now liveth shall have somewhat of the pre-30 sentremaining for the future, it will never be untruely faid; Socrates shallive, so long as it shall be muely faid, Socrates liveth; fo that as often as it is true, Socrates liveth, fo often it is falfe, Socrates isdead. And therefore if it be truely faid in infinit parts of time, Socrates thall lives in no part of time shalit ever be truly faid, Socrates is dead. And verily what end shal there be of any worker& where shall any action stay &cease, in case as often as it shall be truly said; a thing is now doing, fo often likewise it shall be truly faid, It shall be done : for lie he shall who faith, This is the end of Plate writing or disputing; for that one day Plate shall cease to write or dispute: if at no time it be alieto fay, of him that disputeth, He shall dispute; or of him who writeth, He shall write. Moreover, of that which is done, there is no part, which either is not finished already, or shall be finished, and either is past or to come. Besides, of that which is already done, or of that which 40 shal bedone, of that which is past or future, there is no fense. And so in one word, and to speake simply, there is no sense of any thing in the world; for we neither see nor heare that which is past or to come; ne yet have we any sense of things which have bene or which shall be; no nor although a thing should be present, is it perceptible & subject to sense, in case that which is prefent, be partly to come, and in part past already; if I say one part thereof hath beene, and another shall be : and yet they themselves cry out upon Epicurus, as if he committed some great indignitie, and did violence to common conceptions, in mooving as he doeth all bodies with equall celerity, and admitteth no one thing swifter than another: But farre more intolerable it is, and farther remot from common sense to hold, that no one thing can reach or overtake another: 50

No not although Adrastus horse So swift, a Tortois slow should course.

according as we fay in our common proverbe: which must of necessity sall out, if things move according to Before and Behind; and in case the intervals which they passethrough, be divisible into infinit parts, as these men would have them: for if the tortoise be but one surlong before the horse, they who divide the said interval or space between einto infinit parts, and moove both the one and the other according to Prima and Posterim, shall never bring the swiftest close unto the slowest, for that the sloweralwaies winner the some space or interval, before that which is A a a a a divisible.

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divisible, into other infinit intervals. And to say, that water which is powred forth out of a cup orboll, shall never be powred all cleane out; how can this chuse but be against common sense: & docth not this confequently follow upon those things that these men avouch? for never shall a man comprehend or conceive that the motion of things infinitly divifible, according to be. fore, bath fully performed the whole intervall; but leaving alwaies forme space divisible, it will evermore make all the effusion, all the running foorth or thedding of the liquor, all the motion of a folid body; or the fall of a weighty poife, to be imperfect. I let paffe many abfurdities delivered in their doctrine; and touch those onely, which are directly against common sense.

As for the question touching augmentation, it is very auncient: For according as Chrysto. pus faith; it was by Epicharmus put foorth. And for that the Academicks thought it to be not to very easie and ready all of a sudden to be cleered; these men come with open mouth against them, acculing them for overthrowing all anticipations, whereas they themselves keepe not at all the common conceptions: and that which more is, pervert the very fenfes. For whereas the question is plaine and simple; these men grant and allow such suppositions as these, that al particular fubitances flow and runne, partly by yeelding and fending foorth fomewhat out of themselves, and in part by receiving other things from without; and that by reason of themim. ber and multitude of that which comes in, or goes out, things continue not one and the fame. but become altered and divers by the foresaid additions and detractation, fo as their substance receiveth a change. Also that contrary to all right and reason, custome hath so farre prevailed. that fuch mutations be called augmentations and diminutions: whereas rather they ought to be 20 termed generations, and corruptions, for that they force an alteration of one prefent state and being, into another; but to grow and diminith are passions and accidents of a body, and subicet that is permanent. Which reasons and affertions being after a fort thus delivered intheir schooles, what is it that these desenders of Perspicuity and Evidence, these canonicall reformers (I fay) of common notions would have ? namely, that every one of us should be double like twinnes, or of a two-fold nature: not as the poets feigned the Molionides, to be in some parts conjunct and united, and in other fevered and disjoined, but two bodies, having the same colour, the same shape, the same weight and place: a thing that no man ever saw before: mary these Philsosophers onely have perceived this duplicity, this composition and ambiguitie; whereby every one of us are two subjects, the one being substance, the other the one of them runneth and floweth continually, and yet without augmentation and diminution, or remaining in the fame state such as it is; the other continueth still, and yet groweth and decreafeth, and yet fulfreth all things quite contrary to the other, wherewith it is concorporate, united, and knit, leaving to the exteriour fense no shew of distinct difference. And yet verily it is faid of that Lyncess, how in old time hee had fo quicke and piercing an eicfight, that he was able to fee through stocks and stones. And one there was by report, who sto ting in Sicily, could from a watch-tower fenfibly different the shippes failing out of the haven of Carthage, which was distant a day & a nights failing with a good forewind. And as for Callins tes and Myrmecides, they have the name to have made chariots fo final, as that the wings of ally might cover them; yea & in a millet graine or fefam feed to have engraven Homers verfes. But 40 furely this perpetual fluxion & diverfity in us, there was never any yet that could divide & diflinguish : neither could we our selves ever find that we were double, & that partly weranneout continually, and in partagaine remained alwaies one and the fame, even from our nativity to our end. But I am about to deale with them more fimply and plainly; for whereas they devide in every one of us foure subjects, or to speake more directly, make ech of us to be foure, it shall fuffice to take but two, for to flew their abfurditie. When we doe heare Pembess in a tragedy faying, that he feeth two Sunnes, and two cities of Thebes, we deeme of him, that he feeth not two, but that his ejes doe dazzell and looke amiffe, having his difcourfe troubled, and underflanding cleane transported. And even these persons, who suppose and set downe, notone city alone, but all men, all beafts, all trees, plants, tooles, veffels, utenfils, and garments, 10 be 50 double, and composed of two natures; reject wee not and bid farewell, as men who would force us not to understand any thing a right, but to take every thing wrong? Howbeit, hap ly hecrein they might be pardoned and winked at, for feining and deviling other natures offubjects, because they have no meanes else, for all the paines they take, to mainteine and preserve their augmentations: But in the foule, what they should alle, what their meaning might be, and upon what grounds and suppositions, they devised to frame other different forts and formes of bodies, and those in maner innumerable, who is able to say? or what may be the cause, unless

they ment to displace, or rather to abolish and destroy altogether the common and familiar conceptions, inbred in us, for to bring in and fet up new fangles, and other strange and forren novelties? For this is woonderfull extravagant and abfurd, for to make bodies of vertues and vices, and besides of sciences, arts, memories, fansies, apprehensions, passions, inclinations and affents: and to affirme that these neither lie, nor have any place substitting in any subject, but to leave them one little hole like a pricke within the heart, wherein they range and drawin, the principall part of the foule, and the discourse of reason, being choked up as it were with such a number of bodies, that even they are not able to count a great fort of them, who feeme to know best how to distinguish and discerne one from another. But to make these not onely bodies, 10 but also living creatures, and those endued with reason, to make (I say) a swarme of them, & the fame not gentle, mild, & tame, but a turbulent fort & rable by their malicious shrewdnesse, opposit & repugnant to al evidence, & usual custome, what wanteth this of absurdity in the highest degree, And these men verily do hold that not onely vertues & vices be animall and living creatures, nor passions alone, as anger, wrath, envy, griefe, forrow & malice, nor apprehensions onely, fantafies, imaginations, and ignorances, nor arts and myfteries, as the shoomakers & smithscraft: but also over and besides al these things, they make the very operations and actions themfelves to be bodies, yea and living creatures: they would have walking to be an animall dancing likewife, shoing, faluting, and reprochfull railing: and so consequently they make laughing & weeping to be animall. And in granting these, they admit also, coughing, sneesing and groa-20 ning, yea and withall, spitting, reaching, snitting and snuffing of the nose and such like actions, which are as evident as the rest. And let them not thinke much and take it grievously, if they be driven to this point by way of particular reasonning, calling to minde Chrysippus, who in his thirdbooke of Naturall questions faith thus : What fay you of the night, is it not a body: evening morning, midnight, are they not bodies? Is not the day a body? The new moone is it not abodie? the tenth, the fifteenth, the thirtieth day of the moone, the moneth it felfe, Summer, Autumne, and the whole yeere, be they not bodies? Certes all these things by me named they hold with tooth and naile, even against common prenotions: But as for these hereafter, they maintaine contrary to their owne proper conceptions, when as they would produce the hottelt thing that is by refrigeration, and that which is most subtile by inspissation. For the soulc is a 30 substance most hot and confisting of most subtill parts: which they would make by the refrigeration and condensation of the body, which as it were by a certaine perfusion and tincture it hardeneth & altereth the spirit, from being vegetative to be animate. They say also that the Sun is become animate, by reason of the moisture turned into an intellectuall and spirituals fire. See how they imagin the Sun to be engendred and produced by refrigeration? Xenophanes, when one came upon a time and tolde him that he had seene Eeles to live in hot scalding water, Why docwenot feethe them then (quoth he) in colde water? If therefore they will cause heat by refrigeration, and lightnesse by altriction and condensation: it followeth on the other side againe, by good consequence, that by keeping a certaine proportion and correspondensie in absurdity, they make heat by colde, thickning by diffolving, and waighty things by rarefaction. As for 40 the very substance and generation of common conception and sense, doe they not determine it even against common sense it selse? For conception is a certaine phantase or apprehension: and this apprehension is an impression in the soule. The nature of the soule is an exhalation, which by reason of the rarity thereof can hardly receive an impression: and say that it did receive any, yet impossible it were to keepe and retaine it. For the nutriment and generation of it confifting of moist things, holdeth a continuall course of succession and consumption. The commerce also and mixture of respiration with the aire, engendreth continually some new exhalation turning and changing by the flux of aire comming in and going forth reciprocally. For a man may imagin rather that a river of runing water keepeth the formes, figures & images imprinted therein, than a spirit caried in vapours & humors, to be mingled with another spirit 50 or breath from without continually, as if it were idle and strange unto it. But so much forget they or mifunderstand themselves, that having defined comon conceptions to be certaine intelligences laid up apart: memories to be firme permanent, & habituall impressions having fixed sciences likewise, every way fast and sure, yet within a while after they set under althis a foundation and base, of a certaine slippery substance, easie to be dissipated, caried continually, and ever going and comming to and fro. Moreover this notion and conception of an element and Principle, all men have imprinted in their minde, that it is pure, simple, not mingled nor com-

Of common conceptions against the Stoicks.

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poled: for, that which is mixed, cannot be an element nor a principle, but rather that, whereof it is mixed and composed.

Howbeit these men devising God the principle of all things to be a spiritual bodie, and a minde or intelligence feated in matter, make him neither pure nor fimple, nor uncompound but affirme that he is composed of another and by another. As for matter, being of it selfe without reason and void of all quality, it carieth with it simplicity, and the very naturall propertie of a principle: and God, if it be true, that he is not without body and matter, doth participate of matter as of a principle. For if reason and matter, be all one and the same, they have not done well to define matter for to be reasonlesse: but if they be things different, then doth God consist of both twaine, and not of a fimple effence, but compounded, as having taken to his intellectuall fubtiance a bodily nature out of matter. Furthermore, confidering, they call these fower primitive bodies, to wit, earth, water, aire and fire, the first elements, I cannot seehow they thould make some of them simple, and others mixed or compound: for they hold, that the earth and water cannot containe either themselves or any other, and that it is the participation of spirit and fellowship of fire, whereupon dependeth the preservation of their unity: as for the aire and fire by their owne power they fortifie themselves, which being medled with the other two, give them their force vigor and firmitude of substance. How is it then, that either earth is an element or the water, feeing neither of them both is simple, first, or sufficient to keepe and preserve it selfe, but having need of another without to containe them alwaies in their being and to fave them? for they have not left fo much as any thought that they be a fubstance. Bur furely 20 this reason of theirs as touching the earth, that it consistent of it selfe, containeth much confufion and great uncertainty, for if the earth be of it selfe, how commeth it to passe that it hath need of the aire, to binde and conteine it? for so it is no more earth of it selfe, nor water; but the aire hath by thickning & hardning matter, made thereof the earth: and contrariwife, by diffolving and mollifying it, hath created the water: and therefore we may inferre thus much that neither of these is an element, seeing that some other thing bath given them their essence and generation. Over and befides, they affirme, that fubstance and matter are subject to qualities, and fo in maner doe yeeld their limit and definition : and then on the other fide, they make the faid qualities to be bodies; wherein there is a great confusion: for if qualities have a certeine proper fibstance, whereby they are termed and be really bodies indeed, they require no other fibstance, for that they have one of their owne: but if they have this onely under them which is common, and which they call effence or matter, certeine it is, that they doe but participate of the bodie; for bodies they are not. For that which is in the nature of the subject and doethreceive, must of necessitie differ from those things which it receiveth, and whereof it is the subject. But these men see by the halfe; for they terme the matter wandow, that is to say, without qualities: but they will not name the qualities auras, that is to fay, void of matter. And yet how is it possible to make a body without quality, but wee must imagine a quality without a bodie ? for that reason, which coupleth a body with all maner of qualities, permitteth not the thought to comprehend any body without some qualitie. Either therefore he that fighteth against a bodilesse qualitie, seemeth to resist likewise a matter void of qualitie; or if he separate the one from theo ther, hee parteth and divideth them both as under . And as for that reason which some of them 1 feemeto pretend, as touching a fubstance which they name amount, not because it is void of all qualitie, but because it is capable for footh of every qualitie; it is contrary to common notion, and nothing fo much. For no man taketh or imagineth that to be amour, that is to fay, un-

qualified, which is participant of al qualities and uncapable of none; nor impaffible, that which is apt to receive and fuffer every paffion; nor immoovable, which is moovable every way. And as for this doubt, it is not folved, that howfoever we alwaies understand matter with some quality, yet we conceive with all, that matter and qualitie

be different one from the other.

AGAINST

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AGAINST COLOTES, THE EPICUREAN.

The Summarie.

BE have in many places before, but principally in two feverall Treatifes of the former tome, perceived how Plutarch is quite contrary unto the Epicureans, and namely, in one of those Treatises he dealeth with a certaine booke (which he now expressly refutesh) where Colotes endevoured to proove, that a man can not possibly live well, according to the opinions of other Philosophers , Plutatch sheweth on the contrarie side, that impossible it is to leade a joifull life after the doctrine of Epicurus, and that it is accompanied with 20 overweening, impudency and flanderous calumniation. And not contenting himfelfe thus to have confused them of purpose once or twice, he sesteth upon them in this discourse, and particularly he copethwith Colotes, whose flouth, filthinesse and impiette be heere describeth. The summe of all which declamation is this, That these Epicureans are not any way worthy the name of Philosophers: who contranswife tread and trample under foot all the parts of true Philosophie, discovering in their writings aswell as thorowout all their lives, meere beastly brutalitie. But all that is delivered in this Treatise may be reduced well to two principall points: The one conteineth a defence or excuse of the doctrine taught by Democritus, Empedocles, Parmenides, Socrates, and other ancient Philosophers, flandered by Colotes, who extolled farre above them, the traditions and precepts of his master. The other discovereth divers absurdities and strange opinions of the Epicureans, even by their owne testimonies: 30 whom Plutateh refelleth foundly; handling in this disputation many articles of Philosophie, Naturall. Morall and Supernaturall: and particularly of the Senses, of Nature, of the Atomes of the Universall world of the Knowledge of man, of the Opinion of the Academicks, of the Apprehensions, faculties, passions and affections of the soule: of the certeintie of things sensible of the falsitie and trueth of imaginations, of the use of Lawes, of the profit of Philosophie, of the sovereigne good, of religion, and of other suchmatters, the principles whereof the Epicureans abolished, bringing in paradoxes woonderfull strange, for to shuffle things confusedly, and make all uncerteine. All which is marked particularly in the traine and course of the authours owne words, and therefore needlesse it is to specific thereof any more because I would a void tantologies & unnecessary repetitions. True it is, that in certaine resutations Plutarch is not so firme as were to be desired; but that may be imputed to bisignorance of the true 40 God. As for the rest, it may suffice & serve, to know the misery & wretchednes of the Encureans: and that other Philosophers hadmany good parts, and delivered many beautifull speeches, whereof all vertuous persons may reape and gather great fruit in applying and referring the same to their right use. And for to close up all, he maketh a comparison betweene true Philosophers and the Epicureans, proving in very many places, that Colotes and his fellowes like himfelfe, are people not onely unprofitable, but also most permicious, and so by consequence unworthy to live in the world.

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AGAINST

AGAINST COLOTES THE Epicurean.



Olotes, whom Epicurus was wont (ô Saturninus) to call by way of flattering diminution, Colataras and Colatarius, composed and put forth a little booke, which he entituled, That there could be no life at all according to the opinions of other Philosophers: and dedicated the said booke unto king Ptolemans. Now what came into 10 my minde to speake against this Colores, I suppose you would take pleasure to reade the same in writing; being as you are, a man who loveth elegancie and all honest things, especially such as concerne the knowledge of antiquity, & besides, esteemeth it the most prince like exercise and roiall study, to beare in minde and have alwaies in

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hand, as much as possibly may be the discourses of auncient Sages. Whereas therefore of late this booke was in reading, one of our familiar friends, one whom you know well enough, Aristodemus by name, an Aegian borne, a man exceeding passionate, and of all the Academicks a most franticke sectary of Plato, although hee carie not the ferula like unto the madde supposts of Plato, I wot not how contrary to his usuall maner, was very patient and silent to all the while, giving eare most civilly even to the very end. But so some as the lecture was done: Goe to now my masters (quoth he) whom were we best to cause for to arrise and sight with this fellow in the quarrell and desence of Philosophers? For I am not of Nesson minde, neither doe I greatly praise him, for that when there was to be chosen the most valiant warrior of those nine hardy knights who were presented, to enter into combat with these hand, committed the election unto fortune, and put all to the lot: But you see also (quoth I) that even he referred himselfe to be ordered by the lot, to the end that the choise might passe according to the dispose and ordinance of the wisest man:

The lot out of the helmet then did fall,
Of Ajax, whom themfelves wift most of all,
And yet if you command me to make election,
How can lever put out of mind,

Divine ulyffes, a prince fo kind? Confider therefore and be well advised how you may be able to refell this man. Then Aristode. demus: But you know full well (quoth he) what Plato formetime did, who being offended with his boy that waited upon him, would not himselfe swindge him, but caused Speusippus to doe so much for him, faying withall, That he was in a fit of choler. And even fo, I say as much to you, Take the man to you I pray, and entreat him at your pleafure; for my felfe am very angry with him. Now when all the rest of the company were instant with me, and praied me to take this charge in hand: Well I fee (quoth I) that I must speake, seeing you will needs have it so : but 40 I am affraid lest I may seeme my selse to be more earnestly bent against this booke than it deferveth, in the defence and maintenance of Socrates, against the incivility, rudenesse, fourtility, and infolence of this man, who prefenteth (as one would fay) unto him hay, as if he were a bealt, and demaundeth how he may put meat into his mouth, and not into his care: whereas haply the best way were to laugh onely at him for such railing, especially considering the mildnesse and gentle grace of Socrates in fuch cases. Howbeit in regard of the whole host beside of other Greeke Philosophers, namely, Democritus, Plato, Empedocles, Parmenides, and Melissus, who by him are foully reviled, it were not onely a shame to be tongue-tied and keepe filence, but also meere facriledge and impiety, to remitany jot, or forbeare to fpeake freely to the utmost in their behalfe, being such as have advanced philosophy to that honour and reputation which it 50 hath. And verily our parents together with the gods have given us our life: but to live well, we suppose and that truely, that it commeth from the philosophers, by the meanes of that doctrine which we have received from them, as cooperative with law and justice, and the very bridle that doth chaftice and restraine our lusts. Now to live well, is to live sociably, friendly, temperately, and justly: of which good qualities and conditions, they leave us not so much as one, who cryout with open mouth, that the foveraigne good of man lieth in his belly, and that all the vertues in the world if they were put together, they would prize no better woorth than one

crackt brasen piece of coine, without pleasure, and in case all maner of delights were quite remoored from them. Also the annex heere to their discourses, as touching the soule & the gods, wherein they hold that the foule perifficth, when it is once feparate from the body: and that the gods meddle not with our affaires. Moreover the Epicureans reproch other Philosophers, for that by their wisdome and sapience, they undoe mans life: and they againe object unto them, that they teach men to live loofely, basely, and beastly. And verily such matters as these be mingled in all the writings of Epicurus, and spred throughout his whole philosophy. But this Colores here having made an extract of certaine words or voices void of matter and substance, and drawen some pieces and broken fragments without reasons and arguments for to proove and to confirme his doctrines, or to give light for their understanding and credit, hath made his booke in maner of a shop full of all fort of wares; or of a table or stall representing strange showes and monsters: which you (Isay) know best of all others, for that you have continually in your hands and docreade the works of ancient writers. So he feemeth unto me that like to the Lydian, he openeth not one gate and no more upon him, but enwrappeth Epicurus in very many doubts & difficulties, and those of all other, the greatest : for he beginnes with Democrium, who no doubt received at his hands a goodly falary and reward for his apprentiffage, being a thing certainly knowen, that for a long time Epicurus called himfelfe a Democritian, like as others alfodoe fay, and namely Leontew, one of the scholars and disciples of Epicurus, in the highest forme: who in a letter which he wrote unto Lycophron, faith, that Epicurus honored Democri-20 100, for that he attained before him to the true and found understanding of the truth: and that in generall the whole treatife of naturall things, was called Democritian, because hee light first upon the principles, and met with the primitive fountaines and foundations of nature. And Metrodorus faid directly and openly of Philosophy, That if Democritus had not led the way, Epicurus had never arrived to wifdome and learning. Now if it be true as this Colotes faith, That to live according to Democritus and other philosophers opinions, is no life ... all, Epicarus was a very foole for following Democritus as he did, leading him to that doctrine whereby a man could not live. And first he reprooveh him, for that in faying that every thing is no more fuch than fuch, he made a confusion of mans life. But so farre off was Democritus from holding the faid opinion, namely, that nothing is rather fuch than fuch: that he oppugned Pro-30 tagoras the Sophister for faying to, against whom lie wrot many elegant commentaries, full of good arguments concluding the contrary : which our Colotes never feeing, nor fo much as dreaming of, was much deceived in the right understanding of the mans words, and namely in one place where he discretly faith and determineth that whisis no more than which which placehenameth a body sir, and voidneffe unsir: meaning thereby and giving us to understand, that voidnesse had a proper nature and subfishence of the owne, as wel as a body. But he who is of opinion, that nothing is more fuch than fuch, followeth one of the decrees & fentences of Episurus, wherein he delivered, that all apprehenfions and imaginations that come by fenfe, are true. For if when two men give out and fay, the one, that the wine is hard : the other, that it is fweetand pleasant, neither of them is deceived in his sense but speaketh true, why should the 40 wine be rather harsh than sweet. And yet it is scene oftentimes that one and the same bath, some find to be hot, & others cold: for that, as these command cold water, so those bid hot water to be powered in. It is faid that a certaine dame or good wife of Lacedamon went upon a time to vifit Berronice the wife of king Deiotarus, but when they approached nere together, they turned away immediatly one from the other: the one, as it should seeme abhorring the finell of ranke butter, and the other offended with the perfume of a fweet ointment or pomander. If then the fense of one be not more true than the fenfe of another, probable it is and very like that both water is not more cold than hot, and that the ointment and the butter no more fenting pleafantly than stinking strongly. For if a man fay, that it seemeth thus to one, and so to another, he affirmeth before he is aware, that they be both the one and the other. And as for these symmetries, propor-50 tions and accords of the pores or passages in the organs of the senses, whereof they talke so much: as also the divers mixtures of seeds, which they say being differninate and dispersed throughout all favors, odors and colours, do move the fense; doe they not directly drive them to this point, that things are no more one than another? For fuch as thinke that the fense is deceived, for that they fee contrary events and passions doe proceed from the same objects, they Pacific againe and falve this objection, by teaching that whereas all things be mingled and confounded together, yet nevertheleffe this is more fortable and fitting to one and that to another: whereby there is northe contractation and apprehension of one and the same quality, neither doth the object move all indifferently at once and alike in all parts, but every one meeting with those qualities onely, whereunto they have all sense proportionate, they doe not well to stands stifly upon this, that a thing is coloured or not coloured, white or not white, thinking to fortisse and establish their owne senses by destroying those of others. Whereas it behoves the either to oppugne the senses, for they all souch and reach one quality or other (each one drawing as our of a lively and large sountaine, from this confused mixture, that which is sit and sutable nor accuse and blame the whole, in touching onely the parts 3 ne yet thinke that all ought to suffer the fame thing, considering that one suffereth by one qualitie and power of it, and another by another. So that now we are to consider and search, what men they be, who bring in this opinion, as touching things that be not such rather than others, rather than these who hold, that whatso to

ever is sensible is a confused mixture of all qualities together, like unto a wind-instrument composed for all kinds of melodious musicke? But they confesse that all their rules are lost, and their judgement quite gone, if they admit any object in some sort pure and syncere, and allownot

ech one thing to be many.

See moreover in this place, what discourse and disputation Polyanus held with Epicurusin his banquet as touching the heat of wine. For when he demanded in this maner, How now Epicurse, fay you not that wine doth heat? one made answere, That he affirmed not universally, that wine did cause heat : and a little after; For it seemeth that wine is not universally a heater, but rather, that fuch a quantitie of wine may be faid to enchafe and fet fuch an one in heat. And then adjoining the cause, he alledgeth the concurrences, compressions and dispersions of the 20 Atomes; the commixtions and conjunctions of others, when the wine commeth to be mingled with the body: and then he addeth this conclusion; And therefore generally we are not to fay that wine doth heat; but so much wine may well heat such a nature, and so disposed : whereas another nature it cooleth in fuch and fuch a quantity. For in fuch a maffe, there be those natures and complexions, of which, cold if need were, may be composed, and being joined with others as occasion serveth, may cause a vertue refrigerative. And hereupo it is, that some are deceived, faying that wine univerfally is hot, and others againe, affirming it to be univerfally colde. He then who faith that the multitude and most part of men do erre, in holding that to be simplie hot, which doth heat, and that likewife to be cold, which doth coole, is deceived himselfe, ithe thinketh not, that it followeth by good consequence upon that which hee hath said, that one 30 thing is more such than such. And afterwards he inferreth this speech, that many times wine entring into the body, bringeth with it neither a calefactive nor a refrigerative vertue; butthat when the maffe of the body is moved and stirred, so as there is a transposition made of the parts, then the Atomes which are effective of heat, concurre together one while into one place, and through their multitude, fet the body into an heat and inflamation; but another while by difperfing and fevering themselves afunder, inferre coldnesse.

Moreover he diffembleth not but that he is proceeded thus farre, as to fay, that whereas wee take things to be, and doe call them bitter, sweet, purgative, soporiferous, and lightsome, none of them all have any entier quality or perfect property to produce such effects, nor to be active more than passive, all while they be in the body, but that they be susceptible of fundry tempera- 40 tures and differences. For even Epicurus himselfe, in his second booke against Theophrasius, in faying that colours are not naturall unto bodies, but are engendred according to certeine fituations and politions, respective to the cie-sight of man, saith by this reason, that a bodie is no more destitute of colour, than coloured. And a little before, word for word he writeth thus: But over and befide all this, I know not how a man may fay, that these bodies which be in the darke, have any colour at all; and yet oftentimes when the aire a like darke is fored round about, some there be who can diffinguish the diversity of colours, others perceive nothing at all, by reason of their feeble & dim-fight. Againe when we goe into a darke house, we see not at our fiest entrance, any colours, but after we have beene there a pretie while, we perceive them well enough: And therefore we are to fay, that ech body is not rather coloured than not coloured. If then co-50 lour be a relative, and hath being in regard of fome other things, white also is a relative, and blew likewise: if these, then sweet and bitter semblably: so that a man may truely affirme of every quality, that it is not more fuch, than not fuch. For to those who are so disposed, a thing shall be such, and to them that are not so affected, not such. So that Colores doeth all to dash and beray both himselfe and his master also, with the same mire and dirt, wherein he saith those doe flicke who hold that things are not more fuch than fuch. What then doth this egregious clerke heerein onely flew himfelfe, according to the old proverbe:

Aleech professing others for to cure, Whiles he himselfe is full of sores impure?

Noverily : but much more yet in his fecond reprehension, he chaseth ere he is aware Epicurus together with Democritus out of this life: for he giveth out that Democritus faid, The atomes are unto the fenses by a certeine law and ordinance colour, by the said law sweet, and by the fame law bitter: Also that he who useth this reason, and holdeth this opinion, knoweth not himselfe, if he be a man? nor whether he be dead or alive? To contradict these speeches I wor not well how: but thus much I fay, that this is as much inseparable from the sentences and doctrine of Epicurus, as figure and weight by their faying from the Atomes: for what faith Demo-10 critus? That there be substances in number infinite, which are called Atomes, because they cannot be divided: howbeit different, without qualitie and impaffible, which doe moove and are caried, differfed to and fro in the infinit voidnesse, which when they approch one another, or concur and meet together, or else be enterlaced & enfolded one about another, then appeereth of these thus heaped and hudled together, one thing water, another fire, another a plant, and another a man: That all these be Atomes still, termed by him Idea, and nothing else. For there can be no generation of that which is not; no more than that which once was can become nothing, by reason that these Atomes are so firme and solid, that they can neither change nor alter, nor fuffer. And therefore neither can there be colour made of those things which have no colour, nor nature or foule of fuch as be without quality and are impaffible. Whereupon 20 Democritus is to be blamed in that he confesseth not those things that be accident unto principles, but supposeth those to be principles, whereto these happen: For he should not have put downe principles immutable : or at leaftwife, when he had supposed them to be such, not to see withall, that therewith the generation and breeding of all qualities periffieth. And to denie an abfurdity when one feeth it, is impudence in the highest degree. As for Epicurus, he faith verily, that he supposeth the same principles that Democritus doth, but he saith not, that colour fweet, white, and other qualities are by law and ordinance. Now if he confesse not that he faith, which nevertheleffe he faid, it is no other but an old cuftome of his, & that which he is woont to doe. For much like it is to this, that he will feeme to take away divine providence, and yet hee faith, that he alloweth piety and religious devotion toward God: And albeit he giveth out that 30 for pleasure, he maketh choise of amity and friendship, yet for his friends sake he willingly endureth most grievous paines: also for all he supposeth the universall world to be infinit, yet hee taketh not away, above and beneath. But this is not like unto the maner of drinking one unto another at a table, where a man may take the cup in hand and drinke what he will, and fo give backe the rest. But in this disputation especially, it behooved to remember well the notable Apophthegme or faying of the wife man. Of what things the beginnings are not necessarie, the ends and confequences fall out to be necessary. Necessary it was not therefore to suppose, or (to speake more truely) to wring from Democritus thus much, That Atomes be the principles of the whole and univerfall world : or when he had supposed and set downe this doctrine, and withall made a glorious shew of the first probabilities and faire apparences thereof, he should 40 likewise have swallowed that which was troublesome therein, or shewed how those bodies which have no quality, could give unto others all forts of qualities, onely by meeting and joining together. As for example, to speake of that which is next to hand, this that we call fire, whence came it, and how groweth it to these indivisible bodies called Atomi? if they neither had heat when they came, nor became hot after they met together? For the former presupposeth that they had some quality, and the latter, that they were fit to receive the same, and to suffere But neither of them twaine ye say, fitteth well with the Atomes, in that they be incorruptible. How then ? did not Plato, Aristotle and Xenocrates produce golde, of that which was not golde; and stone of that which is not stone; yea, and many other things out of the source simple bodies called elements? Yes Iwis: but to gether with the faid bodies there concurre immediatly at the 50 first, the principles also, to the generation of every thing, bringing with them great contributions, to wit, the first qualities which be in them: afterwards, when there come to meet in one and Joine together, dry with moift, cold with hear, folid and firme with that which is gentle and foft, that is to fay, active bodies with fuch as be apt to fuffer, and to receive all change and alteration, then enfueth generation, which is the paffage from one temperature to another: whereas this Atome or indivisible bodie being of it selfe naked and alone, is destitute of all qualitie and generative facultie; but when it hapnesth to run upon others, it can make a found and noise onely; by reason of the hardnesse and solidity thereos, but no other accident els: for strike they doe, and

are stricken againe continually: and so farre be they off from composing and making by this meanes a living creature, a soule, or a nature, that they are not able so much as to raise a round masse of themselves together: for that as they jurte and beat one upon another, so they rebound and slie backe againe a sunder. But Colotes verily, as if hee dealt with some king that was ignorant and unlettered, falleth againe upon Empedocles, breathing out these verses:

One shing will sfay more to thee:
there is no true nature
Of mortall wights: of grifty death,
no seed nor geniture.
A mixture onely first there is
of things, then after all,
The same grow to disumion:
and this men Nature call.

For mine owne part, I doe not see how this is repugnant and contrary unto life, among them especially who are of opinion that there is no generation of that which is not at all, nor comp. tion of that which is and hath being: but the meeting and union of fuch things as be, is called Generation; the diffolution likewise and disunion of the same, is termed Death and corruption. For that he taketh Nature for Generation, and that he meaneth fo, himselfe hath declared. when he fet Nature opposite unto Death. And if those live not nor can live, who put generalion in union, and death in difunion; what thing els doe these Epicureans? And yet Empedales, to fodering as it were and conjoining the elements by heats, fofmeffe and humidities, given them in some fort a mixtion and composition unitive : but they who drive together the Atomes which they fay to be immutable, flurdy and impaffible, compose nothing that proceedeth from them, but rather make many and those continuall percussions of them. For their interlacing which impeacheth diffolution, doth stil augment their collision: in such fort, as this is no mixion nor conglutination, but a certeine troublesome striving and combat, which according to them is called Generation. And these Atomes or indivisible bodies which meet together but a moment, if one while they recule and frart backe for the refistance of the shocke which they have given, and another while returne againe and recharge after the blow past, they are more than twice fo long apart one from another without touching or approching, fo as nothing can 30 be made of them, not fo much as the very body without a foule, But fenfe, foule, understanding and prudence, there is no man able to thinke and imagine, would be never fo faine, how they can be formed of voidnesse and of these Atomes: which neither of themselves apart have any qualitie, nor yet passion or alteration whatsoever, when they are met together, confidering that this meeting is no incorporation nor fuch a coition as might make a mutuall mixture and conglutination, but rather jurts and reciprocall concussions: in such maner, as according to the do-Etrine of these folke, supposing as they doe, such void, impassible, invisible, undivine and unhelpful principles, yea & fuch as will not receive any mixture or incorporation whatfoever, To live and to be a creature animall, falleth to the ground and comes to nothing. How commeth it then, that they admit or allow Nature, Soule and Living creature? For footh, even as they do 40 an oth, a vow, praier, facrifice and adoration of the gods, to wit, in word and mouth onely; pronouncing and naming in femblance and outward appearance, that which by their principles and doctrines they quite abolish and anull. And even so, that which is borne, they terme Nature, and that which is engendred, Generation: like as they who ordinarily call the frame of wood and timber, Wood it felfe, and those voices or instruments that accord together, Symphonie. And what should be meane to object such speech against Empedocles ? Why trouble we and weary our felves (quoth he) in being fo busie about our owne felves, in defiring certeine things as we doe, and avoiding others? for neither are we our felves, neither live we by uling others. But be of good cheere (may one haply fay) my loving and sweet Colorarion: haveno feare man: no man hindreth you, but that you may regard your felfe, teaching that the nature 50 of Colotes, is Colotes himselse and nothing els : neither that you need or defire to use certeine things. As for these things among you, they be pleasures: shewing withall, that it is not the nature of tarts, cakes and marchpanes, nor of odors, nor of love sports that you defire, but tarts and marchpanes themselves, sweet perfumes and women they be that you would have. For the Grammarian who faith, the force and firength of Hercules is Hercules, denieth not thereby that Hercules is : nor those who say that symphonies, accords or opinations are bare prolations or pronunciations, affirme not therewithall, that there be no founds, nor voices, nor opinions:

forafmuch as there be fome, who abolifhing the foule and prudence, feeme not to take away either to live or to be prudent. And when Epicaria faith, The nature of things that have being, are the bodies and the void place of them, doe we take his words, as if he meant that nature were formwhat els than the things that befor that things being, do fhew their nature and nothing els? even as for examples fake, the nature of voidneffe, he is wont to call voidneffe it felfe: yea, and I affure you, the univerfall world it felfe, the nature of all. Now if a man fhould demand of him: How now Epicaria, fay you indeed that this is voidneffe, & that is the nature of voidneffer year yerly, will heanswere againe, but this communication of names the one for another, is taken in and in use. And in trueth, that the law and custome warranteth this maner of speech, and last one in the law and custome warranteth this maner of speech, and last one in the law and custome warranteth this maner of speech, and last one in the law and custome warranteth this maner of speech, and last one in the law and custome warranteth this maner of speech.

And what other thing I pray you hath Empedocles done than taught that nature is nought else but that which is bred and engendred, nor death any thing but that which dieth? But like as Poets otherwhiles by a trope or figurative speech representing as it were the image of things

Debate, tumult, uprore and stomacke fell, With deadly fude and malice there did dwell.

10

Even so the common fort of men doe use the termes of generation and corruption in things that are contracted together and dissolved. And so farre was he from stirring or remooving those things that be, or opposing himselfe against things of evident apperance, that he would not formuch as cast one word out of the accustomed use: but so far forth as any figurative frawd might hurt or endammage things, he rejected and tooke the same away, rendring against the usuall and ordinary fignification to words, as in these verses:

And when the light is mixed thus with aire in heavenly sky,
Some man is made or wilde beafts kinde,
or bir hs aloft that flie:
Or elfe the shrubs: and this rightly
is cleap'd their geneture,
But death, when as dissolved is
the foresaid salt someture.

And yet I say my selse, that Colotes having alledged thus much, knew not that Empedocles did not abolish men, beasts shrubs or birds in as much as he saith that all these are composed and sinished of the elements mixed together: But teaching and shewing them how they were deceived, who finde fault with naming this composition a certaine nature or life: and the dissolution unhappy fortune and death to be avoided, he annulled not the ordinary and usuall use of words in that behalfe. For mine owne part I thinke verily that Empedocles doth not alter in these places the common maner of pronouncing and using the said words: but as before it was related, did really as of a different minde as touching the generation of things that had no being, which some call nature. Which he especially declareth in these verses.

Fooles as they be of finall conceit, for farr et they cannor fee, Who hope that things which never were, may once engendred be, Or feare that those which are shall die, and perish utterly.

For the fe verses are thundred out and do sound aloud in their hearing who have any eares at all, that he doth not abolish generation absolutely, but that alone which is of nothing: nor yet corruption simply, but that which is a totall destruction, that is to say, a reduction to nothing. For unto a man who were not willing, after such a savage, rude and brutish maner but more gently 50 to cavil, the verses following after might give a collourable occasion to charge Empedaeles with the contrary, when he saith thus:

No man of fenfe and judgement found, would once conceive in minde Thas whiles we living here on earth, both good and bad doe finde, So long onely we being have: (yet this men life doe sall) And birth before, or after death, we nothing are at all.

Which words verily are not urtered by a man, who denieth them their being who are borne and live, but rather by him who thinketh that they who are not yet borne, as also those that be alredy dead have their being. And even so Colotes doth not altogether reproove him for this : but he faith that according to his opinion we shall never be ficke nor wounded. And how is it possible that he who faith that men before life and after life, are accompanied with good and bad indifferently, should not leave for them, that be alive the power to suffer ? What be those then, good Colotes, who are accompanied with this immunity; that they can neither be hurt nor difeafed? E. ven your felfe and fuch as you are, who be altogether made of an Atome and voidnesse, forby to your owne faying, neither the one nor the other hath any fense. But no force. For I here of no harmeyet. Mary here is the griefe, that by this reason you have nothing in you to cause delight and pleasure, seeing that an Atome is not capaple of such things as moove pleasure: and void. nesse is unapt to be affected by them. But for as much as Colotes for his part would needs immediatly after Democritus feeme to interre and bury Permenides for ever, and my felfe in putting off a little and paffing over the defence of Parmenides, have betweene both taken in hand the maintenance of that which was delivered by Empedocles, because me thought they did more properly adhere and hang to those first imputations, let us now come againe to Parmenides. And whereas Colores chargeth him with fetting abroad certaine shamefull sophistries yet hath the man thereby made friendship nothing lesse honourablenor, voluptuousnesse and sensuallity 20 more audacious and unbrideled. He hath not bereft honesty of that attractive property to draw unto it selfe, nor of the gift of being venerable of it selfe: neither hath he troubled & confounded the opinions as touching the gods. And in faying that Allis One, I fee not how he hath himdered our life. For when Epicurus himselfe faith, that [All] is infinite, ingenerable and incorruptible, that it cannot be augmented nor diminished, he speaketh and disputeth of All, asof fome one thing. And in the beginning of his treatife concerning this matter, having delivered that the nature of All things being, confifteth in small indivisible bodies which he termeth Acomes, and in voidnesse: hee made a division as it were of one thing into two parts: whereof the one in trueth is not subfiftent, but termed by you impalpable void and bodilesse: whereby it commeth to passe, that even with you, All commeth to be but One: unlesseyou will use vaine 30 words and void of sense, speaking of voidnesse, and sighting in vaine, as with a shadow, against those attacient Philosophers.

But these Atomes you will say, are according to the opinion of Epicurus in number infinite, and every thing that appereth unto us, arifeth from them. Beholde now what principles you put downe for generation, to wit, infinity and voidnesse: whereof the one is without action, impaffible and bodileffe: the other, namely, infinity, diforderly, void of reason, incomprehensible, diffolving and confounding it felfe, for that by reason of multitude it cannot be circumscribed nor contained within limits. But Permenides hath not abolished either fire or water, or any rocke, no nor the cites (as Colores faith) inhabited as well in Europe as in Asia, confidering that he hath both *instituted an orderly dispose & digestion : and also tempering the elements to- 40 gether, to wit, light and darke, of them and by them absolutely finisheth all things visible in the world, for written he hath at large of Earth, of Heaven, of Sunne, Moone and starres : as also, spoken much of mans generation: and being as he was a very ancient Philosopher, he hathleft nothing in Physiologie unfaid, and whereof he hath not delivered both by word and writing his owne doctrine not borrowedelse where, paffing over the repugnancie of other received principall opinions. Moreover he of all others first, and even before Socrates himselfe observed and understood, that in nature there is one part subject to opinion, and another subject to intelligence. And as for that which is opinable, inconstant it is and uncertaine, wandring also and carried away with fundry passions and mutations, apt to diminish and paire: to increase also and growe, yea and to be diverfly affected, and not ever after one fort disposed to the same in so fente alike. As for the intelligible part, it is of another kinde:

For found it is, whole and not variable,

Conflant and fure, and ingenerable.

as he himfelfe faith, alwaies like to it felfe & perdurable in the owne nature& effence. But colores like a fycopath, cavilling at him, & catching at his words, without regard of the matter, not arguing against his reasons indeed, but in words onely, affirmeth stally, that Parmenides overthroweth all things in one word, by supposing that All is One. But he verily on the contrary side about the supposing that the contrary side about the supposing that the supposing the supposing that the supposing the supposing that the supposing the supposing the supposing the supposing that the supposing t

lishesh neither the one nature nor the other, but rendreth to ech of them that which is meet, and apperteineth thereto. For the intelligible part he rangeth in the Idea of One, and of That which is, saying that it is and hath being, in regard of eternity and incorruption: that it is one: because it alwaies resembleth it selfe, and receive th no diversity. As for that part which is Sensible, he placeth it in the ranke of that which is uncerteine, disorderly and ever mooving. Of which two,

Against Colotes, the Epicurean.

we may fee the diffinet judgement in the foule, by these verses:

The one reteins to truth which is syncere Perswassve, breeding science pure and cleere.

For it concerneth that which is intelligible, and evermore alike and in the fame fore.

The other rests on mens opinions vaine, Which breed no true beleefe but uncertaine.

For that it is converfant in such things as receive al maner of changes, passions, & mutabilities. And verily how possibly he should admit and leave unto us sense and opinion, and not withall allow that which is sensible and opinable, a man is not able to shew. But for a smuch as to that which is existent indeed, it appertaines to remaine in being, and for that things sensible, one while are, and another while are not, but paffe continually from one being to another, and alter their estate, infomuch as they deserve rather some other name than this, of being: This speech astouching All, that it should be one, is not to take away the plurality of things sensible, but to thew the difference betweene them and those that be intelligible, which Plato in his treatise 20 of Idea minding to declare more plainly, gave Colotes fome advantage for to take holde of him. And therefore me thinks it good reason to take before me all in one traine, that also which he hathspoken against him. But first let us consider the diligence, together with the deepe and profound knowledge of this Philosopher Plato, considering that Aristotle, Xenocrates, Theophrastus, and all the Peripateticks have followed his doctrine. For in what blinde corner of the world unhabitable wrot he his booke? that you Colotes in heaping up together these criminations upon fuch personages, should never light upon their works, nor take in hand the books of Aristotle as touching the heaven and the soule: nor those compositions of Theophrassus against the Naturalists, nor that Zoroastres of Heraclitus, one booke of Hell and infernal spirits, another of Doubts and questions Naturall: that also of Dicearchus concerning the soule. 30 In all which books they are contradictory and repugnant, in the maine and principall points of Naturall philosophy unto Plato? And verily the prince of all other Peripateticks, Strato, accordethnot in many things with Ariflotle, and mainteineth opinions cleane contrary unto those of Plato, as touching Motion, Understanding, the Soule, and Generation. And in conclusion, heholdeth that the very world is not animall: and what foever is naturall is confequent unto that which is cafuall, and according to fortune. As for the Idea for which Aristotle every where feemeth to course Plato, and mooveth all maner of doubts concerning them in his Ethicks or morall discourses, in his Physicks, in his Exotericall dialogues, he is thought of some to dispute and discourse with a more contentions and opinative spirit than became a Philosopher, asif he propounded to himselfe for to convell and debase the Philosophy of Plato, so farre 40 was hee from following him. What impudent and licentious raffineffe therefore is this, that one having never knowen nor feene what thefe learned clerks had written, and what their opinions were, should coine and devise out of his owne fingers ends, and fallly charge upon them, those things which never came into their heads, and in perswading himselfe that he reprooveth and refuteth others, to bring in a proofe and evidence written with his owne hand, for to argue and convince himselfe of ignorance, or rash and audacious impudence, saying, that those who contradict Plato, agree with him, and they that repugne against him doe follow him? But Plato (quoth he) hath written: That horfes are in vaine counted by us horfes, and menlikewise. And in what odde corner of Platoes works hath Colores found this hidden? As for us wee reade in all his books, that horfes behorfes, and men be men, and that fire even 50 by him is efteemed fire; for hee holdeth every one of these things to be sensible and opinable, and so he nameth them. But this our trim man Colotes, as though hee wanted never a jot of the highest pitch of sapience and knowledge, presumeth for sooth and taketh it to be all one and the fame, to fay, Aman is not, and Aman is that, which hath no being. But Plato thinketh that there is a woonderfull great difference betweene these termes, Not to be at all, and To be that which is not: for the former importeth a nullity and abolifisment of all fubstance; and the other sheweth the difference of that which is participated and that which doth ВЬЬЬЬ participate:

* Indone flow manufactures, four divide this & reade Aid noo gov, that is to fay, hath made Jupiter the world.

participate: which diffinction and diversity they who came after, have reduced onely unto a different raunge, of kinds, formes, and of certaine common and proper qualities or accidents. but higher than fo they mounted not, falling downe upon some doubts and difficulties more reasonable: for the same reason and proportion there is betweene the thing participated and participating, as is between the cause and the matter, the original and the image, the power and the passion. Wherein principally different that which is by it selfe, and ever the same, from that which is by another, and never keepeth one state: for that the one never shall be, nor ever was not existent: and for this cause, it is truely and altogether subsistent; whereas the other hath not so much as that being constant, which it hapneth to participate from another, but doth degenerate and grow out of kinde, through imbecilitie; in that the matter doth glide and flide a- 10 bout the forme, receiving many passions and mutations bending toward the image of substance. in fuch fort, as continually it mooveth and fhaketh to and fro. Like as therefore he who faith. that Plato is not the image of Plato, taketh not away the fenfe and substance of an image, but sheweth the difference betweene that which is of it felfe, and the other which is in regard of it: even fo they abolish not the nature, the use nor sense of men, who say, that every one of us by participating the Idea of a certeine common substance, is become the image of that which giveth similitude and affinity unto our generation. For neither he who faith, that iron red hot is not fire, or the Moone, the Sunne, but (to use the very words of Parmenides)

Aflame that beares a borowed light,

Wandring about the earth by night. doth take away the use of a burning gleed, or the nature of the moone: but if he should affirme, that it were no bodie nor illuminate, then he went against the fenses, as one who admitted neither body nor living animall, nor generation nor fenfe. But he that by opinion imagineth these things to have no substiftence but by participation, and withall, how farre they are short and difrant from that which hath alwaies being, and which gave them the power to be, confidereth not amiffe the fenfible, but is dim-fighted in the intelligible : neither doth he annihilate andoverthrow the passions which arise and appeare in us, but sheweth unto them that are docible and follow him, that there be other more firme and flable things than these, as touching essential that they neither are engendred nor perish, nor yet suffer ought; but teacheth more clerely & purely, noting and touching the difference by the very termes and names, calling the one fort 30 existent, & the other breeding or ingendred. The same usually befalleth also to our late modern writers, who deprive many great and weighty things of this denomination of subfiftence, as namely, Voidneffe, Time, Place, and generally, the whole kinde of those speeches wherein are comprised all things true. For these things being, they say are not; and yet they say some are; yea and use the same aswel in their life as their doctrine and philosophy, as having subfistence & being. But I would gladly demand of this acculer of ours himfelfe, whether he and his fellowes in their affaires perceive not this difference, whereby fome things be permanent and immutable in their fubliances, like as they affirme of their Atomes, that they be at all times and continually after one and the same fort, by reason of their impassibility and stiffe soliditie? whereas all things compounded and compact of them, be flexible, pliable, mutable, breeding and periffi- 40 ing: for that an infinite number of images doe paffe and flow from them evermore, yea and an innumerable fort of other things, by all likelihood, from out of the ambuent aire do reflowand have recourse unto them, for to supply and fill up the heape still, which masse is become much altered, diversified and transvased as it were by this permutation, in that the Atomes which are in the bottome of the faid maffe can never cease nor give over stirring, but reciprocally heat one upon another, as they themselves affirme. So there is in things such a difference of substance as this: and yet Epicurus is more wife and learned than Plate, in that he tearmeth all things equally subsisting, Voidnesse impalpable, the Body solid and resisting, the Principles, things composed: and for that hee thinketh that the eternall doeth not so much as participate in the common substance with that which is ingendred; the immortall with that which doth perish 350 the natures impaffible, perdurable, immutable, which never can fall or be deprived from their being, with those which have their effence in suffering and changing, and never can continue in one and the same state. Now were it so, that Plato had most justly of all men in the world deferved to be condemned for his error heerein, yet my good friend, there should no imputation be charged upon him by these our great masters heere, who speake purer and finer Greeke and more exquifiely than he, but onely for confounding fome words and speaking improperly; nor

to be blamed for abolishing the matters themselves, or taking us out of this life, because he termed them ingendred, and not existent, as these mendo.

But feeing wee have paffed over Socrates after Parmenides, wee must now take his defence in hand. Colores then began directly at the first (as we say in the common proverbe) to remoove him from the facred line or tribe : and having related how Charephon had brought an antwere from the Oracle at Delphos, as touching Socrates, which we all know to be so, faith thus: As for this discourse and narration (quoth he) of Charephon, for that it is altogether odious, captious, fophiliticall, and full of untrueth, we will overpaffe. Then is Plato likewife (to fay nothing of others) odious and abfurd, who hath put the faid answere downe in writing. Then are the Laceto demonians more odious and intolerable, who keepe that Oracle delivered, as touching Lyeur. em, among their most ancient writings and authenticall records. Semblably, the discourse and natration of Themistocles was a sophisticall and counterfeit device, whereby he perswaded the Athenians to abandon their citie, and fo in a navall battell defaited the barbarous prince Xerxes. And even so all the noble lawgivers and sounders of Greece are to be counted odious and intolerable, who established the most part of their temples, their factifices and solemne feasts, by the answere from the Oracle of Apollo. But if it be so, that the Oracle brought from Delphi as touching Socrates, a man ravilhed with a divine and heavenly zeale to vertue, whereby he was declared and pronounced wife, were odious, fained and fopficall; by what name shall we truely and justly call your cries, your shours, your hideous noises, your applauses and clapping of 20 hands, your adorations and canonizations wherewith you exalt and celebrate him, who incited and exhorted you to continuall pleafures one after another, who in one of his letters fent unto Anaxarchus hath written thus: As for me, I invite and call you to continual pleasures, and not to these vaine and unprofitable vertues, such as have nothing but turbulent hopes of uncertaine fruits. And yet Metrodorus writing unto Timarchus, faith thus unto him, Come on (quoth he) let us do some goodly and honest thing for those who are faire and beautifull, so that we be not plunged in these semblable and reciprocall affections, but retiring anon out of this base and terreltriall life, let us advance our felves to thefe true, holy and divine ceremonies and mysteties of Epicurus. And even Colotes himselfe hearing Epicurus one day discoursing of Naturall things, fell downe at his feet immediatly, and tooke holde of his knees, as if hee had beene a 20 god. And Epicurus likewife taking no small pride and gloric heerein, writeth thus unto him againe: For as if you adored that which then was delivered by mee, there came upon you fuddenly adefire and zeale proceeding from no cause in nature, to come toward mee, to proftrate your felfe upon the ground, to clip and claspe my knees, and to use those gestures unto me, which ordinarily they doe, who worthip the gods and pray unto them: So that you have (quothhe) made mee also reciprocally to deific and adore you. Certes I could finde in my heart to pardon them, who fay they would not spare for any cost, but give they cared not what for a table or picture, wherein they might fee lively represented to the eie this story depainted; namely, how the one lieth proftrate at the others feet, and embraceth his knees: who mutually againe adoreth him, and maketh his devout praiers unto him. And yet this devotion 40 and service of Colotes, how well soever it was by him ordered and precisely observed, reaped not the condigne fruit thereof: for he was not by him declared A wife man: onely this bleffing he had from him againe, Goe thy waies and walke immortall, and repute us also semblably immortall. These men knowing full well in their owne consciences that they use such toolithwords, ridiculous jestures, and fond passions, yet for footh they are so bold as to call other men odious. And Colores verily having given us a taste of his goodly first fruits, & wife positions as touching Naturall senses, namely, That we do cate our viands and cates, not hay or forage, and that when the rivers be high, wee ferry over them in botes, but when they be low and passable, we wade easily on foot through the fourd, exclameth and crieth out afterwards: You use ô Socrates vaine speeches, you interteine those who come and speake unto you with one thing in word, and do practife others cleane contrary in deed. And fay you fo Colotes? First I would gladly know wherein the words of Socrates were vaine & arrogant, confidering that he was wont ordinarily to fay, that he knew nothing at all, but was a learner continually, and went to fearch and finde out the trueth? But if haply you should light upon such speeches from Socrates his mouth, as those were which Epicurus wrote unto Idomeneus, send us then the first fruits, for the furniture of our facred body, for us (I fay) & our children: For thus it comes upon me to speake, what more infolent and sottish words could you devise to speake? And yet, that Socrates never faid otherwife than he did, he hath given us marvellous proofes in the battell of

Delium, and in that of Potidea: That which he did during the time of the thirty tyrants against Archelaus and against the people of Athens: his poverty; his death; his carriage and demeanour in all these times and occasions, be they not answerable every way to the sayings and doctrines of Socrates? This had beene a true proofe indeed, to have shewed that heelived and did otherwise than he spake and taught, in ease he had proposed the end of man to be a joifull and pleafant life, and then lived ashe did. Thus much as touching the reprochfull termes that hee hath given Socrates. Moreover, he perceiveth not how himselfe is attaint even in those points * Sec 1917 cress- which he reproove thand objected as touching things * evident and apparent. For one of the positions and decrees of Epicurus is this, That no person ought irrevocably to beleeve orbe perlwaded to a thing, but onely the wife man. Now feeing that Colores became not one of the 10 Sages, for all that adoration & worship which he performed unto Epicurus, let him demand first and formost these questions, Howit is, that he falleth to cates, and not to hay, when he hath need of victuals? and why he casteth a robe about his owne body, and not upon a pillar? confidering that he is not affuredly perswaded, that cates be cates, or that a robe is a robe: But ifhe doe fo, namely, feed upon viands, and weare arobe: if he venture not to wade through rivers when they be rifen and high; if he flie from ferpents and woolves, being not in a fure beleefe that any thing is such as it seemeth, but doing every thing according as it appeareth unto him; the opinion as touching fenfes, would not hinder Socrates at all, but that he might likewife use that which seemeth not him. For bread seemed not bread unto Colotes, nor hay to be hay, because he had read those holy canons and facred rules of Epicurus which fell from heaven 20 out of Impiters lap: and Socrates upon a vaine arrogance of his owne, conceived an imagination of bread that it was hay, and of hay that it was bread. For these wise men heere, have bener opinions and rules to goe by than we. But to have fende, and to receive an impression in the imagination of things evident, is common as well to ignorant persons as to Sages, for that it proceedeth from causes that need no discourse of reason. But that position, that our natural fenses are not certeine nor sufficient enough to proove a thing, and cause beliefe, is no hinderance, but that every thing may appeare unto us: but when we use the senses in our actions, according to that which appeareth, it permitteth us not to trust the, as if they were every way true and without error: for that sufficeth in them, which is necessary and commodious for use, because there is nothing better. As for Science, knowledge, and perfection, which the soule of 30 a Philosopher desireth to have of every thing, the senses have just none. But of these matters which Colores hath charged upon many others, he will give us occasion else where to discourse thereof.

Furthermore, that wherein he doth vilipend and mocke Socrates most, in that he demaundeth the question, What is man? and in a youthfull bravery, and childishly as he faith, affirmeth that he knoweth not, it is evident that even hee who derideth him, never came himfelfe where it was, nor atteined thereto: whereas Heraelitus contrariwife, as one who had done a great and worthy matter, faid thus, I have beene feeking out my felfe. And of all those sentences which are written over the gates of Apolloes temple at Delphos, this was thought to be most heavenly and divine, Know thy felfe: which gave unto Socrates occasion first to doubt and en- 40 quire thereof; according as Arifforle hath fee downe in his Platonique questions. But this forfooth feemeth unto Colotes to be a foolish and ridiculous thing. I marvell then why hemocketh not his mafter likewise for doing so, as often as he writeth and discourseth as touching the fubstance of the foule, and the beginning of that confused masse: for if that which is compounded of both, as they themselves doe teach, to wit, of such a body & soule, be man, he who searcheth the nature of the foule, fearcheth confequently the nature of man, even from his principall & chiefe principle. Now that the fame is hardly by reason to be comprehended, but by the outward sense altogether incomprehensible, let us learne not of Socrates, a vaine glorious man & fophisticall disputer, but rather of these wise men here, who doe forge & frame the substance of the soule so farre onely as to the faculties extending to the flesh, whereby she giveth heat, 50 foftnesse & strength to the bodie, of I wot not what heat and aireous spirit, never wading so far as to that which is the principall, but faint & give over in the way. For that faculty whereby the judgeth, whereby the remembreth, whereby the lovethor hateth, and in one word, that reason which wifely foreseeth & discourseth, he saith, is made of a certaine quality which is nameless. Now that this nameles thing is a mere confession of shameful ignorance, in them that say they cannot name that, which indeed they are not able to comprehend and understand, we know well enough. But this also may well deserve pardon, as they are wont to say, For it seemeth that this

is no small and light matter neither a thing that every one can finde out and reach unto, being deeply fettled in the bottom of some by-placefar remote and in some obscure and hidden corner, feeing that among fo many words and termes which be in use, there is not one fignificant enough and sufficient to declare and explaine the same. And therefore Sorrates was no foole nor lob, for feeking and fearching what himfelfe was, but they rather be dolts who go about enquiring after any other thing before this, the knowledge whereof is fo necessary and hard to be found. For hardly may he hope to attaine unto the knowledge of any other thing, who is not able to understand the principall part of himselfe. But say we should graunt and yeeld thus much unto him, as to confesse that there is nothing so vaine, so unprofitable and so odious, as 10 for a man to feeke himfelfe, we will be fo bolde as to demaund, what confusion of mans life this should be, or how it is that a man cannot continue in life, when he comes to discourse & reason thus with himselfe, Who and what mought I be ? Am I after the maner of some composition, confected and mingled of foule and body? or rather a foule making use of the body, as the horfman doth of his horse? and not a subject composed of horse and man? or whether the principall part of the foule whereby we understand, we discourse, we reason and doe every action, is every each one of us? and all the parts befides both of foule and body, be nothing but the organs and inftruments ferving to this puiffance and faculty ? Orto conclude, whether there be no substance of the foule apart, but onely a temperature and complexion of the body, so disposed, that it hath power to understand and to live. But Secrates herein faith he doth not over-20 throwthe life of man, confidering that all naturall philosophers doe handle this argument, Mary they be those monstrous questions that trouble the common-wealth, and turne all upside downe, which are in the Diologue Phedras, wherein he thinketh that he ought to examine and confider himfelfe, namely whether he be a beaft more favage, more fubtill, cautelous and furiousthan ever was that Typhon: or rather fome animal more tame and gentle by nature, and endued with a portion more divine, and a condition nothing proud and infolent. But yet by these discourses and reasonings he overturneth not the life of man, but he chaseth out of it prefumption & arrogance, proud and puffed up opinions and vaine overweenings of a mans felfe: For this is that fell Typhon, which your good mafter and teacher hath made to be fo great in you, warring as he doth both against the gods and all good and godly men.

30 After he hath done with Socrates and Plato, he falleth in hand with the Philosopher Stilpo. As for the true doctrines and good discourses of the man, whereby he ordered and governed himfelfe, his native country, his friends, & those kings and princes who affected him and made good account of him, he hath not written a word: neither what gravity and magnanimity was in his heart and the same accompanied with mildenesse, moderation, and modesty: but of those little sentences or propositions which Stilpo was wont to use & cast forth in meriment against the Sophisters, when he was disposed to laugh and play with them, he made mention of one: and without alledging any reason against it or solving the subtilty thereof, he made a trageedie, and kept a foule stirre with him about it, faying that by him the life of man and the whole course of this world was subverted: because he said, that one thing could not be affirmed and ve-40 rified of another. For how should we live (quoth Colotes) if we may not say a good man, or a man is a captaine, but we must pronounce apart, man is man, good is good, and captaine is a

captaine: neither ten thousand horsmen, nor a fensed city, but horsmen be horsmen, ten thoufand be ten thousand, and so of the rest? But tell me I pray you, what man ever lived the worse for faying thus? And who is he who having heard these words and this maner of arguing, did not conceive and understand straight waies that it was the speech of a man disposed to make some game and disport learnedly, or to propose unto others this Logicall quillet for exercise fake? It is not Colotes, fuch agreivous scandall and hainous marter as you would make it, to say man is not good or horimen be not ten thousand: marry to affirme that god is not god as you and the rest doe, who will not confesse that there is a Jupiter president over generation, or a Ce-50 res that giveth lawes, or a Neptune superintendent over plants, is a dangerous point. This is the

separation of names and words that is pernicious, this filleth our life with contemptuous impiety, Athisme & dissolute audaciousnesse: For when you plucke from the gods these attributes & appellations that effentially be linked & tied to them, you abolish therewithall holy sacrifices, divine mysteries, sacred processions and solemneseasts: for untowhome shall we performe the nuptiall facrifices called Proteleia; unto whom shall we offer the oblations for health named Soteria? How shall we accomplish the rites of Phosphoia, the Bacchanals, and the ceremonies going before mariage, if we leave not any priests of Bacehow, if we admitte not Phosphori Procress,

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and the faving gods Soteres? For I tel you, this toucheth the maine & principal points, this bree. deth error in the things themselves & not about certaine bare voices in the Syntaxes and construction of words or use of termes. Now if these be matters that trouble and subvert this life of ours, who be they that offend and be delinquent more in their phrase & language than you? who making prepositions to be the only substance of speech, abolish altogether all simple voices. & admitting fuch as come next hand, you abolifh in the meane while the things by them fignified; whereby all discipline, doctrines, erudition, anticipations, intelligences, inclinations and asfents are performed, and holde generally that all these be just nothing. But as for Stilpo thus the case standeth : If we affirme of an horse, to runne : he doth not say that the thing affirmed which the Logicians call Predicatum, is all one with the Subjectum, of which it is affirmed; but 10 that the effential definition of a man is one, and that of good is another; as also, to bean horse is different from to be running: For if we asked the definition of the one and the other, we will not give the same for both, and in that regard, they doe amisse who affirme the one of the other, For if a man and Good were all one: likewife, an horse, and to runne were both one: how commeth it to paffe that the terme Good is affirmed of some meate, drogue, or medicine, and to run likewife, of a lion and a dog? But if the Predicatum or thing affirmed be different, then we doe not well, to fay, Good man, or the horse runneth. Now if Stilpo in these matters doe exorbitate and be fouly deceived, admitting no copulation at all nor connexion of fuch things as are faid to be in or about the fubject, together with the faid subject it selfe: but every one of them if it be not absolutely the very same with that unto which it hapneth, hee thinketh not that the same 20 ought to be faid and affirmed thereof as an accident: and if therein he be offended with some termes, and go against the ordinary custome of speech, he doth not therefore streightwaics subvert and overthrow mans life, nor humane affaires, as all the world may fee well enough.

Colotes now having done with the ancient Philosophers, turneth himselfe to those of his owne time, and yet he nameth not one. Howbeit, he should have done better to have argued aswell against these moderne as those ancients, by name, or not at all to have named those of old time. But he who so often hath pricked Socrates, Plato & Parmenides with his pen, sheweth plainly, that it was for meere cowardife that he durft not be feene to deale with the living; and not upon any modesty or reverence that he spared their names, considering that he used them, who were farre more excellent than they, in no good fort and respect. His meaning was as I 20 fuspect and gueffe, to affaile the Cyrenaiques first, and then in a second place the Academicks, sectaries of Arcefilaus: for as these were the Philosophers who doubted of all things and yeelded their affent in nothing at all; fo the other reposing passions and imaginations in themfelves, thought that the beliefe proceeding from thence, was not sufficient to affure & confirme things, but faring like unto those who are besieged within a citie, abandoning and forfaking all without, they keepe themselves thut within their passions, using this word ordinarily, It seemeth: and of things without, affirming and pronouncing, It is. And therefore (quoth Colotes) they cannot live nor have the use of things. And then, playing his part as it were in a Comedie: These men (saith he) denie that a man, a horse and a wall are; but they say, that they become walles, horses and men; abusing first and formost cautelously and wickedly these termes, like 40 flanderous and foule mouthed fycophants: for furely this is an ordinary cast and usuall with these men. But it behooved to declare the thing it selfe, according as they teach : for they affirme, that things become fweet, wax bitter, prove lightfome, or grow darke, when ech of these hath the proper efficacie of these passions in it selfe naturally inbred, and such as can not be distracted from it. But if honie be faid sweet, an olive branch bitter, haile colde, meere wine hot, the aire of the nightdarke; therebe many beafts, many things, and many men, that will tellific the contrary: whiles forme arc offended with honic and abhorre it, others are delighted with the tafte of the olive branch; some are burnt and findged by haile, others cooled with wine; some can not abide the light of the Sun but their fight therewith is dazled and dimmed, others again fee well enough by might: And therefore opinion perfifting still and abiding in the passions, 50 keepeth it felte from offence and errour : but going foorth once, and builly judging or pronouncing of things exterior, it troubleth many times it felfe, and repugneth with others, who of the same objects receive contrary passions, and different imaginations. And as for Colores, he resembleth for all the world young children who newly begin to learne their A. B. C. for beinguled to pronounce and name the letters which they fee engraven in their owne battleders, when they finde them written elswhere, they slicke at them, and are much troubled: and even so the very words and fayings which he approoveth, praifeth and embraceth in the writing sof $\pm pi$

curis, hee will not understand nor acknowledge, when they are uttered by others. For when there is prefented unto us one image round and another broken, they who fay that the fenfe verily is truely informed and hath a true impression, but will not fusfer us to pronounce that the tower is round, but the oare broken, furely they confirme thereby that their paffions be their owne fanfies and imaginations, but they will not avow and confesse, that the things without are fo affected. But as they before are to fay, that they be not horse or wall, but become horse and wall; even to of necessitie we must say, that the fight is imprinted with a round figure or triangular with three unequall fides, but not that a tower is necessarily either triangular in that fort or round: for that the image wherewith the fight is affected may well be broken, but the oare 10 from whence proceedeth the image is not broken. Seeing then there is a difference betweene the passion and the subject without, either we must say that the beliefe abideth in the passion, or elsthat the being which is affirmed by the apparence is convinced of untructh, and not found to be fo. And whereas they cry out and be offended and angry about the fenfe, they doe not fay that the thing without is hot, but that the paffion in the fenfeis fo: is t not all one with that which is spoken as touching the taste, as if one should say, that the thing without is not fweet, but that it is some passion and motion about the sense, that is become such? And he who faith, that hee apprehendeth the imagination of a mans forme, but perceiveth not that it is a man, whereupon hath he taken occasion to fay so? Came it not from them who say that they receive an imagination and apprehension of a bowing forme and figure, but the fight 20 doth not affirme that it is bowing and bending, neither that it is round, but some imaginationand impression about the sense is become round? True it is will some one say: but as I approch neere unto a tower, or else touch an oare, I will pronounce and affirme, that the the one is streight, and the other hath many angles and many faces: But he when he shall come neere, will confesse and fay that it seemeth so and that it appeareth such unto him, butno more. O yes good fir, and more than so, when hee feeth and observeth the consequence heereupon, namely, that every fantafie and imagination is femblably of it felfe fufficientto procure beleefe, and none at all, in regard of another, but be all of equal condition. Butthis your opinion is come just to nothing, namely, that fantafies be all true, and none falle and incredible, in case you thinke that these ought to pronounce affirmatively of that 30 which is without, and believe not the othera farre off no farther than in that which they fuffer: for if they be of equal condition and beleeved alike, when they are neere, and when they be far off, meetit is and just, that either all indifferently or else not these, should have the affirmative judgement following upon them, to pronounce, that a thing is. But if there be a difference of pallion in things that be nere, & those which are farther off, then is it false that neither imagination nor fenfe is one more expresse and evident than another: like unto those which they call attellations which are nothing to the fense, but unto the opinion: so that in following the, they would have their followers to affirme and pronounce of exteriour things, attributing to opinion the judgement, that a thing is, and to lense, the passion that appeareth: whereby they transpor the judgement from that which is alwaiestruc, unto that which fulleth often times to be fo, 40 But what need is there at this time to shew, the contustion and contradiction that is herein? But it seemeth that the reputation of serefilaus, who rufi all Philosophers in his time was best beloved and most esteemed, was into suball thorne in Epicurus his cies, but troubled him beyond all measure : For he giveth out of him; that delivering as he did nothing of his owne invention he imprinted in the minds of ignorant and unlettered men a certaine opinion and conceit of him, that he was a despecidence and very well feened in adikinde of literature. But fo far was Arcefilaus, from affecting any glorie & replication in shell world by broching novelties or strange opinions and derogating from the aunquants brafcribing anything of theirs to hunfelfe, that the Sophifters in his daies reprooved and charged him for flathering upon Socrates, Plato, Parmenides and Heracht withe opinions as touching the retention of affent and the incoprehensibility of things 30 who indeed never fought nor defited formuch at his hands, onely because he would referre the same unto such famous personages; the betterno be confirmed by the authority of their name, Howbeit for this; thanks be to calores audiencypione who faith that the Academicke doctrine was more ancient than Arresslans ; and was derived from others before his time unto him. But as for the retention of affent, & the doubting of all things, not for much as they verily who have greatly travelled in the matter and have Arived to that purpose for to write many great bookes and large treatifes, could ever remoove or overthrow; but bringing in at the last out of the very schoole and doctrine of the Stoicks, the cessation from all actions, as it were the fiend

Gorgon to scare folke withall, were weary and gave over in the plaine field, after they saw once, that what attempt soever they made, & which way soever they turned themselves their instinct and appetition was never so obeisant as to become a consent and approbation, neither received sense for the beginning of propension and inclination, but seemed to present it selfe to actions, as having no need to be joined with others. For surely with these men the combate is lawfull and the conslict just.

For looke what words then doest to others give, The like thou maist be sure to heare, believe.

And verily to speake unto Colores, as touching instinct and appetition, is all one as to sound the harpe before an affe. But this point of learning would be delivered unto those who can give re care and conceive, that there be in our foule three kindes of motions, Imaginative Appetitive and Affenting. As for the Imaginative, we cannot take it away, would we never fo faine; for as things approch and objects be prefented, we cannot chuse but be informed and receive asit were an impression and suffer by them. The Appetitive being stirred up by the imaginative, moveth a man effectually to those things which are proper and convenient for him, as if in the principall and reasonable part thereof there were some propension and inclination. And verily this motion do not they overthrow and anul who hold off, and keepe in their affent, doubting of every thing, but make use of this appetition or instinct, conducting naturally every man to that which is proper and meet for him. What is the onely thing then that the Academicks flie and avoid? even that wherein alone there is engendred leasing, deceit and falshood, to opine, to to apply the affent, which is a yeelding through imbecillity to that which appeareth, and hath no true profit. For our action requireth two things, to wit, the apprehension or imagination of that which is convenient and familiar: and the inftinct or appetition driving unto the fame; whereof neither the one nor the other is repugnant to the cohibition of affent. For the difcourse of reason withdraweth us from opinion, and not from appetition or imagination. When as therefore that which is pleasant and delectable seemeth unto us to be proper for us and familiar, there is no need at all of opinion forto move and carry us to it, but appetition immediatly presenteth it selfe, which is nothing else but a motion and incitation of the minde. Now for that there must be a sense as it were of these things, and the same confisting of selh and blood, the fame pleafure and delight likewife will appeare good. And therefore it will tem joblably feeme good unto him who holdeth off his affent, for furely he hath fenfes, and is made of flesh, blood and bone, and so soone as he hath apprehended the imagination of good, he hath an appetite and defire thereto, doing all that ever he can, not to miffe it nor leefe the fruition thereof: but as much as is possible to cleave and adhere continually to that which is proper unto him, as being driven and drawen thereto, by Naturall and not Geometricall constraints. For these goodly, pleasant, gentle and tickling motions of the flesh, be of themselves without any other teacher attractive enough, as they themselves sorget not to say, and are able to draw and traine him who foever he be, that will not confesse nor be knowen, but stoutly denieth that he is made fost and pliable by them. But paradventure you will aske me how it comes to passe that one of these that are so retentive and deinty of their assent, climeth not up some hill , but to 40 the baine or hot house: or when hee riseth and purposeth to goe into the market place, why hee runneth not his head against a post or the wall, but taketh his way directly to the dore? And aske you me this question indeed, you that holde all fenses to bee infallible, the apprehensions also and imaginations to bee certaine and true ? Forfooth it is because the baine feemeth unto him a baine and not a mountaine, the dore also appeareth to be a dore, and not the wall: And so is it to be faid likewise of such other things everie one: For the doctrine delivered as touching this cohibition of affent, doth not pervert the fenfe, nor worke in it by strange passions and motions any such change and alteration as may trouble the imaginative faculty. Onely it taketh away and subverteth opinions, but useth all other things, according to their nature. But impossible it is not to yeeld consent unto apparent eviden so ces. For to denie those things which wee are verily perswaded of and doe believe, is more abfurd, than neither to deny nor affirme any thing at al. Who be they then that deny fuch things as they believe, and goe against things evidence; even they who overthrow divination, and denie that there is any government by divine providence: they who say that neither the sunisanimall nor the moone, which all men honour and adore, to which they make their praiers and offer facrifice. As for you, doe yee not anull that which is apparent to the whole world, to wit, that naturally infants & yongones, are conteined within their mothers and dams? and that betweene paine and pleasure there is no meane, even against the sense and experience of all men? saying that not to be in paine, is to have pleasure; and not to do, is to suffer; as also, not to joy, is to be sorowfull? But to let passe all the rest, what is more evident, and so sully believed generally, than this, that those who have their braines troubled, and their wits distracted, or otherwise sicke of melancholicke diseases, weene they see and heare those things which they neither heare no see? namely, when their understanding comes to be in such fort affected and transported, as so breake out into these speeches?

These women here in habit blacke yelad, hold in their hands, To dart at me and burne mine eies, torches and firy brands. Also:

Loe how she in her armes doth beare My mother deare, who did me reare.

These verily, and a number besides of other illusions more strange and tragicall than these, resembling the prodigious monsters that *Empedacles* describeth like anticks, which they make sport and laugh at,

Ειλίπολι, * Κειτόχεια, η Βυγμίη, Ανδεύτρωρα.

*Orrathee Ketogeta,

That is to fay, With erooked shanks and winding feet, resembling rammes in pace, In bodie made like ox or cow,

like man before, in face. And all other forts of monstrous shapes and strange natures, mixed together all in one, setched from troublesome dreames and alienations of the minde. But these men say, that none of all this is any deception or errour of the fight, or vaine apparition, but be all true imaginations of bodies and figures, which passe to and fro out of the inconstant aire about them. Tell me now. what thing is fo impossible in nature, that we need to doubt, if it be possible to believe these? For fuch things as never any conceited maske-maker or devifer of vifards, any inventive potter, 30 glaffe-maker, or curious painter and drawer of woonderfull shapes, durst joine together, either to deceive the beholders, or to make them fport for their pastime: these men supposing verily and in good earnest that they be really subsistent; and that which more is, affirming all firme and constant beliefe, all certitude of judgement and of trueth, to be quite gone for ever, if such things have not their subfishence, these men I say be they, which involve all in obscuritie and darknesse, who overthrow all apparence, and bring into our judgement seare and terrour, into ouractions doubtfull fuspition; in cale our ordinary and usual actions, and such affaires of ours which are dayly ready at hand, be caried in the fame imagination, beleefe and perswasion, that these enormious, abfurd, and extravagant fansies: for the equalitie which they suppose in all, plucketh away more credit from things ordinary, than it addeth unto fuch as be uncouth 40 and unufuall: which is the cause that we know Philosophers not a few, more willing to avouch, that no imagination is true, than that all be true without exception; and who diffrust all men whom they had not converfed withall, all things which they had not tried, generally all speeches which they had not heard, rather than beleeve fo much as one of these imaginations and illustons which madde and franticke folke, fanaticall persons possessed with a surious spirit, or dreamers in their fleeps doe apprehend. Seeing then, fome imaginations we may utterly abolish, and others not, lawfull it is to reteine our affent and doubt of things whether they be or no, if there were no other cause els but this discordant, which is sufficient to worke in us suspition of things, as having nothing affured and certeine, but all incertitude and perturbation. As for the diffentions and differences about the infinite number of worlds, the nature of the Atomes, be-50 ing indivisible bodies, and their declinations to a side, although they trouble and disquiet many men, yet this comfort there is and confolation, that in all this there is nothing neere at hand to touch us, but rather every one of these questions be farre remote, and beyond our senses; wheras this diffrust and diffidence, this perturbation and ignorance about sensible things and imaginations, presented to our cies, our eares and our hands, this doubt, I say, whether they be true or falle, what opinion is it that they doe not shake and make to waver, what judgement and asfent do not they turne up-fide downe? For if men, being not drunke nor intoxicate, nor otherwife troubled in their braines, but fober, well in their wits and found of judgement, profeshing

to punish those who transgresse the law divine. For they that despise and contemne these in-

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also to write of the trueth, and of the canons and rules to judge by, in the most evident passions and motions of the sense, set downe that for true which can not possibly subsist, and for fallethat which substitteth, it is not to be marvelled nor thought incredible, if they give no judgement of fuch things which evidently appeare, but rather be of contrary judgements. For a man may lesse woonder at one for affirming neither the one nor the other, and keeping himselfein a meane betweene two opposits, than for putting downe things repugnant and meere contrary. For he that neither affirmeth nor denieth, but holds himselfe quiet, is lesse repugnant both unto him who putteth downe his opinion, than he who denieth it; and also to him that denieth it. than he who puts it downe. And if it be possible to make doubt and sticke at these things, it is not impossible then to doe so of others; at leastwise according to you who are of opinion, that there 10 is no difference at all betweene sense and sense, betweene imagination and imagination: and therefore this doctrine as touching the retention of beliefe and affent, is not as Colotes faith, a vainefable, nor a captious toy of rash and light-headed yong men, that love to jangle and prate, but a settled resolution and habituall disposition of stated men, who be wary and take heed that they mistake not any thing, and fall into inconvenience, or abandon at aventure their judgment to the fenles, so conjecturall and doubtfull, and not fuffring them to be deceived and caried away with those, who hold that things uncerteine, if they seeme and appeare, ought to be beleeved as well as if they were certeine, notwithstanding they see so great obscurity and incertitude in imaginations and apparent things: But rather the infinity that you put downe, and the images which you dreame of be fables. And as for heady rashnesse and a vaine humour of much 20 babble, hee engendreth in yoong students who writeth of Pythocles being not fully eighteene yeeres of age, that there was not in all Greece a better or more towardly nature; as being one who with admiration was able most excellently to expresse the conceptions of his minde; and that his case was much like to the incomparable beauty of women, withing and praying therefore, that all those surpassing gifts and most rare parts might not worke the young man hatred

But busic Sophisters they be, and vaine fellowes, who against so great and excellent personages, dare write fo impudently and proudly: And yet I confesse, Plato, Aristotle, Theophrafin, and Democritus gainfaied and contradicted those who wrote before them: Howbeit there was never manknowen but himselfe so bold, as to make a booke against all indifferently, and 20 with such a proud inscription as he did: And than afterwards for sooth, like unto those who have offended and displeased the gods: in the end of the saidbooke, as one confessing his saults, he faith: That they who have citablished lawes and ordinances, who have erected roiall governments and politickerule of cities and states, have set the life of manin great quiet, safety, and fecurity, yea and delivered it from dangerous troubles: which if they were abrogated and put downe, we should lead a savage life like wilde beasts; one would eat another as they met together; for these be the very words that he useth, though unjustly and untruly: For say a man did abolish lawes, and yet withall leave behind unrepealed and uncondemned the doctrines and books of Parmemdes, Socrates, Heraelitus, and Plato, we should be farre for all that from devouring one another, or living a favage life; for we should feate and forbeare dishonest things, we 40 should even for vertue and honesty, honour justice, believe that the gods, good magistrates, and the angels or spirits have the guarding, keeping, and superintendance of mans life, thinking all the gold that is both above and under the ground, not able to counterpeize vertue, and doing willingly by reason and learning as Xenocrates was woont to say, that which now wedge perforce for feare of the lawes. But when shall our life become beastly, savage, and insociable? Mary when, the lawes being taken away, there shall be left remaining, books and discourses, inciting and foliciting men unto pleafure: when it shall be thought and beleeved, that the worldis not ruled and governed by Gods providence, when they shall be deemed Sages and wife men, who spit against honesty and vertue, unlesse it be joined with pleasure, and when they shall deride and mocke fuch fentences as thefe,

In Justice is an eie, Which all things doth effic. Godneere doth stand. And (ees all at hand.

As also this old said sawe; God having in his power the beginning, mids, and end of the whole world, paffeth directly throughout all nature, and goeth round about, attended upon by Justice,

fructions as idle fables, and suppose that the sovereigne good consisteth in the belly and other patts, whereby we enjoy pleasure, be those who had need of the law, they ought to seare the whip, and stand in awe of some king, prince, and magistrate, who hath the sword of justice in his hand, to the end that they might not devour their neighbour by infatiable gluttony, which upon Atheisme and impiety, would grow to excessive outrage: For verily such is the life of brute beafts, for that they know nothing better than pleasure, they have no sense of Gods justice, they neither honour nor regard the beauty of vertue: But if nature hath endued them with any hardineffe, craft, and industrious activity, they employ the same, to satisfie their flethly pleasure, 10 and accomplish their lusts. And therefore Metrodorus is reputed a great wife man, for faying, that all the fine, fubtill, witty, and exquisit inventions of the foule, have been devised for to please and delight the slesh, or else for the hope to obteine and enjoy the same; and looke what art foever tendeth not thereto, is vaine & to no purpofe, By fuch difcourfes and Philosophical reasons as these, downe goe holsome lawes, and in place thereof enter in lions pawes, woolves teeth, oxespaunches, and camels necks and throates: and for want of writings and speech, the very beafts doe preach and teach fuch doctrines and opinions as these, with their bleating, bellowing, neighing, and braying: For all the voice that they have, is nothing but belly cheere, and the pleasure of the flesh, which they either embrace presently, or joy in the expectation thereof; unleffe haply there be some kind of them that delighteth naturally in gagling, cack-²⁰ ling, and garrulity. So that no man is able to praise those sufficiently, and to their full defert, who to represse such furious and beastly affections, have set downe law, established policie and government of State, instituted magistrates, and orderned holfome decrees and edicts. But who bee they that confound, yea, and utterly abolish all this? Are they not those, who give our that all the great empires and dominions in the worlde are nothing comparable to the crowne and garland of * feareleffe tranquillity and repose: Are they not those, who say, that to be a king and to reigne is to sinne, to erre and wander out of the true way hardy anger leading to felicity: yea and to this purpole write difertly in these termes, we are to show, how asilianis to tomaintaine in best fort and to keepe the end of nature: and how a man may avoid at the very saydisader first notto enter willingly and of his owne accord into offices of state and government of the son, multitude. Over and befides, these speeches also be theirs, there is no need at all henceforth for a man to labour and take paines for the prefervation of the Greeks, nor in regard of wildome and learning to feeke for to obtaine a crowne at their hands, but to eate and drinke, ô Timocrates, without hurt doing to the body, or rather withall contentment of the flesh. And yet the first and most important article of the digests and ordinance of laws and policie which Colotes so highly commendeth, is the beleefe and firme perswasion of the gods: whereby Lyeurgus in times past fanctified the Lacedemonians, Numa the Romans, that ancient Jon the Athenians, and whereby Deucation brought all the Greeks univerfally to religion: which noble and renowmedpersonages made the people devout & affectionate zealously to the gods in praices, othes, oracles and prophefies, by the meanes of hope and feare together, which they imprinted in their hearts: In fuch fort, that if you travell through the world, well you may finde cities without wals, without literature, without kings, not peopled and inhabited, without honsen, monthesse, and fuch as defire no coine, which know not what Theaters or publicke hals of bodily exercise meane: but never was there nor ever shall be any one city steme, without temple, thursh or chappell, without fome god or other, which ufeth no praides nor other, no prophetics and divinations, no facrifices either to obtaine good bleffings or to avertheavy eurles and calamities: nay, methinks a man should fooner finde a city built in the aire without any plot of ground

wheronit is feated, than that any common wealth altogether void of religion & the opinion of the gods should either be first established, or afterwards preserved and maintained in that offare. This is it that containeth and holdeth together all humane fociety, this is the foundation, prop and flay of all lawes which they subvert and overthrow directly, who godnor round about the bulh as they fay, nor fecretly and by circuit of coverespeeches, but openly, and even at the first asfault set upon the principal point of all, to wit, the opinion of God, and religion : and then afterwards as if they were haunted with the furies, they confesse how greivously they have finned, in fluffling and confounding thus, all rights and lawes, and in aboliffling the ordinance of justice and pollicy, to the end that they might obtaine no pardon, for to slip and erre in opinion, although it be not a part of wife men, yet it is a thing incident to man: but to impute and objest those faults unto others which they commit themselves, what should arman call it if he for-

beare to use the proper termes & names that it deserveth? For if in writing against Antidorus or Bion the Sophister, he had made mention of lawes, of pollicy, of justice and government of common weale, might not one have said unto him as Electra did to her furious brother Orestes,

Poore soule, be quiet feare none ill Deare hart, in bed see thou be still.

cherishing and keeping warme thy poore body ? As for me, let them argue and exposulate with me about these points, who have lived economically or politickly. And such are they all whom Colotes hath reviled and railed upon. Among whom Democritus verily in his writings admonisheth and exhorteth, both to learne military science, as being of all others the greatest, and also to take paines, and endure travels. Whereby men attaine to much renowmeand ho- 10 nour. As for Parmenedes hee beautified and adorned his owne native countrey with most excellent lawes which he ordained: in so much as the magistrates every yeere when they newly enter into their offices, binde the citizens by an oth to observe the statutes and lawes of Parmenides. And Empedocles not onely judicially convented and condemned the principal persons of the city wherein he dwelt, for their infolent behaviour and for distracting or embelelling the publicke treasure, but also delivered all the territorie about it from sterility and pestilence, whereunto before time it was subject, by emmuring and stopping up the open passages of a certaine mountaine, through which the fouthern winde blew and overspred all the plaine country underneath. Socrates after he was condemned to death, when his frends had made meanes for him to escape, refused to take the benefit thereof, because he would maintaine and confirme the 10 authority of the lawes; chusing rather to die unjustly, than to save his life by disobaying the lawes of his country. Melifin being pretor or captaine generall of the city wherein he dwelt, defaited the Athenians in a battell at lea. Plato left behinde him in writing many good difcourses of the lawes and of civill government: but much better imprinted he in the hearts and minds of his disciples & familiars, which were the cause that Dion freed Sieily from the tyrany of Dionysius; and Thrace likewise was delivered by the meanes of Python and Heracledes, who killed king Cotys. Chabrias and Phocion, worthy commaunders of the Athenians armie, cameboth out of the schoole Academia. As for Epicurus he sentas farre as into Asia certaine persons of purpose to taunt and revile Timocrates, yea and caused the man to be banished out of the kings court, onely for that he had offended Metrodorus his brother. And this you may read written 30 in their owne books. But Plato fent of those friends which were brought up under him Arifunimus to the Arcadians, for to ordeine their common wealth, Phormio to the Elians Menedamus to those of Pyrrha, Eudoxus to the Cnidians, and Aristotle to those of Stagira, who being all his disciples and samiliars, did pen and set downe lawes. Alexander the Great requested to have from Xenocrates rules and precepts as touching the government of a kingdome. And he who was fent unto Alexander from the Greeks dwelling in Asia & who most of all other fer himon a light fire and whetted him on to enterprife the warre against the barbarous king of Persu, was Delius an Ephefian, one of Platoes familiars. Zenonalso ascholar of Parmenides undertooke to kill the tyrant Demylus, and having no good fuccesse therein, but missing of his purpose, maintained the doctrine of Parmenides to be pure and fine golde tried in the fire from all basemet 40 tal, shewing by the effect, that a magnanimous man is to feare nothing, but turpitude and dishonour and that they be children and women, or else esseminate and heartlesse men like women, who are affraid of dolor and paine: for having bitten off his tongue with his owne teeth, he fpit it in the tyrants face. But out of the schoole of Epicurus, and of those who follow his rules and doctrines, I doe not aske what tyrant killer there was or valiant man and victorious in feats of armes, what lawgiver, what counfellour, what king or governour of flate, either died or fuffied torture for the upholding of right and justice : but onely which of all these Sages didever so much as imbarke and make a voiage by fea in his countries fervice and for the good thereof? which of them went in embassage or disbursed any mony thereabout? or where is there extant upon record any civill action of yours in matter of government. And yet because that Metrodo- 10 ru went downe one day from the city, as far as to the haven Pyr aeum, & tooke a journey of five or fix miles to aide Mythra the Syrian one of the king of Perfias traine and court, who had bene arrested and taken prisoner, he wrot unto all the friends that he had in the world, of this exploit of his : and this doubty voiage Epicurus hath magnified & exalted in many of his letters. What a doe would they have made then, if they had done such an act as Aristotle did who reedified the city of his nativity Stagira, which had bene destroied by king Philip ? or as Theophrasius, who twice delivered and freed his native city being held and oppressed by tyrants? Should not thinke

you the the river Nilus have fooner given over to beate the popyr reed, than they bene weary of discribing their brave deeds. And is not this a grievous matter and a great indignity, that of so many fects of Philosophers that have bene, they onely in maner enjoy the good things and benefits that are in cities, without contributing any thing of their owne unto them? There are not any Poets Tragedians or Comedians, but they have endevoured to doe or fay alwaies fome good thing or other for the defence of lawes and policie: but these here, if peradventure they write ought, write of policie, that we should not intermeddle at all in the civill government of flate: of Rhetoricke, that we should not plead any causes eloquently at the barre : of Roialty, that we should avoid the converting and living in kings courts: neither doe they name at any time 10 those great persons who manage affaires of common weale, but by way of mockerie for to debale and abolish their glorie. As for example of Epaminondas they fay that he had indeed some good thing onely in name and word, but the fame was but warry that is to fay, as little as might be, for that is the very terme that it pleafeth them to use. Moreover they name him heart of yron demaunding why hemarched up and downe through out all Peloponnesus with his armie as he did, and fat not rather quiet at home in his owne house with a dainty chaplet upon his head given wholly to make good chere, and to fleepe with his belly full in a whole skin. But me thinks I should not for any thing omit in this place to rehearle what Metrodorus hath written in his booke of philosophy, wherein abjuring all dealing in government of state, he saith thus, Somethere be of these wisemen (quoth he) who being full of vanity and arrogancy, had to 20 deepe an infight into the bufineffe thereof, that in treating of the rules of good life and of vertue they fuffer themselves to be carried away with the very same defires that Lyeurgus and Solon fell into. What? was this vanity indeed and the aboundance of vanity and pride, to fet the city of Athens free, to reduce Sparta to good policy, and the government of holfome lawes, that young men should doe nothing licenciously nor get children upon curtifans and harlots? and that riches, wanton delicacie, intemperance, loofenesse & dissolution should beare no sway nor have the commaund in cities, but law onely and justice; for these were the desires of Solon. And thus Metrodorus by way of scorne and contumelious reproch addeth thus much more for a conclufion to the reft, And therefore (quoth he) it is well beforming a gentleman, to laugh a good and right heartly at all other men, but especially at these Solones and Lyeurgi. But verily such an one 30 were not a gentleman Metrodorus, nor well borne, but fervile, base, unruly and diffolute and who described to be scurged not with the whip which is for free borne persons, but with that whip Aftragalote, wherewith the maner was to whip and chaftice those gelded facrificers called Gally when they did amiffe in the cerimonies and facrifices of Cylore the great mother of the gods. Now, that they warred not against the lawgivers but the very lawes themselves, a man may heare and learne of Epicurus; for in his questions he demandeth of himselfe, whether a wife man being affured that no man ever should know, would doe and commit any thing that the law forbiddeth? and he maketh an answere which is not full nor an open, plaine and simple affirmation, faying, doe it I will, marry confesse it and be known thereof I will not. Againe, writing as I suppose unto Idomeneus, he admonisheth him not to subject and enthrall his life unto lawes and 40 theopinions and reputations of men: unlesse in this regard onely that otherwise there is prepared odious whipping chere and that neere at hand. If then it be so, that they who abolish lawes, governments and policies, do with all subvert and overthrow mans life: if Metrodorus and Epicurus doe no leffe, withdrawing and averting their friends and followers from dealing in publicke affaires, and spitefully hating those who doe meddle therein, miscalling and railing at the chiefe and wifeft lawgivers that ever were, yea and willing them to contemne the lawes, so that they keepe themselves out of the searce of the whip and danger of punnishment, I cannot fee that Colores hathin any thing fo much belied others, and raifed false imputations against them, as he hath indeed and truely accused the doctrine and opinions of Epicurus.

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OF LOVE.

The Summarie.

🏹 His Dialogue is more dangerous to be read by yoong menthan any other Treatife of Plutarch, for that there be certeine glaunces heere and there against honest marriage, to upholde indirectly and underhand, the cursed and detestable filthinesse coversly couched under the name of the Love of young boyes. But minds guarded and armed with true chastitie and the feare of God, may see evidently in this discourse the milerable estate of the world, in that there be found patrons and advocates of so detestable a cause; such I meane as in this booke are brought in under the persons of Protogenes and Pisias. Meane n hile ther may perceive likewise in the combat of matrimonial love against unnatural Pæderastie not to be na- 20 med, that honeflie hathalwaies meanes sufficient to defend it selfe for being vanquisted, yea and in the end to go away with the victorie. Now this Treatife may be comprised in four principal points: of which, the first (after a briefe Preface wherein Autobulus being requested to rehear feunto his companions certeine reports which before time hee had heard Plutarch his father to deliver as touching Love . entreth into the discourse) conteineth the historie of Ismcnodora , enamoured upon a young man named Bacchon; whereupon arose some difference and dispute : of which, Plutarch and those of his companie were chosen arbitratours. Thereupon Protogenes seconded by Pilias, (and this with (econd point) setting himselfe against Ismenodora, disgraces hand discredites the whole sex of woman kinde, and prufeth openly enough the love of males. But Daphnaus answereth them so fully home and pertinently to the purpose, that he discovereth and descetch all their fithinesse, and confu-30 teth them as behoovefull it was, (hewing the commodities and true pleasure of conjugall love. Inthis defence, assifted he is by Plutarch, who prooveth that neither the great wealth, nor the forward affection of a woman to a man, caufeth the mariage with her to be culpable or woorthy to be blamed, by divers examples declaring that many women even of base condition, have beene the occasion of great evils and calamities. But as he was minded to continue this discourse, newes came how Bacchon was caught up and brought into the house of Isinchodora, which made Protogenes and Pisiasto dislodge; insomuch as their departure gave entrie into the third and principall point concerning Love what it is? what be the parts, the causes, the sundry effects and fruits thereof, admirable in all sorts of persons, in altering them so as they become quite changed and others than they were before: which is confirmed by many notable examples and similitudes. In the last point Plutarch discourseth upon this 40 argument, and that by the Philosophy of Plato and the Aegyptians, conferring the same with the doctrine of other Philosophers and Poets. Then having expresty and flatly condemned Pade-

trine of other Philolophers and Poets. Then having exprelly and flatly condemned Paa
rastie, as a most vule and abhominable thing, and adjoined certaine excellent advertisements for the ensertening of love in wedlocke, betweene husband and
wife, of which herelateth one proper example, bis speech endeth
by occasion of a messenger who came in place, and
drew them all away to the wedding of
Isimenodora and Bacchon,
beforesaid.



OF LOVE.

FLAVIANUS.



10

T was at Helicon (ô Autobulus) was it not, that those discourses were held as touching Love, which you purpose to relate unto us at this present, upon our request and intreaty, whether it be that you have put them downe in writing, or beare them well in remembrance, considering that you have so often required and demanded them of your father?

Autobulus.

Yes verily, in Helicon it was (ô Flavianus) among the Muses, as what time as the Thespians solemnized the seast of Cupid: for they celebrate certain games of prise every five yeeres, in the honour

of Love, aswell as of the Muses, and that with great pompe and magnificence.

FLAVIANUS.

And wot you what it is that we all here that are come to heare you, will request at your hands?

A u r o B u L u s.

No verily, but I shall know it when you have tolde me.

FLAVIANUS.

Mary this it is: That you would now in this reherfall of yours, lay afide all by-matters and needlefte preambles, as touching the descriptions of faire medowes, pleasant shades; of the crawling and winding Ivie; of rils is fluing from fountaines running round about, and such like common places, that many love to insert, descriptions of the tiver suffer, of the Chast-tree, and the sine greene grasse and prety herbs growing daintily upon the ground, rising up alittle with a genule assent, and all after the example of Plato in the beginning of his Dialogue Phedrus, with more curiositie iwis and affectation, than grace and elegancie.

Aurotulus. What needs this narration of ours (my good friend Flavianus) any fuch Proceme or Pie face? for the occasion from whence arose and proceeded these discourses, requireth onely an affectionate audience, and calleth for a convenient place as it were a stage and leastfold, for to relate the action: for otherwife, of all things els requifit in a Comedie or Enterlude, there wantethnothing: onely let us make our praiers unto the Muses Mother, Ladie Memorie, for to be propice unto us, and to vouchfafe her affiltance, that we may not miffe, but deliver the whole nattration. My father long time before I was borne, having newly elpouled my mother, by occalion of a certeine difference and variance that fell out betweene his parents and hers, tooke a journey to Thefpie, with a full purpose to facrifice unto Cupid the god of Love; and to the feath heehad up with him my mother also, for that it principally apperteined unto her to performe 40 both the praier & the facrifice. So there accompanied him from his house, certeine of his most familiar friends. Now when he was come to Thefpia; he found Daphnaus the fonne of Archidamu, and Lyfander who was in love with Simons daughter, a man who of all her woers was best welcome unto her and most accepted: Sociarin also the sonne of Aristion, who was come from Tithora: there was besides, Protogenes of Tarlos, and Zeuxtopus the Lacedamonian, both of them his olde friends and good hofts, who had given him kinde enterteinment: and my father faid moreover, that there were many of the best men in Beatin there, who were of his acquaintance. Thus as it should seeme, they abode for two or three daies in the citie, enterteining one another gently at their leafurewith diffcourfes of learning, one while in the common empaled parke of exercises, where she youth used to wrestle, and otherwhiles in the Theaters and Shew-50 places, keeping companie together. But afterwards, for to avoid the troublefome contentions of Minitrels and Mulicians, where it appeared that all would go by favour, such labouring there was before hand for youces, they diflodged from thence for the most part of them, as out of an enemies countrey, and retired themselves to Helicon, and there sojourned and lodged among the Muses: where, the morrow morning after they were thither come, arrived and repaired unto them Amhemon and Pifes, two noble gentlemen, allied both and affectionate unto Barchon, furnamed The Faire, and at some variance one with another by reason of I wot not what jealoufie, in regard of the affection they bare unto him. For there was in the city of The spice, a certaine

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Dame named If inendars, descended of a noble house and rich withall: yea and of wise and honest carriage besides in all her life: for continued shee had no small time in widowhood without blame, reproch or touch, notwithstanding shee was yoong, and therewith beautifull.

This fresh widow whiles she treated of a mariage to be made betweene Bacchon a yoong gentleman, a neighbours childe, whose mother was a very familiar friend of hers; a certeine yoong maiden a kinswoman of her owne, by often talking with him, and frequenting his company much, fell herselfe in some fancie with the yoong man: Thus both hearing and speaking much good and many kinde speeches of him, and seeing besides a number of other gentlemen and persons of good woorth to be enamoured upon him; by little and little she also fell to bee inhot love with the youth: howbeit, with a full intention and resolution to doe nothing that to should be dishonest, or unbesceming her place, parentage, & reputation, but to be wedded unto Bacchon lawfully in the open fight of the world, and so to live with him in the estate of wedlocke. As the thing it felfe feemed at the first very strange, so the mother of the yoong man of one side doubted and suspected the greatnesse of her state, and the nobility & magnificence of her house & linage, as not meet & correspondent to his codition, for to be a lover or to be matched there; and on the other fide, some of his companions who used to ride forth a hunting with him, confidering that the yoong age of Bacchon was not answerable to the yeeres of Ismenodora, buzzed many doubts in his head, and frighted him from her what they could, faying: That the might be his mother, and that one of her age was not for him; and thus by their jesting and scoffing, they hindered the mariage more, than they who laboured in good earnest to breake it : for hee 20 began to enter into himselfe, and considering that he was yet a beardlesse youth, and scarcely undergrowen, he was abashed and ashamed to mary a widow. Howbeit in the end, shaking off all others, hereferred himselfe to Anthemion and Pissas, for to tell him their minds upon the point, and to advise him for his best: Now was Anthemion his cousen german, one of good yeeres, and elder than himselfe farre; and Pissas of all those that made love unto him, most auftere : and therefore he both withstood the mariage, and also checked Anthemion, as one who abandoned and betraied the yoong man unto Ismenodora. Contrariwise, Anthemion charged Pissa and said he did not well: who being otherwise an honest man, yet heerein imitated leawd lovers, for that he went about to put his friend beside a good bargaine, who now might besped with fo great a mariage, out of fo worthipfull an house, and wealthy besides; to the end that he 30 might have the pleature to fee him a long time stripped naked in the wrestling place, fielh still, and smooth, and not having touched a woman. But because they should not by arguing thus one against another, grow by little and little into heat of choler, they chose for umpiers and judges of this their controversic, my father and those who were of his company; and thither they came; affiftant also there were unto them, other of their friends, Daphnaus to the one, and Protogenes to the other, as if they had beene provided of fet purpose to plead a cause: As for Protogenes who fided with Pisias, he inveighed verily with open mouth against dame Ismenodo. ra: whereupon Daphnaus: O Hercules (quoth he) what are we not to expect, and what thing in the world may not happen; in case it be so that Protogenes is ready heere to give defiance and make warre against love, who all his life both in earnest and in game, hash beene wholy in love, 40 and all for love, which hath caused him to forget his booke, and to forget his naturall country, not as Lains did, who was but five daics journey diftant: for that love of his was flow and heavy, and kept still upon the land: whereas your Capid, Protogenes

With his light wings displaied and spred,

from out of Cilicia to Abens, to fee faire boies, and to converse and goe up and downs with them (forto say a trueth, the chiefecause why Protogenes made a voiage out of his owna country, and became a traveller, was at the first this and no other) Heerearthe company tooke up a laughter, and Protogenes: Thinke you (quoth he) that I warre not against love, and not rather stande in the desence of love against lascivious wantonnesse, and violent intemperance, which yo most shameful acts and sitchy passions, would perforce chalenge and breake into the fairest, most shonest, and evenerable names that be? Why(quoth Daphness then) do you terme mariage and the secret of mariage, to wit, the lawfull conjunction of man and wise, most vile and dishonest actions, than which there can be no knot nor linke in the world more facred and holy? This bond in trueth of wedlocke (quoth Protogenes) as it is necessary for generation, is by good right praised by Polititians and law givers, who recommend the same highly unto the people and common multitude: but to speake of true love indeed, there is no jot or part theros in the socie.

rie and felowship of women: neither doe I thinke that you and such as your selves, whose affections stand to wives or maidens, do love them no more than a flie loveth milke, or a bee the hony combe; as caters and cookes who keepe foules in mue, and feed calves and other fuch beafts fatte in darke places, and yet for all that they love them not. But like as nature leadeth and conducteth our appetite moderately, and as much as is sufficient to bread and other viands; but the excesse thereof, which maketh the naturall appetite to be a vicious passion, is called gourmandife, and pampering of the flesh: even so there is naturally in men and women both a desire to enjoy the mutuall pleafure one of another: whereas the impetuous luft which commeth with a kinde of force and violence, fo as it hardly can be held in, is not fitly called love, neither deto fervethit that name: For love if it feife upon a yoong, kinde, and gentle heart, endeth by amity in vertue: whereas of these affections and lusts after women, if they have successed and speed never fo well, there followeth in the end the fruit of some pleasure, the fruition and enjoying of youth and a beautifull body, and that is all. And thus much tellified Aristippus, who when one went about to make him have a diffaste and mislike of Lais the curtifan, faying, that she loved him not, made this answer: I suppose (quoth he) that neither good wine, nor delicate fish loyeth me, but yet (quoth he) I take pleasure and delight in drinking the one, and eating the other. For furely the end of defire and appetite, is pleasure and the fruition of it. But love if it have once lost the hope and expectation of amity and kindnesse, will not continue nor cherish and make much for beauty fake, that which is irkfome and odious, beit never fo gallant and in 20 the flower and prime of age, unleffe it bring foorth and yeeld fuch fruit which is familiar unto it, even a nature disposed to amity and vertue. And therefore it is that you may heare some husband in a comcedie, speaking tragically thus unto his wife:

Thou hatest me: and I againe, thine hatred and distaine Will eas'ly beare: and this abuse turne to my proper gaine.

For furely, more amorous than this man is not hee, who not for lucte and profit, but for the flethly pleafure of *Venus*, endureth a curft, shrewd and froward wife, in whom there is no good nature nor kinde affection. After which maner *Philippides* the Comicall Poet scoffed at the 30 Oratour *Stratocks* and mocked him in these verses:

She winds from thee, she turnes away unkind,

Hardly thou canst once kisse her head behinde. Butif we must needs call this passion Love, yet furely it shall be but an esseminate and bastard love, fending us into womens chambers and cabinets as it were to Cymofarges at Athens, where no other youthes do exercise but misbegotten bastards : or rather, like as they say, there is one kinde of gentle faulcons or roiall eagles bred in the mountaines, which Homer calleth the Blacke eagle for game: whereas other kinds there be of bastard hawks, which about pooles and meres eatch fifh or feaze upon heavie winged birds and flow of flight; which many times wanting their prey, make a piteous noise and lamentable cry for very hunger and famine: even so the true and naturall love is that of yoong boies, which sparkleth not with the ardent heat of concupifcence, as Anacreon faith the other of maidens and virgins doeth: it is not befinered with fweet ointments, nor tricked up and trimmed, but plaine and fimple alwaies a man shallsee it, without any intifing allurements in the Philosophers schooles, or about publicke parks of exercise and wreftling places, where it hunteth kindly and with a very quicke and piercingeie after none but yoong striplings and springals, exciting and encouraging earnestly unto vertue, as many as are meet and woorthy to have paines taken with them: whereas the other delicate and effeminate love, that keepeth home and stirreth not out of dores, but keepeth continually in womens laps, under canapies or within curtaines in womens beds and fort pallets, feeking alwaies after daintie delights, and pampered up with unmanly pleafures, wherein there 30 is no reciprocall amitie, nor heavenly ravishment of the spirit, is worthy to be rejected and chafed farre away: like as Solon banished it out of his common wealth, when he expresly forbad all flaves and those of servile condition to love boies or to be anointed in the open aire without the baines, buthe debarred them not from the companie of women. For amitie is an honelt, civill and laudable thing: but fleshly pleasure, base, vile, and illiberall. And therefore that a servile flave should make love to a sweet youth, it is neither decent, civil nor commendable: for this is no carnall love nor hurtfull any way, as that other is of women. Protogenes would have continued his speech and said more, but Daphnaus interrupting him: Now furely, you have done it Ccccc 3

very well (quoth he) and alledged Solon trimly for the purpole; and wee must belike, takehim for the judge of a true lover, and the rule to go by, especially when he saith:

Thoushalt love boies, till lovely downe upon their face doth spring,

Catching at mouth their pleasant breath, and soft thighs cherishing.

Adjoine also unto Salon (if you thinke good) the Poet Aeschylos, whereas he faith:

Umbankfull man, unkindet bou art. For kiffes (weet which thou hast found, Regarding not of thy deare bart, The thighs so streight and buttocks round.

Here are proper judges indeed of love. Others I wot well there be, who laugh at them, because they would have lovers like to facrificers, bowel-priers and soothsaiers, to calt an cie to the hanches and the loines: but I for my part, gather from hence a very good and forcible argument in the behalfe of women: for if the companie with males that is against kinde, neither taketh a way nor doth prejudice the amitie and good will of lovers, farre more probable it is that the love to women which is according to nature, is performed by a kinde of oblequious savour, and endeth in amity: for the voluntarie submission of the semale to the male, was by our ancestos in oldetime, of Protogenes, termed years, that is to say, Grace or Favour: which is the reason that Pindarus saith Vulcane was borne of Jano and years with the state of the Craces. And 20 Sappho the Poetresse speaking to a yoong girle not as yet for her tender yeeres marriageable:

Too yoong (my childe) you seeme to me,

Withouten Grace also to be.

And Hercules was asked the question of one in these termes:

What did you force the maiden by compulsion,

Or win her grace and favour with per svasion.

whereas the submission in this kinde of males to males, if it be against their will, is named violence and plainer ape: but if it be voluntarie, and that upon an effeminate weaknesse they be so farre beside their right wits as to yeeld themselves to be ridden as it were and covered, for those be Platoes words, in maner of source socied beasts; I say such love is altogether without Grace, 30 without decencie, most unseemly, fishly and abominable. And therefore I suppose verily, that solon powered out those verses when he was a suftiey onker, ranke of blood and full of natural seed, as Plato saith: for when he was well stept in yetes he sung in another tune and wrote thus:

The sports of Venus Lady bright, And Bacchus now aremy delight: In Musicke eke I pleasure take: For why? these three menjoies domake.

when he had retired and withdrawen his life as it were out of a trouble some sea and tempessuous storme of *Paderassium*, into the quiet calme of lawfull marriage and studie of Philosophie.

Now if we will consider better, & looke never into the truth, the passion of Love (o Frotoge- 40 nes be it in one fex or another, is all one & the same : but if upon a froward and contentious humor you will needs divide and diffinguish them, you shall finde that this love of boics dothnot conteine it selfe within compasse, but as one late borne and out of the seasonable time of age and course of this life, a very bastard and begotten secretly in darknesse, it would wrongfully drive out the true legitimate natural love, which is more ancient. For it was but yesterday or two daies ago as one would fay my good friend, and namely, fince yong lads began in Greece to difrobe & turne themselves naked out of their clothes, for the exercise of their bodies, that it crept into these impaled places, where youthes prepared themselves for to wrestle: & there closely setling it felfe, lodged and was enftalled; where by little and little when the wings were full growen it became so insolent, that it could not be held in, but offer injury and outrage to that nuptial 50 love, which is a coadjutteffe with nature, to immortalize mankind, in kindling it immediately againe by generation according as the same is extinguished and put out by death. But this Protogenes heere would seeme to deny that the faid love tendeth to any pleasure: The truth is this, he is afhamed to confesse, and afraid to avow so much. But there must needs be devised some pretie reason, and cleanly excuse, for the touching, feeling, and handling of these faire yoong boies. Wel the pretence and colour to cover al, is amity and vertue. He best reweth himselsewith dust against he should wrestle, he doth bath and wash in cold water, he knitteth & bendeth his

browes full gravely, he giveth it out and maketh his boalt that he fludieth Philofophie, that he is chafte and continent: and all this is abroad and before folke, for feare of the lawes; but when the night comes, and that every man is retired to his reft,

Sweet is the fruit that stollen is secretly, And gather delose, while keeper is not by.

10

And if as Protogenes faith this Paderastium aimeth not at carnall conjunction, how then can is be love, if Venue be not there? confidering that of all other gods and goddeffes, her alone Cupid is destined and devoted to serve and attend upon, having neither honour, power nor authoritie, no farther than the will impart and bestow upon him. And if you say unto mee, that there may 10 be some love without Venue, like as there is drunkennesse without wine, for a man may drinke of a certein decoction of figs, or barly made into malt, & be drunke therewith: I answer you, that as this is but a flatulent exagitation, so the motion of such love is fruitlesse, unperfect, bringing lothsome satietie, and wearisome sulnesse soone. Whiles Daphnaus thus spake, it appeared evidently, that Pifias found himselfe galled, and was enchassed against him. Therefore so soone as he had made an end of his speech, after some little pause: O Hercules (quoth hee) what intollerable impudency and inconfiderate rafhnesse is this, that men should confesse and avow, that like dogs they be tied to women by their naturall parts, and so chase and banish this god Cupid, out of the publicke places of exercise, out of the open galleries and walks; from the pure conversation in open aire, sunne-shine, and before the whole world for to be ranged and brought, 20 to little spades, hatchets, drogues, medicines, charmes and sorceries of these wanton and lascivious women? For to speake of chaste and honest dames, I say, it is not beforming that they should either love or be loved. And heereat verily my father faid, that himselfe tooke Protogenes by the hand, reciting this verse out of the Poet:

Suchwords as these no doubt will make

The Argives, armes anon to take. For furely Pifias through his infolencie, caufath us to fide with Daphnaus, and undertake to mainteine his part, seeing he so farre exceedeth the bonds of all reason, as to bring into mariage and wedlocke, a fociety without love, and void of that divine instinct of amity, and inspired from heaven above: which we see how we have enough to doe for to mainteine and hold with al 30 the yokes, bittes and bridles, offeare and shame, if this hearty affection and grace be away. Then Pifias, I paffe little (quoth he) for all these words: and as for Daphnaus me thinks I see how itfareth with him, as it doth with a piece of braffe, which melteth not fo much by force of fire, as it doth by another piece of braffe melted, if a man power the same upon it, for then anon it will be liquefied and runne together with it. And even so, the beauty of Lysandra doth not so greatly affect and trouble him, as this that converfing along time with one that is enflamed and full of fire, by touching her he is himfelfe all fire: and evident it is, that unleffe hee retire with fpeed unto us, he will melt and runfall to liquor: But I perceive (quoth he) that I do that which Anthemion should most defire and wish, namely, that I am offensive both to the judges and to my selfe; wherefore I will hold my peace & say no more: You say true indeed (quoth Anthemi-40 00) you do me a great pleafure, for you should at the very first have said somewhat to the point, and upon the particular matter now in question: I fay therefore (quoth Pissas, but I protest beforehand, & that aloud, that for mine owne part I will be no hinderance, but that every woman may have her lover) that this yoong man Bacchon had need to take heed and beware of the riches and wealth of Ismenodora; otherwise if wee match him with such an house of so great state and magnificence, we shall ere webe aware consume him to nothing, like a piece of tinne among braffe. For a great matter I may tell you it were, if being so yoong as he is, and espousing a wife of meane and simple degree, he should in such a mixture hold his owne, and keepe the predominance as wine over water. But we may fee that this gentlewoman heerel feemeth alreadie to looke for to commaund and be his mafter: otherwife The would never have refused and rejec-50 ted fo many husbands as she hath done of such reputation, so nobly descended, and so wealthy withall, for to woo and follicite as the doth a very boy new crept out of the shell, no better than apage but the other day, one iwis that had more need to goe to schoole still, and be under a tutour and governour. And hecreupon it is, that those husbands who are of the wifer fort, doe of themselves cast away, or else clip and cut the wings of their wives, that is to say, their goods and riches, which cause them to be proud and insolent, sumptuous and wasteful, full of shrewdnesse, vaine, light, and foolish; and with these wings they mount many times, take their flight and away; or if they stay at home, better it were for a man to be bound with fetters of gold, as the

maner is to encheine prisoners in Aethiopia, than to be tied with the wealth and riches of his wife: But he hath faid nothing as yet (quoth Protogenes) heereof, nor once touched this flting. namely, how in admitting this mariage, we shall in maner invert and that ridiculously and with abfurdity enough the sentence of Hesiodus who giveth counsell in these words:

10

At thirty yeares (not much above nor under) of thine age, Wed thou a wife : this is the time, most meet for mariage: At foureteene yeeres a damofell doth signes of ripenesse shew, At fifteene would the maried be,

and her bedfellow know. And we heere cleane contrary almost, will match a yoong man before he be ready for mariage. unto a woman as old againe well necreas himfelfe, as if one should fet dates or figges upon old flocks, to make them ripe. And why not? fome one will haply fay; for the is enamoured upon him, the burnes & is ready to die for love of him, I marvel much who hinders her that the goeth not to his house in a maske, that she sings not lamentable ditties at his dore, & amorous plaints, that the adorneth not his images with garlands and chaplets of flowers, and that the entrethnot into combat with her corrivals, and winne him from them all by fight and feats of activity for these be the casts of lovers; let her knit her browes; let her forbeare to live bravely and daintily, 20 putting on the countenance and habit meet for this passion: but if the be modest, shamefaced, lober, and honest, as that she is abashed so to doe; let her sit womanly and decently as it becomment, at home in her house, expecting her lovers and woers, to come and court her there, For fuch a woman as doth not diffemble, but bewraieth openly that she is in love, a man would avoid and deteft, fo farre would he be from taking her to be his wife, or laying for the ground of his mariage such shamelesse incontinence. Now when Protogenes had made an end of his speech, and paused a while : See you not ô Anthemion (quoth Daphnam) how they make this a common cause againe and matter of disputation, enforcing us to speake still of nuptiall love, who denie not our felves to be the mainteiners thereof, nor avoid to enter into the daunce as they fay, and to shew our selves to be the champions of it? Yes mary do I (quoth Anthemion) & 30 I pray you take upon you to defend at large this love: and withall let us have your helping hand about this point, as touching riches, which Piffus urgeth especially, and wherewith he seemeth to affeight us more than with any thing else: What can we doe lesse quoth my father then; for were it not a reproch offred unto woman kind, and would it not greatly redound to their diference dit and blame, in case we would reject and cast off Ismenodora, for her love and her wealth sake? But the is brave, the is fumptuous, costly, and bearing a great port: What matters that, so long as she is faire, beautifull, and yoong? But she iscome of a noble house and highly descended? What harme of that if the live in good name, and be of good reputation ? for it is not necessary ry that wives to approove their honefly and wildome, should be fower, austere, curft & shrewd: for chafte dames and fober matrons, doe indeed detest bitternesse, as an odious thing and in-40 tollerable. And yet some there be that call them furies, and say they be curst threwes unto their husbands, when they be modelt, wife, diferer, and honest. Were it not best therefore to espouse fome od Abrosonout of Thracia, bought in open market: or fome Bacchis, a Milestan * passing in exchange for raw hides, and prized no deerer: And yet we know there be many men, whom 200 at the mexchange for raw fines, and prize the detection of the mexchange for raw fines, and rule as they lift: For even minstrell wenches of Samos, and such as professed dauncing, as Aristomea, Oenanthe, with her open fale is a tabour and pipe & Agathocleia, have over-toppedkings and princes, year troaden their crownes pawae for all and diademes under foot: As for Semiramis a Syrian, the was at first no better than a poore furance, that week legislated concubing to one of the great king Nime flaves; but after that the king himwench, servant and concubine to one of the great king Ninus slaves : but after that the king him nue and obe- felfe had fet his cie and fancie upon her, he was fo devoted unto her, & she againe so imperious- 50 ly ruled over him, and with fuch contempt, that the was fo bold to require at his hands, that he would permit her to fit one day upon her roiall throne, under the cloth of estate, with the diademe about her head, and so to give audience and dispatch the affaires of the kingdome in stead of him; which when Nines had graunted, & given expresse charge with all, that all his subjects whatfoever should yeeld their loiall obedience to her as to his owne person, yea and personne whatfoever the ordeined and decreed: the caried herfelfe with great moderation in her first commandements, to make triall of the pensioners and guard about her; and when the saw that

they gainfaid her in nothing, but were very diligent and ferviceable; the commanded them to arrest and apprehend the body of Nimu theking, then to binde him fast, and finally to doe him to death. Al which when they had fully executed, the reigned indeed, & for a long time in great state and magnificence ruled all Asia. And was not Belestie I pray you a Barbarian woman, bought up even in the very market among other flaves? and yet those of Alexandria have certeinetemples, chappels & altars, which king Ptolomans who was enamoured upon her, caufed to be entituled by the name of Venus Beleftie? And Phryne the famous courtenfan, who both heere and also at Delphos is shrined in the same temple and chappell with Cupid, whose statue all of beaten gold standeth among those of kings and queenes; by what great dowry was it that the to had all her lovers in such subjection under her? But like as these persons through their esseminate foftneffe and pufillanimity, became erethey were aware a very prey and pillage to fuch women: fo on the other fide, we finde others of base degree and poore condition, who being joined in mariage to noble & rich wives, were not utterly overthrowen with fuch matches, nor struck faile or abated ought of their generofitie and high spirit, but lived alwaics loved and honored by those wives, yea and were masters over them to their dying day. But he that rangeth and reduceth his wife into a narrow compaffe and low estate, as if one bent a ring to the slendernesse of his finger, for feare it should drop off, resembleth those for all the world, who clip and shave the maines of their mares, and plucke the haire off their tailes, and then drive them to water, into fomeriver or poole: for it is faid, that when they fee themselves in the water so ill favouredly 20 shorne and curtailed, they let fall their courage, stomacke, and hautic spirit, so as they suffer themselves afterward to be covered by affes. And therefore like as to preferre the riches of a woman above her vertue, or to make choise thereof before nobility of birth were base and illiberall: fo to reject wealth joigned with vertue and noble parentage is meere folly. King Antigonus writing unto a captaine of his whom he put with a garifon into the fortresse Munichia in Athens, the which he fortified with all diligence possible, commanded him not onely to make the collar and cheine strong, but the dogge also weake and leane: giving him thereby to underfland, that he should empoverish the Athenians, and take from them all meanes whereby they might rebell or rife against him. Bur a man who hath taken to wife a rich and beautifull woman, ought not to make her either poore, or foule and ill-favoured; but rather by his discretion, 30 good government & wildome, and by making semblance that he is ravished with no admiration of any thing that she hath, to beare himselfe equall unto her and in no wife subject, giving by his good demeanour and carriage a counterpeife to the balance for to hold her firme, or a waight rather to make her incline and bend that way which is good for them both. Now to returne unto Ismenodora, her yeeres are meet for mariage, and her person fitte for breeding and bearing children, and I heare fay the woman is in the very floure and best of her time; for elder the isnot (and with that he smiled upon Piffus) than any of her suters and corrivals, neither hath the any gray haires, as some of those that be affectionate to Bacchon and follow him. Now if they thinke themselves of a meet age to converse familiarly with him, what should hinder her but the should affect and fancie the yong mans person as well (if not better) as any yong maiden 40 whatloever. And verily these young solke are otherwhiles hard to be matched, united and concorporated together, and much a doe there is but by long continuance of time, to cast aside and shake off wantonnesse and wildenesse: for at the first there is many a foule day and blustring tempest, and binneth will they abide the yoke and drawe together: but especially if there be any inkling or jeloufie of other loves abroad, which like unto windes when the pilot is away do trouble and disquier the wedlocke of such young persons as neither be willing to obey, nor have the skill to commaund. If it be fothen, that a nourfe can rule her little babe fucking at her pap; alchoolemaster the boy that is his scholar; a master of exercises, the yong springall; a lover, the youth whom he loveth; the law and the captaine, a man growen and him that is able to beare armes; infomuch as there is no person of what age soever without government, and at his owne 50 libertie to doe what he lift : what abfurdity is it if a wife that hath wit and differention, and is belides the elder governe and direct the life of a yong man her husband? being as the is profitable unto him in regard the is the wifer, and befides milde and gentle in her government, for that the loveth him? Over and befides, to conclude, we all that are Boeotians (quoth he) ought both to honour Hereules, and also not to be offended with the mariage of those who are in yeeres unequall, knowing as wedoe that he gave his owne wife Megara being thirty three yeeres olde, in mariage to Iolam being then but fixteene yeeres of age. As these words passed to and fro, there came (as my father made report) one of Piffin companions galloping hard one horsebacke

from out of the city bringing newes of a very strange and wonderfull occurrent. For Ismenodora, perswading her selfe (as probable it was) that Bacchon missiked not this mariage in his heart but that he held off, for the respect and reverence that he carried unto those who seemed to divert him from it, resolved, not to give over her suit, nor to cast off the yong men. Whereupon the tent for fuch of her friends, as were lufty yong and adventurous gallants, and withall her favourits those that wished well to her love: certaine women also who were inward with her and most trusty: and when she had affembled them all together in her house and communicated her mind unto them, the waited the very houre, when as Bacchon was wont ordinarily to passeby her dores, going well and orderly appointed forth to the publicke place of wrefiling. Now when he approched nere unto her house all enhuiled and anointed as he was, accompanied only 10 with two or three persons, Ismenodora her selfe stepped forth of dores, crossed the way upon him and only touched the mandilion that he had about him : which fignall being given, all at once her friends leapt forth & faire caught up this faire youth in his mandilion and dublet as he was, and gently caried him into her house, and immediatly shut the dores fast locked. No sooner had they gotten him within dores, but the women in the house turning him out of his upper mandilion aforefaid, put upon him a faire wedding robe, & withall the fervants of the house ran up and downe, and adorned with ivie and olive branches the dores and gates not onely of Ismenodora but also of Bacchons house: and with that a minstrill wench also passed along through the street piping and finging a wedding fong. As for the citizens of The spie and the strangers who were there at that time, fome of them tookeupa laughter, others being angry and offended hereat, 10 incited the masters and governours of the publicke exercises (who indeed have great authority over the youth and carry a vigilent eleunto them, for to looke nerely unto all their behavious) whereupon they made no account at all of the prefent exercises then in hand, but leaving the theater, to the dore they came of Ismenodora, where they fell into hot reasoning and debating of the matter one against another. Now when the said friend of Pissas was come in all hasteriding upon the spurre with this newes, as if the had brought some great tidings out of the campe in time of warre, he had no fooner uttered, panting for want of winde and in maner breathleffe, these words, If menodor a hath ravished Bacchon, but Zeuxippus, as my father told the tale, laughed heartily, and out of Euripides (as he was one who alwaics loved to reade that Poet) pronounced this sentence:

Well done faire dame : you having wealth at will, i Are worldly wife , your minde thus to fulfill.

But Pifico, rifing up in great choler, cried out, O the will of God, what will be the end of this licentions libertie, which thus overthroweth our citie? feeing how all the world is growen after dy to this passe, that through our unbrideled audaciousnesse, we doe what we list, and passe for no lawes? but why fay I lawes, for haply it is but a ridiculous thing to take indignation for the transgressing of civill law and right: for even the very lawe of nature is violated by the infolent rashnesse of women. Was there ever the like example seene in the very ille Lemisas & Let ils be gone (quoth he) goe we and quit from hence foorth the wreftling, schooles hand publish place of exercises, the common hall of justice, and the senate house, and commit all to wo 40 men, if the city be so inervate as to putup such an indignitic. So Pifius brake company and departed in these termes, and Protogenes followed after him, partly as angry as he, aridin part appeafing& mitigating his mood a little. Then Anthemon : To lay a tructh (quothib) this was an audacious part of hers, and favouring formwhat of the enterprise of those Demonatiwives in old time, and no marvell; for we out felves know that the woman was exceeding amorous. Here! at Soclarus: Why thinke you (quoth he) that this was a ravishment indeed, and plaine force; and not rather a fubrile devise and stratageme, as it were of a yong man himselfe, who hath wit at will to colour and excuse himselse, in that escaping out of the armes of his other lovers, he is fallen into the hands of a faire, yoong and wealthie Ladie. Neverlay to (quoth Anthemion) nor interreine fuch an opinion of Bacchon: for fay that he were not of a fimple nature (as he is) and go plaine in all his dealings, yet would be never have concealed fo much from me, confidering that he hath made me privie to all his fecrets, and knoweth full well that in these matters I was of all other most ready to second and set forward the sute of Ismenodora. But a hard matter it isto withfland not anger as Heraelitus faith, but love : for whatfoever it be that it would have, compasset the same it will, though it be with the perill of life, though it cost both goods and reputa tion. For setting this thing aside, was there ever in all our citie, a woman more wise, sober and modest than Ismenodora? when was there ever heard abroad of her, any evill report, and when

went there so much as a light suspition of any unhonest act out of that house ? Certes we must thinke and fay, that the feemes to have beene furprifed with fome divine inftinct supernaturall and above humane reason. Then laughed Pemptides: You say even true (quoth he) there is a certeine great maladie of the bodie, which thereupon they call facred: is there any marvell then that the greatest and most furious passion of the minde some do terme sacred and divine? But it feemes unto me, that it fares with you here, as I faw it did fometime with two neighbours in Aegipt, who argued & debated one with another upon this point, that whereas there was prefented before them in the way as they went, a ferpent creeping on the ground, they were refolved both of them, that it prefaged good & was a luckie figne; but either of them tooke & challenged it to to himselfe: for even so when I see that some of you draw love into mens chambers, and others into womens cabinets, as a divine and fingular good thing, I nothing wonder thereat, confidering that this paffion is growen to fuch power and is fo highly honoured, that even those who ought to clip the wings thereof, and chace it from them of all fides, those be they that magnifie and extoll it most. And verily hitherto have I held my peace as touching this matter in question, for that I faw the debate and controverfie was about a private cause rather than any publicke matter: but now that I fee how Pifias is departed, I would gladly heare and know of you, whereat they armed and tended, who first affirmed that Love was a God? When Pemptides had propounded this question, as my father addressed himselfe and began to make his answere, there came another meffenger in place, whom Ismenodora had fent from the citie, for to bring Anthemion with 20 him; for that the trouble and tumult in maner of a fedition grewmore and more within the towne, by occasion that the two masters of the publicke exercises, were at some difference one with another, whiles the one was of this minde that Backhon was to be redemanded and delivered, the other against hought that they were to deale no farther in the matter. So Anthemion arose incontinently and went his way with all speed and diligence possible; and then my father calling to Pemptides by name, and directing his speech unto him : You seeme Pemptides (quotin he) in my conceit, to touch a very maine and nice point, or rather indeed to ftirre a ftring that would not be stirred, to wit, the opinion and beleefe that we have as touching the gods, in that you call for a reason and demonstration of them in particular. For the ancient faith and beleese received from our ancients in the country where we are borne is fufficient, than which there can 20 notbe faid or imagined a more evident argument:

For never was this knowledge found,

By wit of man or (enfe profound.

But this tradition being the base and foundation common to all pictic and religion, if the certitude and credit thereof received from hand to hand be shaken and mooved in one onely point, it becomments suspected and doubtfull in all the rest. You have heard no doubt how Euripides was coursed and troubled for the beginning of his Tragoedic Menalippe, in this maner:

28 36 36 46 20 Min 1948, 8c.

Jupiter whose name I know

By heare-fay onely and no mo.

40 And verily he had a great confidence in this Tragoedie, being as it should feeine inagnificently and with exquisit elegancie penned: but for the tumultuous murmuring of the people, hee changed the foresaid verses, as now they stand written:

Zd's એક તેર્દેતિકારમાં મેં હોતામિલીયા પેજાને, &c.

God Jupiter (which name in veritie Doth fort full well to his divinitie.)

And what difference is there by our words and disputation, between e calling the opinion which we have of Tupiter and of Mercurie into question and making doubt of Cupid or Love? For it is not now of late, and never before, that this God begins to call for altars or to challenge facrifices: neither is ite a stranger come among us from some barbarous superstition, like as certeine 50 Atta and I wot not what Admides and Admid, brought in by the meanes of some halfe-men or mungrest Hermaphrodutes and odde women; and thus being closely crept in, hath met with certeine shonours and worships farre unmeet for him, in such sort as he may well be accused of bastadice and under a false title to have beene enrolled in the catalogue of the gods: for my good friend, when you heare Empedocles saying thus,

And equall to the rest in length and breath, was Amitie; But see in sprit thou it beholde, not with deceit full eie.

you must understand him, that he writest thus of Love; for that this God is not visible, but apprehended onely by opinion and beleefe, among other Gods which are most ancient. Now if of all them in particular, you seeke for a proofe and demonstration, laying your hands upon echtemple, and making a sophisticall triall by every altar, you shall find nothing void and free from calumniation and envious slander: for not to go farre off, marke but these verses:

But Venus uneth can I fee
How great a goddeffe she should be: S
Of Cupid she the mother is,
And she alone that Love doth give:
Whose children we (you wor wel this)
Are all, who on the earth do live.

And verily, Empedoeles called her (sidate) that is to fay, fettile or giving life: Sophoeles, was that is to fay, fruitfull: both of them using most fit and pertinent attributes. Howbeit, this great and admirable worke, to wit, Generation, is wrought principally and directly by Penns, but collaterally and as an acceffary by Love: which if love be present, is pleasant & acceptable; contrariwise, if love be away, and not affistent thereto, surely the act thereforemaineth altogether not experible, difhonorable, without grace and unamiable. For the conjunction of man and woman without the affection of love, like as hunger and thirst which tend to nothing else but 20 fatiety and fulnesse, endeth in nought that is good, lovely and commendable: but the goddesse venus, putting away all lothsome statety of pleasure, by the meanes of love, engendred amitie and friendship, yea and temperature of two in one. And herereupon it is that Parmendes verily affirmeth love to be the most ancient worke of Venus, writing thus in his booke intituled cost mogenia, that is to say, the creation of the world.

And at the first she framed love Before all other gods above.

But Hessiams seemeth in mine opinion more physically to have made love more ancient than any other whatsoever, to the end that all the rest by it might breed and take beginning. If then we becave this love of the due honours ordained for it, certes those which belong to Venus will 30 not keepe their place any longer. Neither can it be truely said that some men may wrong and reproch love, and sotbeare withall to doe injurie unto Venus. For even from one and the same stage we doe here these imputations, first upon love:

Love idle is it selfe, and in good troth Possesseth such like persons, given to sloth.

And then againe upon Venus:

againe upon rema:
Venus (my children) hath not this onely name
Of Venus or of Cypris: for the fame
Answere right well to many an attribute,
And surname, which men unto her impute.
For hell he is: and also violence
That never ends, but aic dosh recommence
And surious rage, yong solke for to incense

Like as, of the other gods there is not one almost, that can avoid the approbrious tongue of unlettered rusticity and ignorance. For do but consider and observe god Mars, who as it were in an Caldean and Astronomicall table standard in a place diametrally opposit unto love; which is a place diametrally oppositely oppositely oppositely oppositely oppositely opposit

Mats is starke blinde and seeth not (faire dames) but like wilde bore, By turning all things up side downe,

morks mischeife evermore.

Homer calleth him pumperson, that is to say, imbrued with blood and polluted with murders; likewise apparation, that is to say, variable and leaping from one side to another. As for Chrissphin, by ety mologizing and deriving this gods name, fastneth upon him a criminous accusation, saying that apps, for so he is named, in Greeke, cometh of drappin, that is to say to murder and destroy:

giving thereby occasion unto some, to thinke that the facultie and power in us, prone to warre, ight, debate, quarrell, anger, and fell stomacke, is called Apis, that is to say, Mars. Like as others also will say, that concupiteence in us, is termed Pennu; our gift of speaking, Mercurie; skill in arts and sciences, Muses; and prudence, Minerua. See you not how deepe a pit and downefall of Atheisme and impietie is ready to receive and swallow us up, in case we range and distribute the gods according to the passions, powers, faculties and vertues that be in us?

Of Love.

Ifee it very well (quoth Pemprides:) but neither standeth it with pictic and religion, to make gods to be passions; nor yet contrariwise, to beleeue that passions be gods. How thinke you then (quoth my father) is Mars a god, or a passion of ours? Pemptides answered, Thathe to thought him to be a god, ruling and ordering that part of our foule wherein is feated animofitie, anger and manly courage. What Pemptides, cried out my father then, hath that turbulent. warring, overthwart and quarrelling part in us, a deitie to be prefident over it; and shall this that breedeth amity, focietie and peace, be without a divine power to governeit? Is there indeed, a martiall and warlike god of armes, called thereupon Stratim and Engalism, who hath the superinsendance and prefidence of mutual murders wherein men kill and bekilled, of armour, weapops, arrowes, darts and other thot of affaults and scaling walles, of saccage, pillage and booties? Is there never a god, to be a witneffe, guide, director and coadjutour of nuptiall affection and matrimoniall love, which endeth in unitie, concord and fellowship ? There is a god of the woods and forests, named Agroteros, who doth aide, affist and encourage hunters, in chasing 20 and crying after the roe-bucke, the wilde goat, the hare and the hart; and they who lie in fecret waitfor to intercept woolves and beares in pitfalles, and to catch them with fnares, make their praiers to Aristans,

Who first, as I have heard mensay, Did grinnes and snares for wilde beasts lay.

And Hertules when he bent his bowe, and was ready to shoot at a bird, called upon another god: and as Aefebylus reporteth,

Phoebus the hunter, directed by and by, His arrow straight, as it in aire did fly.

And shall the man who hunteth after the fairest game in the world, even to catch friendship and 30 amitie, have no god nor demi-god, no angell to helpe, to favorise, and speed his enterprise and good endevours? For mine owne part, my friend Daphnem, I take not man to be a more base plant or viler tree, than is the oake, the mulberie tree, or the vine which Homer honoureth with the name of Hemeris, considering that in his time and season he hath a powerfull instinct to bud and put foorth most pleasantly, even the beauty both of body and minde. Then (quoth Daphnem) who ever was there, before God, that thought or faid the contrary? Who 2 answered my safter: many even all they verily, who being of opinion, that the carefull industrie of plowing, sowing and planting, apperteineth unto the gods:

For certaine Nymphs they have hight Driades Whose life they say is equall with the trees.

40 And as Pindares writeth.

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God Bacchus who the pure refplendent light Of Autumne is, and with his kindeinfluence Doth nourifh trees, and cause to graw upright, And fructifie at length in affluence.

Yet for all this are not perswaded that the nouriture and growth of children, and yong folke, who in their prime and stour of age, are framed and shaped to singular beauty and feature of personage, belongeth to any one of the gods or demy gods. Neither by their saying, any deitie or divine power, hath the care & charge of man, that as he groweth he should shoot up streight, and arise directly to vertue; and that his naturall indument and generous ingenuity should be perverted, daunted and quelled, either for default of a carefull tutour and directour, or through the leawd and corrupt behaviour of bad company about him. And verily were it not a shamefull indignity and ingratitude thus to say: and in this behalfeto drive Godas it were from that bounty and benignity of his to mankinde, which being defused spred and dispersed over all, is desectious in no part, no not in those necessary actions and occasions, whereof some have their end more needfull iwis many times than lovely or beautifull to seet. As for example, even out very birth at first, is nothing sightly at all nor pleasant, in regard of the bloud and bitter pangs that do accompany it, yet hath the same a goddesse to be the president & overfeer thereDdddd

of to wit Lucina, called thereupon Lochia and Ilithyia. Befides, better it were for a man never to have bene borne, than to become evill and naught, for want of a good governor and guardian. Moreovor the deitie and devine power, leaveth not man destitute when he is sicke, no nor when he is dead : but some God there is or other, that hath an office and function even then, and is powerfull in those occasions: there is one, I say, that helpeth to convey the soules of such as have ended their life, from hence into another world, and to lay them in quiet repose, who for bestowing and transporting of them in that fort is called Catunastes and Psychopompos according as he faith.

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The shady night never bare (The harps to found) a fine musician: Nor prophet (ecrets to declare: Ne yet in cures a good phistian: But for the foules of dead, below, Intheir due place, them to bestow.

And yet in these ministeries and functions many odious troubles and incombrances therebe: whereas contrariwife there can be named no workemore holy, no exercise, game of price or profession of maisteries, whatsoever, whereof it beseemeth a god better, to have the dispose, prefidence and overfight, than is the charge and regard, to order and rule the defires of lovers, aftecting and pursuing beautifull persons in the floure and prime of their age. For herein their is nothing foule, nothing forced nor by conftraint : but that gentle perswasion & attractive grace, 20 which yeelding in trueth a pleafant and sweet labor, leadeth all travell whatsoever unto vertue and amitie; which neither without a god can attaine unto the defired end which is meet and convenient, nor hath any other god, for the guide, master, and conductor, than Love which is the companion of the Muses graces and Venus;

For Cupid fowing fecretly In beart of man a weet defire, And heat of Love, immediatly By kindling milde and gentle fire.

According as Menalippedes faith, tempereth the pleasantest things that be with those that are most faire and beautifull. How fay you Zeuxippus, is it not so? Yes verily (quoth he) I am alto- 30 gether of that minde : for to hold the contrary were very abfurd. Then (quoth my fatheragaine) and were it not as monstrous, that whereas amitic hath foure severall kindes and branches, according as the ancient Philosophers have divided it: The first in nature, then that of propinguity and locall affinity, the third of fociety, and the last this of love, everyone of the rest should have a god to be the president and governour thereof, to wit, surnamed either gino, or ξένο, or ζωρνο, and πακοθ, and this amorous amitic onely or love as accurfed, interdicted and excommunicate, be left without a lord and ruler? confidering that it requiresh more care, folicitude and government than all the rest ? It doth indeed (quoth Zenxippus) and need it hath out of that which is strange but proper and familier, of the owne.

Moreover (quoth my father) a man may here take hold by the way of Plato his opinion and 40 doctrine to this purpose: to wit, that there is one kind of furie transmitted from the body to the foule proceeding from certaine indispositions and malignant distemperatures of ill humours, or elle occasioned by some hurtfull winde or pernitious spirit that passeth and entreth into it, and this furie is a sharpe and dangerous disease. There is another not without some divine inflinct: neither is it engendred at home and within us: but a strange inspiration it is, comming from without, a very alienation of reason, sense, and understanding, the beginning and motion whereof arifeth from some better power and a certaine divine puissance. And this passion in generall is named Enthusiasmus, as one would say, adivine inspiration. for like as, euwir, in Greeke fignifieth repletion with spirit or winde. And weer, that which is full of prudence and wit: Even so saith he an agitation and shaking of the soule is called in Sunan puts by the partici- 50 pation and fociety of fome more heavenly and divine power. Now this enthusia fine is subdevided : for one part thereof is propheticall, and can skill of foretelling naturall things, when one is inspired and possessed by Apollo. A second is Bacchanal sent from Bacchan whereof Sophocks speaketh in one place thus,

And fee you dance. With Corybants.

For those furies of dame Cybele the mother of the gods, as also Panique & terrors frights hold al

of the Bacchenall facred ceremonies. The third proceedeth from the Mufes, which meeting with a tender and delicate foule, not polluted with vice, ftirreth up and raifeth a poeticall fpirit, and musicall humour: as for that raging and martiall Enthusiasme (for virinianius it is called) that furious inspiration breathing warre, is well knowen to every man, for to proceed from god Mars; a furie wherein there is no grace, no muficall sweetnesse, hindring the generation and nourishment of children, and inciting people to take armes. There remaineth one alienation more of the understanding ô Daphnau, and an exstacie or transportation of mans fpirit, and the fame not obfcure, nor quiet and calme: concerning which I would demand of Pemptides heere,

What god is he, that shakes the speare In hand, which doth fo faire fruit beare.

Even this ravishment of love, setled as well upon faire and good boies, as honest and sober dames; which is the hottest and most vehement transportation of the minde: for see you not that even the very foldier and warrior himselfe, comming once to be surprised therewith, laide downehis armes prefently, and cast off his warlike furie.

For then his fervants joy did make, And corfelet from his shoulders take.

and himselfe having no more minde to battell, fat still looking upon others that fought. And as for these Bacchanall motions, these wanton skippings and frisks of the Corybantes, they use 20 to appeale and fray by changing, onely in danneing of the measures, the foot Trochaus into Spondæus; and in fong, the Phrygian tune into the Dorique: femblably Pythia the priestresse of Apilla, being once come downe from her three footed fabricke, upon which the receiveth that incentive spirit of furie, remaineth quiet and in calme tranquillity: whereas the rage of love, after it hath once in good earnest caught a man, and set him on fire, there is no musicke in the world, no charme, no lenitive fong, no change of place able to ftay it: for amorous persons when they be present, doe love, if they be absent, doe long; in the day time they follow after their sweethearts, by night they lie and watch at their doores; fasting and sober they call upon their faire paramours, full and drunken, they fing and chant of them: neither are poeticall fancies and inventions, as one sometimes faid for their lively and effectuall expression, the dreams 30 of persons waking; but rather this may be verified of lovers imaginations, who devise and talke with their loves absent, as if they were present, they falute, embrace, chide, and expostulate with them, as if they faw them in place: for it feemeth that our ordinarie fight doth depaint other imagination with liquid and waterish colours, which quickly passe away, are gone and departed out of our minds: but the fancies and visions of Lovers being imprinted in their cogitations by fire or enambled, leave in their memorie lively images furely engraved, which move, live, breath, speake, remaine and continue euer after; like as Cato the Romane said, that the foule of the lover lived & dwelt in the foule of the loved: for that there is fetled fure in him the vilage, countenance, manners, nature, life, and actions of the person whom he loveth, by whichbeing led and conducted, he quickly dispatcheth and cutteth off a long jorney, as the 40 *Cynicks are wont to fay, finding a short, compendious and directway unto vertue: for hee *xupuxot, some palleth speedily from love to amity and friendship, being caried on end by the favour of this read Karpers, that is, Comis-God of Love, with the inftinct of his affection, as it were with winde and tide, with weather call Poets. and water together: in fumme, I fay, that this enthusiasme or ravishment of lovers is not with-

out some divine power, and that there is no other god to guide and governe it, than he whose feast we solemnize, and unto whom we facrifice this very day: howbeit, for that we measure the greatnesse of a god by putissance especially & profit, according as among all humane goods, we holderoialty and vertue to be most divine, and so to call them. It is time now to consider first and formost, whether Love be inferior to any other god in power? And verily Sophocles saith: Venus in power dothmuch availe,

Towin a prife and to preusile.

Great also is the pulsance of Mars: and verily we see the power of all other gods to be after a fort divided in these matters two waies, the one is allective, and cause thus to love that which is beautifull and good, the other is adverfative, and maketh us to hate that which is foule and bad, which are the first impressions, that from the beginning are engraven in our mindes, according as Plato in one place speaketh of the Idea. Let us now come to the point, and confider how the very act alone of Venue may be had for a groat or fome fuch small piece of filver, neither was Ddddd 2

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there ever man knowen to endure any great travell, or to expose himselfe to any danger, for the enjoying of such a stefnly pleasure, unlesse he were amorous with all and love sicke. And to for he are beere to name such curtisanes as Phryne and Lais were, we shall finde my good friend, that Gnathanium the harlot,

At lanterne light in evening late, Waiting and calling for some mate.

is many time passed by and neglected : but otherwhiles againe

If once some sudden spirit moove,

The raging fit of fervent love. it maketh a man to prize and effeeme the forefaid pleasure which erewhile he reckoned nothing to woorth, comparable in value to all the talents as they fay, of Tantalus treasure, and equall to his great feignorie and dominion; so enervate is the delight of Penus, and so soone bringethic lothlome sacietie, in case it be not inspired with the power of love: which we may see yet more evidently by this one argument; namely, that there be many men who will be content to part with others in this kind of venercous pleasure, yea, and can find in their harts to profitute unto them not only their millresses and concubines, but also their owne espoused wives; as it is reported of that Galba or Cabbas a Romane, who, if I doe not mistake, invited Macenas upon a time unto his house, & seasted him; where perceiving how from him to his wife there passed fome wanton nods and winkings, which bewraied that hee had a minde and fancie to her, he gently rested his head upon a pillow or cushion, making semblance as though he would take a 10 nap and fleepe, whiles they dallied together: in the meane time when one of the fervants which were without fpying his time, came foftly to the table for to steale away some of the wine that flood there; avaunt unhappy knave (quoth Galba) being broad awake, and open cied, knowest thou not that I fleepe onely for Macents fake? But peradventure this was not fo ftrange a matter, confidering that the faid Galba was no better than one of the buffons or pleafants that professe to make folke merry and to laugh. I will tell you therefore another example: At Larger there were two of the principall citizens concurrents, and opposite one to the other in the government of the city, the one was named Philostratus, & the other Phantitus; now it fortuned upon a time thatking Philip came to the towne; and commonly thought it was, that Phaulim plot ted and practifed to atteine unto some absolute principallity and sovereignty in the city, by the 30 meanes of his wife, who was a yoong and beautifull ladie, in case he could bring her once to the kings bed, and that the might lie with him. A icostratus smelling and perceiving as much, walked before Phaulius doore and about his house for the nonce, to see what he would do: who indeed having flood his wife with a paire of high shooes, cast about her a mantle or mandilion, and withall fet upon her head a chaplet or hat after the Macedonian fathion, and dreffed her every way like unto one of the kings pages; fent her fecretly in that habit and attire unto his lodging. Now considering there hath beene in times past and is at this present such a number of amourous persons and lovers, have you ever read or knowen that any one of them hath beene the bawd to profittute his owne love, though he might thereby have gained fovereigne majefly, and obtained the divine honours of Jupiter ? I verily beleeve no: for why ? there is not a person 40 dare quetch to contradict and oppose himselse in government of State against the actions of princes and tyrants? But on the other fide, corrivals they have and concurrents many in love, fuch as will not flicke to beard them in the question of faire, yong and beautifull persons, whom they affect and fancie. For it is reported that Ariflogiton the Athenian, Antileon the Metapontine, and Menalippus of Agrigentum never contended nor contested with the tyrants, for all they faw them to wafte and tuinate the common-weale, yea, to commit many enormious outrages; but when they began once to follicit and tempt their paramors and loves, then they rose up as it were in the desence of their facred temples and sanctuaries, then they stood against them even with the hazzard and perill of their lives. It is faid, that king Mexander wrote unto Theodorus the brother of Protess in this wife: Convey unto me that Musicall wench of thine, 50 that fings fo daintily, and receive for her ten talents, which I fend by this bearer; let me have her, I fay, unleffe thou thy felfe be in love with her. When Antipatrides another of his minions, came in a maske on a time to his house, accompanied with a prety girle that plaied upon the pfaltery, & fung passing well; Alexander taking great delight & contenument in the faid damofell, demanded of Antipatrides, whether he were not himselfe enamoured of her. And when he answered, Yes verily, and that exceeding much. A mischiese on thee (quoth he) leud variet as

thouart, and the divell take thee: but the wench he absteined from, and would not so much as touch her. But marke moreover & besides, of what power, even in martiall seats of armes, Love is: Love I say, which is not (as faith Euripides)

Of nature flow, dull, fickle, inconstant, Nor in soft cheeks of maidens resiant.

For a man that is possessed secretly in his heart with Love, needeth not the affistance of Murs when he is to encounter with his enemies in the field; but having a god of his owne with inhim, and prefuming of his presence,

Nost prest he is and resoluse, to passestrough fire and seas; The blasts of most tempestuous windes, he cares not to appease.

And all for his friends fake, and according as he commandeth him. And verily, of those children, as well some sas daughters, of lady W. tobe, who in a Tragocdie of Sophocles are represented to be shot with arrowes, and so killed, one there was, who called for no other to helpe and succor her at the point of death, but onely her paramor, in this wise:

Oh that some god my Love would send,

My life to save, and me defend. Ye all know I am fure, doe ye not? how and wherefore Cleomachus the Theffalian died in 20 combat ? Not I for my part (quoth Pemprides) but gladly would I heare and learne of you. And it is a storie (quoth my father) worth the hearing and the knowledge. There came to aide the Chalcidians, at what time as there was hot warre in Theffalie against the Eretrians, this Cleemathus: now the Chalcidians feemed to be strong enough in their footmen, but much adoc they had, and thought it was a difficult piece of fervice, to breake the cavallerie of their enemies, and to repell them. So they requested Cleomachus their allie and confederate, a brave knight, and of great courage, to give the first charge, and to enter upon the said men of armes. With that, he asked the youth whom he loved most entirely, and who was there present, whether he would beholde this enterprise, and see the conflict: and when the yong man answered Yea, and withall, kindly kiffing and embracing him, fet the helmet upon his head; Cleamachus much 30 more hardy and fuller of spirit than before, affembled about him a troupe of the most valourous hofemen of all the Theffalians, advanced forward right gallantly, and with great refolution fet upon the enemies, in fuch fort, as at the very first encounter he brake the front, disarraied the men of armes, and in the end put them to flight. Which discomfiture, when their infanteriefaw, they also fled: and so the Chalcidians woon the field, and atchieved a noble victorie. Howbeit, Cleomaches himselfe was there slaine, and the Chalcidians shew his sepulchre and monument in their Market place, upon which there standeth, even at this day, a mighty pillar erected. And whereas the Chalcidians before-time held this pæderaltie or love of young boiesan infamous thing, they of all other Greeks ever after affected and honoured it most. But Aristotle writeth, that Cleomachus indeed lost his life after he had vanquished the Erctrians in 40 battell: but as for him who was thus kiffed by his lover, he faith that he was of Chaleis in Thrace, fent for to aide those of Chalcis in Eubars: and hereupon it commeth that the Chalcidian sufe to chant such a caroll as this:

Sweet boies, fair eimpes extract from noble race, Endued besides with youth and beauties grace, Envie not men of armes and bolde courage, Fruition of your prime and slowing age: For here a swell of Love and kinde affection, As of prowesse, we all domake profession.

The lover was named Anton, and the boy whom he loved Philist m, as Diony fine the Poet writeth to inhis booke of Caules.

And in our city of Thebes, & Pemptides, did not one Added give unto a youth whom he loved, a complet armour, the day that he was enrolled fouldier, with the infeription of Added his owne name? And as for Pammenes an amorous man and one well experienced in love maters, he changed and altered the ordinance in battell of our footnen heavily armed, reprooving Homer as one that had no skill nor experience of love; for ranging the Achæans by their tribes and wards, and not putting in array the lover close unto him whom he loveth: for this indeed had beene the right ordinance, which Homer describeth in these words:

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The Morians fet so close, and shield to shield So jointly touch'd, that one the other held.

And this is the onely battalion and armie invincible. For men otherwhiles in danger abandon those of their tribe, their kindred also and such as be allied unto them: yea, and beleeve me, they forfake their owne fathers and children : but never was there enemic feene, that could paffe through, and make way of evalion betweene the lover and his darling, confidering that fuch many times, thew their adventerous refolution in a bravery, and how little reckoning they make of life, unto them being in no distresse nor requiring so much at their hands. Thus There the Theffalian laying and clapping his left hand to a wall, drewforth his fword with the right, and cut off his owne thumbe, before one whom he loved, and challenged his corrivall to doe as much, 10 if his heart would ferve him. Another chanced in fight to fall groveling upon his face, and when his enemie lifted up his fword to give him a mortall wound, he requested him to stay his hand a while untill he could turne his body, that his friend, whom he loved, might not fee him wounded in his backe part. And therefore we may see, that not onely the most martialland warlicke nations are most given to Love, to wit, the Boeotians, Lacedamonians, and Candiots. but also divers renowmed princes and captaines, of olde time: as namely, Meleager, Achilles. Aristomenes, Cimon, Epaminondas. And as for the last named, he had two yong men whom he decrely loved, Asopicus and Zephiodorus, who also died with him in the field at Mantinea, and was likewise interred neere unto him. And when Asopicus became hereupon more terribleunto his enemies, and most resolute, Euchnanus the Amphyssian, who first made head against him, 20 refisted his furie, and finote him, had heroique honors done unto him by the Phocæans. To come now unto Hercules; hard it were to reckon and number his loves they were fo many: But among others, men honour and worthip to this day Iolano, because they take him to have been Hercules his derling, in so much as upon his tombe the manner is of lovers to take a corporall oth and affurance of reciprocall Love. Moreover it is reported of Apollo, that being skilfullin Physicke, he faved the life of Alcest is being desperally sicke, for to gratifie Admetus, who ashe loved her intirely being his wife, so he was as tenderly beloved of him. For the Poets doe fable, that Apollo, being inamoured, for pure Love,

Did ferve Admetus one whole yeere As one that his hir'd servant were.

And here it falleth out, in some fort well, that we have made mention of Alcestin: for albeitwomen have ordinarily much dealing with Mars, yet the ravifhment and furious fits of Lovedriveth them otherwhiles to enterprife somewhat against their owne nature, even to voluntation death : and if the poeticall fables are of any credit, and may goe currant for trueth, it is evident *For Alegis by such reports as goe of * Alcesti of Protesidane, and Euridice the wife of Orphem, that Pluto o was reported beieth no other god but onely Love, nor doth what they command. And verily how soever in love of Alme regard of all other gods, as Sophocles faith,

He cannot skill of equity, of favour and of grace. But onely with him Inflice straight, and rigour taketh place.

Yet he hath good respect and reverence to lovers, and to them alone he is not implacable nor inflixible. And therefore a good thing it is, my friend, I confesse, to be received into the religious confraternity of the Eleusinian mysteries : but I fee that the votaries professed in Love, are in the other world in better condition accepted with Pluto: And this I fay as one who neither am too forward in beleeving fuch fables of Poets, nor yet so backward as to distrust and diferedit them all : for I affure you they speake well, and by a certaine divine fortune and good hap they hit upon the trueth, faying as they do, that none but lovers returne from hell unto this light againe: but what way and how they wot not; as wandring indeed and miffing of the right path, which plato of all men first by the meanes of philosophy found out and knew. And yet a 50 mong the Aegyptians fables, there be certaine small slender and obscure shadowes of the truth, dispersed here an there. Howbeit they had need of an expert and well experienced hunter, who by finall tracts knoweth how to trace and finde out great matters. And therefore let us

Andnowthat I have discoursed of the force and puissance of Love being so great as it appeareth, I come now to examine and confider the bountie and liberality thereof to mankinde, not whether it conferre many benefits upon them, who are acquainted with it, and make use thereof (for notable they be and well knowen to all men) but whether it bringeth more and greater commodity to those that are studious of it, and be amorous? For Euripides, how foever he were a great favourit of Love; yet so it is, that he promised and admired that in it, which of all others is leaft, namely when he faid,

Love teacheth Musicke, marke when you will Though one before thereof had no skill.

For he might as well have faid, that it maketh a man prudent and witty, who before was dull and foolish; yea & valiant, as hath beene said, who before was a coward; like as they that by putting into fire burning peeces of wood, make them firme and straight, where as they were before to weake and tender: Semblably, every amorous person becommeth liberall and magnificent, although he had beene aforetime a pinching fnudge: For this base avarice and micheric waxeth foft, and melteth by love, like as iron in the fire, in fuch fort, as men take more pleasure to give away and bestow upon those whom they love, than they doe, to take and receive of others. For yee all know well how Anytus the fonne of Anthenion was inamoured upon Alcebiades, and when he had invited certaine friends and guests of his unto a sumptuous and stately feast in his house, Aleibiades came thither in a maske to make pastime; and after he had taken with him one halfe of the filver cups that flood upon the boord before them, went his waies, which when the guests tooke not well, but said that the youth had behaved himselfe vere proudly and malipertly toward him. Not so (quoth Anytus) for he hath dealt very courteously with me, in that, when he 20 might have gone away withall, he left thus much behinde for me. Zeuxippus taking ioy hereat: O Hercules (quoth he) you want but a little of ridding quite out of my heart that hereditary hatred derived and received from our ancestors, which I have taken against Anytus, in the behalfe of Socrates and Philosophie, in case he were so kinde and courteous in his love. Be it so (quoth my father) but let us proceed: Love is of this nature, that it maketh men otherwise melancholicke, auftere, and hard to be pleafed or converfed withall, to become more fociable, gentle and pleasant: for as ye know well enough,

More stately is that house in sight, Wherein the fire burnes cleere and bright.

and even fo, a man is more lightforne and jocund, when he is well warmed with the heat of love. 30 But the vulgar fort of men are in this point formewhat perverfly affected and befide all reason; for if they fee a flashing celestiall light in an house by night, they take it to be some divine apparition, and woonder thereat: but when they fee a bafe, vile, & abject mind fuddenly replenished with courage, libertie, magnificence, defire of honour, with grace, favour and liberality, they are not forced to fay as Telemachendid in Homer:

> Certes; some god, I know full well, Is now within, and here doth dwell.

And is not this also, quoth Daphnaus, (tell me, I pray you, for the love of all the Graces) an effectoffome divine cause, that a lover who regardeth not, but despiseth in a maner all other things, I fay nothis familiar friends onely, his fellowes and domesticall acquaintance, but the 40 lawes also and magistrates, kings and princes; who is afraid of nothing, admireth, esteemeth and observeth nothing y and is besides so hardy, as to present himselfe before the stashing shot of piercing lightning, so soone as ever he espieth his faire love,

Like to some cocke of cravain kinde lets fall, Or hangs the wing, and daunted is withall.

Hedroups I say, his courage is cooled, his heart is done, and all his animofitie quailed quite. And heere it were not impertinent to the purpose, to make mention of sappho among the Mufes. The Romans write in their history, that Caess the sonne of Vulcane breathed and flashed flames of fire from his mouth. And in trueth the words that Sappho uttereth, be mixed with fire, andby her verses testifieth the ardent and slaming heat of her heart,

Seeking for love some cure and remedy By pleasant sound of Muses melodie.

as Philoxenus writeth. But Daphnaus; unleffe peradventure the love of Lyfandra have made you to forget your olde sports and delights wherewith you were wont to passe the time away, call to minde (I befeech you) and rehearfe unto us those sweet verses of faire Sappho, wherein the faith, that when her love came in her fight, she lost her voice presently, and was speechlesse, her bodie ran all over into colde sweats, she became pale and wan, she fell a trembling and quaking, her braines turned round, surprised the was with dizzinesse, and fell into a fainting fit of swowning.

ting& to lave

Thrice happy do I bolde that wight, Who may eft somes enjoy thy sight, Of thy sweet voice to reape delight, And pleasant smiles: Which kindle in me fuch a fire, That, as I them do much admire, My heart they ravish, and desire Transport the whiles. Thy face no sooner doe I see, But fudden filence comes on me; 10 My tongue strings all dissolved bee, And speech quite gone: Then underneath my skin is fred A firy flush of colour red; With that mine eyes be darkened, And sight yeeld none. Mine eares also do buzze and ring, And yet distinctly heare nothing; Cold drops of sweer un down trickling, Or stand as dew: 20 My joints anon and finewes shake, My heart-root pants, my flesh doth quake; And palenesse soone doth overtake My former hew. And thus full wan I do remaine, As flower in house that long hath laine, Or graffein field, which wanting raine, Doth quickly fade: untill at length in extasie, 30 Withouten sense and breath I lie; As if death of me suddenly

Surprize had made.

When Daphnam had recited this fonet: Is not this (quoth my father, in the name of jupiter) befeech you) a plaine possession of the minde by some heavenly power; is not this (I say) an evident motion and a very celestiall ravishment of the spirit? What surious passion satisfies ever so great and strong, that came upon the prophetes Pythia, when she mounted that three-footed fabricke, from whence she deliveredoracles? Who ever was there so farretransposted and caried beside himselse by the pipes and slutes of sanaticall persons supposed to be surprized by some divine spirit of surie, by the tabour and other strange ceremonies in the service of 69-bele the mother of the gods? Many there be, that holde the same body, and looke upon the same 40-beautic; but the amourous person onely is caught and ravished therewith. What should be the reason of it? Certes, there is some cause thereo? Verily, when Menander sheweth it unto us, yet we learne it not, nor understand his meaning by these verses:

There is a malidie of the minde, That it surpriseth fatally: Who smitten is therewith, doth finde Himselse sorewounded inwardly.

And hecreof is god Love the cause, who toucheth one, and spareth another. But that which ought indeed to have been spoken rather at the first,

Since now it comes into my minde,

And way out of mymouth would finde.

as Asfehilus faith, I thinke not good to overpasse in slience, being a matter of so great importance. For of all thingsels (my good friend) in a maner, whereof we take knowledge, not by the ministeric of the five naturall senses; some therebe, that came into credit (at the beginning) and authority, by fables; other, by lawes; and the rest, by doctrine and discourse of reason. Now the constant beleese and full persuassion of the gods, the first masters, teachers and authors also therefore, were Poets, Lawgivers, and in a third ganke, Philosophers, who all with one account in the constant beleese and such or second constant beleese and such or second constant beleese and such or second constant believes as a such or second constant believes and such or second constant believes and such or second constant believes as a such or second constant believes and the second constant believes as a such or second constant believes and second constant believes as a such or second constant

jointly did fet this downe as a verity, that Gods there be: howbeit, they are at great diffeord and variance, touching the number, order, nature, effence and power of them. For those whom the Philosophers acknowledge to be gods, are not subject to diseases, nor to age, neither know they what it is to fele paine or endure trauell:

Escape they doe the passage of the firth, Of roaring Acheron, and live in joy and mirth.

And in that regard Philosophers admit not at all the Poeticall icids and Mmi, that is to fay, contentions and reconfiliations: they will not allow Asigues and posses, to be gods, nor confesse them to be the fonnes of Mars: and in many points doe they differ also and differe from lawgivers; 10 as Xenophanes did, who faid unto the Egyptians as touching Ofirm: if you take him for a mortall man, adorehim not; if you account him an immortall god, lament not for him, Againe, the the Poets and lawgivers on the other fide, deigne not, nor will abide fo much as to heare those Philosophers who of certeine Idees, numbers, unities and spirits, make gods; neither can they poffibly conceive and understand such doctrine. In summe, much variety there is & diffonance in their opinions, about this one point: but like as in old time there were three fects or factions in Athens, al adverse, opposite & malicious one unto the other, to wit, of the Paralli, the Epacrii, and Pædiæi: yet notwithstanding, when they were assembled and met together in a generall councell, they gave all their voices and fuffrages to Solon, and elected him with one common affent their peace-maker, their governour, and lawgiver, as one woorthy, without any queftion 20 or doubt at all, to have conferred upon him the principality and highest degree of vertue and honour: even so those three sects differing in opinion about the gods, and giving their voices fome on this fide, and others on that, and not willing to fubfcribe one unto another, nor eafily receiving that which is otherwife delivered than by themselves, be all of one and the same mindeas touching this one god Love; and him the most excellent Poets, the best Law givers, and the principall Philosophers, admit with one voice into the register and kalender of the gods, praifing and extolling him highly in all their writings. and like as Alcase faith, That all the Mitylenæans with one accord and generall consent, chose Pittaem for their soveraigne prince and tyrant; even fo Hesiodus, Plato, and Solon, bring and conduct Love out of Helicon, into the Academie unto us, for our king, prince, and prefident, crowned and adorned gaily 30 with garlands and chaplets of flowers, honored alfo, and accompanied with many thackles and couples professing amitie and mutuall societie: not such as Euripides faith:

With fetters bound and tied was,

Farre stronger than of iron and brasse. Linking them by a cold, heavy, and maffie chaine of need and necessitie; as a colourable vaile and pretence to shame and turpitude; but such as are caried by winged chariots unto the most goodly and beautifull things in the world, whereof others have treated better and more at large. When my father had thus faid: See you not (quoth Soclarus) how being fallen now againe, the second time into one and the same matter, you forced your selfe to turne away from it, I wot not how, avoiding to enter into this holy discourse, and (if I may be so bold to say what I thinke) 40 fhifting off unjustly to pay the debt, which you have promifed us? for having ere while by the way, and against your will made some little mention of the Aegyptians and of Plato; you passed them over then, and even so doe you at this present: as for that which Place hath written, or rather these Muses heere have by him delivered, I know well you will say nothing thereof; although we should request and pray you to doe it: but for that you have covertly signified thus much, that the mythologie or fables of the Aegyptians accord sufficiently with the doctrine of the Platonikes concerning Love: it were against all reason that you should refuse to discover, reveale, and declare it unto us: and content will we be, in case we may heare but a little of such great and important matters. Now when the rest of the companie instantly intreated likewise; my father began againe and said: That the Aegyptians like as the Greeks, acknowledge two 30 kindes of Love, the one vulgar, the other celestiall they believe also that there is a third beside, to wit, the funne; and Venue above all they have in great admiration; as for us we fee a great affinity and refemblance betweene Love and the funne; for neither of them both is (as some doe imagine) a materiall fire, but the heat of the one and the other is milde and generative; for that which proceedeth from the funne, giveth unto bodies nouriture, light, and deliverance from cold winter; that which commeth from the other worketh the same effects in soules: and as the funne betweene two clouds, and after a foggy milt breaketh foorth most ardent: even so Love alter anger, fallings out, and fits of jealoufie; upon attonement and reconciliation made betweene Lovers, is more pleasant and fervent: and looke what conceit some have of the sunne. that it is kindled and quenched alternatively, namely, that every evening it goeth out, and every morning is lighted againe: the fame they have of Love, as being mortall, corruptible, and not permanent in one estate: moreover, that habite or constitution of the body which is not exercised and inured to endure both cold and heat, can not abide the sunne; no more can that nature of the foule which is not well nurtured and liberally taught, be able to brooke Love, without fome paine and trouble; but both the one and the other is transported out of order, yea and indisposed or diseased alike, laying the weight upon the force and power of Love, and not upon their owne impuissance and weaknesse: this onely seemeth to be the difference betweene them; that the funne exhibiteth and sheweth unto those upon the earth who have their eie- to fight, things beautifull and foule indifferently; whereas Love is the light that representeth faire things onely, causing lovers to be lookers of such alone, and to turne toward them; but contrariwile to make none account of all others. Furthermore, they that attribute the name of Venue to the earth, are induced thereto by no fimilitude nor proportion at all; for that Venus is divine and celestiall, but the region wherein there is a mixture of mortall with immortall, is of it selfe feeble, darke, and shadie, when the funne shineth not upon it; like as Venus, when love is not affiltant unto it: and therefore more credible it is, that the moone should resemble Venus, and the funne Love, rather than any other god; yet are not they therefore all one, because the body is not the fame that the foulcis, but divers; & like as the funne is fenfible & vifible; but Love foirituall and intelligible : and if this might feeme a speech somewhat harsh, a man might say, that the funne doeth cleane contrary unto Love, for that it diverteth our understanding from the speculation of things intelligible unto the beholding of objects sensible, in abusing and deceiving it by the pleafure and brightnesse of the fight, perswading it to seeke in it, and about it, as all other things; so trueth it selfe, and nothing else where, being ravished with the Love thereof,

For that we fee it shine so faire V ponthe earth, amid the aire.

according as Euripides litth, and that for want of knowledge and experience of another life, or rather by reason of forgetfulnesse of those things which Love reduceth into our memorie. For like as when we awake in some great and resplendent light, all nightly visions and apparitions which away and depart, which our soule saw during sleepe: even so resemble that the summer dooth altonish the remembrance of such things as heere happen and chance in this life; yea, and to be witch, charme, and enchant our understanding, by reason of pleasure and admiration, so as it forgetteth what it knew in the former life: and verily there is the true & reall substance of those things; but heere apparitions onely, by which our soule in sleepe admireth, and embrace eith that which is most beautifull, divine, and woonderfull: but as the Poet faith;

About the same are vaine illusions, Dreames manifold, and sools h visions.

And so the mind is perswaded that all things heere be goodly and precious, unlesse haply by good adventure it meet with formedivine, honest, and chaste Love for to be her Physicion and favior; which paffing from the other world by things corporall, may conduct and bring it to the truth, and to the pleafant fields thereof, wherein is feated and lodged, the perfect, pure, and naturall beautie, not sophisticate with any mixture of that which is counterfet and falle; where they defire to embrace one another, and to commune together as good friends, that of long time have had no interview nor entercourse, affisted alwaies by Love, as by a Sextaine, who leadeth by the hand those that are professed in some religion, shewing unto them all the holy reliques and facred ceremonies one after another. Now when they be fent hether againe, the foule by it selfe can not come neere and approach thereto, but by the organe of the body: and like as, because yoong children of themselves are not able to comprehend intelligible things; therefore Geometricians put into their hands visible and palpable formes, of a substance incor- 50 porall and impaffible, to wit, the representations of sphæres, cubes, or square bodies, as also those that be dodecaedra, that is to say, having twelve equall faces: even so the celestial Love doth present and shew unto us, faire mirrors to behold therein beautifull things, howbeit mortall, thereby to admire such as be heavenly and divine; sensible objects, for to imagine thereby those that be spirituall and intelligible. These be the severall favors and beauties, faire colours, pleasant thapes, proportions and seatures of yoong persons in the sloure of their age; which thining and glittring as they doe, gently excite and flirre up our memorie, which by little and

little at the first is enflamed thereby: whereby it commeth to passe that some through the folly of their friends and kinsfolke, endevoring to extinguish this affection and paffion of the minde, by force, and without reason, have enjoied no benefit thereof, but either filled themselves with trouble and finoke, or elfe running with their heads forward, into beaftly and filthy pleafures, pined away and were confumed. But fuch as by wife and differet discourse of reason, accompanied with honest and shamefast modestie, have taken from Love the burning furious and firie heat thereof, and left behinde in the foule a fplendeur and light, together with a moderate heat (and not a boiling agitation thereof; stirring, as one faid, a slippery motion of the feed, when as the atomes of Epicarus by reason of their smoothnesse and tickling are driven together) which 10 cauleth a certeine dilatation, woonderfull degenerative, like as in a plant or tree, which putteth foorth leaves, bloffomes, and fruit; for that the receiveth nutriment, because the pores and passages of docilitie, obedience and facilitie, to be perswaded by enterteining gently good admonitions and remonstrances be open, such I say within a small time pierce farther, and passe beyond the bodies of those whom they Love, entring as farre as into their soules, and touch their towardnesse, their conditions and manners, reclaiming their eles from beholding the bodie, and converfing together by the communication of good discourses, behold one another by that meanes; provided alwaies that they have fome marke and token of true beautic imprint ted within their understanding; which if they cannot finde, they for fake them, and turne their Love unto others, after the maner of bees, which leave many greene leaves and faire floures, 20 because they can gather out of them no hony; but looke when they meet with any trace, any influence, or femblance of divine beauty fmiling upon them, then being ravished with delight and admiration, and drawing it unto them, they take joy and contentment in that which is truly amiable, expetible, and to be embraced of all men.

True it is that Poets feeme to write the most part of that which they deliver as touching this god of Love, by way of meriment, and they fing of him as it were in a maske; and little doe they speake in good earnest touching the very truth, whether it be upon judgement and reason, or some divine instance and inspiration; as for example among other things, that which they

give out concerning the generation of this god, in this maner:

Dame Itis with faire winged shoes, and golden yellow haire, Conceived by sir Zephyrus, themightiest god did beare,

unlesse it be so that you also are perswaded by the Grammarians, who holde that this sable was devised to expresse the variety and gay divertify, as it were of fundry colours represented in this passion of Love. For, what else should in respect (quoth Daphnews.) Listen then said my father, and I will tell you. Forced we are, by manifest evidence to believe, that when we behold the rainbow, it is nothing else but a reflexion of raics and beames, which our eies suffer, when our fight falling upon a cloud formwhat moist but even & smooth withall and of an indifferent and meane *thickenesse, meeteth with the Sunne beames, and by way of repercussion sects the ra- * mage. 40 diant raies thereof, and the flining light about it, and fo imprinteth in our mind this opinion, that such an apparition indeed is settled upon the clowd. And even such is the sophisticall device and subtile invention of that in the generous and toward minds of gentle lovers, it causeth a certaine reflexion of memorie, from beauties appearing here, and so called, in regard of that divine, lovely indeed, bleffed and admirable beautie. Howbeit the common fort, pursuing and apprehending the image onely thereof, expressed in faire persons, as well boies as yong damofels, as it were in mirrors, can reape no fruit more certaine and affured than a little pleafure mingled with paine among; which is nothing elfe as it feemeth, but the error and wandring dizzinesse or conceit of most folke, who in clowds and shadowes seeke and hunt after the contentment of their lust and defire: much like unto yong children who thinke to catch the rainbow in so their hands, being drawen and allured thereto by the deceitfull thew prefented to their cies. Whereas the true lover indeed, who is honest and chast, doth farre otherwise: for he lifteth up his defire from thence to a divine, spirituall and intelligible beauty: and when soever he meeteth with the beauty of a visible bodie, he useth it as the instrument onely of his memoric, he imbraceth and loveth it: by converfing also with it ioifully, & with contentment, his understanding is more and more inflamed. Such amorous persons as these, whiles they hant these bodies here, neither rest so sitting still, in a desire and admiration of this cleare beautie: nor when they are

come thither after their death, returne they hither againe as fugitives, for to hover and keepeabout the dores, chambers and cabinets of yong maried wives, which are nothing elfebut vaine dreames and illustons appearing to fensuall men and women given overmuch to voluptuous pleasures of the body, and such as untruely be called lovers. For he, who intructh is amorous, and is thither come where true beauties are, and converseth with them, as much as it is possible and lawfull for a man to doe, is winged anon, mounteth up on high, he is purified and sanctified, continually abiding resident above, dauncing, walking and disporting alwaise about his god, uncontinually abiding resident above, dauncing, walking and disporting alwaise about his god, untill he come backe again into the greene and faire meddowes of the Moone and of *Penne, where, till he come backe again into the greene and faire meddowes of the Moone and of *Penne, where, till he come backe again into the greene and faire meddowes of the Moone and of *Penne, where, till he come backe again into the greene and faire meddowes of the Moone and of *Penne, where, till he come backe again into the greene and faire meddowes of the Moone and of *Penne, where, till he come backe again into the greene and faire meddowes of the Moone and of *Penne, where, till he come backe again into the greene and faire meddowes of the Moone and of *Penne, where, till he come backe again into the greene and faire meddowes of the Moone and of *Penne, where, till he come backe again into the greene and faire meddowes of the Moone and of *Penne, where, till he come backe again into the greene and faire meddowes of the Moone and of *Penne, where, till he come backe again into the greene and faire meddowes of the Moone and of *Penne, where, till he come backe again into the greene and faire meddowes of the Moone and of *Penne, where, till he come backe again into the greene and faire meddowes of the Moone and of *Penne, where, the moone and the pensure of the moone and the pensure of

To take great joy and much content,

When men with honors him profent. And contrariwife, he is no leffe displeased, when abuse or contempt is offered unto him. For most kinde and gracious he is unto them that receive and intertaine him courteously: and againe as curft and shrewd to those who shew themselves stiffe-necked and contumacious unto him. For neither Jupiter furnamed Hofpitall, is for eady to chastice and punish wrongs done unto guests and suppliants, nor Jupiter Genetal so forward to prosecute & accomplish the curses and execrations of parents, as love quickly heareth the praiers of those lovers who are unthank- 20 fully requited by their loves, being the punisher of proud, rude, and uncivill persons. For what should one speake of Eucheyntus and Leucomantis, her I meane, who even at this day is called in Cypres, Paracyptula? And peradventure you have not heard of the punishment of Gings in Candia, who was served much after the maner of the said Paracyptusa, save onely that she was turned into a stone, when she would needs looke out at a window, and put forth her body to see the corps of her lover enterred. But of this Gorgo there was formtime one inamoured, whose name was Afander, a yoong gentleman, honest, and of good parentage descended, who having beene before time of worthipfull and wealthy estate, was decaied much and brought to poveny: howbeit his minde a bated not fo withall, that he thought himselfe unworthy of the belt forune that might be. Whereupon he fued unto this Gorgo a kinfewoman of his, by way of mariage, 30 notwithstanding that for her goods and riches she was much fought unto & wooed by many others: and albeithe had divers great and wealthy competitors and corrivals, yet he had wrought and gained all the guardians, tutours and necreft kinffolke of the damofell to ferve his fuit.

Here there is a great defect and breach in the originall.

Moreover those things which are named to be the causes that engender Love, be not proper and peculiar to the one fex or to the other, but common to them both. For those images 40 which from without perce and enter into amorous perfons, according to the Epicureans opinion, running to and fro, stirring and tickling the masse of the whole body, gliding and flowing into the generall feed, by certaine other dispositions of the atomes, it cannot be that they should fo doe from yong boies, and impossible altogether from women: unlesse also these taire and sa cred recordations we call and referre unto that divine, true and celestiall beautie, according to the Platoniques, by the meanes of which rememorations as with wings the foule is mounted and carried up. What should hinder then, but that such recordations may passe as well from yong boies as damosels or women? especially when as we see a good nature, chast and honest, appeare iointly in the flower of favour and beauty, like as, according to Ariftoile, a straight and well fashioned thoe, sheweth the good forme and proportion of the foot: which is as much to 50 fay, as when under beautifull faces and in neat and faire bodies, they, who are skilfull in the knowledge and judgement of fuch things, perceive the cleare and evident traces of a fincere minde not corrupt nor counterfait. For it is no reason that a voluptuous person being demanded this question,

For wanton Love how stands thy minde? To male more, or to semale kinde? and answering,

Both hands are right with me where branty is,

Neither of twaine to mee can come a misse.

Should feeme to have made fit and pertinent answere according to his ownecarnall concupificance: and that an honest and generous person should not direct his affections to the beautiful and toward disposition of a youthes nature, but to the naturall parts that make difference of sex. Certes he that loveth horses and is skilfull in good horsmanship, will love no lesse the generosity and swiftnesse of the horse Podergus, then of Aetha the mare of Agamemnon. And the huntsman, taketh not pleasure onely to have good doggs and hounds of the male kinde, but also keeps peth the braches and bithes of Candie and Laconia. And shall he who loveth the beauty and sweet favour of mankind, not be indifferently affected both to the one sex and to the other, but make a difference as in divers garments, betweene the love of men and women? And verily mensay, that beauty is the flower and blossome of vertue. Now to say, that the ferninnessex doth not slower at all, nor shew any apparence and token of a good and towardly disposition to vertue, were very absurd: for Aeschylus went to the purpose, when he wrote these verses:

A damfell yoong, if she have knowen and sasted man once carnally, Her eie doth it bewray anon, it sparkles stre suspiciously.

20 Go to then: are there evident marks & fignes to be feene upon the vilages of women, to tell file amalapert, bold, wanton, and corrupt nature; and contrariwife, shall there be no light shining in their faces, to give tell timony of their modestie and pudicitie? Or rather, shall there be divers demonstrative evidences in many of them, but yet such as will not firre up and provoke any person to love them? Surely it is neither so nor so; there is no trueth nor probabilitie in any of them both: but every thing is common indifferently, as we have shewed.

Here also there is another want in the originall.

O Daphneus, let us impugne and confute thosereasons, whereupon Zeuxippus erewhile difcoursed, supposing that Love is all one with concupiscence, which is disordinate, and leadeth the soule into all loosenesse and dissolution. And yet do I northinke, that he is so perswaded indeed, and of that beliefe; but for that he hath heard often times odious persons, and such as have no lovelinesse in them, so to say; of whom, some holde under their hands, and have at command, poore filly women, whom they have gotten for fome petie dowries fake, and whom togsther with their moneys they put to the managing of domesticall affaires, and to make base, vile, and mechanicall accounts, quarrelling and brawling with them every day; and others againe, 40 having more minde and defire to get children, than to love espoused wives, like unto grathoppers, which cast their feed upon squilles, sea onions, or such like herbs, having discharged their lustin all the haste upon any body that first comes in their way, and reaped the fruit onely that they fought for, bid mariage farewell, and make no farther account of their wedded wives, or if they tary and stay with them still, they regard them no more than their olde shoes, making no count either to love them, or to be loved reciprocally of them. And verily, stepper and steppeds. which fignifie, to love and to be loved againe dearely, which differ but in one letter from the verbestian, that is to fay, to conteine and holde together, feeme unto me at the first fight, directly to import and shew a mutuall benevolence, by long time and acquaintance tempered with a kinde of necessity. But looke what person soever love settleth upon in mariage, so as he be inspi-50 red once therewith, at the very first, like as it is in Platees Common wealth, he will not have these words in his mouth, Mine and Thine: for simply all goods are not common among all friends, but those only who being severed apart in body, conjoine and colliquate, as it were perforce, their foules together, neither willing nor beleeving that they thould be twaine, but one: and afterwards by true pudicity and reverence one unto the other, whereof wedlocke hath most need. As for that which commeth from without, carying with it more force of lawe, than voluntary obsequence and reciprocall duty, and that in regard of seare and shame,

Apiece of worke, that needs the guide Of many bits and helmes beside.

requireth alwaies to have ready at hand a carefull regard among those that are coupled in matrimonie: whereas in true love there is so much continency, modesty, loyalty and faithfulnesse. that although otherwhile it touch a wanton and lascivious minde, yet it diverteth it from other lovers, and by cutting offall malapert boldnesse, by taking downe and debasing infolent pride and untaught flubburnnesse, it placeth in lieu thereof, modelt bashfulnesse, filence and taciturnity; it adorneth it with decent gesture, and seemly countenance, making it for ever after obedient to one lover onely. Ye have heard (I am fure) of that most famous and renowmed courtisan Lais, who was courted and sought unto by so many lovers, and ye know well, how she to inflamed and fet on fire all Greece with the love and longing defire after her; or to fay more truly, how two feas strave about her? how after that the love of Hippolochus the Thessalian had seafed upon her, the quit and abandoned the mount Acrocorint hus,

Seated upon the river side,

Which with greene waves by it did glide.

as one writeth of it; and flying secretly from a great army as it were of other lovers, she retired herselfe right decently within Megalopolis unto him; where other women upon very spight, envie and jelousie, in regard of her surpassing beautie, drew her into the temple of Venus, and floned her to death: whereupon it came, as it should seeme, that even at this day they call the faid temple, The temple of Venus the murdereffe. We our felves have known divers young 10 maidens, by condition no better than flaves, who never would yeeld to lie with their mafter; as also fundry private persons of meane degree, who refused, yea, and disdained the companie of queenes, when their hearts were once possessed with other love, which as a mistresse had the abfolute command thereof. For like as at Rome, when there was a Lord Dictatour once chosen, all other officers of State and magistrates valed bonet, were presently deposed, and laied downe their enfignes of authority; even fo those, over whom Love hath gotten the mastery and rule, incontinently are quit, freed and delivered from all other lords and rulers, no otherwise than fuch as are devoted to the fervice of fome religious place. And in trueth an honest and venuous dame, linked once unto her lawfull spouse by unfained love, will sooner abide to be clipped, clasped and embraced by any wolves and dragons, than the contrectation and bedsellowship of 30 any other man whatfoever but her owne husband. And albeit there be an infinit number of ex-*¿uayageus, amples among youhere, who are all of the *fame countrey, and professed affociats in one dance with this god Love; yet it were not well done to passe over in silence the accidents which befell unto Camma the Galatian lady. This yong dame being of incomparable beauty, was maried unto a tetrarch or great lord of that countrey named Sinnatus; howbeit, one Synorix the mightiest man of all the Galatians was enamoured upon her: but seeing that he could not prevaile with the woman neither by force and perswasion, so long as her husband lived, he made no more ado but murdred him. Camma then having no other refuge for her pudicity, nor comfort and eafement of her hearts griefe, made choile of the temple of Diana, where the became a religious votary, according to the custome of that countrey. And verily the most part of her time shebe 40 ftowed in the worship of that goddesse, and would not admit speech with any suters, many though they were, and those great personages, who sought her mariage: but when Synorix had made meanes very boldly to aske her the question, and to follicite her about that point, she seemed not to reject his motion, nor to expostulate and be offended for any thing past, as if for pure love of her, and ardent affection, and upon no wicked and malicious minde unto Sinnatus, he had beene induced to do that which he did: and therefore Synorix came confidently to treat with her and demand mariage of her: the also for her part came toward the mankindly, gave him her hand, and brought him to the altar of the faid goddeffe; where after the had made an offring unto Diana, by powring forth some little of a certeine drinke made of wine & hony, as it should seeme, empossoned, which she had put into a cup, she began unto Synoria, & dranke up so the one halfe of it, giving the rest unto the said Galatian for to pledge her. Now when she saw that he had drunke it all off, the fetched a grievous grone, and brake forth aloud into this speech, naming withall her husband that dead was: My most loving and decre spouse (quoth she) I have lived thus long without thee in great forow and heavinesse expecting this day; but now receive me joifully (feeing it is my good hap to be revenged for thy death upon this most wicked and ungratious wretch) as one most glad to have lived once with thee, and to die now with him. As

for Synorix, he was caried away from thence in a litter, and died foone after; but Camma having furvived him a day and a night, died by report most resolutely and with exceeding joy of spirit. Confidering then, that there be many fuch like examples, as wel among us here in Greece, as the Barbarians, who is able to endure those that reproch and revile Love, as if being affociate and affiftant to love, the should hinder amitie? whereas contrariwife, the company of male with male, a man may rather terme intemperance and difordinate lasciviousnesse, crying out upon it in this maner:

Groffe wantonnesse or filthie lust, it is Not Venus faire that workerhthis.

to And therefore fuch filths & baggages as take delight to fuffer themselves voluntarily thus to be abused against nature, we reckon to be the woorst and most slagitious persons in the world; no man reposeth in them any trust, no man doth them any jote of honor and reverence, nor vouchfafeth them woorthy of the least part of friendship : but in very trueth, according to Sophoeles,

Such friends as these, men are full glad and joy when they be gone: But whiles they have them, wish and pray, that they were rid anone.

As for those, who being by nature lead and naught, have been circumvented in their youth, 22d forced to yeeld themselves and to abide this villany and abuse, al their life after, abhorre the 20 fight of fuch wicked wantons, and deadly hate them, who have bene thus disposed to draw them to this wickednesse; yea, and ready they are to be revenged, and to pay them home at one time or other, when soever meanes and opportunity is offered: for upon this occasion Cratenas killed Archelans, whom, in his flower of youth he had thus spoiled: as also Pytholans slew Alexander the tyrant of Phera. And Persander the tyrant of Ambracia demanded upon a time of the boy whom he kept, whether he were not yet with childe: which indignity the youth tooke to to the heart, that he flew him outright in the place: whereas, with women, and those especially that be espouled and wedded wives, these be the earnest penies as it were and beginnings of amity, yea, & the very obligation and fociety of the most facred & holieft ceremonies. As for fleshly pleafure it felfe, the least thing it is of all other: but the mutuall honour, grace, dilection and fidelity 30 that springeth and ariseth from it daily, is highly to be reckoned and accounted of: and thereforeneither can the Delphians be noted for follie, in that they terme Venus differ, that is to fay, a chariot; by reason of this yoke-fellowship: nor Homer, in calling this conjunction of man and wife, whome, that is to fay, amity and friendthip. Solon likewife is deemed by this, to have beene an excellent law-giver, and most expert in that which concerneth mariage; when he decreed expressly, that the husband should thrice in a moneth at the least embrace his wife and company in bed with her; not for carnall pleafures fake, (I affure you) but like as cities and states use, after a cerreine time betweene, to renew their leagues and confederacies one with another, so he would have that the alliance of mariage should effloornes be enterteined anew by such solace and delectation, after jarres, which otherwhiles arife and breed by fome bone cast betweene. 40 Yea, but there be many enormious and furious parts, will fome one fay, that are plaied by fuch as are in love with women. And be there not more (I pray) by those that are enamoured upon boies? do but marke him who uttereth these passionate words:

So often as thefe eies of mine behold That beardlesse youth, that smooth and lovely boy, I faint and fall: then wish I him to hold Within mine armes, and fo to die with joy: And that on tombe were set where I do lie, An Epigram mine end to testifie.

But as there is a furious passion in some men doting upon women, so there is as raging an affec-50 tion in others toward boies, but neither the one nor the other is love. Well, most absurd it were to fay that women are not endued with other vertues: for what need we to speake of their temperance and chattity, of their prudence, fidelity and justice: confidering that even fortitude itielfe, conftant confidence and refolution, yea and magnaminity, is in many of them very evident. Now to holde, that being by nature not indifposed unto other vertues, they are untoward for amitic onely and frendship, (which is an imputation laid upon them) is altogether beside all reason. For well knowen it is that they be loving to their children and husbands: and this their

Eccec 2

naturall affection, is like unto a fertile field or battell foile, capable of amitie, not unaptfor perfwalion, nor destitute of the Graces. And like as Poesie having fitted unto speech song, meeter and rhime as pleafant spices to aromatize and season the same, by meanes whereof, that profita. ble instruction which it yeeldeth, is more attractive and effectuall, as also the danger therein more inevitable: Even fo nature, having endued a woman with an amiable cast and aspect of the cie, with fweet speech, and a beautifull countenance; hath given unto her great meanes, if she be lascivious and wanton, with her pleasure to decive a man, and if she be chaste and honest, to gaine the good will and favour of her husbaud. Plate gave counfell unto Xenotrates an excellent Philosopher, and a woorthy personage otherwise, howbeit in his behavior exceeding foure and authere, to facrifice unto the Graces: and even fo a man might advise a good matton, 10 and fober dame, to offer facrifice unto Love, for his propitious favour unto mariage, and his refidence with her, and that her husband, by her kind loving demeanour unto him, may keepe home, and not feeke abroad to fome other, and fo be forced in the end to breake out into fuch speeches as these out of the Comædic:

Wretch that I am, and man unhappy I So good a wife to quit with injury.

For in wedlocke, to love, is a better and greater thing by farre, than to be loved; for it keepeth folke from falling into many faults & flips, or to fay more truly, it averteth them from all those inconveniences which may corrupt, marre, & ruinate a mariage: as for those passionate affections, which in the beginning of matrimonial love moove fittes, fomewhat poinant and biting, 10 let me entreat you (good friend Zeuxippus) not to feare, for any exulceration or fmart itch that they have, although to fay a trueth, it were no great harme if haply by fome little wound, you come to be incorporate and united to an honest woman; like as trees that by incision areengraffed and grow one within another: for when all is faid, is not the beginning of conception akinde of exulceration; neither can there be a mixture of two things into one, unleffether mutually fuffer one of the other, & be reciprocally affected. And verily, the Mathematical rudiments which children be taught, at the beginning trouble them, even as Philosophic also at the first is harsh unto yong men: but like as this unpleasantnesse continueth not alwaies with the, no more doeth that mordacity sticke still among lovers. And it teemeth that Love at the first resembleth the mixture of two liquors, which when they begin to incorporate together, boile 30 and worke one with another: for even fo Love feemeth to make a certaine confused tract and ebullition; but after a while that the same be once settled and throughly clensed, it bringesh unto Lovers a most firme and affired habit: and there is properly that mixtion and temperature which is called univerfall, and thorough the whole: whereas the love of other friends converling and living together, may be very well compared to the mixtion which is made by thefe touching and interlacings of atomes, which Epicurus speaketh of; and the same is subject to ruptures, separations, and startings a funder : neither can it possibly make that union which matrimonial love and mutual conjunction doeth: for neither doe there arise from any other Loves greater pleafures, nor commodities more continually one from another, ne yet is the benefit and good of any other friendship so honorable or expetible, as

When man and wife keepe house with one accord, And lovingly agree as bed and bord.

Especially when the law warranteth it, and the bond of procreation common betweene them, is affiftant thereto. And verily nature sheweth that the gods themselves have need of such love: for thus the Poets fay, that the heaven loveth the earth; and the Naturalists hold, that the action with the Moone, which every moneth is in conjunction with him, by whom also the conceiveth. In briefe, must it not follow necessarily, that the earth, which is the mother and breeder of men, of living creatures, and all plants, thall perith and be wholly extinct: when love, which is ardent defire, and inftinct infpired from god, shall abandon the ther the one matter, and the matter likewise shall cease to lust and seeke after the principle and cause of her 50

But to the end that we may not range too farre, nor use any superfluous and nugatory words, your selfe doe know, that these pæderasties are of all other most uncertaine, and such as use them are wont to scoffe much thereat and say, that the amitie of such boies is in manner of an egge divided three waies; and as for themselves, they refemble the wandring Nomades in Seg. shia, who having encamped in the spring time, and pastured where the fields be greene and full

of flowers, prefently diflodge and depart as it were out of an enemies countrey. And yet Bion the Sophister was more rough and odious in his words toward such, when he termed the first downe or haires appearing upon the face of beautifull youthes Harmodii, and Aristogitones; for that by them Lovers were delivered out of the tyrannie of fuch faire persons, when they begin once to budde and put foorth. But these imputations are not justly charged upon true Lovers. As for that which Euripides faid, it was pretie, and caried some elegancie with it; for as he embraced and kiffed faire Agathon, even when his beard began to grow, he faid: that of faire persons, the very latter season of the Autumne was lovely and beautiful But I say more than fo, namely, that the lovelineffe of honest women passeth not away with rivels, wrinckles, and 10 hoarie haires, but continue alwaies even to their sepulchre and tombes of memoriall. Againe, there are but a few couples in that other fex, of true Lovers; but of men and women joined in wedlocke, an infinite number, who to the very last houre have kept most faithfully their loialty and hearty love reciprocally one unto the other. But one example among many other, which befell in our daies, under Vespasian the emperour, I will relate unto you. Julius, he who in Galatia was the author of a revolt, and raifed a rebellion, had many other complices, (as a man may well thinke) of this conspiracie, and among the rest, one Sabinus a young gentleman of an high spirit, and for wealth and reputation, a principall person, and of speciall marke: these men having enterpised a great desseigment, failed of their purpose; and expecting no other but that they should, according to justice, suffer due punishmet according to their deserts, some 20 killed themselves, other thinking to escape by flight, were apprehended; as for Sabinus, all other good and ready meanes he had to fave himfelfe, and flie unto the Barbarians in a strange countrey: but lately he had taken to wife, a most vertuous dame, and every way right excellent, whose name in those parts was * Empona, as one would say in the Greeke language, it was, that is to say, * Or, Finneaprincesse or great lady; but her he could not possibly either in his love endure to for sake nor minance. find meanes to take with him: whereas therefore he had at an house in the country certeine secret vaults, & hidden cellars deepe under the ground, where he bestowed his treasure & goods infafteie, and those knowen to two of his enfranchised servants, and no more; the rest of his houshold servitors he discharged and sent away; pretending unto them, that he was resolved to poison himselfe; & reteining still about him those two trusty freed men, with them he went 30 downe into those secret caves or vaults digged out of the ground; which done, he sent one of these enfranchised servants of his, whose name was * Martalinus unto his wife, to let her un- Or, Marisederstand that he had killed himselfe with poison, and that the whole house together with his line corps was burnt; for his purpose was by the unseined forrow and mourning of his wife, to make the rumour that ran of his death, the better to be beleeved; & fo it fell out invery deed: for no fooner heard the this newes, but with pitcous cries, & dolefull lamentations, the caft herfelfe upon the ground, where the at that time was, & lay there along for three daies and three nights together, without meat or drinke: which when Sabinus heard, fearing least the woman would by this meanes worke her owne death; he commanded the faid Martalinus to round her fecretly in the care, that he was yet living, and lay hidden within the ground, requesting her withall, 40 that she would continue still a while longer in this monroefull state, bewailing her husbands death, yet so, as she might not be perceived to counterfer; and verily this yoong ladie in all other respects performed the tragicall shew of that calamitie so artificially, and plaied her part with such dexteritie, that she confirmed the opinions received and divulged of his death: but having alonging defire to fee him, she went by night unto him, and came againe the same, so fecretly, that no creature perceived it; and thus continued the this haunt from time to time, for the space of seven moneths, keeping company, and lying as one would say in hell under the ground with her husband; during which time, the one day difguifed Sabinus in his apparell, and what with shaving his beard, and knitting about his head a kerchiefe, she ordered the matter fo, that he could not be knowen to them that met him: and upon hope of obtaining par-50 don, the brought him with her to Rome, with other stuffe and carriages of hers: but when the could not speed, she retired againe into the countrey, and for the most part abode and converfed with him under the grond: howbeit, otherwhiles betweene, the would repaire to the city, and thew herfelfe unto other women her friends, and of her familiar acquaintance. But that which of all other feemeth most incredible, she handled the matter so, that it was never perceived the was with childe, albeit the wathed and bathed ordinarily with other dames and wives

of the citie; for the oile or ointment wherewith women use to annoint the haire of their head,

Eccec 3

fome read duagry,

haire, But in what fente et or other, viderint alij. But the place is to corrupt every way, that is skillethnot if it

for to make the same faire and yellow like burnithing gold, hath a certaine propertie in it to pinguisie withall, to incarnate, and so to raise and rarifie the flesh, that it causeth it to be lax, and to to swell and puffe up more plumpe : of this medicinable oile the made no spare, but used to rub and befineare the other parts of her body, in fuch fort, as that by their proportionable rifing, the hidder greatbelly, which grew more round and full every date than other. Now when her time was come, the endured the pangs and paines of her travell in child-birth, alone by herselfe; being gone downe to her husband like a lionesse into her denne, and thereshe fuckled at her owne breft fecretly, if I may fo fay, her male whelpes, for two boy twinnes she was delivered of; of which two fonnes, the one chanced to be flaine in Aeg ypt, the other. not long fince, but very lately, was with us at Delphos, named after his father, Sabinus. How 10 beit for all this, Vefpafan caused this lady to be put to death; but for this murder of his he dearely paid, and was punished accordingly: for within a while after, his whole posterity was utterly destroid and rooted out from the face of the earth, so as there remained not one of his race: for there was not in those daies, and during his empire, a more cruell and inhumane fact committed; neither was there ever any other spectacle that both gods and angels seemed more to abhorre and to turne away their eies from beholding. And yet her grandiloquence and flour refolutions in her speech, whereby the did exasperate and provoke Vestasian most, was such, that it diminished much the pitifull ruth and compassion, that the beholders of the execution had of her: for when the was past hope of obtaining her husbands life, the would needs die in his turne, and required that exchange for him, faying withall, that it was a greater joy unto her, 20 for to live in darkenesse and under the earth, than to see him emperour.

And hecrewith (quoth my father) ended their discourse as touching Love, at what time as they were necre unto Thespies, for then they might perceive comming toward them, faster than with a footepace, one of Pissos friends, named Diogenes; unto whom Sociarus spake aloud, when he was yet a good way off: You bring us no newes I hope Diogenes of warred Offe better than fo (quoth he) being; as there is, a mariage toward; why mend you not your pace therefore, and make haste thither? for the nuptiall facrifice staieth onely for your comming: At which words (as my father faid) all the rest of the company joied, and were exceeding glad, onely Zeuxippus shewed himselfe mal-content, and not well pleased; for he could not diffemble it: howbeit he was the first man that approoved the act of Ismenadora, as good and lawfull: 10

and even now he willingly fet a garland upon his ownehead, and put on a white wedding robe, marching before all the companie through the market place, to render thankefgiving unto the god Love, for this mariage. Well done (quoth my father then) I sweare by Jupiter: goe we on all hands away, and let us be gone; that we may laugh and make our felves merie with this man, and withall adore and worithin the god: for evident it is, that hee taketh joy in that which hath beene done, and is present with his favour and approbation to grace the wedding.

O F

40



PEARING WITHIN THE

ROUNDLE OF THE MOONE.

The Summarie.



His dialogue is defective in the beginning thereof. Init are brought in Sylla and Pharnaces, with some others, disputing with Plutarch, as touching one point of naturall Philosophy, worthy to be considered and readover and over agame, by those that take delight in such pleasant speculations meete for good wits so be exercised in. The waight of this matter concerneth she globe of she Moone and touchesh principally

this notable accident of the face which appeareth therein: by occasion whereof, divers questions depending upon the first and principall, are discussed and resolved by our authour, according as he hash comprised and understood them. But here is the mischiefe in this discourse, like as in many others of thusecond tome, that it is not only headlesse, but maimed also and dismembred otherwise: and yet the translatour and the french especially hath with great dexterity laid the pieces together, so as the breaches can hardly be seene, unlesse a man looke very neere. Now the principall matters handled here, be these that follow. After that Plutarch had refuted three opinions concerning the face in the Moone, and brought in one Lucius, maintaining that position of the Academiques, who presuppose 30 that the Moone is terrene and confifter b of an earthly substance, he entreth into disputation against those who attribute one centre unto the world and the earth, labouring to confirme his owne opinion by divers arguments marked in their order: which he handleth with such a grace, that yet a man may see withall, how naturall Philosophy destinate of that light of Gods word (which by Moses in the first chapter of Genesis resolveth and cleereth infinit disputations and controver sies in these matters) is in amaner blinde and stumbleth many times most grossy and absurdly. Moreover, according to the traine of words and speeches, which commonly in such conferences follow one upon another, they treat of the centre and motion of the universall world, of the proportion thereof, and the principal parts of it, of theillumination of the Moone, of reflexions and mirrours, of ecliples and the shadow of the earth. Item, whether the Moone be a globe of fire, or of what elfe twhat is her colour? from whence procee-40 deth & how commeth this resemblance of a face which is observed in her? whether the beinhabited or no? as also of her nature and effects. Toward the end he intermedieth a fable fetched from the Poets and ancient naturall Philosophy, for to mollifie and make more probable and credible that which had beene delivered as touching those that dwell within the Moone. In sum, this treatise gives hoood proofe of the quicke and pregnant wit of our authour, who could enter ento, and perce through althings: whereof if he have not alwaies attained unto the exact knowledge, we should rather by all likelihood blame the iniquity of long time, which hath not permitted us to have these bookes entire and whole, than the insufficiency of so deepe a clerke. To conclude, this ought to unite those that sound and search into the secrets of nature, to ioine with that which the moderne Philosophers of our time are able to write fleightly and at ease of such matters, what hath beene delivered by the ancients, who indeed

have made the coverture unto those who succeeded after them: to the end that there might be drawen out of them all, a certaine firmere solution, which raises hus up above the Moone, and all other celestiall bodies, unto the onely God and sole Creator of so many admirable works, thereby to acknowledge, serve and praise him according as his omnipotent greatnesse doth deserve.

OF

OF THE FACE APPEARING in the roundle of the Moone.



Ell, thus much faid Sylla, for it accorded well to my speech, and depended thereupon: but I would very willingly before all things else know, what need is there to make such a preamble for to come unto these opinions, which are so curran and rise in every mans mouth, as touching the face of the Moone. And why not (quoth I) to considering the difficultie of these points which have driven us thither: for like as in long maladies, when we have tried ordinatie remedies, and usuall rules of diet, and found no helpe thereby, we give them over in the end, and betake our selves to lustrall facissics and expiations, to anulets or preservatives for to be hanged about

our necks, and to interpretations of dreames: even fo in fuch obscure questions, and difficult speculations, when the common and ordinarie opinions, when usuall and apparent reasons will not serve not fatisfie us, necessary it is to assay those which are more extravagant, and not ote-ject and despite the same, but to enchant or charme our selves, as one would say, with the discourses of our auncients, and trie all meanes for to sinde out the trueth: for at the very first encounter you see, how absurd he is & intollerable, who saith, that the forme or face appearing in the Moone, is an accident of our cie-sight, that by reason of weaknes giveth place to the bright ensile thereof, which accident we call the dazzeling of our cies, not considering withall, that this should befall rather against the Sunne, whose light is more resplendent, and beames more quicke and piercing, according as Empe docles himselse in one place pleasantly noteth the difference, when he saith:

The Sunne that shines so quicke and bright, The Moone with dimme and stony light.

for so he expresset that milde, amiable, pleasant, and harmelesse visage of the Moone: and afterwards rendereth a reason, why those, who have obscure & feeble sights, perceivenot in the Moone any different forme or shape, but unto them her circle shineth plaine, even, unisome and sull round about; whereas they who have more quicke and piercing eies, doe more exactly observe the proportion and lineaments, and discene better the impression of a sace, yea, and distinguish more perfectly and evidently the severall parts: for in mine opinion it would fall out cleane contrary, in case the weakenesse of the eie being overcome, caused this apparition, that where the patient eie is more feeble, there the said apparence and imagination should be more expressed and evident: surthermore, the inequalitie therein, doth fully every way consute this reason; for this face or countenance is not to be seen in a continuate and consulted shadow: But Agessaw the Poet, right elegantly depainteth in some fort the same, in these words:

All round about environed
With fire she is illumined:
And in the middes there doth appeere,
Like to some boy, a wifage cleere:
Whose eies to us doe seeme in view,
Of colour grayish more than blew:
The browes and forehead, tender seeme,
The checks all reddish one would deeme.

For intructh darke and shaddowy things, compassed about with shose that are shining &cleate are driven downeward, and the same doe rise againe receptocally, being by them repulled, and in some word, are interlaced one within another; in such fort as they represent the forme of a face lively and natuturally depainted: and it seement that there was great probability in that which Cleareus said against your Aristotle. For this Aristotle of yours, though he familiarly conversed with that ancient Aristotle, pervetted and overthrew many points of the Perepateticks destrine. Then Apollonides, taking upon him to speake, demanded, what opinion this might be of Aristotle and upon what reason it was grounded. Surely (quoth I) it were more meet for any

man else to be ignorant hereof, than for you, considering that it is grounded upon the very fundamental principles of Geomitry. For this man affirmeth that the thing, which we call the sace in the Moone, are the images and figures of the great ocean, represented in the Moone as in a mirror: for the circomference of a round circle, being restlected backe every way, is wont to deceive the sight in such things as are not directly seene. And the full Moone her telse is, so evenesse, smoothnesse and lustre, the most beautifull and purist mirror in the world. Like as therefore yee holde, that the rainbow appeareth (when our cirsight is restlected backe upon the Sanne) in a cloud, that hath gotten smoothnesse for mewhat liquid, and a consistence with alseven so (quoth he) a man may see in the Moone the great ocean, without, not in the very place where it is situate: but from whence the reseasion by touching the light reverberat and lent backe, maketh a sight and apparition thereof. which Agessmax hath said in another place, after this maner,

The figure of the Ocean

is just refembled there

In fluming mirrour, when great waves

It doth against it reare.

Apollonides then, being perswaded that it was so ; a singular opinion believe me (quoth he) this was of his, and when all is faid, newly and after a ftrange maner devised by a man, who may be thought bold and confident enough in his projects, howbeit full of wit and a great clerke with-20 all. But how did Clearehus refute the fame? First & formost (quoth I) If the maine sea or ocean beall of one nature then it must needs be that the currant thereof is all one uniforme & continuate: but the apparence of those blacke & dim obscurities which are observed in the face of the Moone, is not even and continued, but there be certaine ifthmes or partitions betweene cleere and bright, which divide and seperat that which is shadie and darke. Therefore seeing each part isdiffine, and hath proper bounds and limits apart, the conjunctions & approchaments of the electe to that which is darke, making a femblance of high and low, do expresse and resemble the fimilitude of a figure, with cies & lips; fo that of necessity we are to suppose, that there be many oceans and maine feas, diffinguished by the ifthmes of firme lands betweene: which is a manifest untrueth. And admit that there is but one continued sea for all, it is not credible that the i-30 mage thereof should appeare so diffipate and distracted by peeces: and as for this point, the furer way is, and leffe dangerous, to demand, than to affirme ought in your prefence; namely whether, the habitible earth being equall in length and bredth, it be possible, that all the fight reflected and fent backe by the Moone, should equally touch the whole ocean and all those that faile therein, and even fuch as feeme to dwell in it, as the Brittaines doe: feeing that your felves have maintained that the whole earth, in proportion to the globe or fphære of the Moone, is no more than a very pricke. As for this verily (quoth I) it is your part to regard and confider : and true it is that as touching the reverberation and reflexion of the fight from the Moone, it belongethneither to you nor to Hipparcus. And yet I affure you, my good freind Lamprius (quoth Apollomides) there be many naturalists, who holde it not good to affirme with Hippareus that 40 our fight is so driven backe; but they suppose and affirme, that it is more like and probable that ithath a certaine temperature and obeifant compact structure, than such beatings and repercustions as Epicurus imagineth the Atomes have. Neither doe I beleeve that Clear chus would have us to suppose, that the Moone is a massive and waighty bodic, but celestiall and lightsome: against which you say that the refraction of our eie-fight should reach : and therefore all this reflexion, and reverberation falleth to the ground and comes to nothing. But if I should be urged, and intreated by him to receive and admit the fame, I would aske him the question, how it comes to passe, that this image of the sea is to be seene onely in the bodie of the Moone, and not in any of the other starres? for by all likelihood and probability, our fight should suffer the fame equally in all, or just in none at all. But I pray you (quoth I, castyng mine cies upon Lu-50 cine) call to minde againe that which was first delivered of our part, & by those of our side. Nay rather I am affraid (quoth Lucius) leaft we may be thought to offer over much injury unto Phirnaces, if we should so passe over the Stoicks opinion unconsuted, and without opposing any thing against it. Why then reply somehat upon this man (quoth I) who holdeth that the Moon is a whole mixtion of the aire, and of some milde fire, and then afterwards saith, that like as in a calme, there happeneth other whiles a little horror or winde, that rumbleth and bloweth upon the fea, even fo the aire thereby becommeth blacke; and thereupon is made a certaine relem-

blance and forme of a vifage. Courteoufly done of you Lucius (quoth I) thus to clad and cover with faire words and good termes fo abfurd and false an opinion. But so did not our friend, but spake the plaine troth, and faid that the Stoicks disfigured the Moones face making it blacke and blew, and filling it with darke spots and clouds, and withall invocating her by the name of Minerva and Diana, and in the meane while making her a lumpe as it were of paste, consisting of darke aire and a fire of charcole, that cannot burne out, nor yeeld light of it felfe, but having a body hard to be judged and knowen, ever smoaking and alwaies burning like to those lightnings which by the Poets are called, lightleffe and smoakie. But that a fire of coales, such as they would have that of the Moone to be, continueth not long, nor can fo much as fubfift, if it meete not with some solid matter, which may holde it in and withall feed and nourish it; I suppose that they know better, who in meriment fay that Vulcane is lame and doth halt, than thefe Philosophers doe : for that indeed fire cannot goe forward without wood or fewell, no more than a lame criple without his staffe or crouches. If then the Moone be fire, how commeth it to have fo much aire in it? For this region aloft which mooveth round, doth not confift of aire, but of fome other more noble substance, which is able to subtilize and set on fire every thing beside. But in case it be afterwards engendred in it, how is it that it perishith not by being changed and transmuted by the fire into accelestiall substance, but mainteineth it selfe, and continueth together as it were, cohabiting with the fire follong, like unto a fpike or naile fet fast continually in the fame parts, and fitted thereto? For being rare as it is, and diffused, meet it were that it should not fo abide and continue, but be diffipated and refolved; and to grow compact and thicke it 20 is impossible, so long as it is mixed with fire, having no earth nor water; which are the two onely elements whereby the aire will gather to a confiftence and thicknesse. Moreover, the fwiftnesse and violence of motion, is wont to enslame the aire that is within stones, yea, and in lead as cold as it is: much more then, that which is in fire, being whirled about, and turned with fo great celeritie and impetiolitie: for in this regard they are offended with Empedocles. for that he made the Moone congealed aire, in maner of haile, and included within a sphære of fire: and yet themselves say, that the Moone being a sphære or globe of fire, doeth enclose and conteine the aire dispersed to and fro; and that the same hath neither ruptures nor concavities, ne yet any profundities, which they admit who will have the Moone to be of earth, but for footh superficially onely, and as it were settled upon the imbossed and swelling backe there. of: which is against all reason, if it be to endure, and cannot possibly be, incase we give credit 30 to that which we doe fee in full Moones: for divided it ought not to be, and feparagate apart, being blacke and darke, but either being hidden, to be altogether darkened, or else to be illuminate when the Moone is overspred by the Sunne. For heere beneath with us, the aire that is in deepe pits and low caves of the earth, where the Sunne beames never come, remaineth darke and shadie, without any light at all: but that which is spred about the earth, is cleere, and of a lightlome colour; for by reason of the raritie thereof, it is very easie to be transmuted into every qualitie and facultie; but principally by the light, which if it never fo little touch it, as they fay, and lay hold of it, you shall see it incontinently changed, and light throughout. This very reason therefore seemeth greatly to helpe and mainteine the opinion of them who drive the aire into I wor not what deepe vallies and pits within the Moone; as also to consute you, 40 who mingle and compound I know not how, her sphære of fire and aire; for impossible it is that there should remaine any shadow or obscuritie in the superficies thereof, when the Sunne with his brightnesse doeth cleere and illuminate whatsoever part of the Moone we are able to difference, and cut with our eie-fight. And as I spake these words, even before I had made an end of my speech: See (quoth Pharnaces) the ordinary cast of the Academie, how it is, practifed upon us, in that they busie themselves evermore, and spend time in all their discourses to speake against others, but never allow the discussing and reprooving of that which they deliver themfelves: but if any happen to conferre and dispute with them; they must plead in their ownedefence alwaies, and not be allowed to reply or come upon them with any accusations: for mine 50 owne part, you shall not draw me this day to render a reason of such matters as you charge upon the Stoicks, nor to speake in their behalfe, before I have called you to an account: for thus turning the world upfide downe, as you doe. Heereat Lucius laughing; And very well content am I good fir, (quoth he) fo to do, provided alwaies, that you accuse us not of impietie; like as Ariflarchus thought that the Greeks ought to have called Cleant hes the Samean into questio, judicially & to condemne him for his impletie and Atheisme, as one that shooke the very foun-

dations of the world to overthrow all, in that the man endevoring to fave and maintaine those things which appeare unto us above, supposed the heaven to stand still as immooveable, and that it was the earth that mooved round by the oblique circle of the Zodiacke, and turned about the owne axeltree. As for us, we speake of our selves, and in our owne behalfe. But they, my good friend Pharnaces, who suppose that the Moone is earth, why doe they turne the world upfide downe, more than you, who place the earth heere hanging in the aire, being farre greater then the Moone, as the Mathematicians take their measure, in the accidents of the ecclipfes, and by the paffages of trajections of the Moone through the shadow of the earth, collecting thereby the magnitude thereof, and what space it taketh up? for surely the shadow of the to earth is leffe than it felfe, by reason that it is cast by a greater light. Now that the said shadow is fireight, and pointed upward toward the end, Homer himselse was notignorant, butfignified as much, when he called the night soin, for the tharpeneffe at the point of the faid thadow, and yet the Moone as it appeareth in her ecclyples, being caught and comprehended within the compasse of that shadow, hath much adoo to get out of it, by going forward in length, thrice as much as her owne bigneffe comes to. Confider then, how many times greater must the earth needs be than the Moone, if it be so, that the shadow which it casteth, where it is sharpest and narrowest, is thrice as much as the Moone, But yee are afraid least the Moone should fall, if she were avowed to the earth: (for it may be haply, that Aefchylus hath sealed you a warrant, and fecured you for the earth, when he faid thus of Atlas:

He flandeth like a pillar strong and sure, From earth to heaven above that reacheth streight: To beare on stoulders twaine, he doeth endure A masse burden and unweldy weight.)

is under the Moone there runne and be spred a light and thin aire, not firme and sufficient for to sustein a solide masse: whereas according to Pindarus:

To beare the earth there standmost pussant Columns and pillars of hard diamant.

And therefore Pharnaces for himselfe is out of all feare, that the earth will fall; mary he pittieth those who are directly and plumbe under the course of the Moone, and namely the Aethiopi-30 ans, and those of Taprobana, least so weightie a masse should tumble downe upon their heads. And yet the Moone hath one good meanes and helpe to keepe her from falling, to wit, her very motion and violent revolution, like unto those bullets or stones, or whatsoever weights be put within a fling, they are fure enough from flipping or falling out, folong as they be violently fwong and whirled about. For every body is carried according to the natural motion thereof, if there be no other cause to empeach or turne it aside out of course: which is the reason that the Moone mooveth not, according to the motion of her poife, confidering the inclination thereof downward, is staied and hindred by the violence of a circular revolution. But peradventure more cause there were to marvel, if the should stand altogether as the earth, immoveable whereas now the Moone hath this great cause to empeach her, for not tending down-40 ward hither. As for the earth, which hath no other motion at all to hinder it; great reason there is, that according to that onely weight of the owne, it should moove downward and there settle; for more heavy it is than the Moone, not so much in this regard, that greater it is, but more, for that the Moone by reason of heat and adustion of fire, is made the lighter. In briefe, it appearethby that which you fay, if it be true that the Moone be fire, it hath need of earth, or some other marter to rest upon and cleave untenfor to mainteine, nourish, and quicken still the power that it hath: for it cannot be conceived or imagined, how fire should be preserved without fuell, ormatter combustible. And you your felves affirme, doe yee not? that the earth abideth firme and fure, without any base or piedstall to susteine and hold it up? Yes verily (quoth Pharmases) being in the proper and naturall place, which is the very mids and center. For this is it 50 whereto all heavy and weightie things doe tend, incline, and are caried to, from every fide, and about which they cling, and be counterpeized : but the upper region throughout, if haply there be any terrestriall and heavy matter, by violence sent up thither, repelleth and casteth it downe againe with force incontinently, or to speake more truely, letteth it goe and fall, according to the owne naturall inclination, which is to tend and fettle downward.

For the answer and refuration whereof, I willing to give Luctue fome reasonable time to fummon his wits together, and to thinke upon his reasons: and calling unto Them by name,

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Which of the tragical Poets was it (Theon quoth I) who faid that Phylicians Bitter medicines into the body powre,

The face appearing in the Moone.

When bitter choler they meane to purge and scoure? And when he made me answere that it was Sophocles. Well (quoth I) we must permit them so to doc upon necessity: but we ought not to give eare unto Philosophers, if they would main. taine strange paradoxes, by other positions as absurd, or to confute admirable opinions, devise others much more extravagant and wonderfull; like as these here who broch and bring in a motion for footh tending unto a middle, wherein, what abfurdity is there not? Holde not they that the earth is as round as a ball, and yet we fee how many deepe profundities, hauticfublimi. ties & manifold inequalities it hath ? affirme not they that there be antipodes dwelling opposit to one unto another, and those sticking as it were to the sides of the earth with their heeles upward & their heads downward all arfe verfe, like unto thefe woodwormes or cats which hang by their Tharpe clawes? Would not they have even us also that are here for to goe upon the ground not plumbe upright, but bending or enclining fidelong, reeling and staggering like drunken folke? Doe they not tell us tales, and would make us beleeve, that if barres and maffes of iron waighing a thousand talents a peece, were let fall downe into the bottom of the earth, when they came once to the middle centre thereof, will stay and rest there, albeit nothing els came against them nor fulfained them up? And if peradventure by fome forcible violence they should passe beyond the faid midft, they would foone rebound backe thither againe of their owneaccord? Say not they that if a man should faw off the trunks or ends of beams on either fide of the earth, 30 the fame would never fettle downeward still throughout, but from without forth fall both into the earth, and so equally meet one another, and cling together about the hart or centre thereof. Suppose not they that if a violent streame of water should runne downeward still into the ground, when it metonice with the very point or centre in the midft, which they holde to be incorporall, it would then gather together and turne round in maner of a whirlepoole, about a pole, waving to and fro there continually like one of these pendant buckets, and, as it hangeth. wagge inceflantly without end? And verily some of these affertions of theirs are so absurd, that no man is able to enforce himselfe to imagine in his minde although falsely, that they are possible. For this indeed is to make high and low all one; this is to turne all upfide downe: that those things, which become as farre as to the midft, shal be thought below and under : and what is un- 30 der the middle shall be supposed above and aloft; in such sort, as that if a man, by the sufferance and content of the earth, flood with his navell just against the middle and centre of it, he should by this meanes have his head and his heelesboth together standing upward: and if one should come and digge through the place beyond that part of him which was above, shall in the digging be drawen downeward, and that which was beneath be cast upward both at once: and if there may be imagined another to goe cleane contrary unto him, their feet which were oppofite one unto the other, should neverthelesse be said and be indeed both together, beneath and above. Thus they both carrying upon their backs and also drawing after them, not I affure you a box or little budget, but a fardle and packe, I sweare unto you, of judglers boxes full of so many and so groffe paradoxes and abfurdities, wherewith they play paffe and repaffe, yet the lay 40 for all this, that others erre, who place the Moone which they holde to be earth, above, and not where the midst and centre of the world is. And yet if every ponderous body, incline to the fame place and bendeth from all fides and on every part to the midfithereof, certainly the earth shall not appropriate and chalenge unto it felfe waightie masses as parts thereof because it is the middle of the world, more than in regard it is whole and entire : and the gathering together of heavie bodies about it, shall be no figne nor argument to shew that it is the middle of the world, but rather to proove and testifie that these bodies which have been etaken and pulled from it and returne againe, have a communication and conformitie in nature with the earth. For like as the Sunne converteth into it selfe the parts whereof it is composed even fo the earth receiveth and beareth a stone, as a partappertaining unto it, in such fortas intime 50 every one of these things is concorporate and united with it. And if it chance that therebe some other body which from the begginning was not allotted and laid unto the earthnor plucked from it, but had a part from it, a proper confistence and peculiar nature of the owne, as they may fay the Moone had, what should let, but it may abide severally by it selfe, compacted and bound close together in all the proper parts thereof? For heereby, is not shewed demonstratively that the earth is the midst of the whole world: and the conglobation of waighty bo-

dies heere and their concretion which the earth declareth unto us the maner how it is probable that the parts the which be their gathered to the bodie of the Moone, may there also remaine. But he who driveth all earthly and ponderous things into one place, ranging them altogether, and making them the parts of one and the fame bodie, I marvell why he attributeth not in like maner the same force and constraint unto light substances, but suffereth so many conglobations of fire to be apart and diffinct afunder, neither can I fee the reason why he should not bring all the starres into one, and thinke that there ought to be one entire body of all those substances that flie upward and are of firie nature. But you Mathematicians, (friend Pollonides) affirme that the Sunne is distant from the Primum Mobile, and highest scope of heaven, infinite thou-10 fands of miles : and after him, that the day starre Venus and Mercury, with the other Planets, which being fituate under the fixed starres, and distant one from another, by great intervals and spaces betweene, doe make their severall revolutions: meane while you doe not thinke, that the world affordeth unto heavy and terrestriall bodies, a great and large place in it, and a distance one from another. But see what a ridiculous thing it were, to denie the Moone to be earth because it is not seated in the lowest place of the world; and withall to affirme it to be a star fofarre remote from the firmament and Primum Mobile, even a huge number of Stadia, as if it were plunged low into some deepe gulfe : for so farre under other starres she is, as no man can expresse, and even you Mathematicians want numbers to reckon and summe the distance: and the feemeth after a fort to touch the very earth, making her revolution as the doth, fo nere 20 unto the tops of high mountaines, leaving behinde her (as Empedocles faith) the very prints and tracks of her chariot wheeles upon them : for often times the furpaffeth not the shadow of the earth, which is very thort, and reacheth not high, by reason of the excessive greatnesse of the Sunne that shineth upon it: and she seemeth to walke her stations so neere unto the upper face of the earth, and in a maner within the armes of it, that the obstructeth and hideth from us the light of the Sunne, because the mounteth not above this shadowy, terrestriall and darke region like unto the night, which is (as one would fay) the very finage and marches allotted to the earth. And therefore a man may be bolde to fay, that the Moone is within the limits and confines of the earth, feeing withall that darkened and shadowed it is by the high crests and tops of mountaines therein. But to leave all other starres, aswell fixed as wandering, consider the de-30 monstrations of Aristarchus in his treatise of Magnitudes and Distances, that the distance of the Sunne from us is more than that of the Moone, above eighteene folde, but under twentie: andheverily who raiseth the Moone highest, faith that she is from us, fix and fiftie times as, farreas is the centre of the earth; the diffance whereof is fortie thousand stadia. By their calculation who keepe a meane, and according to this supputation, the Sunne ought to be distant from the Moone more than foure thousand and thirty stadia ten thousand times tolde : so farre (Ifay) is the off from the Sunne in regard of her ponderofity, and fo neere approacheth the unto the earth: fo that if, by places, we ought to diffinguish of substances, the region and portion of the earth challengeth the Moone, and in regard of her proximity and vicinage unto it, the ought by right to be reckoned and enrolled among the natures, affaires, and bodies terrestrials. 40 Neither shall we do amisse in my conceit, if having given unto these bodies (that are said to be aloft) so large a space and distance, we allow also to those beneath, such a race and spacious roune to runne in, as is from the earth to the Moone: for as he is not moderate nor tolerable, who calleth the upper superficies onely and cope of the heaven are, that is to say, alost, or superiour; and all the rest wire, that is to say, beneath; so he who termeth the earth or rather the center of it onely, garas, that is to fay, below or inferiour, is not to be endured; confidering that the huge valitity of the world may affoord, even in this region beneath, such a competent space as is meet and convenient for motion. For if one would mainteine, that all above the earth is immediatly to be counted high and aloft; another presently will come upon him with this contradiction, and fay, that he may aswel hold, that what soever is beneath the Primum mobile or thar-50 rie firmament, ought to be called Below. In fumme, how is the earth called, The middle? and whereof is it the middle? for the univerfall frame of the world, called may, is infinit; and this infinit which hath neither head nor foot: how can it in reason have a navill? for even that which we call the mids of any thing, is a kinde of limitation; whereas infinitie is a meere privation of all limits and bounds. As for him who faith, it is not in the mids of that universalitie, but of the world, he is a pleafant man, if he thinke not withall, that the world it felfe is subject to the lame doubts and difficulties: for the faid univerfall frame leaveth not unto the very world a Fffff

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middle, but is without a certeine feat, without affured footing, mooving in a voidneffe infinite not into some one place proper unto it : and if haply it should meet with some any other cause of flay, and so abide stil, the same is not according to the nature of the place. And as much may we conjecture of the Moone, that by the meanes of some other soule or nature, or rather of some difference, the earth continueth firme beneeath, and the Moone mooveth. Furthermore you see, how they are not ignorant of a great errour and inconvenience: for if it be true, that whatfoever is without the centre of the earth, it skils not how, is to be counted Above and Aloft, then is there no part of the world to be reckoned Below or Beneath; but aswell the earth it selfe. as al that is upon it, shal be above & aloft: and to be short, every bodie neere or about the centre, mult go among those things that are aloft; neither must we reckon any thing to be under or be- or neath, but one pricke or point, which hath no bodie : and the fame for footh must make head and stand in opposition necessarily, against all the whole nature besides of the world; in case, according to the course of nature, and wire, that is to fay, above and beneath, be opposite. And not onely this abfurdity will follow, but also all heavie and ponderous bodies must needs lose the cause, for which they bend and incline hither: for, bodie there will be none, toward which it should move : and as for this pricke or centre that hath no bodie, there is no likelihood, neither would they themselves have it so, that it should be so puissant and forcible, as to draw to it, and reteine about it, all things. And if it be found unreasonable and repugnant to the course of nature, that the world should be all above, and nothing beneath, but a termeor limit, and the same without body, without space and distance; then this that we say, is yet more 20 reasonable, namely, that the region beneath and that above, being parted distinctly one from another, have nevertheleffe ech of them a large and spacious roume to round themselves in. But suppose (if it please you) it were against nature, that terrestrials bodies should have any motion in heaven; let us confider gently and in good termes, not after a tragicall maner, but mildly, This prooveth not by and by, that the Moone is not earth, but rather, that earth is in some place, where naturally it should not be: for the fire of the mountaine Aetna, is verily under the ground, against the nature of it; howbeit, the same ceaseth not therefore to be fire. The winde conteined within leather bottles, is of the owner nature light and given to mount upward, butby force it commeth to be there, where naturally it ought not to be. Ourvery foule it felfe (Ibefeech you in the name of Jupiter) is it not against nature deteined within the body; being light, 30 in that which is heavie; being of a firie substance in that which is colde, as yee your selvestay; and being invisible, in that which is groffe and palpable? do we therefore denie, that the soule is within the bodie, that it is a divine fubltance under a groffe and heavie maffe, that in a moment it passeth thorowout heaven, earth and sea 3 that it pierceth and entreth within sless, nerves and marrow; and finally, is the cause together with the humors of infinit passions? And eventhis Jupiter of yours, fuch as you imagine and depaint him to be, is he not of his owne nature a mighty and perpetuall fire? howbert, now he submitteth himselfe and is pliable; subject he is to all formes and apt to admit divers mutations. Take heed therefore, and be well advited (good fir) left that in transferring and reducing every thing to their naturall place, you doe not fo philosophize, as that you will bring in a diffolution of all the world, and fet on foot againe that olde 40 quarrell and contention among all things which Empedocles writeth of : or , to speake more to the purpose, beware you raise not those ancient Titans and Giants, to put on armes against nature: and so consequently endevour to receive and see againe that fabulous disorder and consufion, whereby all that is weightie, goeth one way, and whatfoever is light, another way apart,

Where neither light some countenance of Sunne, nor earth all greene Wich ber bs and plants, admired is, nor surging sea is seene.

according as Empedocles hath written; wherein the earth feeleth no heat, nor the water any winde; wherein there is no ponderofity above, nor lightnessee beneath; but the principles and so elements of all things be by themselves solitary, without any mutuall love or dilection betweene them; not admitting any fociety or mixture together, but avoiding and turning away one from the other, mooving apart by particular motions, as being disdainfull, proud, and carying themfelves in such fort, as all things do where no god is, as Plato saith, that is as those bodies are affected wherein there is no understanding nor soule, untill such time as by some divine providence there come into nature a defire; and so amity, Venus and Love be there engendred, according to

the fayings of Empedocles, Parmenides and Hefodus; to the end, that changing their natural places and communicating reciprocally their gifts and faculties; fome driven by necessity to moove, other bound to reft; they be all forced to a better flate, remitting fomewhat of their puwer, and yeelding one to another, they grew at length unto accord, harmony and focietie. For if there had not beene any other part of the world against nature, but that ech one had bene both in place, and for quality, as it ought naturally to be, without any need of change or transpolition, to that there had beene nothing authefirst wanting, I greatly doubt what and wherein was the worke of divine providence; or whereupon it is, that Jupiter was the father, creator and maker. For in a campe or field, there would be no need of a man who is expert and skilfull in 10 ranging and ordering of battell, in case every souldier of himselfe knew his ranke, his place, his time and opportunity, which he ought to take, keepe and observe. Neither would there be any nie of gardiners, carpenters or masons, if water were of it selfe taught naturally to go where asit is needfull, and to runne and overflow a place which requireth watering; and if bricks; timber-logs and flones by their owne inclinations and naturall motions, were to range and couch themselves orderly in their due places. Now if this reason and argument of theirs doth directly abolish all providence; if order belong unto God, together with the distinction of all things in the world; why thould any man wonder, that nature hath beene fo disposed and ordeined by him, as that fire should be here, and the starres there? and againe, that the carth should be seated here below, & the Moone placed there above, lodged in a more fire & ftrong priton, devifed by 20 reason, than that which was first ordeined by nature? For were it so, that absolutely and of necesfitie, all things should follow their naturall instinct, and move according to that motion which naturally is given them, neither would the Sunne runne his course any more circularly, nor Venu, nor any other planet whatfocver; for that fuch light fubflances, and flanding much upon fire mount directly upward. Now if it be fo, that nature recive th fuch an alteration and change in regard of the place, as that our fire here being moved and flitted, rifeth plumbe upward; but after it is gotten once up to heaven, together with the revolution thereof, turneth round: what maryell is it, if femblably, heavie and terrestrial bodies, being out of their natural places, be forced & overcome by the circumstant aire, to take unto another kind of motion? For it can not befaid with any reason, that heaven bath this flower to take from light substances the propertie 30 to mount aloft, and can not likewife have the puilfance to vanquish heavie things & such as naturally move downward; but one while it maketh use of that power of her owne, another while of the proper nature of things, alwaies tending to the better. But to let patfe these habitudes and opinions whereto we are fervilly addicted, and to speake frankly and without seare what our minde is, I am verily perswaded, that there is no part of the universall world, that hath by itselfe any peculiar order, feat or motion, which a man fimply may fay to be naturall unto it; but when ech part exhibiteth and yeeldeth profitably that, wherefore it is made, and whereto it is appointed, moving it felfe, doing or fuffering, or being disposed as it is meet and expedient for it, cither for fafetie, beautie, or puisfance, then feemeth it to have place, motion and disposition, proper and convenient to the owne nature. For man, who is disposed (if any thing els in the 40 whole world) according to nature, hath in the upper parts of the bodie, and especially about his head, those things that be ponderous and earthly; but in the mids thereof, such as be hore and of a firy nature; his teeth, fome grow above, others beneath; and yet neither the one range of them nor the other, is against nature. Neither is that fire which shineth above in his eies, according to nature, and that which is in the bellie and heart, contrary to nature, but in ech place is it properly feated and commodiously. Now if you confider the nature of thell-fitnes, you shall finde, that (as Empedocles faith)

Of the face appearing in the Moone.

The oifters, murets of the fea, and shell-fish every one, Withmaßie coat; the tortoife eke, with crust as hard as stone, And vaulted backe, which archwise he aloft doth hollow reare; Show all, that beave carth they do above their bodies beare.

And yet this hard coat and heavie cruft, like unto a stone, being placed over their bodies, doth not preffe or cruth them; neither doth their naturall heat, in regard of lightnesse, slie up and vanith away, but mingled and composed they are one with the other, according to the nature of

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every one. And even fo it standeth to good reason, that the world, in case it be animall, hath in many places of the body thereof, earth, and in as many, fire and water, not driven thither perforce, but so placed & disposed by reason: for the eie was not by the strength of lightnesse forced to that part of the body wherein it is; neither was the hart depressed downe by the weight that it had, into the brest; but because it was better and more expedient for the one and the other, to be feated where they are. Semblably, we ought not to thinke, that of the parts of the world, either the earth fetled where it is, because it sell downe thither by reason of ponderositie. or the Sunne, in regard of lightnesse, was caried upward, like unto a bottle bladder full of winde, which being in the bottome of the water, prefently rifeth up, (as Metrodorus of Chios was perfwaded) or other stars, as if they were put in aballance, inclined this way or that, as their weight to more or leffe required, and so mounted higher or lower to those places where now they are feated: but rather by the powerfull direction of reason in the first constitution of the world. fome of the starres like unto bright and glittering eies have beene set fast in the sirmament, as one would fay aloft in the very forhead thereof: and the Sunne representing the power and vigor of the heart, sendeth and distributeth in maner of bloud and spirits, his heat and light thorowout all. The earth and sea are to the world, proportionable to the paunch and bladder in the body of a living creature: the moone fituate betweene the Sunne and the earth, as betweene the heart and the bellie, refembling the liver or fome such soft bowell, transmitteth into the inferiour parts here beneath, the heat of those superior bodies, and draweth to herselfethose vapors that arise from hence, and those doth she subtilat & refine by way of concoction and puri- 20 fication, and fo fend and distribute them round about her. Now whether that folid and terrestriall portion in it, hath fome other propertie ferving for a profitable use or no, it is unknown to us; but furely it is evermore the best and surest way in all things, to goby that which is necesfarie: for what probabilitie or likelihood can we draw from that which they deliver? They affirme, that of the aire the most subtile and lightsome part, by reason of the raritie thereof, became heaven; but that which was thickened and closely driven together, went to the making of starres; of which the Moonebeing the heaviest of all the rest, was concret and compact of the most groffe and muddy matter thereof: and yet a man may perceive how she is not separate nor divided from the aire, but mooveth and performeth her revolution through that which is about her, even the region of the winds, and where comets or blafing starres be engendered and 30 hold on their course. Thus these bodies have not beene by their naturall inclinations, accor-

reason they have beene so ranged and ordeined. After these words were said, when I would have given unto Lucius his turne to speake, and to hold on this discourse, there being nothing at all behinde left, but the demonstrations of this doctrine: Aristotle beganto simile, I am a witnesse (quoth he) that you have directed al these your contradictions and refutations, against those, who hold that the Moone is it selfe halfe fire; and who affirme, that all bodies of their owne accord, tend either upward or downward directly: But whether there be any one who faith, that the Starres of their owne nature, have a circular motion, & that in substance they be far different from the foure elements, that came 40 not ever, so much as by chance and fortune into your remembrance: and therefore I count my felfe exempt from all trouble and molestation in that behalfe. Why, good fir (quoth Lucius) if yee should haply suppose and set downe, that the other starres, and the whole heaven besides, were of a pure and fyncere nature, voide of all change and muration, in regard of pattion, as alfo bring in a certeine circle, in which they performed their motions by a perpetuall revolution, you should not finde any one at this time to gaine-say you; notwithstanding there were in this position doubts and difficulties innumerable. But when your speech is descended so low as to touch the Moone, then can it not mainteine in her that impassibility, and the celestiall beautie of that body. But to leave all other inequalities and differences therein; certes, that very face which appeareth in the body of the Moone, commeth necessarily from some passion of her so owne substance, or else by the mixture of some other, (for that which is mingled in some sort alwaies suffereth) because it looseth that former puritie, being perforce overcast and filled with that which is woorfe. As for that dull and flow course of hers, that weake and feeble heat whereby, as the Poet Jon faith,

ding as ech of them is light or heavie, placed and fituate as they be, but furely by fome other

The grapes their kinde concottion lacke,

And on the wine tree turne not blacke.

unto what shall we attribute the same, if not to her imbecilitie, in case an eternal and heavenly

body can be subject unto any such passion? In summe, my good friend Aristotle, if the Moone be earth, furely a most faire and beautifull thing it seemeth to be, and full of great maiestie: if a starte, or light, or some divine and celestiall body, I am affraid least the proove deformed and soule, yea, and disgrace that beautifull name of hers, in case of all those bodies in heaven, which are in number so many, she onely remaineth to have need of the light of another,

Casting behinde, her eie alwaies, Upon the Sunne and his bright raies.

according as Parmendes writeth. And verily our familiar friend, having in a lecture of his, prooved by demonstration this proposition of Anaxagoras; that all the light which the Moone to hath, the Sunne giveth unto her, was commended and well reputed for it. For mine owne part, I am not minded to fay what I have learned, either of you, or with you; but taking this for a thing granted and confessed, I will proceed forward to the rest behinde. Probable therefore it is, that the Moone is illuminate, not in maner of a glaffe or crystall stone, by the bright irradiation and thining beames of the Sunne striking through her; neither yet by a certaine collustration and mutuall conjunction of lights, as torches which being fet a burning together, do augment the light: for fo it would be no leffe ful moone in the conjunction or first quarter, than in the opposition, in case she did not conteine and keepe in, nor repell the raics of the sunne, but fuffer them to paffe through her by reason of her raritie and frugositie, or if by a contempeture the shineth and kindleth as it were the light about her: for we cannot alledge her oblique and biase declination, or her aversions and turnings away, before and after the conjunction or change, as when it is halfe Moone, tipped croifant, or in the wane; but being directly and plumbe under the bodie that illuminateth it, as Democritus faith, it receive thand admitteth the Sunne, in fuch fort, as by all likelihood she should then appeare, and he shine through her: But so farre is the from so doing, that both herselfe at such a time is unseene, and many times hideth the Sunne, and keepeth off his beames from us: for according to Empedoeles,

His raies aloft she turneth cleane aside, That to the earth beneath they cannot wend: The earth is selfe she do th obscure and hide, So farre as she in compasse doth extend.

Asifthis light of the Sunne fell upon night and darkneffe and not upon another starre. And whereas Posadonius saith, that in regard of the thicknes & depth of the Moones body, the light of the Sun can not through her pierce, as far as unto us, this is manifestly convinced as untrue. Fortheaire as infinite as it is, and deeper by many degrees than the Moone, is neverthelesse illuminated and lightned all over, and thoughout by the Sunne. It remained therefore that according to the opinion of Empedocles, the Moone-light which appeareth unto us, commeth by the reflexion and repercussion of the Sunne-beames. And hererupon it is, that the same is not with us hot and bright, as of necessitie it would be, if it did proceed either from the inflammation or commixtion of two lights. But like as the restraction or reverberation of a voice, doth cause an eccho, or resonance more obscure than is the voice it selfe, as it was pronounced; and so the raps, that shot, rebounding backe againe, doeth give, are more milde and soft,

Even so the Sunne beames when they beat

upon the Moone in compasse great. yeeld a weake and feeble reflexion or refluxion, as one would fay of light, the force thereof being much abated & resolved by the refraction & reslexion. Then Sylla: Certes, great probalitie this carieth with it, that you have delivered: But the most forcible objection that is made against this position, how thinke you, is it any waies mitigated and mollisted? or hath our friend heere passed it over quite with silence? Whereby speake you this (quoth Lucius?) what oppofition meane you dor is it the doubt or difficulty about the Moone when sheappeareth the one halfe? Even the very fame (quoth Solla) for there is some reason; considering that all resexion 50 is made by equall angles, that when the halfe Moone is in the middes of heaven, the light should not be carried from her upon the earth, but glaunce and fall beyond the earth: for the Sunnebeing upon the Horizon, toucheth with his raies the Moone, and therefore being reflected and broken æqually, they must light upon the opposite bound of the Horizon, and so not lend the light hither; or elfethere shall enfine a great distortion and difference of the angle, which is impossible. Why good fir (quoth Lucian) I dare assure you, this hath not beene overpassed, but explaned already fand with that, casting his eie as he spake, upon Menelaus the Mathematician:

Mathematician: I am abashed (quotli he) friend Menelam, to overthrow a Mathematicall pofitton, that is supposed and laid as a ground, and fundamentall principle for oblique matters of mirrours : And yet I must (quoth he) of necessitie: for that it neither appeareth in this example, nor is generally confessed as true, that all reflexions tend to equal angles, for checked and confuted it is by round embowed or embofied mirrors, when as they reprefent images appearing at one point of the fight, greater than themselves. This also is disproved by double or two folde mirrors, for that when they be inclined and turned one unto the other, fo as the angle be made within, ech of the glaffes or plaine superficies, yeeld the resemblance of a double image, and fo represent source in all from one face; two apparent, answerable to that without on the left fide; and other twaine obscure, & not so evident on the right fide, all in the bottome of 10 the mirrors, where they yeeld images, in appearance greater than the thing it felfe, at one point onely of the fight. The same likewise is overthrowen by those mirrors which are hollow, wherein the aspect is variable: whereof Plato rendereth a reason and efficient cause: for he faith, that a mitrorrifing of the one fide and the other, the fight doeth change the reflexion, falling from the one fide to the other: and therefore as the viewes and visions, some immediately returne upon us, others gliding upon the opposite parts of the mirror, have recourse againe from thence unto us, it is not possible that all reflexions should be in equal angles: so that when they come to coping and clote fight, they thinke by these oppositions to take from the fluxions of light, caried from the Moone to the earth, the equalitie of angles, supposing this to cary more probability with it, than the other. Howbeit, if we must needs yeeld thus much, and grant this 20 unto our best beloved Geomitrian: first and formost by all likelihood this should befall unto those mirrors that are very smooth and exquisitly polished: whereas the Moone hath many inequalities, and afperities, in such fort, as the raies comming from the vast body of the Sunne, and carried to mightie altitudes, which receive one from another, and intercommunicate the lights, as they be sent to and fro, and distributed reciprocally, are refracted, broken, and interlaced all maner of waies, fo as the counterlights doe meet and encounter one another, as if they came from many mirrours unto us. Moreover, if we should grant and suppose these reflexions of beames upon the superfices of the Moone, to be made by way of equal angles, there is no impossibility in the matter, but that the same raics being caried so great a way, shuld have their fractions, flexions, and delaptions; that thereby the light flould be confused and to thing the more.

Some also there be who prove by lineary demonstration, that she casteth much of her light to the earth plumbedowne by direct line drawen under her as the dothencline: But for a man to make such a discription and deliniation, reading as he doth, and discoursing in a publicke auditorie, especially being so frequent, it was not easie, neither could it well be. In briefe I marvell (quoth he) how they came thus to alledge against us the halfe Moone, more than halfe tipped or croifant. For if the Sunne do illuminate the maffe, as a man would fay, of the Moone, being of a celetitall or firy matter, furely he would not leave halfe the sphære or globe thereof datke alwaies & thadowed without light, to our fenfe, but how little foever he touched her, turning as he doth about, reason would give and convenient it were that she should be wholly replenished 40 and totally changed and turned, by that brightnesse of his, which spredesh so quickely, and pasfeth through all to cafily. For confidering that wine touching water in one point onely, or a drop of blood falling into some liquor, dieth and coloureth the same all red or purple, like into blood: and feeing they fay that the very aire is altered with light, nor by any definition of beames intermingled, but by fudden convertion and change, even in a point or pricke enely: how can they thinke that one starre comming to touchanother starre; and one light another thould not be mingled immediatly, nor make a confusion and mutation throughout, but to like minate that onely in the outward superficies which it toucheth? For that citale which the Sun maketh in fetching a compatie and turning toward the Moone, one while falling upon the very line which parteth that which is visible in her fto the invisible, another while rifing up discory; so in fuch fort as that it both cutteth her in twaine & is cutte also by her reciprocally, according to divers regards and habitudes of that which is light to the darke, cauling those fundry formerin her, whereby the appeareth but halfe, more than halfe horned and croffant : this I fay theweth more than any thing els, that this illumination of the Moone, whereof we speake all this whiles, is not a mixture of two lights but a touching onely, not a collustration of gathering together of fundry lights, but an illustration thereof round about But for as much as the is not onely

illuminate her felfe, but he alfo fendeth backe hither unto us the image of that brightneffe, this confirmeth us more and more in that which we fay as touching her terreine fubflance. For never are there any reflections and reverberations upon a thing that is rare and of lubtile parts; neither may a man eafily fo much as imagine how light from light, or one fire should refult and rebound from another: but needs it must be that the subject which maketh the reverberation or reflection is firme, folidand thicke, to the end there may be a blowgiven against ir, and a rebounding also from it. To prove this, doe but marke the aire, which giveth passage nuto the Sunne for to perce quite through it, neither admitteth it any repulse or driving backe. Contrariwife we may fee, that from wood, from stones, and from clothes or garments, hung forth to against the same, he maketh many reflections of his light, and illuminations on every side. And even so we see, that the earth by him is illuminate; for he sendeth not his beames to the very bottome thereof as in water, nor throughout the whole as in the aire: but looke what circle the Sunne maketh turning about the Moone, and how much he cutteth from her, such another there is that compaffeth the earth: and just fo much he doth illuminate alwaies, as he leaweth without light: for that which is illumined in the one and the other, is a little more than a hemisphære. Give me leave therefore now to conclude after the maner of Geometricians by proportion. If, when three things there be, unto which the light of the Sunne commeth, to wit, the Aaire, the Moone, and the earth, we fee that one of them is by him illuminate, not as the aire, but as the earth: we must of necessity collect that those two be of one nature, considering an that of the fame cause they suffer the same effects. Now when all the companie highly commended Lucius for this disputation: Passing well done of you Lucius (quoth I) you have to a proper discourse annexed as prety a comparison; for we must give you your right and not defraud you of that which is your due. With that smiled Lucius: I have yet (quoth he) a second proportion which I will adde unto the other, to the end that we may prove by demonstration, that the Moone wholy refembleth the earth, not only by this that the fuffreth togetheer with the earth, from the fame cause, the fame accidents: but also because they both doe worke the like effects upon the fame object. For this I am fure you will yeeld and grant unto me, that of all those things which are observed about the Sunne, none doe so much refemble one another, as Somethinke his eelips doth his fetting or going downe: if you will but call to minde that meeting of Sunne he meaneth and Moone together, which hapned of late daies, and beginning immediatly after noonelted, over the face caused many a starre from fundry parts of the skie to be seene, and wrought such a temperature of the earth, ordisposition in the aire, as is of the twilight evening and morning. But if you will not grant which hapned at the venic methe faid supposition in this, our Theon here will cite and bring, I trow, Minnermus, Cydias, timethat our Architochus: and besides them Stesicher us and Pindarus, lamenting that in eclipses, the world is Saviour suite robbed of their greatest light which they bewaile as if it were enterred, faying that midnight was croffe, which

The face appearing in the ${\cal M}$ oone.

loftand miffing out of the heaven being inconjunction with the Moone. And this happeth by a natural cause, according as Homer sheweth in this verse,

of whi o Hour D plui O, To d' isantioro. What time as Moones their interchange begin

As one goes out, another commeth in.

As for the reft in mine advice they be as certaine and doe conclude as exactly as the demonstrations of the Mathematicians, to wit, that as the night is the fladow of the earth, fo the eclipse of seems, so it the Sun, is the thadow of the Moone, when as the fight returneth upon it felfe. For the Sunne will not that the Suns going downe is hidden from our fight by the earth, and being eclipted is likewife darkened by ecclipte, to be the Moone, and both the one and the other be offuscations of darkenesse; that of the Sunne at any other the Moone, and Both the one and the other poorrucations of darkeners, and the other of the Sunne eclipfed by the Moone, by the reafon that the die change, shade empeacheth our fight : of which premises the conclusion evidently doth follow. For if by course of the effect be like; the efficients also be semblable; because necessary it is, that the same accidents nature. or effects in the lame subject must come from the same efficient. Now if the darkenesse occafroned by the ecliples be not fo deepe nor affect the aire fo forcibly as doth the night, we are not to marvell thereat : for the substance of that bodie which maketh the night, and of it that canfeil the eclipse, may wel be the same, although the greatnesse be not equall. For the Aegyp-

come at noone day, and that the radiant beames of the Sunne, went in the way and path of communed his datkenesse: but above all he will alledge Homer, saying that in an eclips, the faces and visages of the facts home of the day, to men wete overcast and seized upon with night and darkenesse: also that the Sunne was quite to the math,

tians, I suppose, doe hold, that the Moone is in bignesse the 72. part of the carth: And agor as faith it is just as big as Peloponnesus. Aristarchus writeth that the overthwart line or Diamiter of the Moone in proportion to that of the earth is leffe than if 60, were compared with nineteene: and somewhat more than if a hundred and eight were compared with 43: and thereby the earth bereaveth us of all fight of the Sunne, fo greatitis. For it must be a great obstacle and opposition betweene, which continue the time of a night: and the Moone albeit otherwhile the hideth all the Sunne, yet that ecclipse neither lasteth not so long, nor is so universall: for there appeareth alwaies about his circumference fome light, which will not permit the darknesse to be so blacke and deepe, and altogether so obscure. Anstotle also, I meane the ancient Philosopher of that name, rendring a reason why there happen ecclipses of the Moone 10 oftener than of the Sunne, among other causes, brings in this for one : that the Sunne is ecclipfed by the obstruction of the Moone, and the Moone by that of the earth, which is much greater and more spacious, and so by consequence is opposed very often. And Posidonius defined this accident thus: The ecclipse of the Sunne (quoth he) is the conjunction or meeting of the Sunne and the Moone, the shadow whereof doeth darken our eie-fight: for there is no defect or ecclipse of the Sunnes light, but unto those, whose fight the shadow of the Moone hath caught, and so hindreth them from seeing the Sunne. Now in confessing that the shadow of the Moone reacheth downe unto us, I know not what he hath left himfelfe for to alledge. Certes, impossible itis, that a starre should cast a shadow: for that which is voide altogether of light, is called a shadow; and light maketh no shadow, but contrariwise, naturally 20 riddeth it away. But what arguments befides, were alledged to this purpose (quoth he?) The Mounc (quoth I then) fuffereth the fame ecclipfe: Well done (quoth he) of you, to reduce this into my memoric: But would you have me to profecute this disputation, as if you had already granted and fet downe, that the Moone is subject to ecclipses, when she is caught within the shadow of the earth; or that for a subject and argument of some declamation, and demonftration unto you, I first rehearse all the arguments one after another ? Mary, do so I pray you (quoth Theon:) befrow your labour in fuch a discourse. I had need verily (quoth he) of some perswasson, having onely heard say, that when these three bodies, to wit, the earth, the Sunne, and the Moone, are directly in one right line, then happen ecclipses; for that either the earth, taketh the Sunne from the Moone, or the Moone taketh him from the earth: for the Sunne is 30 in defect or ecclipse when the Moone, and the Moone likewise when the earth is in the mids of them three; whereof the one falleth out in conjunction, the other in the opposition or full Moone. Then (quoth Lucius) these be in a maner all the principall points and the very briefe of those that which hath beene delivered: but to begin withall, if you thinke so good take in hand that firme argument which is drawen from the forme and figure of the shadow, which indeed is a Conte or Pyramis (refembling a fugar loafe) with the Tharpe end forward, namely when a great fire or great light being round, comprehendeth a maffe likewise round but lesse : and hereupon it commeth that in ecliples of the Moone the circumscription of the blacke or darkeneffe, from the cleere and light, have alwaies their fections round: for the approchments and applications of a round bodie, in what part foever, whether it give or receive those sections; 40 by reason of the similitude doe alwaies keepe a round forme and be circular. Now to the second argument. Youknow well (I suppose) that the first part eclipsed or darkened in the Moone, is that which regardeth the east: and contrariwise in the Sunne, that which looketh toward the west: for the shaddow of the earth goeth from east to west, but contrariwise the Sunneand Moone, from west eastward. The experience of the apparitions, giveth us the visible knowledge of these things: and many words there need not to make the demonstration hereof plaine and evident to be understood: by which suppositions is confirmed the cause of the eclipse: For, in as much as the Sunne is eclipfed when he is overtaken, and the Moone by meeting with that which maketh her eclipfe, by all likelihood, nay rather necessarily, the one is caught behinde, the other furprised before, for that the obstruction, & inumbration beginneth on that side on which 50 that commeth first that maketh the said inumbration. Now the Moone lighteth upon the Sunne from the west, as striving with him in course and hastning after him: but the shaddow of the earth commeth from the east, as having a contrary motion. The third reason is taken from the time and greatnesse of the eclipses of the Moone. For when she is eclipsed on high and farrefrom the earth, the continueth but a little while in defect or want of light: but when the fuffereth the fame default being low and nere unto the earth, the is much oppressed, and slowly

getteth the foorth of the shade thereof : and yet when the is low the moveth most swiftly, and being aloft, as flowly. But the cause is in the difference of the shaddow, which toward the bottome or base is broader as are the Cones or Pyramides, & so it groweth smaller and smaller raperwife, untill at the top it endeth in asharpe point. And hereupon it cometh that the Moone being low and so falling within the shadow is compassed with greater circles of the shadow, & so passed feth through the very bottome of it, & that which is most darke but being on high, by reason of the narrow compaffe of the shadow, being as it were in a small puddle of mire, she is but a little fullied or beraied therewith, & so quickely getteth forth of it. Here I passe by the accidents and effects that have their particular causes. For we daily see that the fire, out of a shady place appea-10 reth & shineth the rather, either by reason of the thickenesse of the darke aire, which admitteth no effuxions nor diffusions of the vertue of the fire, keeping in and containing within it selfe the fubstance thereof: or rather if this be a passion of the sense, like as hot things nere unto cold are felt to be more hot, and pleasures presently upon paines found more vehement : even so things cleere, appeare better when they are laid neere unto those that be darke, by meanes of different passions, which doe streine the imagination: but the former conjecture seemeth to bee more probable: for in the Sunne-shine, the whole nature of fire not onely leefeth his brightneffe, but also in giving place unto it, becommeth more dull, and unwilling to burne, for that the hear of the Sunne doth scatter and diffipate the force thereof. If then it were true that the Moone had in it a feeble and dimme or duskish fire, as being a muddy starre, as the Stoicks faie 20 it is, reason it were and meet, that it should not suffer any one of those accidents (but contrary al) which now we fee it to fuffer, namely to be feene at that time when as it is hidden; and againe to be hidden, what time as the theweth herfelfe: that isto fay, to be covered all the rest of the time, being darkned by the aire environing it, and to shine out against or fix moneths, and afterwards for five moneths be hidden, entring within the shadow of the earth. For of 465, revolutions of ecclipfed full Moones, 404. are of fix moneths, and the rest of five. It must needs bethen, during this time, the Moone should appeare shining in the shadow but contrariwise we'ee, that in the fhadow ecclipfed theis, and loofeth her light, which the recovereth againe afterwards, when the is escaped and gotten foorth of the faid shadow, yea, and appeareth often in the day time; fo that it is rather any thing elfe than a firie body, and refembling a starre. 30 Lucius had no fooner thus faid, but Pharnaces & Apollonides came running both together, to fet upon him, and to confute his speech : and then Pharnaces affished by Apollomides there prefent: Why: this (quoth he) is that which principally prooveth the Moone to be a starre, and to fland much upon fire, namely, that in ecclipfes the is not wholly darkned, and not at all to befeere, but sheweth through the shade a certeine colour, refembling a coale of fire, and the fame fearefull to fee to, which is the very naturall and proper hue of her owne. As for Apollomides, he made instance and opposition as touching the word shadow: for that (quoth he) Mathematicians by that terme use alwaies to call the place which is not illumined, but the heaven admitteth no shadow. Whereto I made answer, that this instance of his was alledged rather against the word contentiously, than against the thing Physically, or Mathematically; for 40 the place which is darkned and obstructed by the opposition of the earth, if a man will not call a shadow, but a place voide or deprived of light, yet be it what it will, when soever the Moone is there, you must of necessitie confesse, that she becommeth obscure and darkned and in one word, I fay, it is a very abfurd folly to hold, that the shadow of the earth reacheth not to that place, from whence the shadow the Moone falling upon our fight heere upon the earth, caufeth the ecclipse of the Sunne. And now will I come against to you Pharnaces: For that burnt colour, like a coale in the Moone, which you fay is proper unto her, agreeth very well to a body, that hath thicknesse and depth: neither use there to remaine in bodies which be rare any marke or token of a flame, nor a coale can possibly be made of a body which is not solide & able to receive deepe within it the heat of fire, and the blacknesse of smoake: as Homer himselse 50 fhewerh very well in one place, by these words:

When flower of fire was gon and flowen away And flume extinct the coales he did forth lay.

For the coale feemeth not properly to be fire, but a bodie firie and altered by fire, remaining fill in a folid maffe or fubstance which hath taken as it were deepe root: whereas flames are but the fetting on fire and fluxions of fome nutriment or matter which is of a rare fubstance, and by reason of feeblenesse is quickely resolved and consumed. In so much as there were not ano-

ther argument to evident, to prove that the Moone is folid and terrestriall, as this, if the proper colour therof resemble a coale of fire. But it is not so my Pharnaces; for in her eclipse the changeth diverfly her coldurs', which Mathematicians in regard of time and place determinally dithinguish in this fort, If the be eclipsed in the West, the appeareth exceeding blacke for three houres and an halfe; if in the middle of the heaven, the flieweth this light reddith or hay colour resembling fire : and after seven houres and an halfe, there ariseth a rednesse indeed. Finally, when this eclipse hapneth in the east and toward the Sunne rifing shetaketha blew or gravish colour, which is the caufe that the Poets and namely Empedocles calleth her Glaucopis. Confidering then, that they fee manifeftly how the Moone changeth into fo many colours in the fliaddow, they doe very ill to attribute unto her this colour onely of a burning or live coale: 10 which intructina man may flay to be leffe proper unto her than any other, and rather to be fome little fuffulion and remnant of light appearing and thining through a fliaddow; and that her proper and naturall colour is blacke and earthly. For feeing that here below whereas the lakes and rivers which receive the Sunne beames, and by that meanes feeme in their superficies to be some time reddish, and otherwhiles of a violet colour, the shaddowy places adjoining take the fame colours and are illuminated, flarting backe by reason of reflexions & divers rebated splendures. What wonder is it, if a great river (as it were) or flux of thadow falling upon a celeftiallifea as a man would fay of a light not firm, fledy & quiet, but flirred with inumerable flarres walking overit, and besides, which admitteth divers mixtures and mutations, doth take from the Moone the impression of fundry colours, and send the same hither unto us? For it cannot be avowed 20 that a flarre or fire flouid appeare through a fladdow either blacke, blew, or violet; buthils, plaines, and feas, are feene to have many and fundry refemblances of colours by reflexion of the Sunne running upon them, which are the very tinettures, that a brightnesse, mingled with shaddowes and milts (as it were) with painters drugges and colours, bringeth upon them: which tinctures Homer went about to expresse in some fort and to name, when one while he called the fea interfer, and one-lethat is to fay, of a violet colour, or deepered as wine, and otherwhile the waves purple: in one place the feablew, greene or grey, and the colour white: as for the tinctures and colours appearing upon the earth diverfly, he liath let them paffe, as I suppose, for that they be in number infinit. So, it is not like that the Moone should have but one plaine and even superficies in maner of the fea, but rather refemble naturally of all things especially the earth, whereof 30 olde Socrates in Plato seemeth to fable, whether it were, that under covert words and cenigmatically he ment this here of the Moone, or spake of some other. For it is neither incredible nor wonderfull if the Moone in it having no corruption normuddinesse but the fruition of pure light from heaven, and being full of heat, not of furious and burning fire, but of fuch as is milde and harmeleffe, hath also within her faire places and marvellous pleasant mountaines also, refplendant like bright flaming fire, purple tinctures or zones, gold and filver likewife good flore, not dispersed heere and there in the bottome thereof, but ariting up to the upper face of the said planes in great aboundance, or elfe fpred over the hils and mountaines, even and fmooth. Now fay that the fight of all thefe things commeth unto usthrough a fhaddow, and that after divers and fundry forts, by reason of the variable and different mutation of the circumstant aire, yet 40 loofeth not the Moone for all that, the venerable opinion that goeth of her and the reputation of her divinity, being effectned among men a celeftiall earth, or rather a feculent and troubled fire, as the Stoicks would have it, and franding much upon lees or dreggifh matter. For the very fire it lelle hath barbarian honers done unto it among the Medes and Affyrians, who for very feare ferve and adore such things as be notiforme and hurtful, hallowing & confectating the same above those things which are of themselves good and honorable. As for the name of the earth, there is not a Greeke but he holdeth it right worshipfull, sacred, and venerable: in so much as it is an ancient costome received throughout all Greece, to honour it as much as any other god whatfoever. And far is it from us men, to thinke that the Moone which we take to be a celestiall carth, as a dead body without foule or fpirit, and altogether yold of fuch things, which we ought 50 to offer as first fruits to the gods. For both by law we yeeld recompence and thankesgiving unto it, for those good things which we have received, and by nature we adore the same, which we acknowledge to be the most excellent for vertue, and right honourable for puissance, and therefore we thinke it no finne at all, to suppose the Moone to be earth. To come now unto the face that appearer) therein: like as this earth upon which we walke, hath many finuofities and valleis, even so as probable it is, that the faid heavenly earth, lieth open with great deepecaves,

and wide chinks or ruptures, and those conteining either water or obscure aire: to the bottome thereof the light of the Sunne is not able to pierce and reach, but there falleth, and fendeth to us hither a certeine divided reflexion. Then Apollonides: Now I befeech you good fir, even by the Moone herselfe, thinke you it is possible that there should be shadowes of caves, gulfes, and chinkes there, and that the fame should be discovered by our fight heere? or doe you not make reckoning of that which may come thereof? What is that (quoth I:) Mary I will tell you, (quoti he) and albeit you are not ignorant thereof, yet may you give me the hearing. The Diameter of the Moone, according to that bigneffe which appeareth unto us, in the meane and ordinary distances, is twelve fingers bredth long: and every one of those blacke and darke to shadowy streaks therein, is more than halfe a finger, that is to say, above the foure an twentieth part of the faid Diameter. Now if we suppose the whole circumference of the Moone to be thirtie thousand stadia, and according to that supposition the Diameter to be ten thousand, every one of those obscure and shadowy marks within her, will not be lesse than five hundreth Stadia, or thereabout. Consider then first, whether it be possible that there thould be in the Moone to great profundities, and fuch rugged inequalities, as to make to bigge a thadow? and then, whether being to great, their bigneffe should not be descried and seene by us. Hecreupon I smiling upon him: Now I affure you Apollonides (quoth I) I con you thanke, you have done it very well, in devising such a proper demonstration, whereby you will proove both me and your felfe alfo to be greater than those Giants Alorades, I meane not at every houre of the 20 day, but especially in the morning and evening: doe you thinke that when the Sunne maketh our shadowes so long, hee yeeldeth unto our fense this goodly collection and augmentation, that if the thing which is shadowed be great, then that which maketh the shadow must needs be exceeding great? Neither of us twaine, I wot well, hath ever beene in the ille Lemnos, and yet both of us have many a time heard this vulgar Iambique verfe fo rife in every mans mouth: alos ratifes modes Anuvias Boos,

The mountaine Athos shall on either side, The cow that flands in Lemnos hide.

For this shadow of the hill falleth as it should seeme, upon a certeine brazen image of an heiser in that Isle, reaching in lengthover fea no lesse than 700 stadia; not because the faid mountaine 30 which maketh the Thadow is of that height, but because the distaces of the light causeth the shadowes of bodies to be by many folds greater than the bodies are, Go to then, confider that when the Moone is at the full, at what time as the rendreth unto our eie the forme of a vifage most exprefly, by reason of the profunditie of the shadow within, then is she also farthest distant from the Sunne: for the farre recoiling and withdrawing backward of the light, is it that makes the shadow great, and not the bignesse of those inequalities, which are upon the superficies of the Moone. Moreover you fee that the excessive glittering of the Sunne shining all about, will not fuffer a man to fee in the day time the very tops of mountaines: but the deepe, hollow, and shadowy parts therein, appeare very farre off. It carieth therefore no abfurditie at all, that a man is not able exactly to fee and differne that full light and illumination of the Moone: but 40 that the opposition of darke shadowes unto cleare lights, by reason of their diversitie is more exquifitely feene. But this (quoth I) feemeth rather to checke and confute that reflexion, and teverberation which is faid to rebound from the Moone, for that they who stand within the raics or beames that are returned and retorted backe, have meanes to see not onely that which is illumined, but that also which doeth illuminate. For when, in the resultation of a light from the water upon some wall, the fight falleth upon the very place it selfe, which is thus illuminate by the reflexion, the eie feeth three things, to wit, the beames or finning light driven backe, the water which maketh that reflexion, and the Sunne it selfe, whose light hitting upon the superficies of the water, is reflexed and sent backe. This being generally granted as a thing evidently scene, yet by way of objection, they bid those who affirme, that the carth is 50 illuminate from the Moone by the reflection of the Sunnes light from it, to thew by night the Sunne appearing in the superficies of the Moone, like as he may be seene in the day time within the water upon which the thineth, when there is the forefaid reflexion of his beames : But because he cannot then be seene, they inferre, that it must be by some other manner, and not by reflexion, that the Moone is illuminate; and if there be no fuch reflexion, then cannot the Moone in any wife be earth. How shall this be met withall, and what answere shall be shaped unto it (quoth Apollonides?) for the reason of reflexion seemeth all one, and common as well

to us as to you. True (quoth I) common it is in some fort, and in some fort not : but first marke I befeech you the comparison, how they go cleane kim, kam, and against the streame, as if rivers ranne up hilles: for the water is heere beneath upon the earth, and the Moone is above and in the heaven : in fuch fort as the beames reflected, make the forme of their aneles opposite and quite contrarie one unto the other; the one carrying the head or point upward against the superficies of the Moone, the other downeward to the ground. Let them not then demaund and require that a mirrour should render every forme or face alike, nor that in every diffance there should be equall, or semblable reflexion, for inso dooing they would goe against apparent evidence. And they who holde the Moone to be abodie not smooth, even subtile as water is, but solid, massy, and terrestriall, I cannot conceive to why they should looke for to see the Sunne in it as in a glasse. For milke verily doth not yeeld fuch specularic images nor cause reflexion of the fight, by reason of the inequality and rugged asperity of the parts show is it possible then, that the Moone should send backe from it the sight as mirrours doe which are more polished? And even this also, if any rase, blur, filth, or confufed foot have caught them in the superficies, from whence the fight being reflected is wontto receive the impression of some figure, may well be seene, but counter-light they yeeld none; and he who requireth, that either the Sunne should appeare in the Moone, or our fight be redubled against the Sunne, let him require withall, that the cie be the Sunne, the fight thereof the light, and man, heaven. For like it is that the reflexion of the Sunne beames against the Moone, for their vehement & exceeding great brightnesse, should with a stroke rebound upon us: but seeing 20 our fight is weake and feeble, what marvel is it, if it neither give fuch a stroke as might rebound, nor maintaine the continuity thereof if it leaped backe againe, but is broken and faileth, as not having that abundance of light, whereby it should not be difgregate and diffipated, within those unneven and unnequall asperities? For it is not possible that the reflexion of our fight upon water, or other forts of mirrours, whiles the fame is yet firong, and able, as being necreunto the fpring from whence it commeth, should not returne againe upon the eie. But from the Moone, suppose there may rebound some glimmering glances, certes they be all weake and obscure, failing in the very way, by reason of so long a distance. For otherwise arched and hollow mirrors fend backe their reflected raies with more force, than they came, in fuch fort as many times they catch fire and doe burne: whereas the imboffed and courled mirrours made round 30 and bearing out like a bowle, cast from them feeble and darke raies, because they beate themnot backe on all sides You see certainely when two rainebowes appeare in the heaven, by reason that one cloud doth inviron and comprehend another, that the rainebow which compaffeth the other without forth, yeeldeth dim colours, and not sufficiently distinct & expressed, because the outward cloud being farther remote from our fight, maketh not a strong and forcible reflexion. And what needs there any more to be faid? confidering that the very light of the Sunne returned and fent backe by the Moone leefeth all the heat: and of his brightneffe there commeth unto us with much adoc but a small remnant, and a portion very little and feeble. Is it possible then that our fight running the same race there should any percell or residue thereof reach from the Moone backe againe to the Sunne? For mine owne part, I thinke not. Confider also I befeech 40 you (quoth I) even your owne selves, that if our eiefight were affected and disposed alike by the water and by the Moone, it could not otherwise be but that the Moone should representative us the images of the earth, of trees, of plants, of men, and of starres, as well as water doth, and all other kinds of mirrors. Now if there be no fuch reflexion of our eie fight fro the Moone, as to bring backe unto us those images, either for the feeblenesse of it, or the rugged innequality of her superficies, let us never require that it should leape backe as far as to the Sun. Thus have we reported as much as our memory would carrie away, what foever was there delivered: Now is it time to defire Sylla or rather to require & exact of him, to make his narration, for that admitted he was to here this discourse upon such a condition. And therefore if you thinke so good, let us give overwalking, and fitting downe hereupon these seates, make him a sedentarie audience. 50 All the companie liked well of this motion. And when we had taken our places, Theorethus began, Certes I am desirous (quoth he) and none of youall more, to heare what shall be faid: But before I would be very glad to understand somewhat of those who are said to dwell in the Moone, not whether there be any persons there inhabiting, but whether it be possible that any should inhabit there. For if this cannot be, then it were mere folly and befide all reason, to say, that the Moone is earth: otherwise it would be thought to have beene created in vaine and to

noend: as bearing no fruits, nor affoording no habitation, no place for nativity; no food or nouriffiment for any men or women, in regard of which cause, and for which ends we turnly hold, that this earth wherein we live, as Plato faith, was made and created, even to be our nourie and keeper, making the day and night diffinct one from another. For you fee and know, that of this matter, many things have beene faid aswell merily and by way of laughter, as seriously and in good earnest. For of those who inhabit the Moone, some are faid to hang by the heads under it, as if they were fo many Tantali; others contrariwife, who dwell upon it, are tied fail, like a fort of Ixions, and turned about with fuch a violence, that they are in danger to be flung and shaken out. And verily she moveth not after one single motion, but three maner of waies; to whereuponthe Poets call her other-while, recolins, or Trivia, performing her course together, according to length, bredth, and depth in the Zodiak. Of which motions, the first is called, A direct revolution; the fecond, An oblique winding or wheeling in and out; and the third, the Mathematicians call (I wote not how) An inequalitie: and yet they see, that she hath no motion at all even and uniforme, not certeine in all her monthly circuits and reversions. No marvell therefore, confidering the impetuolitie of these motions, if there fell a lion sometimes out ofher into Peloponnes is : nay rather we are to wonder, why we see not every day a thousand falls of men & women, yea, and as many beafts shaken out from thence, and flung downe headlong with their heeles upward. For it were a meere mockerie, to diffoute and fi.md upon their habitation there, if they neither can breed nor abide there. For confidering that the Aegyptians and 20 Troglodytes, over whose heads the Sunne standeth directly one moment onely of the day in the time of the Solflices, and then presently retireth, hardly escape burning, by reason of the excessive ficcitie of the circumstant aire; how possibly can the men in the Moone endure 12 Summers every yere, when the Sunne once a moneth is just in their Zenith, and setleth plannbe over head, when the is at the full? As for winds, clouds, and raines, without which the plants of the earth can neither come up nor be preferved, it paffeth all imagination, that there flould be any there, the aire is fo fubtile, dric and hote; especially, seeing that even here beneath, the highelf mountaines doe admit or feele the hard and bitter Winters from yeere to yeere, but the aire about them being pure and cleere, and without any agitation whatfoever, by reafon of the fubtilitie and lightnesse, avoideth all that thicknesse and concretion which is among us : unlesse 20 haply we will fay, that like as Minerva instilled and dropped into Achilles mouth some Nettar and Ambrosia, when he received no other food 3 so the Moone, who both is called and is indeed Minerva, nourisheth men there, bringeth foorth daily for them Ambrosia, according as olde Phereides was wont to fay, that the very gods also were fedde and nourished. For as touching that Indian root, which (as Megasthenes faith) certeine people of India, who neither eat nor drinke, nor have fo much as mouthes, whereupon they be called Aftoni, do burne and to ke to fmoake, with the odor and perfume whereof, they live; how can they come by any fuch there, confidering the Moone is never watered nor refreshed with raine? When Theon had thus said: You have (quoth I) very properly and fweetly handled this point 3 you have (Ifay) by this mery conceited jeft, laied smooth and even, those bent and knit browes, the austerity (I meane) of this 40 whole discourse; which hath given us heart and encouraged us to make answere; for that, if we faile and come short, we looke not for streight examination, nor feare any sharpe and grievous punishment. For to say a trueth, they who take most offence at these matters, rejecting and discrediting the fame, are not fo great adversaries unto those who are most perswaded thereof; but fuch as will not after a milde and gentle fort confider that which is possible and probable. First and formost therefore, this I say, that, suppose there were no men at all inhabiting the Moone, it doth not necessarily follow therefore, that she was made for nothing and to no purpose: for we fee that even this earth here is not thorowout inhabited, nor tilled in all parts : nay, there is but a little portion thereof habitable, like unto certeine promontories or demy-ilands ariting out of the deepe (ea, for to breed, ingender and bring forth plants & living creatures : for of the 50 tell, some part is defert, waste and barren, by reason of excetsive colde and heat; but in trueth, the greatest portion lieth drowned under the great and maine sea. But you, (for the great love that you beare to Anflarchus, whom you admire fo much, and evermore have in your hands) give no eare to Crates, notwithstanding that you reade these verses in Homer;

The ocean fea, from whence both men, and gods were first ibred,
With surging waves the greatest part
of earth aothower spred,

And yet God forbid, that these parts should be faid for to have beene made for nought : for the fea doth expire and breath forth certeine mild vapours: and the most gentle and pleafant winds which arise and blow in the greatest heat of Summer, come from frozen regions and not inhabited for extreame colde, which the fnow melting and thawing by little and little do fend from them and featter over all our countreys. And the earth (as Plato faith) arifeth out of the fea in the mids, as a guardianesse and workmistresse of night and day. What should hinder then, but that the Moone also may well be without living creatures in it, and yet give reflexions unto the light diffused and spred about her; yea, and yeeld a receit or receptacle of the stars raies which have their confluence, meeting and temperature in her, whereby the concocteth the evaporations afcending from the earth, and withall, abateth the over-ardent and firie heat of the Sunne, to Over & befides, attributing as we do very much to the ancient opinion & voice which we have received from our forefathers, we will be bold to fay, that the hath bene reputed Diana, as a virgin, barren and fruitlesse, but otherwise salutarie, helpfull and profitable to the world. And of all this that hath bene faid (my friend Theon) there is nothing that doth proove and shewdi. rectly, this habitation of men in the Moone to be impossible: for her turning about being so milde, so kinde and calme, polisheth the aire necre unto it, it distributesh and spreadeth the same all about in fo good disposition, that there is none occasion given to feare, that those who live in it should fall downe or slide out of her, unlesse she also come downe withall. As for that manifold variety of her motions, it proceedeth not from any inequality, error or confusion, but the Astrologers demonstratively shew thereby an order and course most admirable, contriving it 20 fo, that The fhould be fast within certeine circles that turne and winde about other circles, some deviling that the herselfe stirreth not, others supposing that the mooveth alwaies equally, fmoothly and in conforme celerity: for these are the ascentions of divers circles, the circumvertions and turnings about, the habitudes in references one to another, yea, and respective to us, which make most elegantly those orderly elevations and depressions in altitude, which appeare in her motion, yea, and her digressions in latitude, all jointly with that ordinary and direct revolution of hers in longitude. As touching that exceeding heat and continuall inflamation of the Sunne, you will ceafe (I am fure) to be afraid thereof, in cafe, first and formost, you will lay to those eleven hote and aftivall conjunctions as it were in exchange, as many oppositions when the is at the full; and then oppose unto those excessive and enormous extremities which holde 30 not long, the continual change and mutation, which reduceth them into a proper and peculiar temperature, taking from them that which is exceffive and overmuch in both: for it feemeth very probable, that the time betweene is a leafon refembling the Springtide. Moreover, the Sun fendeth his beames into us thorow a groffe and troubled aire, cafting his heat nourished and fed by evaporations: wheras the aire there, about the Moone, being fubtile & transparent, doth difgregate and disperse the said beames, as having no nouriture to mainteine them, nor body to fettle upon.

To come now unto trees, woods and fruits; here indeed with us, they be the raines that now rish them: but in other high countreys with you, namely, about * Thebes and Siene, it is not the water from heaven, but out of the earth, that feedeth them: for the earth being foaked there-40 with, and besides refreshed with coole winds and comfortable dewes, would be both to compare infertilitie with the best watered ground in the world, such is the goodnesse, vertue and temperature of the foile. And verily the trees of the same kinde with us, if they have beene well Wintered, that is to fay, if they have endured a sharpe and long Winter, bring forth plenty of good fruit; but in Libys and with you in Aegypt, they are soone hurtand offended with colde, and it they scare exceedingly. And whereas the provinces of Gedrosia and Trogloditis, lying hard upon the ocean fea, be very barren by reason of their drouth, and are altogether without trees: yet within the sea adjoining thereto, and which beateth upon the continent, there grow trees of a wonderfull bigneffe, yea & there be that put foorth fresh and greene at the very bottome of the sea: whereof some they call Olive trees, others, Lawrels, and some againe Is haires. As for 50 those plants which be called Anacampserotes, after they be plucked foorth of the ground where they grow, and so hanged up, they doe not onely live as long as a man would have them, but (that which more is) budde and put foorth greene leaves. Moreover, of those plants which are fet or fowen, fome, as namely, Centauri, if they be planted or fowed in a rich or fat foile, and the fame well drenched and watered, doe degenerate and grow out of their naturall qualitie, yea, and leefe all their vertue, for that they love to grow drie, and in their proper nature and foile agreeable thereto, they thrive paffing well. Others cannot fo much as away with any

dewes, as the most part of the Arabian plants; for wet them once, they millike, fade and die. What marvell then if there grow within the Moone, rootes, feeds, plants, and trees, that have no need either of shewers, or of winter winde and weather, but are appropriate naturally to a fubrile and dry aire, fuch as the fummer season doeth affoord? And why may it not stand with good reason, that the Moone herselse sends certaine warme windes, and that by her shaking and agitation, as the still mooveth, there should breath foorth a sweet and comfortable aire, fine dewes, and gentle moistures, spred and dispersed all about, sufficient to mainteine the plants fresh and greene: considering withall, that she of her owne temperature is not ardent, not exceeding drie, but rather foft and moift, and engendring all humiditie? For there comto meth not from her unto us, any one effect or accident of ficcity, but of moisture and of a seminine & fost constitution, many; to wit, the growing and thriving of plants, the putrefaction of fleshkilled, the turning of wines to be sowre, flat, and dead, the frumnesse and tendernesse of wood, and the easie deliverance of women in childbirth. But I feare me, that I should moove and provoke Pharnaces againe, who all this while fitteth still and faieth nought, if I alledge the ebbing and flowing, or the inundations of the great Ocean, as they themselves say, the firthes, fireights, and armes of the fea, which swell and rife by the Moone, naturally given to encreale moisture and breed humours: and therefore I will direct my words toward you rather, friend Theon, for you fay unto us, in expounding these verses of the Poet Aleman,

What things on earth the deaw, as nourse doth seed: Which Jupiter and Moone betwirt them breed.

that in this place he calleth the aire Jupiter, and faith, that being moistened by the Moone, he is converted into dew: for the Moone my good friend, seemeth in nature to be quite contrary unto the sunne, not onely in this, that whatsoever he doeth thicken, drie, and harden, she is woont to resolve, moisten, and molliste, but that which more is, to humest and refrigerate the heat that commeth from him, when the same lightest upon her, or is mingled with her, Therefore as well they who suppose the Mooneto bea firie and ardent body, doe erre, as those who would have the creatures there inhabiting, to have all things necessarie for their generation, food and maintenance, like unto them that live heere; never considering the great difference and inequality which is in nature, wherein there be sound greater and more varieties and 30 diversities of living creatures, one with another, than with other things: neither would there bemen in the world without mouthes, and whose lippes are growen up together; and who were nourished also with smels onely, in case men could not live without folide and substantial food. But that power of Nature which Ammonius himselfe hath shewed us, and which Hessau under covert words hath given us to understand by these verses,

In Mallowes and in Affhodels, which grow on every ground, What use and prosit manifold, for manthere may be sound.

Epimenides hath made plaine and evident indeed and effect, teaching us that nature susteined 40 and preserveth a living creature with very small food and maintenance: for so it may have but as much as an oilive, it needs no more nourifhment, but may live therewith, and doe full well. Nowit is very like & probable, that those who dwel within the Moone, if any els, be light, active and nimble of body, and easie to be nourished with any thing whatsoever: also that the Moone (as well as the Sunne, who is a living creature, standing much upon fire, and by many degrees greater than the earth) is nourished and mainteined as they say, by the humours which are upon the earth, like as all other starres, which are in number infinite. So light and slender they imagine those living creatures to be that are above, and so soone contented and satisfied with small necessaries. But we neither see this, nor yet consider that a divers region, nature and temperature is meet and agreeable unto them: much like, as if when we could not our felves come 50 nereunto the sea, nor touch and taste it, but have seene it only a farre off, & heard that the water in it is bitter, brackish, salt, and not potable, one should come and tell us, that it nourishesh a mightie number of great creatures, of all forts & formes, living in the bottome thereof, and that it is full of huge and monstrous beasts, which make use of the water, as we doe of aire; hee would be thought to tell us tales and monftrous fables : even fo it feemeth that we ftand affected and disposed in these matters of the Moone, not beleeving that there be any men inhabiting within it. But I am verily perswaded, that they may much more marvell, seeing the earth heere

Ggggg 2

afarre off, as the dregges, fediment, and grounds as it were of the whole world, appearing unto them through moilt cloudes, and foggie mifts, a finall thing God wot, and the fame without light, base, abject, and unmooveable show the fame should breed, nourish, maintaine, and keepe living creatures which have motion, breathing, and vitall heat: and in case they had ever heard these verses out of Homer, as touching certaine habitations,

ugly and foule, most hideous to be seene: Whereof the gods themselves right fearefull beene. Also:

under the earth beneath, and hell unseene, As farre as heavens from earth remooved beene.

they would thinke verily and say, that they had beene spoken of this earth heere: and that darke hell and Tartarus were heere situate, and farte remote: as also that the Moone onely was the earth, as being equally distant from heaven above and hell beneath. Now before I had well made an end of my speech, Sylla taking the words out of my mouth: Stay a while (quoth he) & Lamprius, your speech; and hold off with your boat, as they say, for scare your unner annew with your tale upon the ground ere you be aware, and mar all the plaie, which for this present hath another scene and disposition; and I mysselfe am the actour: but before I proceed farther, I will bring forth mine author unto you, if there be nothing to impeach me; who beginneth in this maner with a verse of Homer:

Farre from the maine, within the Ocean fea,

There lies an Iland hight Ogygiæ, distant from great Britaine or England Westward, five daics sailing: And other three islesthere be, of like diffance one from the another, and from the faid iland, bearing northwest, whereas the fun setteth in Summer: in one of which the barbarous people of the countrey do fable and seine that Saturne was deteined and kept prisoner by Jupiter. Now for the keeping as well of it, as of those other isles, and the whole sea adjacent, which was called Saturns sea, the gyant Ogygiu, or Briaress was placed: as also that the maine and firme land, wherewith the great sea is bordered round about, is removed from the othes ifles not fo farre, but from Ogygia five hundred stadia or there about: unto which men use to row in galleis, for that sea is very ebbe and low, hardly to be passed by great vessels, by reason of the huge quantitie of mudde brought thither 30 by a number of rivers, which running out of the maine continent, discharge themselves into it, raising mightie thelves and barres, whereby the sea is choked up as it were with earth, and hardly navigable: which gave occasion of that old opinion which went thereof, that it should be frozen and stand all over with an ice. Well, the coasts along the firme land, which lie upon this sea, are inhabited by Grecks, all about a mightic bay or gulfe thereof, no lesse spacious than the huge lake Meetis, the mouth or entrance whereof lieth directly opposite unto that of the Caspian sea: These people are reputed and named to be the inhabitants of the continent or firme land, accounting and calling all us Handers, as dwelling in a land environed round about, and washed with the sea. They suppose also, that they in old time who accompanied Hercules, and being left by him, abode there, and intermingled afterwards with the people and 40 nations of Saturne, caused to revive againe the Greeke nation there, well necre extinguished, which being subdued and brought under the language, lawes, maners, and fashions of the Barbarians, flourished againe by these meanes, was well peopled, and recovered their ancient puiffance and greatnesse. And heereupon it is, that the chiefe and principall honour, they doe unto Hercules, but in a second place, to Saturne. Now when the starre of Saturne, which we call Phanon, & there by his faying, Nycturus is entred into the figne Taurus, (& that it doth once in the space of 30. yeeres) they having long before prepared al necessaries for a solemne facrifice, & a long voiage or navigation, send foorth those upon whom the lot falleth, to row in that huge sea, and to live a long time in a strange country. Now when they be imbarked & entred once in to the wide and open sea, they take their adventure and fortune, as it falleth out. Such as have 50 passed the dangers of the sea & arived in safetie, land first in those Ilands lying opposite against them, being inhabited by Greeke nations, where they fee the Sunne to be hidden from them not one full houre in thirtie daies (and that is all their night) whereof the darkeneffe is but small, as having a twilight in the west where the Sunne went downe, much like the dawning of the day. Having heere made their abode for ninety daies, during which space they were highly honored and found great entertainment, as being reputed holy men and fo termed, conducted they are

with the mindes and transported over into the Island of Saturne: which is inhabited by no others but themselves and such as had beene sent thither before time in this maner. For albeit lawfull it is for them, after they have done service unto Saturne the time of thirty yeres, to faile homeagaine into their owne country; yet for the most part they chuse to remaine there still in peace and reft, than to returne foone, for that they be already inured and accustomed to the place: others because without any labor and trouble of theirs, they have plentie of all things, as welfor their facrifices, as for the ordinary maintenance of fuch, as continually are given to their books and to the study of Philosophy. For furely by their faying, the nature of the Island and themildenesse of the aire is woonderfull. And whereas some of them were willing to de-10 part from thence, they have beene staied and empeached by a divine power; which hath appear redunto them as unto their friends and familiars, not onely in dreames and by way of ourward fignes, but visibly also unto many of them, by the meanes of familiar spirits and angels, deviting and talking with them. For they fay that Saturne himselfe is personally there, within the deepe cave of a great hollow rocke shining and glittering like pure gold, where he lieth asleepe, for that Jupiter had devited for him fleepe, in flead of other chaines and bonds, to keepe him fatt for flirring. But there be certaine birds haunting the top of the faid rocke, which flie downe from thence and carry unto him the divine food Ambrofia. As for the whole Island, it is by report replenished with a most fragrant and odoriferous perfume, which out of that cave, as from a lively fountaine doth breath forth continually. And the faid demons or angels doe attend and 20 waite upon Saturne, fuch I meane as were his courtiors and minions, at what time as he raigned as foveraigne over gods and men; who having the skill of prophecie and divination, doc of themselves foretell many future things: howbeit of the greatest matters and of most importance, they make report and relation after they have beene downe below with Saturne, as his dreames revealed unto them. For whatfoever Jupiter thinketh and devifeth of before, Saturne dreameth: As for his fodaine wakenings they be Titanicall paffions and perturbations of the fpirit in him. But his fleepe is milde and fweet, wherein he the weth his divine and roiall nature of it felfe pure and incrutaminate. And thither (quoth he) this stranger and friend of mine being brought, where he ferved god Saturne at his cate & repose, attained unto the skil of Astrologie, fo far forth as it is possible for one that had the exact knowledge of Geometry. And among 30 other parts of Philosophy he gave himselfe unto that which is called naturall. But having a longing defire to vitite and fee the great Illand (for fo they call the firme land wherein we are) after the thirtie yeares were past, and his successors thicher arrived, taking his leave of his kinsfolke and triends whom he bad farwell, he tooke fea in other respects lightly and numbly appointed, but good store he carried with him of voiage provision within pots and cups of gold. But to recount unto you in particular what adventures to him befell, how many nations he visited, through what countries he travelled, how he fearched into holy writings, and was profeffed in all religious orders and holy confraternities, one whole day would not be sufficient (I fay) to rehearfe, as he himfelfe delivered the fame unto us, particularifing very wel of every thing; but as much as concerneth this prefent discourse, listen and I will relate unto you. For he continued a 40 long time at Carthage, where he was greatly honored and respected, as also among us, for that he found facred skinnes of parchiment, which at the overthrow and faccage of the former city called Great Carthage had beene fecretly conveyed thither and lien hidden along time under the ground. So he faid that of those gods which appeare unto us in heaven, we ought (and so he advised me also) to adore and worship especially the Moone, as the principall guide and mailtreffe of our life. Whereat when I mervelled and befought him to expound and declare the fame more plainely: The Greeks (quoth he) ô Sylla, talke very much of the gods; but in all things they fay not well. As for example, first and formost, in naming Ceres and Proferpina they doe well and right: but to put them both together, and to thinke that they are both in one and the same place, they doe amisse: For the one, to wit, Ceres, is upon the earth, the very dame 50 and militreffe of all those things that be above the ground; but the other is in the Moone, and called the is by them that inhabite the moone, Core and Perferphonie that is to fay, Proferpina. Persephonie as one would say emobles, for that the bringeth light and brightnesse: but Core, because the sight or apple of the cie, in which is seene the image of him who looketh into it, like as the brightnesse of the Sunne appeareth in the Moone, we call Core. Now whereas it is faid that they goe up and downe wandring and feeking one the other, the fame carieth fome tructh with it: for they defire and long after one another when they be parted and afunder, and they

embrace one the other in the darke many times. Moreover, that this Core or Proferpina is one while above in heaven and in the light, another while in darkeneffe and the night, is not untrue; onely there is some error in reckoning and numbring the time. For we see her not fix moneths. but every fixth moneth, or from fix moneths to fix moneths, under the earth, as under her mother, caught with the shadow: and seldome is it found that this should happen within five moneths: for that it is impossible that the should abandon and leave Pluto, being his wife: according as Homer, hath fignified although under datke and covert wordes, not untruely, fav.

But to the farthe st borders of the earth and utmost end, Even to the faire Elysian fields the gods then shall thee send.

For looke where the shadow endeth and goeth no farther, that is called the limit and end of the earth: and thither no wicked and impure person shall ever be able to come. But good solke after their death in the world being thither carried, lead there another eafie life in peace and repose; howbeit, not altogether a bleffed, happie and divine life, untill they die a second death; but what death this is, aske me not, my Sylla, for I purpose of my selfe to declare & shew it unto you hereafter. The vulgar fort be of opinion that man is a subject compounded: and good rea-Ion they have so to thinke: but in beleeving that he consistesth of two parts onely, they are deceived: for they imagine that the understanding is in some fort a part of the soule: but the underflunding is better than the foule, by how much the foule is better and more divine than the bodie. Now the conjunction or composition of the soule with understanding, maketh reason: but with the bodie, passion: whereof this is the beginning and principle of pleasure and paine, the other of vertue and vice. Of these three conjoined and compact in one, the earth yeeldeth for her part the body; the Moone, the foule; and the Sunne, understanding to the generation or creation of man; and understanding giveth reason unto the soule; * * * even as the Sunnelight and brightnesse to the Moone. As touching the deathes which we die, the one maketh man of 3. two, and the other of 2. one. And the former verily is in the region and jurifdiction of Ceres, which is the cause that we facrifice unto her. Thus it commeth to passe that the Athenians called in olde time those that were departed, Anumageius, that is to say, Cereales. As for the other death it is in the Moone or region of Proferpina. And as with the one terreftriall Mercury, fo with the other, celeftiall Mercurie doth inhabit. And verily Ceres diffolveth and seperateth the soule from the bodic sodainly and forcibly with violence: but Proserpina parteth the understanding from the soule, gently, and in long time. And heereupon it is, that the is called, Meroy wis, as one would fay, begetting one: for that the better part in a man becommeth one and alone, when by herit is separated: and both the one and the other hapnethaccording to nature. Every foule without understanding, as also endued with understanding, when it is departed out of the body, is ordeined by fatall destiny to wander for a time, but not both alike, in a middle region betweene the earth and the Moone. For fuch foules as have beene unjust, wicked, and difficulte, fuffer due punishment and paines for their finfull deferts: whereas 40 the good and honest, untill such time as they have purified, and by expiration purged foorth of them, all those infections which might be contracted by the contagion of the body, as the cause of all evill, must remaine for a certeine settime, in the mildest region of the aire, which they call the meddowes of Pluto. Afterwards, as if they were returned from some long pilgrimage or wandring exile into their owne countrey, they have a tafte of joy, fuch as they fecie especially, who are professed in holy mysteries, mixed with trouble and admiration, and ech one with their proper and peculiar hope: for it driveth and chafeth foorth many foules, which longed already after the Moone. Some take pleasure to be still beneath, and even yet looke downward, as it were to the bottome: but fuch as be mounted aloft, and are there most so furely bestowed, first as victorious, stand round about adorned with garlands, and those made of the wings of Eustathia, that is to faic, Constancie: because in their life timehere upon earth, they had bridled and restreined the unreasonable and passible part of the soule, and made it subject and obedient to the bridle of reason. Secondly, they resemble in fight, the raies of the Sunne. Thirdly, the foule thus ascended on high, is there confirmed and fortified by the pure aire about the Moone, where it doth gather strength and solidity, like as iron and steele by their tineture become hard. For that which hitherto was loofe, rare and spongeous, groweth

groweth close, compact and firme, yea, and becommeth shining and transparent, in such fort, as nourished it is with the least exhalation in the world. This is that Heraelerus meant, when he faid, that the foules in Platoes region have a quicke fent or fmelling. And first they behold there the greatnesse of the Moone, her beauty and nature, which is not simple nor void of mixture, but as it were a composition of a starre and of earth. And as earth mingled with a spiritual laire and moisture, becommeth foft, and the blood tempered with fleth, giveth it fenfe; even to, tay they, the Moone mingled with a celeftiall quinteffence even to the very bottome of it, is made animate, fruitfull, and generative, and withall, equally counterpeifed, with ponderofity and lightneffe. For the whole world it felfe, being thus composed of things which naturally moove 10 downward and upward, is altogether void of motion locall, from place to place; which it feemeth that Xenocrates himselfe by a divine discourse of reason understood, taking the first light thereof from Plate. For Plate was he who first affirmed, that every starre was compounded of fire and earth, by the meanes of middle natures given in certeine proportion; in as much as there is nothing object to the fense of man, which hath not in some proportion a mixture of earth and light. And Xenocrates faid, that the Sunne is compounded of fire and the field or primitive folid: the Moone of a fecond folid, and her proper aire: in fumme, throughout, neither folid alone by it felfe, nor the rare apart, is capable and fusceptible of a foule. Thus much as touching the substance of the Moone. As for the grandence & bignesse thereof, it is not such as the Geometricians fet downe, but farre greater by many degrees. And feldome doth it measure 20 the shadow of the earth by her greatnesse; not for that the same is small, but for that it bringeth a most fervent and swift motion, to the end, that quickly and with speed the might passe the darke place, and bring away with her the foules of the bleffed which make hafte and crie: hecause all the while they are within the shade, they can not heare any more the harmonic of celefiall bodies : and withall, underneath, the foules of the damned which are pumished, lamenting, wailing, and howling in this shadow, are presented unto them. And this is the reason, that in the eclipses of the Moone, many were wont to ring basons and pannes of bratte, and to make a great noise and clattering about these soules. And affrighted they are to beholde that which they call the face of the Moone, when they approch neere unto it, feeming to be a terrible and fearefull fight, whereas it is no fuch matter. But like as the earth with us hath many deepe and 30 wide gulfes, as namely, one here, to wit, the Meditetranean fea, lying betweene Hereules pillars, and forunning into the land hither to us: and another without, that is to fay, the Caspian sea, and that also of the red sea. So there be these deepe concavities and vallies of the Moone, and those in number three; whereof the greatest they call The hole or guise of Hecase, wherein the foules do punish and are punished, according as they either did or fuffred hurt whiles they were here the other two * be small, to wit, the very passages whereby the soules must go, one while to * uneges, some the tract of the Moone lying toward heaven, and another while to that which regardeth the readjusters. earth. And verily, that which looketh to heaven, they call the Elysian field, whereas the other long, earth-ward to us, the field of Proferpina, nother, I meane, who is under the ground just against us. Howbeit, the Dæmons do not converfe alwaies in the Moone, but descend other-whiles hither 40 below, for the charge and superintendance of oracles: there be affiltant likewife to the highest mysteries and ceremonies, and those they do celebrate, having an observant cie to wicked deeds which they punish; and withall, ready they are to preserve the good in perils as well of warre as thefea. In which charge and function, if they themselves commit any fault, and heere upon eatth do ought either by injust favour or envie, they feele the smart thereof according to their merits; for thrust downe they are againe to the earth, and sent with a witnesse into mens bodies. But of the number of the better fort, are they who served and accompanied Saturne, as they themselves report; such as in times past also were the Idai Dactyli in Crete, the Corybants in Phygia, & those of Boe stia in the city of Lebadia, named Trophoniaces besides, an infinit number of others in fundry parts of the earth habitable; whole names, temples and honors remaine 30 & continue unto this day, but the powers & puissances of some do faile and are quite gone, as being translated into another place, & making a most happy change: which translation tonic obteine fooner, other later, after that the understanding is separate from the soule: and separated it is by the love and defire to enjoy the image of the Sunne, by which that divine, bleffed and desirable beautie which every nature after divers sorts seeketh after, shineth. For even the verie Moune turneth about continually for the love of the Sunne, as longing to companie and converse with him, as the very fountaine of all fertilitie. Thus the nature of the soule is spent in the

Moone, reteining onely certeine prints, marks and dreames, as it were, of her life: and hereof. thinke it was well and truely faid,

I he foule made haste, as one would say,

Like to a dreame, and flew away. which it doth not immediatly upon her feparation from the bodie, but afterwards, when she is alone by herselfe and severed from the understanding. And in trueth, of all that ever Homer wrote, most divinely he seemeth to have written of those who are departed this life, & be amone

the spirits beneath, these verses:

Next him, I knew of Hercules the Arength and image plaine, Or semblance: for himselfe with gods

immortall did temaine. For like as every one of us is not ite and courage, nor feare nor yet luft, no more than flesh or humours, but that indeed whereby we discourse and understand; even so, the soule it felse being cast into a forme by the understanding, and giving a forme unto the bodie, and embracing it on every fide, expresseth and receiveth a certeine impression and figure, so as albeit she is distinctly fepatate both from understanding and also from the bodie, the reteineth still the forme and femblance a long time, infomuch as well the may be called an image. And of these foules, as I have already faid, the Moone is the element, because foules doe resolve into her, like as the bodies of the dead into the earth. As for fuch as have bene vertuous and honeft, and which loved 20 a fludious and quiet life, imploied in philosophie, without medling in troublesome affaires. foone are relolved, for that being left and rid of understanding, and using no more corporal passions, they vanish away incontinently; but the soules of ambitious persons, and such as are bufied in negotiations, of amorous folkealfo given to the love of beautifull bodies, and likewife of wrathfull people, calling still to remembrance those things which they did in their life, even as dreames in their fleepe, walke wandring to and fro, like to that ghoft of Endymion: for confidering their inconstancie and apmesse to be over subject unto passions, the same transporteth and plucketh them from the Moone unto another generation, not fuffering them quietly there to paffe and vanish away, but stil allureth and calleth them away: for now is there nothing small, staied, quiet, constant and accordant, after that being once abandoned of the understanding, 30 they come to be feized with the passions of the body: To that of such soules void of reason, came and were bred afterwards the Tityi and Typhons, and namely, that Typhon who in timespass by force and violence leized the city Delphos, and overturned up-fide-downe the fanctuarie of the oracle there; most ungracious imps destitute of all reason and understanding, and abandoned to all passions upon a proud spirit and violence, wherewith they were pussed up. Howbeit, at length, after long time, the Moone receiveth the foules, and composeth them: the Sunne alto intpiring into them againe, and fowing in their vitall facultie, understanding, maketh them new foules: yea, and the earth in the third place, giveth them a new bodie: for, nothing doth she give after death, of all that which the taketh to generation. And the funne receiveth nothing of others, but taketh againe that understanding which he gave. But the Moone giveth and recei. 40 veth, joineth and disjoineth, uniteth and separateth, according to her divers faculties and powers: of which, the one is named Ilithyia, to wit, that which joineth: another, Artonius or Diana, which parteth and divideth. Of the three fatall fifters or deftinies, the whom they name Atropos, is placed within the Sunne, and giveth the beginning of generation. Clotho being lodged in the Moone, is the that joineth, mingleth and uniteth. The third and last, called Lachesis, is in the earth, who also lendeth her helping hand, and doth participate much with Fortune. For that which is without foule, is weake in it felfe, and naturally exposed to all injuries and to suffer hurt: but the understanding is sovereigne over all the rest, and nothing is able to do it injurie.

Now the foule is of a middle nature and mixt of them both, like as the Moone was made and created by God, as a composition and mixture of things above and things beneath; keeping the fame proportion to the Sun, as the earth doth to her. And thus you have heard (quoth Sylla) what I learned of this stranger or traveller; which (as he faid himfelfe) he understood by those Dæmons, who were chamberlaines and sevitours to Saturne. As for you, o Lamprias, and the rest, you may take my relation in good or ill part, as you please.

WHY

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PROPHE THE

TESSE PYTHIA GIVETH NO ANSWERES NOW FROM THE

ORACLE, IN VERSE OR MEETRE.

The Summarie.

Hey who have so highly chanted the excellency of man, extolling the vigor of humane wit and under standing; what soever they doe alledge to that purpose, have ordinarily forgot the principall, which is to shew that all the sufficiencie of his intelligence is a furious quide; his will, a bottomlesse gulfe and pit of consusion; the light of his resson, a deepe darkenight; his lusts and desires, so many enraged beasts to rem and tear chim in peeces, if God by some especial and singular grace, doe not illumine, regenerate and conduct him. Among a million of sestimonies for the proofe and confirmation hereof, that which presentes hit selfe unto minthis dialogue is most sufficient : for is not this wonderfull, and a certaine signe of a mar vellous blindenesseof mans wisdome, to see those, who all their life time do nothing els but secke after the soveraigne good, maintaine vertue, detest vices, condemne Athists, Epicureans, and Libertines, yet to dread, feare, yea and adore the sworne enemie of their salvation and true life, to wit satan the divell? Tes verily, and that which now we reade, agreeable to certaine discourses heereafter following, and 30 namely, wherein a disputation is held, wherefore the oracles now doe cease? as also what this word EI. lignifieth, sheweth not onely the opinion of Plutarch and some other Philosophers as touching these matters: but also the miserable state of all those who are abandoned to their owne sense, and word of the knowledge of the true God. And this ought to be remembred a second time, for fear elest in reading these discourses so eloquently penned, we beturned out of the right way: but rather contrariwise that we may perceive so much the better how vaine and detestable all the habit of man is, if it have for the ground and foundation, nothing but the conceits of his corrupt spirit. So then in this dialogue, we may behold the wisdome of the Greeks, running after Satan: and taking great paines for to sture and fet on foot one matter, which we ought to abhorre and bury in perpetuall oblivion : or to touch withall their might and maine beside, that which the wisdome of the slesh cannot compasse. There be heere di-40 vers personages who revive and set a worke the oracles of that priestresse or prophetesse at Delphos, where was the renowmed temple of Apollo, the very cave and den of Satan, and wherein he exercised his trade and skill, with impossures and illusions incredible, during the space of many yeares. But to makerhis disposition of more force and validity, Plutatch after his accustomed fashion of broching and introducing his owne opinion by a third, following the stile and manner of the Academicks writing, bringeth to Delphos a stranger, who being together with Basilocles, Philinus, & other amused and occupied in beholding the statues which were there in great number, there began a discourse by way of disputation touching brasse and the propertie thereof. Which when it was well discussed and debated, Diogenianus demanded, why the ancient oracles were delivered in homely verse & those in evill fashion? whereto there were made divers answeres tending to this point to make us beleeve, that where-50 foever the words be most rusty, and worst couched, there we are toobserve so much the more the excellencie of the author. And this confirmeth fully, that which we have already spoken as touching the illusions of the divell, who is not content thus to abuse and deceive his slaves, but in this place hath to deale with a ridiculous & most apparent audaciousnesse, if the eyes of those whom he thus abuseth, had never so little means to see the thousand part of his deceitfull guiles, as grosse and thicke as mountains. Continuing this discourse, they bandle afterwards the presages of these statues, and of others reared in divers places for the better authorifing of the oracles; which when Boethus the Epicurean mocked,

Plutarch replieth and reentresh into a common place, concerning the gravitie of sheferude and ill fall-ioned oracles, conferring them with those of Sibylla, and mainteining the authorisie of them with his companions, through all the reasons they could devise. These he in summe, the comens of this Dialogue, which comprehendeth divers matters dependent thereof, and those noted in their order: the conclusion where of is this, That as reprovable they be, who tax the sumplicity and rudenesse of such oracles, as those, who otherwise controll shem for their ambiguity, obliquity and obscurity.

WHY THE PROPHETESSE

Pythia giveth no answers now from the Oracle inverse or meeter.

BASILOCLES.



Ou have led this stranger, Philinus, such a walke in shewing him the statues and publike works, that you have made it very late in the evening, and I my selfe am weary in staying for you, and expecting when you will make an end.

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Philinus.

No marvell, we goe to foftly, and keepe fo flow a pace, 6 Bafib- 20 eles, fowing and mowing (as they fay) prefently with all our speeches after fight and combat, which sprout foorth and yeeld unto us by the way as we go, enemies lying as it were in ambush much like unto those men which in old time came up of teeth sowen by Cadmu.

BASILOCLES.

How then? Shall we fend for and intreat some one of those who were present there, or will you your selfe gratify us so much, as to take the paines for to deliver unto us, what speeches those were, and who were the speakers?

I must be the man, I perceive Basiloeles, to doe this for your sake; for hardly shall you meet 30 with any other els throughout the whole citie: for I saw the most part of them going up againe together, with that stranger to Corycium and Lyeuria.

BASILOCLES.

What? is this stranger so curious and desirous to see things, and is he withall friendly and woonderfull sociable?

PHILINUS.

Yes that he is: but more studious is he, and desirous to learne: neither is this most woorthy of admiration in him; for he hath a kinde of mildnesse, accompanied with a singular good grace: his pregnant wit and quicke conceit ministreth unto him matter to contradict, and to propose doubts: howbeit the same is not bitter and odious in his propositions, nor leavened with any overthwart frowardnesse and perverse stubburnesse in such fort as a man thaving beene but a little acquainted with him, would soone say of him:

Certes a lewd man and a bad,

He never for his father had.

For you know well I suppose Diogenians, the best man one of them in the world?

BASILOGLES.

I know him not my felfe, Philinus: howbeit, many therebe who report as much of this yong man, But upon what occasion or cause began your discourse and disputation?

PHILINUS.

Those who were our guides, conversant and exercised in the reading of histories, rehearsed 50 and read from one end to the other, all those compositions which they had written, without any regard of that which we requested them, namely, to epitomize and abridge those narrations, and most part of the Epigrams. As for the stranger, he tooke much pleasure to see and view those faire statues, so many in number, and so artificially wrought: But he admired most of all, the fresh brightnesse of the brasse, being such as showed no fish nor rust that it had gathered, but caried the glosse and resplendent hew of azur: so as he seemed to be ravished and associated the glosse and resplendent hew of azur: so as he seemed to be ravished and associated the glosse and resplendent hew of azur: so as he seemed to be ravished and associated the glosse and resplendent hew of azur: so as he seemed to be ravished and

astonied when he beheld the statues of the amirals and captaines at sea (for at them he began) as representing naturally in their tincture and colour as they stood, sea men and failers in the very maine & deepe fea. Whereupon: Had the ancient workmen (quoth he) a certaine mixture by themselves, and a temper of their braffe, that might give such a tincture to their works? for astouching the Corinthian braffe, which is fo much renowned, it is thought generally, and so given out, that it was by meere adventure and chaunce, that it tooke this goodly colour, and not by any art : by occasion that the fire caught an house, wherein there was laid up some little gold and filver, but a great quantitie of brasse, which mettals being melted together & fo confused one with another, the whole maffe thereof was still called brasse because there to was more thereof in it, than of the other mettals. Then Theon: We have heard (quoth he) another reason, more subtile than this, namely, that when a certeine brasse founder or coppersmith in Corintle, had met with a casket or coffer, wherein was good flore of golde, fearing left hee should be discovered, and this treasure found in his hands, he clipped it by little and little, melted and mixed it gently with his braffe, which tooke thereupon fuch an excellent and woonderfull temperature, that he folde the pieces of worke, thereof made, passing deere, in regard of their dainty colour, and lovely beauty, which every man fet much by, and effeemed. But both this and the other is but a lying tale: for by all likelihood this Corinthian braffe was a certeine mixture and temperature of mettals, so prepared by art; like as at this day, artifans by tempring gold and filver together, make thereof a certaine fingular and exquifice pale yellow by it 20 felfe, howbeit, in mine eie, the fame is but a wanne and fickly colour, and a corrupt hue, withoutany beautie in the world. What other cause then might there be (quoth Diogenianus) as youthinke, that this braffe heere hath fuch a tincture? To whom Theon made this answere: Confidering (quoth he) that of thefe primative elements and most naturall bodies that are, and ever shall be, to wit, fire, aire, water and earth, there is not one which approaches hor touchesh these brasse works, but aire onely, it must of necessarie be, that it is the aire which doeth the deed, and by reason of this aire lying alwaies close upon them, and never parting therefro, commeth this difference that they have from all others. Or rather this is a thing notoriously knowen of old, even before Theognis was borne, as faid the comicall Poet.

But would you know by what speciall propertie and vertue the aire should by touching, set 30 fuch a colour upon braffe? Yes, very faine answered Diogenians. Certes, so would I to, my sonne (quoth Theon) let us therefore search into the thing both together in common: and first of all, if you please, what is the cause that oile filleth it full of rust, more than all other liquor whatfoever? for furely it cannot be truely faid, that oile of it felfe fetteth the faid ruft upon it, confidering it is pure and neat, not polluted with any filth when it commeth to it. No verily (quoth the young man) and there feemeth to be fome other cause else, beside the oile; for the rult meeting with oile, which is fubtile, pure, and transparent, appeareth most evidently; whereas in all other liquors, it maketh no fliew, nor is feene at all. Well faid my fonne (quoth Theen) and like a Philosopher: but consider, if you thinke so good, of that reason which Aristotle alledgeth. Mary that I will (quoth he againe.) Why then I will tell it you (quoth Theon:) Ariftothe faith, that the ruft of braffe lighting upon other liquors, pierceth infenfibly, and is dispersed through them, being of a rare substance, and unequall parts, not abiding close together; but by reason of the compact and fast soliditie of oile, the said rust is kept in, and abideth thrust and 40 united together. Now then, if we also of our selves were able to presuppose such a thing, we should not altogether want some meanes to charme as it were and allay somewhat this doubt of ours. And when we had allowed very well of his speech, and requested him to say on and profecute the fame: he faid; That the aire in the citie of Delphos was thicke, fast, strong and vehement withall, by reason of the reflexion and repercussion of the mountaines round about it, and befides, mordicative, as witneffeth the speedie concoction of meat that it causeth. Now this aire by reason of the subtilty and incisive qualitie thereof, piercing into the brassle, and cut-50 ting it, forceth out of ita deale of ruft, and skaleth as it were much terreffrial fubftance from it: the which it restreineth afterwards and keepeth in for that the densitie and thicknesse of the aire giveth it no iffue: thus this ruft being staied & remaining still, gathering also a substance by occasion of the quantity thereof, puttern foorth this floure as it were of colour, and there within the superficies contracteth a resplendent and shining hew. This reason of his, we approoved very well; but the stranger faid, that one of those suppositions alone was sufficient to make good the reason: For that subtility (quoth he) seemeth to be somewhat contrary unto the spissitude

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and thicknesse, supposed in the aire: and therefore it is not necessarie to make any supposall thereof; for brasse of it selfe as it waxeth old, in tract of time exhaleth and putteth footh this rust, which the thicknesse of the aire comming upon, keepeth in and doeth so incrassate, as that through the quantitie thereof, it maketh it evident and apparent. Against which objection and teply of his, Theon inferred thus againe: And what should hinder (quoth he) that one and the same thing might not be firme or subtile, and withall thicke, both at once: like as his clothes of silke, and linnen, of which Homer writes thus:

And from faile web of linnen, ran away, I be oile as moist as it and would not stay.

Whereby he giveth us to understand, the fine spinning, and close weaving thereof, which to would not fuffer the oile to rest upon it, and soake through, but to glide off and drop downe, so necre were the threds, otherwise small, driven together, and so thicke, that it would not let any liquot to passe through. And thus a man may alledge the subtilitie of the aire, not onely forto fetch out the ruft, but also to bring it to a more pleasant and greenish colour, by mixing splendeur and light together with the faid deepe azure. Heercupon enfued a paufe and filence for a pretie while; and then the discoursers and historians abovefaid, alledged againe the words of a certeine oracle in verfe (which was delivered, if I be not deceived) as touching the rotalite and reigne of Aegon, an Argive king: Whereat Diogenianus faid, that it had beene many times in his head to marvell, at the base, rude, and homely composition of those verses, which doe conteine oracles: notwithstanding that the god Apollo is reputed the president of the Muses & elo- 20 quence; unto whom no leffe apperteined the beauty & elegancy of file & composition, than goodneffe of voice in fong & melody, as who furpaffed for fweet verfifying Hefiodus & Homer, both very farre: and yet for all that, we fee many of his oracles, tude, bale, & faulty, at well for the meeter & measure, as the bare words. Then Serapion the Poet, who being come fro Athens, was there present: Why (quoth he)beloeve you that those verses were of god Apolloes making that we fuffer you to fay as you do, that they come a great way flort of the goodnesse of those verses which Homer & Hefiodus composed? and shall we not use them as passing well and excellently made, correcting our owne judgement as forestalled and possessed aforehand with an ill cuflome? Then Boethus the Geometrician (for you wot well that the man hath ranged himselfe already to the feet of Epicurus:) Heard you never (quoth he) the tale of Paujon the painter: Not I 30 verily, quoth Serapion. And yet worth it is the hearing, faith Boethus. He having bargained & undertaken to paint an horse wallowing & tumbling on his backe, drew him running on soote with all foure: whereat when the party was angric and offended, who fet him a worke, Paufon laughed at him, and made no more adoe, but turned the ends of the painted table; thus when the upper end was shifted downward, the horse seemed not to runne, but to tumble with his heeles aloft. Semblably it falleth out (quoth Boethus) in certeine speeches, when they are inverted and uttered the contrary way: and therefore foone you shall have who will fay that the oracles are not elegant, becamfethey be of god Apolloes inditing: but contrariwife, that they be none of his, because they are but rudely made and unsavery; and as for that it is doubtfull and uncerteine: but this is evident and plaine, that the verses of oracles be not exquisite- 40 ly couched, and laboriously endited, whereof I crave no better judge then your selfe Serapion: for you are woont to compose and write Poems, which as touching the argument and subject matter be auftere and philosophicall: but for their wit, grace and elegant composition otherwife, refemble rather the verses of Homer and Hesiadus, than those of the oracles pronounced by Pythia the Priestres of Apollo. With that Serapion: We are discassed all of us (O Boethus) in our cies and eares to, being woont (fuch is our nicenesse and delicacie) to esteeme and terme such things simply better, which are more pleasant: and peradventure ere it be long, we will finde fault with Pythia, for that the doeth not chaunt and fing more sweetly than Glauce the professed ministrell and singing wench; and because she is not besmeared with odoriserous oiles, not richly araied in purple robes: yea, and some haply will take exception at her, for not 50 burning Cinamon, Ladanum or Frankincenfe, for perfume: but onely Laurel and barley meale. And fee you not faith one, how great a grace the Sapphik verses carie with them, and how they tickle the eares, and joy the hearts of the heares? whereas Sibylla out of her furious and enraged mouth, as Herachtus faith, uttering foorthand refounding words without mitth, and provoking no laughter, not gloriously painted and set out, not pleasantly persumed and bespiced, hath continued with her voice a thouland yeeres, by the meanes of Apollo, speaking by her. And

pindurus faith, that Cadmus heard from Apollo, not loftic and high muficke, not fiveet, not delicate, nor broken and full of varietie: for an impaffible and holy nature, admitteth not any pleafure: but heere together with the base musicke, the most part of the delight also is call downe, and as it should feeme, hath runne into mens cares and possessed them. When Serapium had thus faid: Theon fimiling: Serapion, I fee well (quoth he) had done according to his old woont, and followed his owne disposition and maners in this behalfe: for there being offered some occalion to speake of pleasure, he hath quickly caught at it. But yet for all that, let us Beethas, howfoever the verses of oracles be woorse than those of Homer, not thinke that it is Apollo who made them; but when he hath given onely the beginning of motion, then ech prophetefle is to mooved according as the is disposed to receive his infpiration. And verily if oracles were to be penned downe and written, and not to be barely pronounced, I doe not suppose that we would reprove or blame them (taking them to be the hand-writing of the god) because they are not so curiously endited as ordinarily the letters of kings and princes are. For furely, that voice is not the gods, nor the found, nor the phrase, ne yet the meeter and verse, but a womans they be all. Asforhim, he representeth unto her, fancies onely and imaginations, kindling a light in the foule to declare things to come : and fuch an illumination as this, is that which they call Enthufulnes. But to speake in a word to you that are the pricess and prophets of Epicurus (For Hee well that you are now become one of that feet) there is no meanesto cleape your hands, confidering that yee impute unto the ancient propheteffes, that they made bad and faultie verfes, yea 20 and reproove those moderne priestresses of these daies, who pronounce in prote and in vulgar teamses the oracles, for fearethey should be articled against by you, in case they delivered their verses headlesse, without loines and entrailed. Then (quoth Diogenianus) jest not with us I pray you in the name of God, but rather affoile us this common doubt, and rid us of this feruple; for there is no man, but defireth to know the reason and cause, why this oracle hath given over to make answer in verses and other speeches as it hath done? Whereto Theon spake thus: But now my sonne, we may seeme to doe wrong and shamefull injurie unto our discoursers and directours heere, these Historians, in taking from them that which is their office : and therefore let that be done first which belongeth to them; and afterwards you may enquire and dispute at leafure of that which you defire. Now by this time were we gon forward as farre as to the statue 30 ofking Hiero; and the ilranger albeit he knew well all thereit, yet fo courtious he was and of fo good a nature, that he gave eare withall patience to that which was related unto him: but having heard that there stood sometime a certaine columne of the faid Hiero all of braffe, which fell downe of it selfe the very day whereon Hiero died at Saracose in Sicilie, he wondred thereat: and I thereupon recounted into him other like examples; as namely, of Hiero the Spartan, how theday before that he lost his life in the battellat Leuttres, the cies of his statue fellout of the head: also that the two starres which Lysander had dedicated after the navall battell at the river called Aigos-potamos, were miffing and not to be seene : and his very statue of stone put forth of a fodden for much wilde weedes and greene graffe in fo great quantity that it covered and hid theface thereof. Moreover during the time of those worfull calamities which the Athenians 40 fullained in Sieilie, not onely the golden dates of a palme tree fell downe, but alfo the ravens came and pecked with their bils all about the feutcheon or freeld of the image of Pallas. The Cuidians coronet likewife which Philomelus the tyrant of the Phoc wans had given unto Pharfislia the fine dauncing wench, was the cause of her death : for when the had passed out of Greece into Italie, one day as the placed and danneed about the church of Apollo in Wietsportine, having the faid coronet upon her head, the yong men of the city came upon her for to have a way the gold of that coronet: and firriving about her one with another who should have it, tare the poore woman in pecces among them. Arifforle was wont to fay that Homer was the onely Poetwho made and devifed words that had motion, so emphatical they were & lively expressed: but I for my part would say that the offrings dedicated in the city, to neat slatues, jewels, & other 50 ornaments mooved together with the divine providence, do forefignific future things: neither are the fame in any part vaine and void of sense; but all replenished with a divine power. Then Boethus: I would not else (quoth he:) for it is not sufficient belike, to enclose God once in a moneth within a mortall bodie, unlefle we thrust him also into every stone and peece of brasse? as if fortune and chance were not fufficient of themselves to worke such seates and accidents. What (quoth1) thinke you then that these things every one have any affinitie with fortune and chance? and is it probable that your Atomes doe glide, divide, and decline, neither before

nor after, but just at the very time as each one of them who made these offrings, thould fare better or worfe? And Epicurus belike, as farre as I fee ferveth your turne now and is profitable unto you in those things which he hath said or written three hundred yeares past : but this god Apol. b, unleffe he imprison and immure himselfe (as it were) and be mixed within every thing is not able in your opinion, to give unto any thing in the world the beginning of motion, nor the cause of any passion or accident whatsoever. And this was the answere which I made unto Boe. thus for that point : and in like maner spake I as touching the verses of Sibylla. For when we were come as farre as to the rocke which joineth to the fenate house of the city, and there rested our felves, upon which rocke by report the first Sibylla sat, being new come out of Helicon, where the had beene fostered by the Muses, although others there be that say she arived at Maleon, to and was the daughter of Lamia, who had Neptune for her father, Serapion made mention of certaine verses of hers wherein the praised her selfe saying, that she thould never cease to prophefic and foretell future things, no not after her death; for that the her felfe should then goea. bout in the Moone, and be that which is called the face therein appearing: also that her breath and spirit mingled with the aire should passe to and fro continually in propheticall words and voices of oracles prognosticating and that of her bodie transmuted and converted into earth, there should grow herbes, shrubs and plants, for the food and pasturage of facred beasts appoint ted for facrifices: whereby they have all forts of formes and qualities in their bowels and inwards: and by the meanes whereof men may foreknow and foretell of future events. Hereat Boethus made femblance to laugh more than before. And when Zomalledged, that howfoever these 20 feemed to be fabulous matters and meere fables, yet so it was that many subversions & transmigrations of Greeke cities, many expeditions also and voiages made against them of barbarous armies, as also the overthrowes & destructions of fundry kingdomes and dominions, give testimonie in the behalfe of ancient prophefies and prædictions. And as for these late and moderne accidents (quoth he) which hapned at Cumes and Dicearchia, long before chanted and foretolde by way of prophesie out of Sibyls books; did nor the time entuing as a debt accomplish and pay? the breakings forth and cruptions of fire out of a mountaine, the strange chillitions of the fea, the casting up a loft into the aire of stones & cinders by subterranean winder under the earth, the ruine and devastiation of so many and those so great cities at one time, and that to fuddenly, as they who came but the next morrow thither, could not fee where they flood 30 or were built, the place was so confused. These strange events (I say) and occurrents, as they be hardly beleeved to have hapned without the finger of God, fo much leffe credible it is, that forefeene and foretolde they might be, without fome heavenly power and divinitie. Then Bothus: And what accident (good fir, quoth he) can there be imagined, that Time oweth not unto Nature; and what is there fo strange, prodigious and unexpected, as well in the sea as upon the land, either concerning whole cities or particular persons; but if a man foretold of them, in processe and tract of time the fame may fall out accordingly? And yet, to speake properly, this is not foretelling, but fimply telling, or rather to cast forth and scatter at random in that infinity of the aire, words having no originall nor foundation, which wandering in this wife, Fortune otherwhiles encountreth and concurreth with them at a very venture. For there is a great difference, 40 in my judgement, betweene faying thus, that a thing is hapned which hath bene fpoken; and a thing is spoken that shall happen: for that speech which uttereth things that are not extant, conteining in it felfe the fault and error, attendeth not by any right, the credit and approbation thereof, by the accidentall event; neither ufeth it any true and undoubted token of prædiction, with a certaine foreknowledge, that happen it will when it hath bene once foretold, confidering that infinity is apt to produce all things; but he who gueffeth well, whom the common proverbe pronounceth to be the best divinor,

For whose conjecture misseth least, Him I account the wisard best.

resembleth him, who traceth out and solloweth by probabilities as it were by tracts and foot- soings, that which is to come. But these propheticall Sibils and furious Bacebides, have cast at all aventure as it were, into a vast ocean, without either judgement or conjecture, the time; yea, and have scattered at random the nownes and verbs, the words and speeches of passions and accidents of all forts. And albeit some of them fortune so to happen, yet is this or that salse alkeat the present time when it is uttered, although haply the same may chance afterwards to fall out truely. When Boethus had thus discoursed, Serapion replied upon him in this wise: Boethus

(quoth he) giveth a good verdict and just fentence of those propositions which are indefinitly and without a certeine subject matter in this maner pronounced. If victorie beforetolde unto a Generall, he hast vanquished: if the destruction of a citie, it is overthrowen: but whereas there is expressed not onely thething that shall happen, but also the circumstances, how, when, after what fort, and wherewith, then is not this a bare guesse and conjecture of that which peradventure will be; but a præsignissication and denouncing peremptorily of such things as without faile shall be: as for example, that prophesie which concerned the lamenesse of segsilans, in these words:

Though proud and haughie (Spatta) now, and found of foot thou bee,
Take heed by halting regiment,
there come no harme to thee:
For then shall unexpected plagues
thy state long time asfaile,
The deadly waves of fearfull warres
against thee shall prevaile.

Semblably, that oracle as touching the Isle which the sea made and discovered about *Thera* and *Thera* fit, as also the prophesse of the warre betweene king *Philip* and the Romans, which ran in these words:

But when the race of Trojan bloud,
Phanicians [hall defeat
In bloudy fight, looke then to fee
frange fights and wonders great.
The fea shall from and the waves
yeeld frietempe fis strong,
And flishes thicke of lightning bright,
with stony stormes among.
With that an Island shall appeare,
that never man yet knew:
And weaker men in battell set,

the mightier (hall subdue. For whereas the Romans in a small time conquered the Carthaginians, after they had vanquiflied aniball in the field, and Philipking of the Macedonians gave battell unto the Aetolians and Romans, wherein he had the overthrow; also, that in the end there arose an Iland out of the deepe fea, with huge learnes of fire and hideous ghusts: a man can not fay, that all these things hapned and concurred together by fortune and meere chance: but the very traine and orderly proceding thereof, doth fhew a certeine prescience and fore-knowledge. Also, whereas the Romans were foretolde the time five hundred yeeres before, wherein they should have warre with all nations at once, the fame was fulfilled when they warred against the flaves and fugitives who 40 revolted and rebelled. For in all thele, there is nothing conjecturall and uncerteine, nothing blinde and doubtfull, that we need infinitly to feeke after fortune therefore: whereas many pledgesthere be of experience, giving us affurance of that which is finite and determinate, flewing the very way, whereby fatall destinie doth proceed. Neither do I thinke any man will say, that these things being foretolde with so many circumstances, jumped altogether by fortune. For what els should hinder, but that a man may aswell say (ô Boethus) that Epicurus wrote not his books of principall opinions and doctrines fo much approoved of you, but that all the letters thereof were jumbled and hudled together by meere chance and fortune, that went to the compoling and finishing of that volume. Thus discoursing in this maner, we went forward still. And when in the Corinthian chapell we beheld the date tree of braffe, the onely monument 50 there remaining of all the oblations there offered, Diogenianus woondred to fee the frogges and water-fnakes which were wrought artificially by turners hand about the but and root thereof; and so did we likewise: because neither the Palme tree is a moorie plant and loving the waters, like as many other trees are: neither doe the frogges any way perteine to the Corinthians, as a marke or enfigne given in the armes of their city: like as the Selinuntians by report, offered fometimes in this temple, the herbe Smalach or Parfley, called Solinum, all of gold: and the Tenedians, an liatchet, taken from the Crabfifhes bred in their Island, necre unto the Promonto-Hhhhh 2

rie called Asterion: for those Crabs onely (as it is thought) have the figure of an hatchet imprinted upon their shell. And verily, for Apollo himselfe, we suppose that ravens, swannes, wolves, hawks, or any other beasts, be more acceptable than these. Now when serapion alledged, that the workman heereby meant and covertly signified the nouriture and rising of the Sunne out of humors and waters, which by exhalation he converteth into such creatures, whether it were that he had heard this verse out of Homer,

Then out of sea arose the Sun, And left that goodly lake anon.

Or feeme the Aegyptians to reprefent the Eaft or Sun-rifing by the picture of a childe fitting upon the plant Loros. Thereat Haughed heartily. What meane you thus (good fir, quoth l) to thrust hither the fect of the Stoicks: came you indeed to foist slily among our speeches and discourses, your exhalations and kindlings of the starres, not bringing downe hither the Sunne and the Moone, as the Thessalian women doe by their inchantments; butmaking them to spring and arise as from their first originall out of the earth and the waters? For Platovetily, called mana celestial plant, as rising directly from his root, above which is his head. But you in the meane time mocke and deride Empedacles, for saying that the Sunne occasioned by the reflexion of the heavenly light about the earth,

His raies with fearlesse visage sends againe Vp to the heavens and there doth brightly shine.

while your selves make the Sunne terrestriall, animall, or a fennith plant, ranging him among 20 the waters and the native place of frogs. But let vs betake all these matters to the tragicall and strangemonstruosities of the Stoicks: meane while treat we curfarily and by the way of these acceffary and by-works of mechanicall artifans and handicrafts men: for furely in many things they be very engenious and witty: mary in every plot they cannot avoid the note of bald devices & affected curiofitie in their inventions. Like as therefore he that painted Apollo with a rocke upon his head, signified thereby the day-breake, & the time a little before sunne rising : even so a man may fay that these frogs doe symbolize and betoken the season of the Spring, at what time as the Sunne begins to rule over the aire and to discusse the winter: at least waies if we must according to your opinion, understand the Sunne and Apollo to be both, one god, and not twaine. Why? (quoth Serapion) are you of another minde? and doe you thinke the Sunne to 30 be one, & Apollo another? Yes mary doe I (quoth he) as well, as that the Sunne and Moone do differ, Yea and more than fo : for the Moone doth not often, nor from all the world hide the Sunne: whereas the Sunne hath made all men together, for to be ignorant of Apollo: diverting the minde and cogitation by the meanes of the sense, and turning it from that which is unto that which appeareth onely. Then Serepion demanded of those Historians our guides and conductors, what was the reason that the forsaid cellor chappell, was not intitled by the name of Cypselus who dedicated it, but called the Corinthians chappel. And when they held their peace, because as I take it, they knewnot the cause; I began to laugh thereat: And why should we thinke (quoth I) that these men knew or remembred any thing more, being astonied and amased as they were to heareyou fable and talke of the meteors or impressions in the aire? For even 40 themselves we heard before relating, that after the tyranny of Cypselus was put downe and overthrowen, the Corinthians were desirous to have the inscription as well of the golden statue at Pifa, as of this cell or treasure house, for to runne in the name of their whole city. And verily the Delphians gave and granted them so much according to their due desert. But for that the Eliansenvied them that priviledge, therefore the Corinthians passed a publicke decree, by vertue whereof they excluded them from the folemnity of the Ishmian games: And heereof it came, that never after that, any champion out of the territorie of Elis, was knowen to shew himselfe to doe his devoir at those Isthmicke games. And the massacre of the Molionides which Hereules committed about the city of Cleone, was not the cause as some doe thinke, why the Elians were debarred from thence for contrariwife it had belonged to them for to exclude and put 50 by others; if for this they had incurred the displeasure of the Corinthians. And thus much said I for my part. Now when we were come as far as to the hall of the Acanthians and of Brasidas, our discoursing Historians and expositours shewed us the place, where sometimes stood the obelisks of iron, which Rhodopus the famous courtifan had dedicated. Whereat Diogenianus was in a great chafe, and brake out into these words: Now furely (quoth he) the same city (to their shame be it spoken) hath allowed unto a common strumper a place whether to bring and

where to bestow the tenth part of that falarie which she got by the use of her body, and unjustly put to death Aclope her fellow fervant. True (quoth Serapion:) but are you so much offended hereat? cast up your eie and looke aloft : behold among the statues of brave captaines and glorious kings, the image of Mnefarete all of beaten gold, which Crates faith was dedicated and fet up for a Trophæ of the Greeks lasciviousnesse. The yong gentleman, seeing it: Yea, but it was of phryne that Crates spake so. You say true (quoth Serapion:) for her proper name indeed was Amelarete: but furnamed the was Fhryne in meriment because the looked pale or yellow like unto a kinde of frogge named in Greeke Phryne. And thus many times furnames doe drowne and suppresse other names. For thus the mother of king Alexander the great, who had for her to name at first, Pollyxene, came afterwards to be as they fay, surnamed Myrtale, Olympias and Stratonice. And the Corinthian lady Eumet is, men call unto this day, after her fathers name, Cleobuline; and Herophile, of the city Erythre, the who had the gift of divination and could skill of prophefie; was afterwards in proceffe of time furnamed Sibylla. And you have heard Grammarians fay, that even Leda her felfe, was named Mnefinoe, and Oreftes Achaeus. But how thinke your (quoth he) casting his eie upon Theon, to answere this accusation as touching Phryne? Then he fauling againe: In fuch fort (quoth he) as I will charge and accuse you, for busying your selfe in blaming thus the light faults of the Greeks. For like as Socrates reprooved this in Callias, that gave defiance onely to fweet perfumes or pretious odors; for he liked well enough to fee the daunces and geficulations of yong boies, and could abide the fight of kiffing, of pleafants, buf-10 fons and jefters to make folke laugh: fo me thinks that you would chafe and exclude out of the temple, one poore filly woman who used the beauty of her owne body, haply not so honestly as the might: and in the meane time you can abide to fee god Apollo environed round about with the first fruits, with the tenth and other oblations arising from murders, warres, and pillage, and all his temple throughout hanged with the spoiles and booties gotten from the Greeks: yea, and are neither angry nor take pity when you reade, over fuch goodly oblations, and ornaments, these most shamefull inscriptions and titles: Brasidae and the Acanthians, of the Athenian spoiles: the Athenians of the Corinthians: the Phocæans of the Thessalians: the Orneates of the Sicyonians: and the Amphyctions of the Phocauns.

But peradventure it was Praxiteles alone who was offensive unto Crines, for that he had fet up 20 amonument there, of his owne sweet heart, which he had made for the love of her; whereas Crates contrariwise should have commended him, in that among these golden images of kings and princes, he had placed a courtifan in gold, reproching thereby and condemning riches, as having in it nothing to be admired, and nothing venerable: for it well beforemeth kings and greatrulers, to prefent Apollo and the gods with fuch ornaments and oblations as might teftifie their owne justice, their temperance and magnanimity; and not make thew of their golden flore and abundance of superfluous delicates, whereof they have their part commonly who have lived most shamefully. But you alledge not this example of Crasus (quoth another of our historians & directours) who caused a statue in gold to be made & set up here, of his woman baker; which he did not for any proud and infolent oftentation of his riches in this temple, but upon 40 an honest & just occasion : for the report goeth, that Alyattes the father of this Creefus, espoused a fecond wife, by whom he had other children, whom hereared and brought up. This lady then purposing secretly to take away the life of Cra/m gave unto the baker aforesaid, poison, willing her, when the had reinpered it with dough, and wrought it into bread, to ferve the fame up unto Crafus. But the woman gave fecret intelligence hereof unto Crafus, and withall, bestowed the poisoned bread among the children of this step dame. In regard of which demerit, Crasus when he came to the crowne, would acknowledge and require the good fervice which this woman had done, with the testimony, as it were, of this god himselfe; wherein he did well and verthoully. And therefore (quoth he) meet it is and feemly, to praife and honor highly fuch oblations, if any have beene presented and dedicated by cities upon semblable occasions, like as the 50 Opuntians did. For when the tyrants of the Phocæans had broken and melted many facred oblationsboth of golde and filver, and thereof coined money, which they fent and dispersed among the cities; the Opuntians gathered as much filver as they could, wherewith they filled a greatpor, sent it hittier, and made thereof an offering to Apollo. And I verily, for my part, doe greatly comend those of Smyrna and Apollonia for sending hither certaine corne-cares of gold, intoken of harvest; and more than that, the Eretrians and Magnesians, for presenting this god with the first fruits of their men & women, recognifing thereby, him to be the giver, not only of

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the fruits which the earth yeeldeth, but also of children, as being the authour of generation and the lover of mankind. But I blame the Megarians as much, for that they onely in maner of all the Greeks, caused to be erected here, the image of this our god, with a lance in his hand, after the battell with the Athenians, who upon the defeature of the Persians, held their city in posses. fion, and were by them vanquished in fight, and differed thereof againe. And yet true it is, that these men afterward offered unto Apollo a golden plectre wherewith to play upon his Cittern or Viole, having heard (as it should seeme) the Poet Seythinus, speaking of the faid instrument

Which Don Apollo, faire and lovely sonne Of Jupiter, doth tune in skilfull wife, As who is wont of all things wrought and done, All ends with their beginnings to comprise: And in his hand the plectre bright as golde, Even glittering rates of hining Sun doth holde.

Now when Serapion would have faid somewhat els of these matters : A pleasure it were (quoth the stranger) to heare you devise and discourse of such like things, but I must needs demand the first promise made unto me, as touching the cause why the Prophetesse Pythia hath given over to make answere any longer by oracle, in verse and meetre : and therefore, if it so please you, let us furcease visiting the rest of these oblations and ornaments, and rather sit we down in this place, for to heare what can be faid of this matter, being the principall point and maine reason which impeacheth the credit of this oracle; for that of necessitie one of these two things must 20 needs be : either that the Prophetesse Pythia approcheth not neere enough to the very place where the divine power is, or els that the aire which was woont to breathe and inspire this inffinct, is utterly quenched, and the puiffance quite gone and vanished away. When we had fetched therefore a circuit about, we fat us downe upon the tablements on the South fide of the temple, nere unto the chappell of Tellus, that is to fay, the Earth, where we beheld the waters of the fountaine Castilius, and the temple of the Mules, with admiration, in such fort as Boethus incontinently faid, that the very place it felfe made much for the question and doubt mooved by the stranger: For in olde time (quoth he) there was a temple of the Muses even there, from whence the river fprings; infomuch as they nfed this water for the folemne libations at facrifices, according as Simonides writeth in this wife:

Where water pure is kept in basons faire Beneath, of Muses with their yellow haire.

And in another place, the same Samonides with a little more curiositie of words, calling upon Cleio the Muse, faith, the is the holy keeper.

The facred ewres, who doth superintend Whereby from lovely fountaine do deseend Those waters pure, which all the world admires, And thereof for to have a taste desires: As rifing from those caves propheticall, That yeeld (weet odors most mirificall.

And therefore Endorses was much overfeene to believe those who gave out, that this was called the water of Styx. But in trueth, they placed the Muses as affiftants to divination, and the warders thereof, neere unto that riveret and the temple of Tellus aforefaid, whereunto apperteined the oracle: whereby answeres were rendred in verse and song. And some there be who says that this heroique verse was first heard here:

Συμφέρετε εθερεδιωνοί, κηρέν τε μέλια ... That is to fay, You pretie Bees and birds that fing:

Bring hither both your wax and wing. at what time as the oracle being for laken and deflitute of the god copollo, loft all the dignity and 50 majesty that it had. Then Serapion: These things indeed (quoth he) ô Boethus, are more meet and convenient for the Muses. For we ought not to fight against God, nor together with prophesicand divination take away both providence and divinitie; but to seeke rather for the solution of those reasons which seeme to be contrary thereto, and in no wife to abandon and calt off that faith and religious beliefe, which hath in our countrey, time out of minde, paffed from father to sonne. You say very well and truely (quoth I) good Serapion, for we despaire not of Phi-

pronounced their fentences, and published their doctrines in verse: as for example, Orphess, Hesodus, Parmenides, Xenophanes, Empedocles, Thales, and afterwards ceased and gave over to verlifie, all but your selse, for you have into Philosophie reduced Poetrie againe, to set up aloud and loftie note, for to incite and flirre up young men. Neither is Aftrologie of leffe credite and estimation, because Aristarchus, Timochares, Aristyllus, and Hipparchus, have written in profe: whereas Eudoxus, Hesiodus, and Thales, wrote before them in verse of that argument; at leastwife, if it be true that Thales was the author of that Astrologie which is ascribed unto him. And Pindarus himselfe confesseth, that he doubted greatly of that maner of melodie, to which was neglected in his daies, wondering why it was fodefpifed. For I affure you it is no abfurd thing, nor impertinent, to fearch the causes of such mutations : But to abolish all arts and faculties, if haply somewhat be changed or altered in them, I hold neither just, nor reasonable, Then came in Theor also with his vie, adding moreover & faying, that it could not be denied, but that in truth herein there have bene great changes & mutations : howbeit, no leffe true it is, that even in this very place there have bene many oracles & answers delivered in profe, & those concerning affaires, not of least consequence, but of great importance. For as Thuey sides reporteth in his historic, when the Lacedæmonians demanded of the oracle, what iffue there would be of the warre which they waged against the Athenians ? this answer was made: That they should obtaine the victorie, and hold still the upper hand: also that he would aid and suc-20 cour them, both requested, and unrequested : and that unlesse they recalled home Faulanias, he would gather together * * * of filver. Semblably, when the Athenians confulted with the oracle about their fuccesse in that warre which they enterpised for the conquest of Sicilie; this answer they received: That they should bring out of the city Erythra, the priestresse of Minerva: now the name of the faid woman was Hefyehia, that it to fay, repose, or quietnesse. Moreover, at what time as Dinomenes the Sicilian, would needs know of the oracle, what should become of his sonnes? this answere was returned: That they should all three be tyrants, and great potentates: whereat when Dinomenes replied againe: Yea mary, my good lord Apollo, but peradventure they may rue that another day. Apollo answered: True indeed, & thus much moreover I prophetic unto thee, for to be their deftiny. And how this was fulfilled you all know: for 30 Gelon during his reigne, had the dropfie: Hiero was diseased with the stone, all the time of his tyrannic: and Thrashbulus being overtoiled with warres and civill seditions, in short time was diffhroned & driven out of his dominions. Moreover, Procles the tyrant of Epidawus, among many others, whom he had cruelly and unjustly put to death, murdred Timarchus, who fled from Athens unto him, with a great quantitic of money, after he had received him into his protection, and showed him many courtefies and kindnesses at his first arrivall: him (I say) he slew, and afterwards cast into the sea his corps, which he had put into a chest: and howsoever other knew not of this murder, yet Cleander of Aegina, was privic thereto, and the minister to execute the fame. After this, in processe of time, when he was fallen into troubles, and that his state began to be disquieted, he sent his brother Cleatures hither to the oracle, to enquire secretly 40 whether he were best to flie and retire himselfe out of the way. Apollo made this answer: That hegranted Procles flight and retreat thither, where as he commanded his hoft of Aegina to bellow a cheft, or elfe where the stagges cast their heads. The tyrant understanding that Apollo willed him either to throw himfelfe into the sea and there be drowned, or else to be

Why Pythia giveth no more answeres in verse.

losophie, as if it were quite overthrowen and utterly gone, because Philosophers beforetime,

likewise, and flung his body into the sea. Furthermore (which is the greatest matter of all) those Rhetra, by vertue whereof, Lycurgus ordeined the government of the Lacedamonians com-50 mon-wealth, were delivered unto him in profe. What should I speake of Alyrius, Herodotus, Philochorus, and Ifter, who of all others travelled most in gathering of oracles together, which were given in verfe, and yet have penned many of them without verfe. And Theopompus, who studied, no man so much, to cleere the history as touching oracles; sharpely reprooveth those, who thinke that Pythia the propheteffe in those daies, gave no answers nor propheties in meetre: which chalenge of his when he minded to proove and make good, he could alledge but very few examples; for that all the reft in maner were even then pronounced in profe, like as

enterred in the ground, because stagges are woont to bury and hide their homes within the

eatth, when they be fallen, made no hafte, but delaied the time: but after a while, when trou-

bles grew more and more upon him, and all things went backward with him, every day woorse

than other, at length he fled : But the friends of Timarchus having overtaken him, flew him

* This is the divels divi-

at this day, fome there be that runne in verse and meeter. By which allegations of his, he made one about the rest notoriously divulged, which is this. There is within the province of Phoeis. a certeine temple of Hereules, furnamed Myhogyne, as one would fay, hating women: and by the ancient cultome and law of that country, the prieft thereof for the time being, must not in the whole yeere company with a woman: by occasion whereof, they chuse old men to this priesthood: howsoever not long since, a certeine young man, who was otherwise of no ill behaviour, but somewhat ambitious, and desirous of honour, and who besides loved a young wench, atteined to this prelacie or facerdotall dignity: at the first he bridled his affection, and forbare the faid damofell: howbeit, one time above the rest, when he was laid upon his bed, after he had drunke well, and beene a dancing, the wench came to visit him; and to be short, he to dealt carnally with her; whereupon being much troubled in minde, and in fearefull perplexity, he fled unto the oracle, and enquired of Apollo as concerning the finne which he had committed, whether he might not be affoiled for it by praiers or expiatoric fatisfaction? and this answer he received:

απαντα αναγγεία συγχωρεί θελς.

*All things necessarie, God permittech.

But if a man haply should graunt that no answere in these daies is delivered by oracle, but in verse; yet would he be more in doubt of ancient oracles, which sometime in meetre and otherwhiles in profe gave answeres. But neither the one nor the other (my fonne) is strange and without reason, if so be you conceive aright and carry a pure and religious opinion of god A- 20 pollo, and doe not thinke that he himselfe it was who in old time composed the verses and at this day prompteth unto Pythia the prophefies, as if he spake through maskes and visours. But this point is of fuch moment; that it requireth a longer discourse and farther inquirie into it: mary for this present it may suffice for our learning, that we call to remembrance and put youin minde briefely, how the body useth many organs or instruments; that the soule emploieth the body and the parts thereof; and that the foule is the organ or instrument of God. Now the perfection of any organ or instrument, is principally to imitate and resemble that which useth it, as much as is in the power thereof: and to exhibit the worke and effect of the intention init felfe, and to flew the fame not fuch as it is in the workeman, pure, fincere, without paffion, without error and faultleffe, but mixed and exposed to faults: for of it selfe obscure it is and al- 30 together unknowen unto us; but it appeareth another, and by another, and is replenished with the nature of that other. And here I paffe over to speake of wax, gold, silver, braffe, and all other forts of matter and fubstance, which may be cast and brought into the forme of a mould. For every of these verily receiveth one forme of a similitude imprinted therein, but to this resemblance or representation, one adjoineth this difference, and another that, of it selfe: as easily isto be seene, by the infinit diversities of formes in images, as also by the apparence of one and the fame vifage in divers and fundry mirours, flat, hollow, curbed, or embowed, round outwardly, which represent an infinit variety. But there is neither mirror that sheweth and expresses the facebetter, nor instrument of nature more supple, obsequent and pliable, than is the Moone: howbeit receiving from the Sunne a light and firy illumination, the fendeth not the fame backe 40 unto us, but mingled with fomewhat of her owne: whereby it changeth the colour, and hatha power or facultie far different, for no heat at all there is in it: and as for the light fo weakeard feeble it is that it faileth before it commeth unto us. And this I suppose to be the meaning of Herachtes, when he faith, that the lord, unto whom belongeth the oracle at Delphos, doth neither speake, nor conceale, but fignifie onely and give signe. Addenow to this which is so well faid and conceived, and make this application: that the god who is heere, ufeth Pythia the prophetesse, for fight and hearing, like as the Sunne useth the Moone. He sheweth future things by a mortall body, and a foule which cannot rest and lie stil, as being notable to shew her felfe immooveable and quiet to him who stirreth and mooveth her, but is troubled still more and more by the motions, agitations, and paffions, of her owne, and which are in her felfe: for 50 like as the turnings of bodies, which together with a circular motion, fall downward, are not firme and strong, but turning as they do round by force, and tending downward by nature, there is made of them both, a certaine turbulent and irregular circumgiration: Even so theravishment of the spirit, called Enthusiasmus is a mixture of two motions, when the minde is moved in the one by infpiration, and in the other naturally. For confidering that of bodies which have no foule, and of themselves continue alwaies in one estate quiet, a man cannot make use not

moove them perforce, otherwise than the quality of their nature will beare, nor move a cylindre like abal, or in maner of a square cube, nor a lute or harpe, according as he doth a pipe, no more than a trumpet after the order of acithern or stringed instrument : ne yet anything else otherwise than either by art or nature each of them is fit to be used. How is it possible then to handle and manage that which is animate, which mooveth of it felfe, is indued with will and inclination capable also of reason; but according to the precedent habitude, putillance and nature? As for example, to move one mufically, who is altogether ignorant and an enemie of muficke; or grammatically, him who skilleth not of grammer, and knoweth not a letter of the booke; or eloquently and thetorically, one who hath neither skill not practife at all in orations. Certes I to cannot fee or fay how? And herein Homer also beareth witnesse with me, who albeit he suppofeth thus much, that nothing (to speake of) in the whole world, is performed and effected by any cause, unlesse God be at one end thereof: yet will not he make God to use all persons indisterently in every thing, but each one according to the fufficiency that he hath by art or nature. Toprove this, see you not (quoth he) my frend Diogenianus, that when Miner va would perswade the Achaeans to any thing the calleth for Ulyfes? when the is minded to trouble and marre the treaty of peace, the feeketh out Pandarus? when the is disposed to discomfit and put to flight the Trojans, the addreffeth her felfe and goeth to Diomedes? for of these three, the last was a valiant man of person, and a brave warrior; the second a good archer, but yet a soolish and brainficke man; the first right eloquent and wife withall : for Homer was not of the same minde 20 with Pandarus, if so be it were Pandarus who made this verse,

If God so will in sea thou maist well faile upon an hurdle or a wicker fraile.

But well he knew, that powers and natures be destined to divers effects, according as ech one hath different motions, notwithstanding that which mooveth them all, be but one. Like as therefore that facultie which moveth a living creature naturally going on foot, can not make it to flie; nor him who stutteth and stammereth, to speake readily; ne yet him to crie bigge and aloud, who hath a small and slender voice : which was the reason (as I take it) that when Battus wascome to * Rome, they fent him into Afrike, there to plant a colonie, and people a citie; for * δ31 τωυ Ρωhowsoever he had a stutting and stammering tongue, and was otherwise of a small voice, yet a uton, or postuture with a small no princely minde he caried, a politike head he had of his owne, and was a man of wisedome & go-character, vernment: even so impossible it is, that Pythia should have the knowledge to speake here ele-that is to say, gantly & learnedly: for notwithftanding that the were wel borne and legitimate as any other, & to his full had lived honestly and discreetly, yet being brought up in the house of poore husbandmen, she descendeth into the place of the oracle, bringing with her no art learned in schoole, nor any experience what foever. But as Xenophon thinketh, that a young bride when the is brought to her husbands house, ought to be such an one as hath not seene much, and heard as little; semblably, Pythia being ignorant and unexpert in maner of all things, and a very virgin indeed as touching her minde and foule, commeth to converse with Apollo. And we verily are of opinion, that God for to fignific future things, useth Herons, Wrens, Ravens, Crowes, and other birds, speaking after their maner: neither will we have soothsaiers, and prophets, being as they are, the messengers and heralds of God, to expound and declare their predictions in plaine and intelligible words: but wee would that the voice and dialect of the propheteffe Pythia, refem-40 bling the speech of a Chorus in a tragedie from a scaffold, should pronounce her answers not in fimple, plaine, and triviall termes, without any grace to fet them out, but with Poeticall magnificence of high and stately verses, disguised as it were with metaphors and figurative phrases, yea, and that which more is, with sound of flute and hautboies: what answere make you then, astouching the old oracles? Surely, not one alone, but many. First, the ancient Pythia as hath beene faid already, uttered and pronounced most of them in prose: secondly, that time affoorded those complexions and temperatures of bodie, which had a propense and forward in-50 clination to Poesie, whereto there were joined incontinently, the alacritie, desires, affections, and dispositions of the soule, in such fort, as they were ever prest and ready, neither wanted they ought but fome little beginning from without, to fet them on worke, and to stirre the imagination and conception; whereby there might directly be drawen unto that which was meet and proper for them, not onely Aftrologers and Philosophers as Philinus faith; but also such as were well foaked with wine, and shaken with some passion, who either upon pitic surprising them, or joy presented unto them, might immediately slude as it were, and fall into a melodious

and finging voice; infomuch as their feafts were full of verfes, and love fongs, yea and their books and compositions, amatorious, and savoring of the like. And when Euripides said:

Love makes men Poets, marke it when you will,

Although before in verse they had no skill.

He meaneth not that love putteth Poetrie or Musicke into a man in whom there was none before, but wakeneth, stirreth and enchasteth that which before was drowsie, idle, and cold. Or elle my good frend, let us say, that now adaies there is not an amorous person, and one that skilleth of love, but all love is extinct and perished, because there is no man, as Pindarus saith,

Who now in pleasant vaine Poeticall His songs and ditties doeth addresse, Which just in rhime and meeter fall,

To praise his faire and sweet mistresse, But this is untrue and abfurd: for many loves there be that stirre and moove a man, though they meet not with fuch minds as naturally are disposed and forward to Musicke or Poetricand well may these loves be without pipes, without harpes, violes, littes, and stringed instruments: and yet no leffe talkative nor ardent, than those in old time. Againe, it were a shame and without all conscience to say, that the Academie with all the quire and company of Socrates and Plato, were void of amorous affection (whose amatorious discourses are at this day extant, & to beread) although they left no Poems behinde them. And is it not all one to fay, that there was never any woman but Sappho in love, nor had the gift of prophetic, fave onely Sibilla, and 20 Aristonice, or fuch as published their varicinations and propheties in verse? For vertue as Cheremonwas woont to fay, is mingled and tempered with the maners of those that drinke it: And this Enthuliasine or spirit of prophesie, like unto the ravishment of love, maketh use of that fufficiencie and facultie, which it findeth ready in the fubject, and moovethech one of them that are inspired therewith, according to the measure of their naturall disposition: and yet as we confider God and his providence, we shall see that the change is ever to the better. For the use offpeech, refembleth properly the permutation and woorth of money; which is good and allowable, fo long as it is used and knowen, being currant, more or lesse, and valued diversly, as the times require. Now the time was , when the very marke and stampe (as it were) of our fixech was current and approoved, in meeter, verses, songs and sonets: Forasmuch as then, all 30 historie, all doctrine of Philosophie, all affection; and to be briefe, all matter that required a more grave and stately voice, they brought to Poetry and Musicke. For now, onely few men, hardly, and with much a doe; give eare and understand: but then, all indifferently heard, yea, and take great pleasure to heare those that sung,

The rurall ploughman with his hine, The fowler with his nets and line.

as Pindarus faith: but also most men for the great aptitude they had unto Poetric, when they would admonish and make remonstrances, did it, by the meanes of harpe, lute, and fong with all: if they ment to rebuke, chastise, exhort, and incite, they performed it by tales, fables, and proverbes. Moreover their hymnes to the honour and praise of the gods, their praiers and 40 vowes, their balads for joy of victory, they made in meeter and muficall rhime: fome upona dexterity of wit, others by use and practise. And therefore neither did Apollo envie this ornament and pleafant grace unto the skill of divination, neither banished he from this threefooted table of the oracle the Muse so highly honored, but rather brought it in, and stirred it up as affecting and loving Poeticall wittes: yea, and himselfe ministred and insused certeine imaginations, helping to put forward the loftic and learned kinde of language, as being much prized and effeemed. But afterwards, as the life of men, together with their fortunes and natures came to be changed; thritt and utilitie (which remooveth all superfluity) tooke away the golden lufts, and foretops of perukes, the spangled coifes, caules, and attires, it cast off the fine and deinty robes called Xystides; it clipped and cut away the bush of haire growing too long; it so unbuckled and unlaced, the trim buskins, acquainting men with good reason, to glory in thriftinesse and frugalitie, against superstuous and sumptuous delicacies, yea, and to honour simplicitie and modelty, rather than vaine pompe and affected curiofitie: And even fo, the maner of mens speech, changing also and laying aside all glorious shew, the order of writing an historie therewithall, presently came downe as one would say from the stately chariot of versification on, to profe, and went a foot; and by the meanes especially of this fashion of writing and speaking at liberty, and not being tied to measures, true stories, come to be distinguished from lying sables: and Philosophie embracing perspicuity of stile, which was apt to teach and instruct, rather than that which by tropes and figures amused and amased mens braines. And then Apolorepressed Pythia, that she should not any more call her fellow citizens, Pyricaos, that is to say, burning sires; nor the Spartanes, Ophiaboros, that is to say, devourers of serpents; nor men Oremos, and river, Oremposas; and so by cutting off from her, prophesies, verses, and strange termes, circumlocutions and obscurities, the taught and inured her to speake unto those who reforted to the oracles, as lawes do talke with cities, as kings devise and commune with their people and subjects, and as scholars give care unto their schoole-masters, framing and applying is maner of speech and language so, as it might be full of sense and perswasive grace: for this lesson wought to learne and know that, as Sophoeles saith:

Godto the wife in heavenly things, is ay a lightfome guide,
But fooles to briefely he doth teach,
that they goe alwaies wide.

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And together with plainnesse, and diluciditie, beliefe was so turned and altered, changing together with other things, that beforetime, what foever was not ordinary nor common, but extravagant, or obscurely and covertly spoken, the vulgar fort drawing it into an opinion of some holinesse hidden underneath, was astonied thereat and held it venerable: but afterwards, de-20 firous to learne and understand things cleerely and easily, and not with masks of disguised words, they began to finde fault with Poefie, wherein oracles were clad; not onely for that it was contrary and repugnant to the easie intelligence of the truth, as mingling the darknesse and shadow of obscurity with the sentence, but also for that they had prophesies already in suspicion; faying, that metaphors ænigmaticall, and covert words, yea and the ambiguitles which Poetry useth, were but shifts, retracts, and evasions to hide and cover all, when soever the events fell not out accordingly. And many you may heare to report, that there be certeine Poeticall persons, practised in versifying, fit yet about the oracle, for to receive and eatch some words theredelivered; which prefently and extempore, they reduce and contrive into verse, meeter, and thime, as if they were panniers to beftow all the answers in. And hecre I forbeare to speake 30 what occasion of blame, and matter of calumniation in these oracles, these Onomacritos, Prodora and Cinefones have ministred, by adding unto them a tragicall pompe, and swelling inflation of words, when as neither they had need thereof, nor yet received any varietie and alteration thereby. Moreover, certeine it is, that these juglers and vagarant circumforancan landleapers, these practisers of legier demain, these plaiers at passe and repasse, with all the packe of those vagabonds, ribauds, and jesters who haunt the feasts of Cybele and Serapis, have greatly discredited and brought into obloquie the profession of Poetrie: some by their extemporall facultie and telling fortunes, others by way of lotterie forfooth, and by certeine letters and writings, forging oracles which they would give to poore varlets and filly women, who were foonelt abused thereby, especially when they saw the same reduced into verse, and so were caried 40 away with Poeticall termes. And from hence it is now come to passe, that Poesie, for that she hath suffered herselse thus to be prophaned and made common, by such consiners, juglers, dectivers, enchanters, and false prophets, is fallen from the trueth, and rejected from Apolloes three-footed table.

And therefore I nothing woonder if otherwhiles in old time, there was some need of this double meaning, circumlocution, and obscuritie: for I assure you, there was not woont to come hither one for to enquire and be resolved about the buying of a slave in open market: nor another to know what profit he should have by his traffike or husbandry: but hither came or fent great and puissant ties, kings, princes, and tyrants, who had no meane matters in their heads, to consult with spollo as concerning their important affaires; whom to provoke, 30 displease, and offend, by causing them to heare many things contrary to their will and minde, was nothing good and expedient for those who had the charge of the oracle: for this god obeieth not Euripides when he setteth downe a law as it were for him, saying thus:

Phoebus himfelfe, and none but he, Ought unto men the prophet to be.

for heufeth mortall men to be his ministers and underprophets: of whom he is to have a speciall care for to preserve them, that in doing him service, they be not spoiled and slaine by wicked

perions:

persons: in which regard he is not willing to conceale the truth; but turning aside the naked declaration thereof, which in poetrie receiveth many reflexions, and is divided into many parcels, he thereby did away the the rigor and odious aufterity therein conteined. And it skilled much, that neither tyrants should know it, nor enemies be advertised and have intelligence thereof. For their fakes therefore, he enfolded in all his answeres, doubts, suspitions and ambiguities, which from others did hide the true meaning of that which was answered. But such as came themselves to the oracle, and gave close and heedfull care, as whom it concerned particularly, those he deceived not, neither failed they of the right understanding thereof. And therefore a very foolish man is he, and of no judgement, who doth take occasion of slander and ca. lumniation, if the world and estate of mens affaires being changed, this God thinketh that he is to not to aide and helpe men any more after his accustomed maner, but by some other. Furthermore, by the meanes of poetrie and verlification, there is not in a fentence, any greater commoditie than this, that being couched and comprised in a certeine number of words and fullables measured, a man may reteine and remember the same better. And necessarie it was for those in olde time, to cary away in memory many things, because there were delivered many fignes and marks of places, many times and opportunities of affaires, many temples of strange gods beyond fea, many fecret monuments, and repolitories of demi-gods hard to be found of those who failed farre from Greece. For in the voyages of Chios and Candte, * * * enterprised by Onesichus and Palanthus, beside many other captaines and admirals, how many fignes and conjectures went they by, and were to observe, for to finde the resting seat, and place 20 of abode, which was ordered to every one of them? and fome of them quite miffed thereof: as for example, Battus: for his prophetie ran thus, That unleffe he arrived to the right place, he should be banished. Failing therefore of the countrey whereto he was fent, he returned against to the oracle in humble maner, craving his favour. And then Apollo answered him in this wife:

Thou knowest thy selfe, as well as I can tell, That uneshyes in Astikethous hast beene; (For thither sent I thee to build and dwell) We or Meliboca, that place so fertile, seene: If thither now accordingly thou wend, Thy wisdome then greatly will I commend.

And so he sent him away the second time. Likewise Lysander being altogether ignorant of the little hill Archeledes, of the place called Alopecon, as also of the river Ophres.

And of the dragon, sonne of earth by kinde

Full craftily affailing men behinde. all which hee should have avoided, was vanquished in battell, and slaine about those very places, and that by one Inachion and Aliartian, who had for his device or armes in the target that he bare, a dragon purtraid. But I thinke it needleffe to recite many other ancient oracles of this kinde, which are not eafily to be related, and as hardly remembred, especially among you who know them well enough. But now thanks be to God, the state of our affaires and of the world, in regard whereof men were woont to feeke unto the oracle is feeled: for which I rejoice and 40 congratulate with you. For great peace there is and repose in all parts; warres be staied, and there is no more need of running and wandring to and fro, from one countrey to another: civill diffentions and feditions be appealed: there are no tyrannies now excercifed: neither doe there raigne other maladies and miseries of Greece, as in times past, which had need of soveraigne medicins, exquifit drogues and powerfull confections, to remedy and redreffe the fame. Whereas therefore there is no variable diversity, no matter of secrecie, no dangerous affaires, but all demands be of petie & vulgar matters, much like to these schoole questions: Whethera man should marry or no? Whether a man may undertake a voiage by sea or no? or Whether he is to take up or put forth mony for interest? where, I fay, the greatest points, about which cities feeke unto Apollo, are about the fertility of their ground, plenty of corne and other fruits of the 50 earth, the breed and multiplying of their cattell, and the health of their bodies : to goe about for to comprile the fame in verfe, to devile and forge long circuits of words, to use strange and obscure tearmes, to such interrogatories as require a short simple and plaine answere, were the part of an ambitious and vaing lorious Sophister, who tooke a pride in the elegant composing of oracles. Over and besides, Pythia of her selfe is of a gentle and generous nature: and when the descendent thither and converseth with the god, the hath more regard of trueth than of glory, neither paffeth she whether men praise or dispraise her. And better iwis it were for us, if we also were likewise affected. But we now in a great agony (as it were) & searchill perplexity lest the place should leefe the reputation which it hath had for the space of three thousand yeeres, and doubting that some would abandon it and cease to frequentit, as if it were the schoole of a Sophister, who feared to lose his credit, and to be despited, devise apologies in desence thereof, faining causes and reasons of things which we neither know, nor is beseeming us for locarne, and all to appease and perswade him, who complaineth and seemeth to finde fault, whereas we should rather shake him off and let him goe.

For with him fir ft, It will be wor ft,

who hath fuch an opinion of this our God, as that he approved and effected these ancient fentences of the Sages written at the entrance of the temple, Know thy felfe; Too much of nothing; principally for their brevity, as containing under few words a pithy sentence well and closely couched, and (as a man would say) beaten foundly together with the hammer: but reproved and blamed moderne oracles for delivering most part of their answeres, briefely, succinclly, simply, and directly. And verily such notable Apophthegmes and sayings of the ancient Siges, refemble rivers that runne through a narrow streight, where the water is pent and kept in so close, that a man cannot see through it, and even so unneth or hardly may the bottom of their sense be sounded. But if you consider what is written or said by them, who endevous 20 to fearch unto the very bottom, what every one of these sentences doth comprehend, you shall finde that hardly a man shall meet with orations longer then they. Now the dialect or speech of Pythia is such, as the Mathematicians define a straight and direct line, namely, the shortest that may be betweene two points: and even so it bendeth not, it crookeneth not, it maketh no circle, it carrieth no double fenfe and ambiguity, but goeth straight to the trueth; and say it be subject to censure and examination, and dangerous to be misconstured and believed amisse: yetto this day it hath never given advantage whereby it might be convinced of untrueth: but in the meane time, it hath furnished all this temple full of rich gifts, presents and oblations, not onely of Greeke nations, but also of barbarous people, as also adorned it with the beautiful buildings and magnificent fabricks of the amphictyons. For you fee in some fort, many buildings and adjoined which were not before, and as many repaired and restored to their ancient perfection. which were either fallen to decay and ruined by continuance of time, or elfe lay confusedly out of order. And like as we fee, that neere unto great trees that fored much and prosper well, other smaller plants and shrubs grow and thrive: even so together with the city of Delphos, Pylea flourisheth, as being fed and maintained by the abundance and affluence, which ariseth from hence, in such fort as it beginneth to have the forme and shew of solemne facrifices of stately meetings and facred waters, fuch as in a thousand yeeres before it could never get the like. As for those that inhabited about Galaxion in Beotia, they found and felt the gracious presence and favour of our God by the great plenty and store of milke, For,

From all their ewes thicke milke did pin, As water fielh from lively spring: Their tubs and tunnes with milke therein Brim full they all, home fast did bring: No barrels, bottels, pailes of wood, But full of milke in bonfes stood,

But to us he giveth better markes, and more evident tokens and apparent fignes of his prefence and favour, than these be; having brought our countrey (as it were) from drinesse and penurie, from desert & waste wildernesse, wherein it was before, to be now rich and plentiful, frequented and peopled, yea and to be in that honor and reputation, wherein we see it at this day to shour it is, on this businesse, to get the much better, for that I was so well affected, as to put to my helping hand to in this businesse, together with Polyerates and Petram: Yea and him also I love in my heart, who was the first author unto us of this government and policy, and who tooke the paines and endevoured to set on foot and establish most part of these things. But impossible it was, that in so small a time there should be seene so great and so evident a mutation by any industry of man whatsoever, if God himselfe had not beneassistant to fanctific and honour this oracle. But like as in those timespass, so there be in these daies, others, who like sycophants cavill at the over-

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unto this title,

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good part of

this dialogue.

reof the citie Thebes] and Why Pythia giveth no more answers in verse.

much simplicitie of them; whose humorous passion is injurious and exceeding foolish. For even as little children take more joy and pleasure to see rainbowes, haloes or garlands about the Sunne, Moone, &c. yea, and comets or blafing starres, than they do to behold the Sunne himfelfe or the Moone; fo these persons desire to have anigmaticall and darke speeches, obscure allegories, and wrested metaphors, which are all reflexions of divination upon the sansie and apprehension of our mortall conceit. And if they understand not sufficiently, the cause of this change and alteration, they go their waies, and are ready to condemne the God, and not either us or themselves, who are not able by discourse of reason to reach unto the counsell and intention of the faid gods.



THEDAEMON

FAMILIAR SPIRIT

OF SOCRATES.

* A Treatise in maner of a Dialogue.

The Summarie.



He Thebans having lost their freedome and liberty by the violent proceedings of Archias, Leontidas and other tyrants, who banished a great number of good cuizens 30 and men of woorth, in which roll and catalogue Pelopidas was one (as appeareth in the storie of his life, wherein Plutarch writeth of all this matter at large) it fellout at last, that the exiled persons tooke heart, drew to an head, and wrought so, as they

reentred the city of Thebes, flew the tyrants, and difflaced the garrison of the Spartans. Which done, they dispatched their ambassages to other States and Common wealths of Greece, for to justifie this their action; and namely, among the rest, they sent Caphisias to Athens: who being there, at therequest of Archidamus a personage of great authoritie, related and reported the returne of the bamshed men, the surprising of the tyrants, and the restoring of the citie to their ancient franchises; and that with discourses woonderfull patheticall, and such as stew the singular providence of Godin the preservation of States, and confusion of such wicked members as disturbe the publicke peace. But in this re- 40 citall, there is inserted, and that with good grace, a digression as touching the familiar spirit of Socrates, by occasion of a Pythagorean Philosopher newly come out of Italie to Thebes, for to take up the bones of Lysis: for by occasion that Galaxidorus the Epicurean derided the superstition of this stranger, praising withall, the wisdome and learning of Socrates, who had cleered and delivered Philosophie from all fant afticall illusions of spirits and ghosts, Theocritus bringeth in an example of a certeine preaiction of this familiar spirit. But withall, when the other had demanded the question, whether the Same were an humane and naturall thing or no, the disputation began to kindle and waxe hote; until fuch time as Epaminondas and this stranger named Theanor came in place: and then they fell into adifcourse of povertie and riches, by occasion that Theanor offered filver unto the Thebans, in recompense of their kindnesse and good enterteinment shewed unto Lylis. And as they would have procee so ded forward in this argument, there came one who ministred occasion for to returne unto the former narration as touching the enterprise and exploit of the said exiled persons: in which there is intermingled againe a treatife concerning the familiar of Socrates, with a large recitall of the fable of Timatchus, After which, Caphilias rehearfeth the iffue of the tragadie of the tyrants, flowing thorowout, notable discourses of the divine wisdome, and joining therewith a consideration of Socrates his wistdome, guiding and directing to a particular plot for the good of all Greece. But in this place thereadermust remember and call to minde who this Socrates was ; to wit, a man destitute of the true knowledge of God, and therefore he is to holde for suspected and naught this familiar spirit of his, if aman would receive and admit the opinion of some interloquutors, who suppose it was a Damon or shirit from without; to the end that we should not rest upon revelution, inspirations and guidances of angels, unleffe a be of fuch, the testimonies whereof are grounded upon the holy scripture; but flie from the profine curiositie of certaine fantasticall heads, who by their books published abroad in print, have darediorevive and rasse up againe this false opinion (which some in this age of ours have) of similar pinis, by whom they are for sooth as well advised and as surely taught and instructed as by the very pirit of God, feaking unto us by his written word.

THE DÆMON OR

familiar spirit of Socrates.

Archidamus.



10

Have heard (as I remember) ô Caphifias, a prety speech of a certaine painter making a comparison of those who came to see the pictures and tables which he had painted: for he was woont to fay, that the ignorant beholders and fuch as had no skill at all in the art of painting, refembled them who faluted a whole multitude of people all at once; but the better fort and fuch as were skilfull, were like unto those who used to falve every one whom they met, severally by name: for that the former had no exquifit infight into the works, but a superficiall and generall knowledge onely; whereas the other contrariwife, judging every piece and partthercof, will not miffe

one jote, but peruse, consider and censure that which is well done or otherwise. Semblably it falleth out in my judgement, as touching true actions indeed, which are not painted. The conceit and understanding of the more idle and carelesse persons resteth in this bare knowledge, in case they conceive only the summary and issue of a thing; but that, of studious and diligent per-30 fons, and lovers of faire and goodly things, like unto a judicious and excellent spectator of vertue, as of some great and fingular art, taketh more pleasure to heare the particularities in speciall: for that the end of matters, ordinarily, hath many things common with fortune; but the good wit is better feene in causes, & in the vertue of particular occurrences & affaires which are presented; as when valour she weth it selfe not astonied, but considerate and well advised in the greatest perils; where the discourse of reason is mingled with passion, which the sudden occasion of danger presented doth bring. Supposing then, that we also are of this kinde of spectators, declare you to us now in order from the beginning, how this matter did passe and proceed in the execution thereof, as also what talke and discourse was held there; for that by all likelihood youwere present: and for mine owne part, so desirous I am to heare, that I would not faile to go 40 as farreas to Thebes for the knowledge thereof, were it not, that I am thought already of the Athenians, to favorife the Bootians more than I should.

CAPHISIA'S.

Certes, Archidamu, fince you are so earnest and forward to learne how these affaires were managed, I ought in regard of the good will which you beare unto us, before any businesse whatfoever (as Pindarus faith) to have come hither, expresly for to relate the same unto you: but fince we are hither come in embaffage already, and at good leafure, whiles we attend what answere and dispatch the people of Athens will give us, in making it strange and goodly, and refuling to fatible fo civill a request of a personage so kinde and well affectionate to his friends, were as much as to revive the olde reproch imputed upon the Boeotians, to wit, that they hate 50 good letters and learned discourses; which reproch began to weare away with your Socrates, and in lo doing, it seemeth that we treat of affaires with two priests: and therefore see, whether the Seigniors here present be disposed to heare the report of so many speeches and actions; for the narration will not be short, considering that you will me to adjoine thereto the words that pasfed alfo.

ARCHIDAMUS.

Youknownot the men, ô Caphifias, and yet well woorthy they are to be knowen; for noble

persons they had to their fathers, and those who had beene well affected to our countrey. As for him (pointing to Lysinides) he is (quoth he) the nephew of Thrasshalm; but he here, is Timethem the sonne of Conon: those there, be the children of Archinum; and the other, our familiar friends. So that you shall be sure to have a well willing auditorie, and such as will take pleasure to heare this natration.

CAPHISIAS.

You say well. But where were I best to begin my speech, in regard of those matters that ye have already heard and knowen, which I would not willingly repeat?

Archidamus.

We know reasonably well, in what state the citie of Thebes stood, before the returne of the 10 banished persons; and namely, how Archias and Leonidas had secred intelligence, and complotted with Phabidas the Lacedamonian captaine, whom they perswaded, during the time of truce, to furprise the castle of Cadmus; and how having executed this diffeigne, they drave some citizens out of the city, and put others in prison, or held the men in awe, whiles themselves ruled tyrannically and with violence. Whereof I had intelligence, because I was (as you wot well) hoalf unto Melon and Pelopidas, with whom (folong as they were in exile) I was inwardly acquainted and converfed familiarly. Moreover, we have heard already, how the Lacedamonians condemned Phabidas to pay a great fine, for that he had feized the fort Cadmia, and how they put him by, and kept him from the journey and expedition of Olynthus, and lent thither in stead of him, Lyfanoridas with two other captaines, and planted a stronger garrifon within the 20 castle. Furthermore, we know very well, that Ismenias died not the fairest kinde of death, prefently upon I wot not what processe framed, and an action commensed against him, for that Gorgidas advertised the banished who were heere, by letters, from time to time, of all matters that passed; in such fort, as there remaineth for you to relate, nothing els, but the returne of the faid banished men, and the furprising or apprehension of the tyrants.

CAPHISTAS. About that time (Archidamus) all we that were of the confederacie and complotted together, used ordinarily to meet in the house of Simmias, by occasion that he was retired and in cute of a wound which he had received in his leg, where we conferred fecretly of our affaires as need required; but in shew and openly, discoursed of matters of learning and Philosophy, drawing 30 unto us often times into our companie, Archias and Leontralas, men who misliked not such conferences and communications, because we would remoove all suspicion of such conventicles. For Simmies having abode long time in forren parts among the Barbarians, being returned to Thebes but a little while before, was full of all manet of newes and strange reports as touching those barbarous nations; infomuch, as Archiae when he was at leasure, willingly gaue eare to his discourses and narrations, sitting in the company of us yong gentlemen, as being well pleafed that we should give our mindes to the study of good letters and learning, rather than buse our heads about those matters which they went about and practised in the meane while, x And the very day on which late in the evening, and toward darke night following, the exiled persons abovefaid were come closely under the wall, there arrived from thence unto us a messenger, 40 whom Pherenicus fent, one who was unknowen to us all, unleffe it were to Charen, who brought us word, that to the number of twelve yoong gentlemen, and those the bravest gallants of all the banished conspiratours, were already with their hounds hunting in the forest citharon, intending to be heere in the evening; and that therefore they had fent before and dispatched a vauntcourrier of purpose, as well to advertise us thereof, as to be certified themselves who it was that should make his house ready for them to lie secret and hidden therein when they were once come; to the end that upon this foreknowledge they might fet forward and go directly thither. Now as we studied and tooke some deliberation about this point, Charon of himselfe offered his house: whereupon, when the messenger intended to returne immediatly & with great speed to the exiles, 7 heoritus the foothfaier griping me fast by the hand, & casting his eie upon Charon 50 that went before: This man (quoth he) ô Caphistas, is no Philosopher nor deepe scholar, neither is he come to any excellent or exquisit knowledge above others, as his brother Epaminonals, and yet you fee how being naturally enclined, and directed withall by the lawes, unto honorand vertue, he exposeth himselfe willingly unto danger of death, for the deliverie and setting free of his countrey; whiles Epaminondas, who hath had better meanes of instruction and education to the attaining of vertue, than any other Boeotian whatfoever, is restiffe, dull, and backeward,

when the question is of executing any great enterprise for the deliverance of his native country. And to what occasion of service shall he ever be so well disposed, prepared and emploied, than this? Vnto whome I made answere in this wife: We for our parts, most kinde and gently Theorium, doe that which hath beene thought good, refolved and concluded upon among our felves, but Epamanondas having not yet perswaded us, according as he thinketh it better himself, not to put these our designements in execution, hath good reason to goe against that wherewith his nature repugneth, and so he approveth not the designement whereunto he is moved and invited. For it were unreasonable to force & compell a physician, who promiseth & undertaketh to cure a disease, without lancet & fire, for to proceed to incission, cutting & cauterizing. to Why (quoth 7 bearit w) doth not he approve of the conspiracie? No (quoth I) neither alloweth he that any citizens thould be put to death, unleffe they were condemned first judicially by order of law: mary, he faith, that if without maffacre and effusion of citizens blood they would enterprise the deliverance of the city, he would affist and aide them right willingly. Seeing then that he was not able to enduce us for to believe his reasons, but that we followed still our owne course, he requireth us to let him alone pure, innocent, and impolluted with the blood of his citizens, and to fuffer him for to espie and attend some better occasions and opportunities, by meanes whereof with justice he might procure the good of the weale publicke. For murder (quoth he) will not containe it felfe within limits as it ought: but Pherenicus happly and Pelopedas, may bend their force principally upon the authors and heads of the tyranny, and wicked 20 persons: but you shall have some such as Eumolpidas and Samiadas hot stomacked men, set on fire with choler and defire of revenge, who taking liberty by the vantage of the night, will not lay downe their armes, nor put up their fwords, untill they have filled the whole city with bloodfhed, and murdered many of the best and principall citizens.

As I thus devised and communed with Theoritus, Anaxidorus overhearing some of our words (for nere he was unto us:) Stay (quoth he) and hold your peace, for I fee Archias & Lylanoridas the Spartan captaine comming from the castle Cadmia, and it seemeth that they make haste directly toward us. Heercupon we paused and were still: with that Archiae calling unto Theoritus, and bringing him apart by himfelfe unto Ly/anoridus, talked with him a long while, drawing him afide a little out of the way, under the temple of Amphion; in such fort, as we were 30 in an extreame agony & perplexity, for feare left they had an inckling or suspition of our enterprise, or that formthing were discovered: & thereupon they examined Theoritus. As these matters thus paffed, Phyllidas (whom you Archidamus know) who was then the principall fecretary orscribe under Archias, at that time captaine generall of the armie, being desirous of the approch of the confpiratours, & with al both privy and party with us in the complot, came in place and tooke me (as his manner was) by the hand, beginning with open mouth to mocke our exercifes of the body and our wreftling: but afterward, drawing me afide, a good way from the others, asked me whether the banithed perfons would keepe that appointed day or no? I made him answere, Yea. Then have I (quoth he) to very good purpose prepared a feast this day for to entertaine Archias in my house, and so to deliver him with ease into their hands, when he shall 40 havecaten freely, and drunke wine merily. Paffing welldone (quoth I)ô Phyllidass: but I befeech you withall, for to bring together all our enimies, or as many as you can. That is no casse matter (quoth he) to compaffe, but rather altogether impossible. For Archas hoping that some great lady of honor and estate will come thither unto him, in no wife can abide that Leontidas thould be there, fo that of necessity we must divide them into fundry houses. Now if archies and Leontidas both, be once apprehended, I suppose that the rest will soone flie, or else remaine quiet, and be very highly contented if any man will grant them fafety and fecurity of their lives. Well (quoth I) we will so doe: but I pray you, what businesse have they with Theoretius, that they are folong in talke with him ? I know not for a trueth (quoth Phyllidas) but I have heard that there be certaine prodigious fignes of unluckie and unfortunate prefage unto the ci-

When Theoritus was returned unto us againe, Phidolaus the Haliertian comming toward us. Summias (quoth he) requesteth you to stay here a while for his sake: for hers an intercessor in the behalfe of Amphiteus by the meanes of Leontides, that his life may be pardoned, and that in fread of death, the man might be banished, This is fallen out (quoth Theoritus) in very good time and sity to the purpose as a man would have it: for I was minded to enquire of you what things were found within the tombe of Alemena, and what shew it caried when it was opened a-

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mong you: and also whether you were present when Agessiam sent of purpose for to translate and carry the reliques unto Sparsa. Present I was not my selfe Phidolaus in person: and I was very much angry and offended with my fellow citizens, in that I was so discarded and lest out. Howbeit found there was with the bones and other reliques of the corps, a certaine carquanet of brasse, and that of no great bignesse, and two earthen pots, containing amphors a piece sull of earth which in continuance of time was growen hard and converted into stone.

Over the sepulcher there was a table of brasse likewise, wherein were written many letters, and those of a strange and wonderfull forme, as being of right great antiquity: for nothing could we picke out of them, notwithstanding the letters appeared very well, after that the braffe was faire washed and sourced cleane, the characters were of such a making by themselves, after a 10 barbarous fashion, and resembling neerest those of the Aegyptians. Whereupon Agessian also, as men say, sent a copy of them unto the king of Aegypt, praying him to shew the same unto their priefts, to fee whether they understood them or no? But peradventure of these matters Simmias also is able to tell us some newes, because about that time he conversed much with the faid priests in points of Philosophie. And those of the citie Aliartos are of opinion, that their great sterility, and scarcitie, as also the swelling and inundation of the lake hapned not by chance, but was the vengeance divine upon those who suffered the monument of this sepulchre to be digged up and opened. Then Theorritus after he had paused a little: The Lacedamonians likewise (quoth he) seeme to have beene threatned by the ire of the gods, as the prodigious fignes and tokens presage no lesse, whereof Lylanoridas ere while talked with 20 me: who even now is gone into the citie Aliarros, to cause the said monument to be filled up againe, and there to offer certeine funerall effusions and libaments, to the ghost of Alemena and Alew, according to a certeine oracle; but who this Alew should be, he knoweth not; and fo foone as he is from thence returned, he must fearch also the sepulchre of Diree, which none of the Thebanes doe know, unlesse they be those who have beene captaines of the horsemen. For looke who goeth out of this office, taketh with him his successor that entreth into his place, by night, and when they two be alone together, he sheweth it unto him, and there they performe certeine religious ceremonies without fire, the tokens and marks whereof, they shuffle together, and confound fo, as they be not feene; which done, they depart in the darke, and goe diverswaies, one from the other. But for mine owne part, ô Phidolaus, I beleeve verily he will 30 never finde it out, for the most of those who have beene lawfully called to the captainship of the cavallerie, or to fay more truely, even all of them are in exile, except Gorgidas and Plato, whom they will never aske the question, because they are afraid of them. And as for those who are now in place, well may they take the launce and the fignet within the castle of Cadman; for otherwise they neither know nor can shew ought. As Theorisms spake these words, Leonisdan went foorth with his friends; and we entring in, faluted Simmias, being fet upon his bed, but I fuppose he had not obtained his request, for very pensive and heavie he was; and looking wistly in the face upon us all, he brake out into these words: O Hercules, what a world is this, to see the barbarous and favage maners of men? And was not this then a very good answere made by old Thales, who being returned home, after a long voiage, from out of a forren countrey, and 40 demanded what was the strangest newes that he could make relation of? answered: That he had feene a tyrant live to be an old man. For thus you fee, that himfelfe who in his owne particular, had never received wrong by a tyrant, yet in regard of the odious trouble, in converfing and having to doe with them, is offended and become an enemie to all foveraigne and absolute governments, which are not subject to render an account unto the lawes. But haply God will see to these matters, and provide in time convenient. But know you (Caphisias) who this stranger may be, that is come unto you? I wot not (quoth he) whom you meane. Why (quoth he)2gaine, Leontidas came and told us of a man, who was feene by night to atife from about the tombe of Lysis, accompanied in stately wife, with a great traine of men, in good order; and well appointed, who lodged there and lay upon pallets: for that there were to be feene in the mor- 50 ning little beds hard by the ground, made of chast tree and of heath or lings. There remained also the tokens of fire, and of the libaments and oblations of milke. Moreover betimes in the morning he demanded of all paffengers whom he met, where he should finde the children of Polymnis dwelling in that country? And what stranger might this be (quoth I:) for by your report he should be some great personage, and not a private man and of meane degree. Not fo (quoth Phidolam) but when he comes welcome he shall be, and we will receive him courte-

oully. But for this prefent, if peradventure (Simmias) you know any thing more than we concerning those letters whereof we were of late in doubt, declare it unto us : for it is faid that the priests of Aegypt understood by conference together the letters of a certaine table of braffe, which Agefilan not long fince had from us, at what time as he caused the tombeof Alemena to be opened. I have not (quoth Simmas, calling another matter presently to minde) seene this faid table, ô Phidolam: but Agetoridas the Spartan carrying with him many letters from Agefilang came to the city Memphis and went unto the prophet Chonuphis, with whome we conferred astouching Philosophy, and abode together a certaine time, my selfe I meane, and Plato, with Ellopion the Peparethian. Thither I say arrived he as sent from king Agesilans, who requested to Chonuphis, that if he understood any thing of those letters which were written in the said brasse, he would interpret the same, and fend it backe unto him incontinently. So this prophet was musing and studying three daies together by himselfe, perusing and turning all forts of figures and characters of auncient letters; and in the end wrote backe his answer unto king Agesilans, and by word of mouth told us, that the faid writing gave direction and commandement unto the Greeks, to celebrate the feaft, and folemnize the plaies and games in the honor of the Mufes: also that the forme of those characters, were the very same which had beene used at the time when Protein reigned in Acgypt, which Hercules the sonne of Amphitryo learned: and that God by those letters advised and admonished the Greeks to live in peace and repose, instituting certeine games unto the Muses, for the study of Philosophy and good litterature, and di-20 sputing one against another continually, with reasons and arguments as touching justice, laying armes cleane aside. As for us, we thought verily even then at the very first, that Chopubles faid well and truely; but much rather, when in our returne out of Aeg ypt, as we passed along Caria, certeine persons of the Isle Delos, met us upon the way, who requested Plato (as he was a man well feene and exercised in Geometrie) to explane the meaning unto them of a certeine strange oracle, & hard to be understood; which god Apollo had given them: the tenour whereof was this: That the Delians and all other Greeke nations, should have a ceffation & end of all their prefent troubles and calamities, when they had once doubled the alter which flood in the temple at Delos: for they being not able to gueffe nor imagine what the substance and meaning should be, of this answer delivered by the oracle; and besides, making themselves ridiculous, 30 when they thought to double the fabricke and building of the altar (for when they had doubled ech fide of the foure, they were not ware how by augmentation they made a folid bodie, eight times as bigge as it was before, and that by ignorance of the proportion, which in length yeeldeth the duple) they had recourse unto Plato, for to be resolved of this difficulty. Then he calling to minde the foresaid Aegyptian priest, said unto them: that the god plaied with the Greeks, for despissing good sciences; reproching them for their ignorance, and commanding them in good earnest to study Geometry, and not curfarily after a superficiall maner; for that it was a matter and worke, not of a depravate conceit, nor of a troubled and dimme understanding, but fufficiently exercifed, and perfectly feene in the sciences of Lines; to find of two lines one middle proportioned, which is the onely means to double the figure of a cubicke body, be-40 ing augmented equally in all dimensions: And as for these (quoth he) Endoxus the Chidian, or Helicon the Cyzicenian, hath performed fufficiently unto you: howbeit, we are not to thinke that the god hath need of any fuch duplication, neither was it, that which he meant, but he commanded the Greeks to give over armes for to converse with the Muses; in dulcing their pasfions by the study of good literature, and the sciences, and so to couple and carie themselves, asthat they might profit, and not hurt one another. But whiles Simmias thus spake, my father Polymnia entred the place, and fat him downe close unto Simmias, beginning thus to speake: Epaminondas (quoth he) requesteth both you, and all the rest that be heere, unlesse your busineffe otherwise be the greater, notto faile, but heere to stay; as being desirous to make you acquainted with this stranger, who is of himselfea gentle person, and withall, is hither come 50 with a generous and honest intention (being one of the Pythagorian Philosophers) from out of Italy, and his arrivall into these parts, as by occasion of certaine visions and dreames as he faith, yea, and evident apparitions admonifing him to powre and offer unto the good feignior Lysis, upon his tombe, those libaments which are due unto men departed: and having brought with him a good quantitie of gold, he supposeth that he is bound to make recompense unto Epaminondas, for the charges which he was at in keeping & mainteining good Ly/is in his old age, and most ready he is, without our request, and against our will, to succour our need and po-

vertic. Simmias taking great pleasure to heare this: You tell us (quoth he) of a woonderfull man indeed, and fuch an one as is woorthy of Philosophy: but what is the reason that he came not directly unto us? Because (quoth he) he tooke up lodging last night about the sepulchre of Ly. fis, and as I take it, Epaminondas bath led him to the river Ismenus, for to wash; but from thence they will come both together unto us: but before that he spake with us, he lodged upon the tombe of Ly/is, with a purpose as I thinke, to take up the bones and reliques of his body, for to cary with him backe into Italy, unlesse there were some spirit or dæmon empeached him in the night: When my father had thus much faid, he held his tongue: and then Gallaridorus: O Hercules (quoth he) how hard a matter is it to finde a man who is altogether free from vanitie, and in whom there is no spice of superstition ? For somethere be, who even to against their willes are otherwhiles surprised with these passions, by reason either of ignorance or infirmity: others againe, to the end they might be thought more religious, more devout, and better beloved of the gods, upon a fingularity, referre all their actions to the gods, as the authors thereof, preferring before all the inventions that came into their minde, dreames and fantasticall apparitions, and all such foolish toies and vanties; which paradventure is not unbeferning nor unprofitable for polititians and statists, who are forced to frame themselves to a stubberne & disordinate mulittude, for to reclaime and to pull backe the common & vulgar fort by superstition, as it were by the bit of a bridle, unto that which is expedient for them. But this maske feemeth not onely undecent and unfeemely for Philosophy, but also contrary to the profession thereof, which promise to teach us all that which is good 20 and profitable with reason, and afterwards referreth the beginning of our actions unto the gods, as if it contemned reason and disgraced the proofe of demonstration, wherein it seemeth to be most excellent turning aside to I wot not what oracles and visions in dreames, wherein often times the wickedest man in the word, findeth as much as the very best. And therefore in mine opinion our Socrates, ô Simmias, used that maner of teaching which is most worthy and besitting a Philosopher, to wit, simple, plaine, without all fiction, chusing it as most free and frendly unto the trueth, rejecting and turning upon the Sophisters, all such vanity, as the very sume and fmonke of Philosophy. Then Theorit w taking his turne to speake: How now (quoth he) Galaxidorus, hath Melitus perfwaded you, as well as he made the judges believe, that Socrates difpiled the gods and all divine powers? For this is that which he chargeth him with before the 20 Athenians. In no wife (quoth he) as touching those heavenly powers: but having received from the hands of Pythagor as and Empedocles, Philosophy full of ridiculus fables, fantasticallil-Infions, and vaine superstition, he acquainted us, playing thus the soole in good earnest, and being drunke with furie, to take up betimes and wifely to cleave unto things of fubstance, yea and to acknowledge, that in fober reason consistent the trueth. Be it so (quoth Theoritus,) but as touching the lamiliar spirit of Socrates, what shall we thinke or say of it? was it a cogging lie and mere fable, or what should we call it? For in mine owne conceit, like as Homer faignesh that Minerva was evermore affiftant in all the travels and petils of ulyfes, even fo from the very first beginning, this divine spirit allotted unto Socrates a certaine vision, which guided him in all the actions of his life, this onely went and walked before him: it was a light unto him in all those affaires wherein nothing could be seene, and which possibly might not be gathered, nor comprehended by reason and wisedome ofman, insomuch, as many times this spirit spake with him, inspiring, directing, and governing, after a heavenly maner, his intentions. Now hee 40 that would know a greater number of proofes, and those more woonderfull, let them heate Simmias speake, & others, who lived familiarly with him: as for my selfe, I wil relate one example, which I saw with mine owne eies, and where I was in person present: One daywhen I went to confult with the divinor or foothfaier Enthyphron, Socrates went up (as you may remember well, ô Simmias, for prefent you were there also, toward a place called Symbolon, and the house of Andocides, asking all the way as we went, & troubling Euthyphron with many questions, merily and by way of sport; but all on a sudden he stated and rested, very studious and musting with 40 himselfe a good while: then he turned backe and went along the street where ioyners dwelt, that made coffers and chefts, and called not those of his familiar friends who were gone before, the other way, forto have them returne: for why, his familiar spirit forbad him to go forward as he began: thus the greater part of them, retired and went with him, & among them, I my felie was one, following evermore Euthyphron hard at heeles; but some other of the yonger fort, would needs goe streight on still, of a very deliberate purpose to crosse and convince the

familiar spirit of Socrates, and drewalong with them Charillus the plaier upon the flute, who was then come with me to Athens, for to visit Cebes. Now when they went by the shops of the imagers, neere the common halles and courts of justice, they might see before them a mightie heard of hogges, as thicke as one might stand by another, full of dirt and mire, and bearing downe all before them, by reason of their great number; and for that there was no meanes to turne afide from them, they overthrew fome of the yoong men abovefaid, and laid them along, on the ground, yea and all to be raied the rest of their fellowes. Thus returned Charillus home tohis lodging, with his legges, his thighes, and all his clothes, fouly bedaubed with filthy dirt; in fuch fort, as he maketh us remember many times, and that with good laughing, the familiar 10 of Socrates, and caufeth us to marvell how that divine power never for fooke this man, but had evermore a care and charge of him in all places and occasions what soever. Then (quoth Galaxidorno:) Thinke you that this familiar spirit of Socrares was some proper and peculiar power, and not a parcell of that univerfall and common necessitie, which confirmed this man by long experience, to give the counterpoife and over-weight for to make him encline to or fro, in things obscure and hard to be conjectured and guessed at, by discourse of reason? For like as one pound weight by it felfe alone draweth not the balance, but when as the poife hangeth equally, if a man put it then either to the one fide or the other, it draweth the whole, and maketh all to incline that way: even so a voice or some small and light signe, is not sufficient to flire a grave cognation to proceed unto the execution of a thing, but being put into one of the two contrary discourses, it solvethall the doubt and difficultie, taking away the inequall in fuch fort, as then it maketh a motion and inclination. Then my father taking his courfe to ipeake: But I have heard (quoth he) ô Galaxidorus, a certeine Megarian fay, who likewise heard as much of Terpsion, that this spirit was nothing else but the sneeting either of himselfe, or of others about him; for if any one of his company fneefed on his right hand, whether he were before or behinde, it mattered not, then he enclined to doe that which he intended, and was presented into his minde; but if it were on the left hand, he gave over; and if it were himselfe that sneesed, when he was in doubt or suspense to doe, or not to doe a thing, he then was confirmed, and refolved to doe it; but if he hapned then to fneefe, when a thing was already begun, it staied him, and checked his inclination and purpose, to effect and finish the same. But 30 this is very strange, if it be true that he used this observation of sneefing, how he could say, unto his friends, that it was his familiar spirit, which either mooved him forward to doe a thing or drewhim backe from it: for this my good friend can not chuse but proceed from a foolish vanitie, and prefumptuous oftentation, and not of truth and franke fimplicitie, for which we esteeme this personage, to be very great and excellent above others, in case for some voice comming without foorth, or by reason of sneesing, he should be troubled and empeached in the continuance of an action which he had commenced already, and for clinquish his dessigne and deliberation : whereas it feemeth cleane contrary, that the motions and inclinations of $\mathcal{S}_{ heta}$ grates carried with them a firmitude and durable vehemence in whattoever he went about and undertooke, as proceeding from a direct and powerfull judgement, and from a strong motive 40 that let him on worke. For he continued voluntarily all his life time in povertie, whereas he might have had wealth enough, if he would have received at his friends hands fufficient, who were very willing, yea, and tooke joy to bestow their goods upon him: also he would never leave the studie and profession of Philosophie, for all the great hinderances and empeachments that he met withall s and finally, when he might eafily have escaped and faved himselfe, by the meanes that his friends had prepared and made for him, he would never be remooved, nor yeeld unto their praiers, nor defilt from his maner of merie and jefting speeches, though death were presented unto him, but held his reason firme and unremoveable in the greatest perill that was. These were not the parts of a man, who suffered himselfe to be transported or carried away with vaine voices, or fneefings, from any refolution which he had taken: but of him who was guided 30 and conducted by a greater command, and more puiffant power, unto his dutie. I heare also, that he foretold fome of his friends, the defeature and overthrow of the Athenians armie in Sicilie. And before these things, Pyrilampes the sonne of Antephon, being taken by us, in the chase and execution of victorie about Delion, and wounded with a javelin, when he heard by those who were fent from Athens unto us for to treat of peace, that Socrates together with Altibiades and Laches, being gone downe by the way of Rherifte, were returned in fafety, made report unto us, that Socrates had many times called him backe, & other of his friends, and of his

band, who flying with him for company, along the mountaine Parnes, were overtaken and killed by our horfemen, for that they had taken another way of flight from the battell, and notit, that he directed him unto by his angell or familiar spirit. And thus much I suppose that Simmias himselfe hath heard as well as I. True (quoth Simmias) I have heard it oftentimes, and of many persons, for upon this example and such like, the familiar spirit of Soerates was not a little spoken of in Ashens, Why suffer we then, o Simmias (quoth Phidolaus) this Galaxidorus here, by way of jest and meriment, to debase so much, this so great a worke of divination, as to passe it away in I wot not what voices and incefings: Which fignes the vulgar fort of ignorant persons made use of by jest and mockerie, in small matters, and of no consequence: for when the question is of more greevous dangers, and affaires of greater importance; the faying is verified 10 of Euripides:

Noman will play the foole, nor fuch vaine words Cast our, so neere the edge and dint of swords.

And Galaxidorus: It Simmias (quoth he) o Phidolaus, hath hard Socrates himselfe fay ought of these matters, I am willing to give care and to pardon him with you: but for any thing that you (ô Polymnis) have faid, an eafie matter it is to confute the fame: for like as in Physicke, the bea. ting of the pulse is no great matter in it selfe, nor a pimple or whelke : but signes they be both of no small things unto the Physician: and unto the pilot and master of a ship, the noise of these, the fight or voice of some bird, or a thin cloud running through the aire, fignifieth some great winde or violent tempest in the sea: even so unto a propheticall and divining minde, a freeling 20 or a voice spoken, in it selfe considered, is no such great matter, but signes these may be of most important accidents. For in no art nor science whatsoever, men doe despise the collection or judgement of many things by a few, nor of great matters by finall: but like as if an ignorant perfon, who knoweth not the power of letters, feeing them few in number, and in formevile and contemptible, could not believe that a learned man was able to read and relate out of them long warres in times past, the foundations of cities, the acts of mighty kings, and their variable fortunes; and should say that there were something underneath, which tolde and declared unto the said Historian, every one of those matters in order; he might give good occasionof laughter & pleafantly to deride his ignorance unto as many as hard him ipeake to : even to take heed and beware, left we (for that we know not the vertue and efficacy of every figne and foretoken, in as much as they prefage future things) be not foolifhly angred, if fome prudent and wife to many by the force fo man by the same signes foretell somewhat as touching things unknowen, and namely, if he say that it is not a voice nor a freefing, but a familiar spirit, which hath declared the same unto him. For now come I to you Polymnia, who effecme and admire Socrates as a personage, who by his plaine simplicity, without any counterfet vanity whatsoever, hath humanized as I may so say, Philosophy, and attributed it to humaine reason, if he called not his figne that he went by, a voice or freefing, but after a tragicall maner thould name it a spirit familiar. For contrativite, I would matvell rather that a man fo well spoken as Socrates was, fo eloquent, and who had all words for eady at command, should fay that it was a voice or a fneefing, and not a divine spirit that taught him: as if one should say that himselfe was wounded by an arrow, and not with an 40 arrow by him who shot it, or that a poise was weighed by the balance, and not with a balance, by him that held or managed the balance in his hand : for the worke dependent not upon the inftrument, but upon him who hath the instrument, and useth it for to doe the worke; and even to the instrument is a kinde of figure used by that, which doth figurify and prognosticate thereby. But as I have faid already, we must listen what Simmias will say, as the man who knoweth this matter more exactly than others doe. You fay true indeed (quoth Theoretias) but let us fee first, who they be that enter heere in place: and the rather because Epaminondas is one, who seemeth to bring with him hither unto us the stranger above faid. And when we looked all toward the gates, we might perceive Epaminondas indeed going before and leading the way, accompanied with Imenodorus, Bacchilidas and Melissus, the plaier upon the flute. The stranger followed af 50 ter, a man of a good and ingenious countenance to fee to, and who carried in his vilage great mildnesse and humanity, & besides went in his apparel very gravely and decently. Now when he had taken his place and was fet downe close unto Simmia, and my brother next unto me, and all the reft as every one thought good: after filence made, Simmias addrefting his speechunto my brother: Go to now Epaminondas, (quoth he) what stranger is this, from whence commeth he, and what may be his name ? for this is the ordinary beginning and usuall entrance to farther

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knowledge and acquaintance. His name (quoth my brother) is Theanor à Simmins : a man borne in the city Croton, one of them who in those parts professe Philosophy, and discrediteth not the glory of great Pythagoras: but is come hither from out of Italy, a long journey, to confirme by good works, his good doctrine and profession. But you Epaminondas your selfc (quoth the stranger then) hinder me from doing, of all good deeds, the best. For if it be an honest thing for a man to doe good unto his friends, dishonest it cannot be to receive good at their hands: for in thanks there is as much need of a receiver as of a giver, being a thing composed of them both, and tending to a vertuous worke : and he that receiveth not a good turne, as a tennis ball fairely fent unto him, different it much, fuffring it to fall short and light upon the ground. to For what marke is there that a man shooteth at which he is so glad to hit and so fory to misse, as this, that one worthy of a benefit & good turne, he either hath it accordingly, or faileth thereof unworthily? And yet in this comparison, he that there, in shooting at the marke which standeth fill, and miffeth it, is in fault; but heere, he who refuseth and flieth from it, is he that doth wrong and injury unto the grace of a benifit, which by his refufall, it cannot attaine to that which it tendeth unto. As for the causes of this my voiage hither, I have already shewed unto you; and defirous I am to rehearfe them againe unto thele gentlemen heere prefent, that they may be judges in my behalfe against you. When the colledges and societies of the Pythagorean Philosophers, planted in every city of our country, were expelled by the strong hand of the seditious faction of the Cyclonians, when those who kept still together were affembled and held a coun-20 fell in the city of Metapontine, the feditious fet the house on fire on every fide, where they were met: and burnt them altogether except Philolams and Lysis, who being yet yong, active and able of body, put the fire by and escaped through it. And Phylolaus being retired into the countrey of the Laconians, faved himfelfe among his friends, who began already to rally themfelves and grow to an head, yea, and to have the upper hand of the faid Cyclonians. As for Lyfis, long it was ere any man knew what was become of him, untill fuch time as Gorgias the Leontine being failed backe againe out of Greece into Sicelie, brought certeine newes unto Arcefue, that he had spoken with Lysis, and that he made his abode in the city of Thebes. Whereupon Arcesus minded incontinently to embarke and take the fea; fo defirous he was to fee the man: but finding himselfe for seeblenesse and age together, very unable to performe such a voiage, he 30 tooke order expresly upon his death bed with his friends to bring him over alive if it were possible into Italie, or at least wife, if haply he were dead before, to convey his bones and reliques over. But the warres, seditions, troubles and tyrannics that came betweene and were in the way, empeached those friends, that they could not (during his life) accomplish this charge that he had laied upon them: but after that, the spirit or ghost of Lysis now departed, appearing visibly unto us, gave intelligence of his death, and when report was made unto us, by them who knew the certaine trueth, how liberally he was entertained and kept with you, ô Polymnis, and namely, in a poore house, where he was held and reputed as one of the children, and in his old agerichly mainteined, and so died in blessed estate, I being a yoong man, was sent alone from many others of the ancient fort, who have store of money, and be willing to bestow the same 40 upon you who want it, in recompense of that great favor and gracious friendship of yours extended to him. As for Lysis, worshipfully he was enterred by you, and bestowed in an honourable sepulchre, but yet more honourable for him will be that controlle, which by way of recompense is given to his friend, by other friends of his and kinsfolke.

Whiles the stranger spake thus, the teares trickled downe my fathers checks, and he wept a good while for the remembrance of Lofts. But my brother smiling upon me, as his maner was: How shall we do now Caphifias, quoth he; shall we cast off and abandon our poverty for money, and fofay no more, but keepe filence ? In no wife (quoth I) let us not quit and for fake our olde friend, and fo good a fostresse of young tolke : but defend you it, for your turne it is now to speake. And yet I (quoth he) my father, feare not that our house is pregnable for money, un-50 leffeit be in regard onely of Caphifias, who may feeme to have some need of a faire robe, to shew himselfe brave and gallant unto those that make love unto him, who are in number so many, as also of plenty of viands and food, to the end that he may endure the toile and travell of bodily exercises and combats which he must abide in the wrestling schooles. But seeing this other heere, of whom I had more diffrust, doth not abandon povertie, nor rafeth out the hereditary indigence of his father and house, as a tincture and unseemly staine; but although he be yet a yoong man, reputeth himselfe gaily set out and adorned with frugality, taking a pride therein,

touching

and resting contented with his present fortunes: Wherein should we any more employ our gold and filver, if we had it, and what use are we to make of it? What, would you have us to gild our armor, and cover our fhields as Nicias the Athenian did, with purple and gold intermingled therewith? And shall we buy for you, father, a faire mantle of the fine rich cloth of Milerus, and for my mother, a trim coat of scarlet coloured with purple ? For furely we will never abuse this present, in pampering our bellie, in feasting our selves, and making more sumptuous cheere than ordinary, by receiving riches into our house as a costly and chargeable guest? Fie upon that , my fonne (quoth my father) God forbid I should ever see such a change in mine house, Why (quoth he againe) we will not fit still in the house, keeping riches with watch and ward idle: for so the benefit were not beneficiall, but without all grace, and the possession thereof dishono- 10 rable. To what end then shall we receive it, quoth my father. It seemed of late (quoth Epani. nondas) unto Jajon a captaine of the Theffalians, that I made him an uncivill and rufticall anfwere, when he fent hither a great masse of gold, and requested me to take it as a gift: for I charged him plainly, that he did me great wrong, and began to picke a quarrell with me, in that he affeeting and affiring to a monarchie, came with money to tempt & folicit me a plaine citizen, of a free city, and living under the lawes. But as for you fir, who are come unto us as a stranger, I approove your good will, for it is honest, vertuous and beseeming a Philosopher, yea, and I love and embrace it fingularly well : but this I must needs fay unto you, that you bring medicines and physickedrogues to men that are not sicke and aile nothing. Like as therefore, if you hearing that our enemies warred upon us, were come to bring us harneffe, armes and weapons as 20 well defensive as offensive for our succour; and being arrived and landed in these parts, should finde all quiet, and that we lived in peace and amitie with our neighbours, you would not thinke that ye ought to give or leave the faid armes among them that had no need nor defire thereof: even so, come you are to aide us against povertie, as if we were afflicted and distressed thereby: but it is cleane contrary, for we can beate it with eafe, and well content we are to have it dwell with us still in the house: and therefore we feele no want either of money or munition, against her that doth us no displeasure. But this message you shall cary backe unto your fellowes and brethren in the same profession beyond sea, that as they use their goods and riches most honestly and in the best maner, so they have friends here also, that can make use of their poverty as well. Now for the keeping, funerals & sepulture of $L\eta fis$, he hath himselfe sufficiently paied us there z_0 fore and discharged all, in that among many other good instructions, he taught us, not to be afraid of povertie, nor to take it in ill part. To this, Theanor replied in this maner : Doethit (I pray you) bewray a base minde and want of courage, to seare povertie? and is it not as abfurd and as great a default in judgement, to dread and eschue riches? in case (I say) a man, not upon any found reason, but for outward disguised shew, and in a soolish humor of vanitie, result and reject it. And what reason is there, to disswade and debarre the getting and possession of goods, by all just and honest meanes, as Epaminondas useth? But rather, for asmuch as you are ready enough in your answeres, as appeareth by that which you made as touching this point, unto Jason the Theffalian, I demand of you first, Epaminondas, whether you thinke any kinde of giving money to be just and lawfull; but no maner of taking? or that simply, both givers and ta-40 kers do offend and finne? Not fo, quoth Epaminondas: but of this opinion I am, that as of other things, so of riches likewife, there is one giving and possessing, that is civill and honest; and another, dishonest and shamefull. Well then, quoth Theaner; what say you of him who giveth willingly and with a good heart, that which he ought: doeth he not give it well? Theother granted and confessed it. Go to then, quoth Theanor, he who receiveth that which is given well and honeftly, doth he not take it honeftly also? or can there be a more just and lawfull taking of money, than that which is received of him who giveth righteously ? I suppose (quoth Epaminonaas) there can not be. Betweene two friends therefore (quoth he) ô Epaminonaas, if the one may give, the other likewife may justly take: for in battels I confesse, a man ought to turne away and decline from that enemie of whom he hath received some pleasure; but in the case of bene-50 fits and good turnes, it is neither feemly nor honest, either to avoid or to reject that friend that giveth well and honeftly. No intrueth, quoth Epaminondas; but you are to confider with us, thus much, That there being in us many lusts and defires, and those of fundry things; some are naturall and (as they fay) inbred, budding and breeding in our flesh and about our bodies, for the enterteinment of those pleasures which be necessary; others be strangers, proceeding from vaine opinions, which gathering strength and force by tract of time and long custome in bad

nouriture, grow to fuch an head, that many times they plucke downe and holde our foules in subjection more forcibly and with greater violence, than doe those naturall before said. Now reason, by good use and vertuous exercise, ministreth meanes, that a man may draw away and frend many of those very passions which are inbred within us; but he had need to employ all the power and strength of custome and exercise against those other concupiscences which be foreners and come from without forth, for to confume, cut off and chaftice them, by all means of repressions and retentions that be reasonable. For if the resistance which reason maketh against the appetite of eating and drinking, forceth many times and conquereth both hunger and thirst; far more casse is it, to cut off avarice and ambition, by forbearing and absteining those to things which the fame do covet, fo farre forth, as in the end they will be difcomfitted and fubdued. How fay you, thinke you not that it is so? The stranger confessed no lesse. See you not then, quoth he againe, that there is a difference betweene an exercise, and the worke unto which the exercise is addressed? And like as of the art which teacheth how to exercise the body, a man may fay, that the worke is the emulation, strife and contention to win the prize of the crowne against the concurrent or adversarie; but the exercise thereof, is the preparation that the champion makes, for to have his body apt, nimble and active thereto by continual trials of mafteries: even so you will grant, that a difference there is betweene vertue and the exercise of vertue. The stranger faid yea unto it. Then tell me first and formost, quoth he, To absteine from vile, filthy and unlawfull lufts, what thinke you, is it an exercise unto continency, or rather the very worke 20 it felfe, and proofe of continency? The very worke and proofe, I take it to be, quoth he againe: and the exercise and accustomance to sobriety, temperance and continency, is not that which you all practife, when after you have travelled your bodies, and like brute beafts provoked your appetites, you fit downe to meat, and there continue a long time, having your tables before you furnished with exquisit viands of all forts, but touch not one dish, leaving them afterwards for your fervants to engarge themselves therewith and make merry; when you the while present fome little thing, and that plaine and fimple, unto your appetites, which are already dulled and quenched: for the abstinence from pleasures and delights permitted, is it not an exercise against such as are forbidden ? Yes verily, quoth the stranger. There is then (quoth he) my friend, a certeine exercise of justice against avarice and coverousnesse of money; and that is 20 not, to forbeare in night feason to rob and spoile our neighbours houses, or to strip passengers out of their clothes: no, nor if a man doe not betray his countrey or friends for a piece of money, is he truely faid to inure and exercise himselfe against avarice: for haply the law and scare doth bridle and restraine his covetous desire from doing wrong or hurt to another: but he, who many times absteineth from taking just gaines, and such as are granted and permitted himby the lawes, he willingly exercifeth and woonteth himfelfe to keepe farre from any unjust and unlawfull taking of money. For neither is it possible, that in great pleasures, and those wicked and pernicious, the foule should conteine herselfe from the appetite thereof, if many times before, being in full libertie to enjoy them, the did not despite the same: nor easie for a man to paffe over & contemne wicked takings & great gaines prefented, who long before hath not chastisfed and tamed his covetous defire to have and gaine, which by other habitudes enough is nourished & bred up impudently & without all shame to lucre: for it swelleth againe, & ispuffed up with injuffice, fo as hardly & with much ado it can absteine fro doing outrage to 40 any one, for to win private profit therby: but never will it affault a personage who hath not abandoned & given himselfe over to receive gifts & largesses of his friends, or to take presents & rewards of kings, but hath renouced the very benefits allotted unto him by fortune: who also hath retired & removed himselfe far from avarice, and a leaping defire after a treasure discovered and feen: It will never (I fay) tempt him to commit any injustice, nor trouble his thoughts & cogitations: but fuch an one, wil quietly and peaceably frame himselfe to do that which is honest, as having his heart more hauty, than to stoupe to law, and being privy to himselse of all good 50 things fetled in his foule. Loe, what men they be, upon whom Caphissias and my selse be enamoured: and this is the reason friend Simmias, why we request this honest gentleman heere, the stranger, to suffer us to be sufficiently exercised in povertie, that we may attaine unto such vertue. After that my brother had finished this speech, Simmias having twise or thrice nodded with his head: A great man no doubt (quoth he) is this Epammondas, and a verie great man indeed: and well may be thanke his good father heere Polymnis for all; who from the first beginning, hath given his children the best education and bringing up in Philosophie: but as Kkkkk

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touching these matters, agree and accord with them, good stranger and friend. As for you Lyfias, let me demaund of you (if we may be so bold, as to heare and know of you) whether you purpose to remoove him out of his sepulchre, and so transport him over into Italy? or rather to leave him behinde you, to tary among his friends and wel-willers, who no doubt will be glad of us to lodge with him, when we shall be there. Thesner smiling upon him: It seemeth Simmias (quoth he) that Lifts liketh well of the place where he is, and is not willing to remoove, for that he had no want of any good things heere, by the meanes of Epaminondus: for there be certeine particular facred ceremonies, which we observe in the sepulture of our fellow profeffours in this confraternitic of the Pythagoreans, which if they have not when they bedead, me thinke they have not atteined to that happy end which we defire. When as there to forewe knew by dreames, that Lysis was departed this life (for we have an infallible figne, appearing unto us in our fleepe, whereby we can difcerne whether it be the ghoft and image of one alive or dead) many had this conceit, that being departed in a forren and farre countrey, he had beene otherwise enterred than he ought, and therefore we were to translate him from thence where he was, to the end, that being transported, he might have the due service, and accultomed obsequies belonging to our societie. Being therefore come with this minde and cogitation into these parts, and incontinently conducted by those of this country to his sepulchre; about the evening I powred out the libaments for mortuaries, for to call footh his spirit, that it might come and instruct me how I might proceed in this action: and this last night passed, I saw nothing; but me thought I heard a voice saying unto me: That I should not re- 20 move that which ought not to be stirred; because the corps of Lysis had beene by his friends in holy maner enterred, and his foule having her dome already, had her conge and pasport to go unto another generation and nativity, accompanied and coupled with another dæmon, And verily this morning when I had conferred with Epaminondas, and heard the maner how he had buried Lysis, I understood that he himselfe had beene instructed by him, in the most secret points of our religion, and how he used the same spirit or dæmon for the guidance of his life, unleffe I be so unexpert, that I cannot conjecture what the pilot is by his maner of navigation: for broad be the waies of this life, but few they are, which these angels doe direct and lead men in. When Theaner had thus faid, he cast his eie upon Epaminondas, as if once againe he would behold his nature and maners, by the infoiration of his countenance and vifage. And 30 hecreupon came in the Physician, and loofed the band wherewith Simmias his wound was bound up, as purposing to dreffe him. Then Phyllidas who came in afterwards with Hipposities nidas, willing me and Charon, and Theocritus to arife, drew us apart into a certeine corner or angle of the porch, woonderfully troubled as it might feeme by his countenance. With that, I fpake unto him and faid: What newes Phyllidas? No newes Caphifias (quoth he to me) for I forefaw my felfe, and foretold you as much, namely, the flackneffe and cowardife of Hippofhenidas, requelling you not to communicate unto him your enterprise, nor admit him into your company. Now whiles we were much amazed and aftonied at these words: Say not so good Phyllidas (quoth he) for gods fake; neither be you a cause both of our undoing and of the ruine of this city, by thinking rathnesse to be hardinesse: but have patience, and suffer these men to 40 returne in safetie, in case it be so by fatall destiny appointed. Phyllidas being chased heerewith, and fet in a choler: Tell me (quoth he) Hippost hemdas, how many thinke you be privy to our secrets in this delignment? I know my felfe (quoth he) to the number of thirty at the least. If there be fo many (quoth he) how commeth it to paffe, that you onely croffe and gainlay, yea, and hinder that which hath beene concluded and agreed upon by usall? and to this purpose have dispatched a light-horseman, to ride in posteunto the banished persons, (who had put themselves in their journey hitherward) charging them to returne backe, and that in no wife they should goe forward this day? considering that the most part of those things which went to this journey, fortune it selfe had procured & prepared fit for their hands ? upon these words of Phyllidas, we were all much troubled and perplexed: but Charon about the reft, fastining his cic 50 upon Hippofthenidas, and that with a fowre and sterne countenance: Most wicked wretch that thou art, quoth he, what halt thou done unto us? No harme, faid Hippofthemidas, in cafe, leaving this curft & angrie voice of yours, you can be content and have patience, to heare and underftand the reasons of a man as aged as your selfe, and having as many gray haires as you have: for if this be the point, to thew unto our fellow citizens how hardy and couragious we are, that we make no reckoning of our lives, and care not for any perill of death, feeing we have day

enough Phyllidas, let us never stay for the darke evening, but prefently, and immediately from this place run upon the tyrants with our fwords drawen, let us kill and flay, let us die upon them, and make no spare of our selves: for it is no hard matter to do and suffer all this: many to deliver the citie of Thebes out of the hands of fo many armed men as hold it, to differze and expell the gatifon of the Spattanes, with the murder of two or three men, is not fo eafle a thing, (for Phylida hath not provided fo much wine for his feaft and banquet, as will be fufficient to make fifteene hundred fouldiers of Archine guard drunken: and fay we had killed him, yet Crippiday and Arcefus, are ready at night, both of them fober enough to keepe the corps du quard) why make wee fuch hafte then, to draw our friends into an evident and certaine danger of to prefent death, especially, seeing withall, that our enemies be in some fort advertised of their comming and approach; for if it were not fo, why was there commandement given by them to those of Thespie, for to be in their armes upon the third day, which is this, and readie to goe with the Lacedæmonian captaines, whenfoever they gave commandement? And as for Amphilhem, this very day as I understand, after their judiciall proceeding against him, they minded to put to death, upon the comming of Archies. And are not these pregnant prefumptions, that the plot and enterprise is to them discovered ? Were it not better then to deferre the execution of our defignments a while longer, untill fuch time as the gods be reconciled and appealed? for our divinors and wifards having facrificed a beefe unto deres, pronounce that the fire of the factifice denounceth fome great fedition and danger to the common weale: and that which you 20 Charon particularly ought to take good heed of is this: Yesterday, and no longer since, Hippathedores the forme of Erianthes, a man otherwise of good fort, and one who knowed nothing at all of our enterprite, had this speech with me : Charon is your familiar triend, Hope Chanday, but with me not greatly acquainted; advertise him therefore, if you thinke so good, that he beware and looke to himfelfe, in regard of some great danger & strange accident that is toward him: for the last night, as I dreamed, methought I saw that his boule was in travell as it were of childe; that he and his friends being themselves in distresse, praied unto the gods for her delivery, ftanding round about her during her labour and painfull travell; but she seemed to loow and rore, yea, and to cast out certains inarticulate voices, untill at the last there issued out of itamightie fire, wherewith a great part of the citie was immediately burnt, and the callie 30 Cadmea covered all over with smoke onely, but no part of the sire ascended thereto. Loe, what the vision was, which this honest man related unto me, Charon: which I affaire you, for the prefent, fet me in a great quaking and trembling; but much more when I once heard fay, that this day the exiled persons were to returne and be lodged here within an house of the citie. In great anguish therefore I am, and in a wonderfull agonie, for feare least we engage our selves within a world of calamities and miferies, without being able to execute any exploit of importance upon our enemies, unleffe it be to make a garboile, and fet all on a light fire: for I suppose that the citie when all is done, will be ours, but Cadinea the castle as it is already, will be for them. Then Theorites taking upon him to fpeake, and staying Charon who was about to reply somewhat against this Hipposthemdas: I interpret all this (quothhe) cleane contrary: for there is 40 not a figne that confirmeth memore in following of this enterprise (aithough I have had alwaies good prefages in the behalfe of the banished, in all the facrifices that I have offred) than this vision which you have rehearfed: if it be so as you say, that a great and light fire shone over all the citie, and the fame arising out of a friends house, and that the habitation of our enemies, and the place of their retreat was darkned and made blacke againe with the fmoke, which never brings with it any thing bettet than teares and troublefome confusion: and whereas from among us there arose inarticulate voices, (in case a man should construct it in evill part, and take exception thereat, in regard of the voice) the fame will be when our enterprife, which now isenfolded in obscure, doubtfull, and uncerteine suspicion, thall at once both appeere, and alfoprevaile: as for the ill fignes of the facrifices, they touch not the publike state, but those who 50 now are most powerfull and in greatest authoritie. As Theocritus thus was speaking yet still, I faid unto Hipposthemidas: And whom I pray you have you fent unto the men? for if he be not too farre onward on his way, we will fend after to overtake him. I am not able to fay of a trueth Caphistas, whether it be possible to reach him, (quoth Hipposthemelas) for he hath one of the best horses in all Thebes under him; and a man he is, whom yee all know very well, for he is the mafter of Melons chariots, and his chariot men, one unto whom Melon himselie from the very first discovered this plot, and made privie unto it. With that, I confidering and thinking Kkkkk 2

with my felfe what man he should speake of : It is not Chliden (quoth I)ô Hipposthemdas, he who no longer fince than the last yeere, wanne the prise in the horse running, at the solemne feast of Juno? The same is the man quoth he. Who then is he whom I have seene this long while stan. ding at the hall doore and looking full upon us? It is Chlidon himselfe I affure you quoth he. Now by Hercules I sweare, could any thing have hapned woorse? And with that, the man perceiving how we looked upon him, approched faire and fofuly from the dore unto us. Then Hippofthenidas beckned unto him, and nodded with his head, as willing him to speake unto us all, for that there was no danger because they were all honest men, and of our side. I know them all well enough quoth he, (Hipposthenidas) and not finding you at home nor in the market place. I gueffed by and by that you were gone toward them, and therefore I made as great hafte as I to could hither, to the end that you might not be ignorant of all things how they goe : For fo foone as you commanded me in all speed to meet with our banished citizens in the forest. I went prefently to my house for to take horse, & called unto my wife for my bridle, but she could not give it me; and to mend the matter, staied a great while in the chamber or store-house where fuch things use to be: now after the had made a feeking & puddering in every corner within the roome, & could not find it, at length when the had plaid long enough with me, & made a foole of me, the confessed & told me plainly, that the had lent it forth to one of our neighbors, whose wife the evening before came to borrow it of her : whereupon I was in a great chafe, and gave her fome curst words; but she like a shrew, paied me with as good as I lent her, and madeno more adoe, but curfed me in abominable tearmes, withing my forth going might be unhappie, 20 and my home comming worle: which execrations I pray god may all light upon her owne head. To be thort, the provoked me to farre, that in my choler I dealt her fome blowes for her threwd tongue: with that comes out a number of the neighbors and women especially, where after I had given and taken one for another with shame inough, at last with much adoe I got away from them and came hither to pray you for to fend fome other messenger to the partics you wor of: for I affure you at this prefent I am so much out of temper that I am not mine owne man, but in maner befide my felfe. This wrought in us all a mervellous alteration of our wils and affections: For whereas a little before wewere offended that our designments were croffed, and their comming impeached, now againe upon this fudden occurrence & the shortnes of time, which allowed us no leafure to put of, & to procraftinate the matter, we were driven 30 into an agony and fearefull perplexity. Howbeit fetting a good countenance upon the matter, fpeaking also cheerefully unto Hippojthenidas, and taking him frendly by the hand, I encouraged him, and gave him to understand, that the very gods themselves seconded our intentions and invited us to the execution of the enterprise. This done, Phyllidas went home to his house for to give order about his feast, and withall to draw on Archias to drinke wine liberally and to make mery : Chai on departed also to make ready his house for the intertainment of the banished men, against their returne. Meane while Theocritus and I went against to Simmias: to the end that finding some good occasion and opportunity for the purpose, we might talke with Epaminondas againe, who was well entred already into a prety question, which Galaxidorus and Phidolaw a little before had begun, demanding of what fubitance, nature and puiffance was the fa- 40 miliar spirit of Socrates, so much spoken of? Now what Simmias had alledged against Galaxido. rus upon this point, we hard not: mary thus much he faid, that when he demanded upon a time of Socrates himselfe concerning the faid matter, he never could get of him any answer, & therefore he never after would aske him the question, but he said, that oftentimes he had bene present when Socrates gave out that he reputed those men for vaine persons, who said they had seene with their cie any divine power, and so communed therewith: but contrariwise that he could hold better with those, who said they tooke knowledge of such a thing by hearing a voice, speaking unto one that gave attentive care thereto, or earnestly enquired thereof: whereupon he set our heads on worke when we were apart by our felves, and made us to gueffe and conjecture, that this damon of Socrates, was no vision, but a sense of some voice, and an intelligence of so words, which came unto him, by an extraordinary maner. Like as in our dreames, it is not a voice indeed that men heare lying fast asleepe, but the opinion of some words that they thinke they heare pronounced: but this intelligence of dreames commeth in truth, to men alleepe, by reason of the repose and tranquillity of the body: whereas they that be awake cannot heare, but very hardly, these divine advertisements, being troubled and disquieted with tumultuous passions, and the distraction of their affaires, by occasion whereof they cannot wholy yeeld their

minde and thought to heare the revelations that the gods deliver unto them. Now Socrates having a pure and cleare understanding not tossed and turmoiled with any passions nor mingled with the body, unleffe it were very little, for things necessary and no more, was calle to be touched, and so subtile that soone it might be altered with whatsoever was objected and prefer. ted to it: now that which met with it, we may conjecture that it was not fimply a voice or found, but a very articulate speech of his damon, which without any audible voice touched the intellectuall part of his foule, together with the thing that it declared and revealed unto him. For the voice relembleth a blow or stroke given unto the foule, which by the eates is constrained to receive speech, when we speake one unto another: but the intelligence or understanding to of a divine and better nature, leadeth and conducteth a generous minde by a thing that canfeth itto understand without need of any other stroake : and the same minde or soule obeieth and veeldeth thereto accordingly, as it either flaketh loofe or stretcheth hard the instincts and inclinations, not violently by refiftance which the paffions make, but fupple and pliable, as flacke and gentle raines. And hereof we shall not need to make any wonder, considering that we see how little helmes turne about and winde the greatest hulks and caraques that be: and againe the wheeles that potters use, being never so little touched with the hand, turne very easily : for although they be inftruments without life, yet being as they are counterpeifed and framed even on every fide, by reason of their polithed smoothnesse, they are apt to stirre and yeeld unto the mooving cause with the least moment that is. Now the soule of man being bent and stretched 20 out fliffe with innumerable inclinations as it were with fo many cords, both more agility than all the ingins or instruments in the world, if a man hath the skill to manage and handle it with reafon, after it hath taken once a little motion, that it may bend to that which conceived it: for the beginnings of inflincts and paffions, tend all to this intelligent and conceiving part, which being stirred and shaken, it draweth, pulleth, stretcheth and haleth the whole man: Wherein we are given to understand, what force and power hath the thing that is entred into the conceit and intelligence of the minde. For bones are fenfeleffe, the finewes and flesh full of humors, and the whole maffe of all these parts together, heavie and ponderous, lying still without some motions: but fo foone as the foule putteth fomewhat into the understanding, and that the same moveth the inclinations thereto, it frarteth up and rifeth all at once, and being stretched in all 30 parts, runneth a maine, as if it had wings into action. And so the maner of this moving, direction, and promptitude, is not hard, and much leffe, impossible to comprehend: whereby the foule, hath no fooner understood any object, but it draweth presently with it, by instincts and inclinations, the whole maffe of the body. For like as reason conceived and comprised without any voice, moveth the understanding: even so in mine opinion, it is not such an hard matter, but that a more divine intelligence and a foule more excellent, should draw another inferior to it, touching it from without, like as one speech or reason may touch another, and as light, the reflection of light: For we in tructh, make our conceptions and cogitations known one to another, as if we touched them in the darke, by meanes of voice: but the intelligences of Dx. mons having their light, doe shine unto those who are capable thereof, standing in need 40 neither of nownes nor verbs which men use in speaking one to the other, by which markes they fee the images and refemblances of the conceptions and thoughts of the minde: but the very intelligences & cogitations indeed they know not, unleffe they be fuch as have a fingular and divine light, as we have already faid: and yet that which is performed by the ministery of the voice, doth in some fort helpe and satisfie those who otherwise are incredulous. For the aire being formed and stamped as it were by the impression of articulate sounds, and become throughout, all speech and voice, carieth a conception and intelligence into the minde of the heater: and therefore according to this fimilitude and reason, what marvell is it if that also which is conceived by these superior natures altereth the aire, and if the aire being by reason of that quallity which it hath, apt to receive impressions, signifieth unto excellent men and such as 50 have a rare and divine nature, the speech of him who hath conceived ought in is minde? For like as the ftroks that light upon targuits or sheelds of brasse, be heard a farre off, when they proceed from the bottome in the mids within, by reason of the resonance and rebound: whereas the blowes that fall upon other sheelds are drowned and dispersed, so as they be not heard at al: even fo the words or speeches of Dæmons and spirits, although they be carried and flie to the cates of all indifferently, yet they refound to those onely, who are of a settled and staied nature, and whose toules are at quiet, such as we call divine and celestiall men. Now the vulgar fort Kkkkk 3

have an opinion, that some Dæmon doth communicate a kinde of divinitie unto men in their fleepes: but they thinke it strange and a miracle incredible, if a man should say unto them, that the gods doe move and affect them semblably when the be awake, and have the full use of reafon : As if a man should thinke that a musician may play well upon his harpe or lute, when all the strings be flacked and let downe: but when the faid instruments be set in tune, and have their strings fet up, he cannot make any found, nor play well thereupon. For they consider not the cause which is within them, to wit, their discord, trouble and confusion, whereof our familiar friend Socrates was exempt, according as the oracle prophefied of him before, which during his infancie was given unto his father : for by it, commanded he was, to let him doe all that came into his minde, and in no wife either to force or divert him, but to fuffer the instinct and nature of the child to have the reines at large, by praying onely unto Jupiter Agoraus that is to fay e. loquent, and to the Mules for him: and farther than fo, not to bufie himfelfe nor to take care for Socrates, as if he had within him a guide and conductor of his life better than ten thouland mafters and padagogues. Thus you fee, Philolaus, what our opinion and judgement is as touching the Dæmon or familiar spirit of Socrates both living and dead, as who reject these voices, fneefings and all fuch fooleries. But what we have hard Timarchus of Charoneato dif. course of this point, I wot not well whether I were best to utter and relate the same, for search forme would thinke, that I loved to tell vaine tales. Not fo quoth Theoritim, but I pray you be for good as to rehearle the fame unto us: For albeit fables doe not very well expresse the trueth, vet in some fort they reach thereto. But first tell us, who this Timarchus was? For I neverknew the man. And that may well be ô Simmiss (quoth Theoritus) for he died when he was very yong, and requested carnelly of Socrates to be buried, nere unto Lamprocles Socrates his sonne who departed this life but few daies before, being a deere friend of his, and of the fame age, Now this yong gentleman, being very defirous (as he was of a generous disposition, and had newly tasted the sweetnesse of Philosophy) to know what was the nature and power of Socrates familiar spirit, when he had imparted his mind and purpose unto me only and Cebes, went downeinto the cave or vault of Trophonius, after the usuall facrifices and accustomed complements due to that oracle performed: where having remained two nights and one day, infomuch as many men were out of all hope that ever he would come forth againe, yea and his kinsfolke and frends bewailed the loffe of him, one morning betimes he iffued forth very glad and jocand : Andafter 30 he had given thanks unto the god and adored him, so soone as he was gotten through the presse of the multitude, who expected his returne, he recounted uuto us, many wonders strange tobe heard and scene: for he said, that being descended into the place of the oracle, he first met with much darknes, & afterwards when he had made his praiers, he lay a long time upon the ground, neither knew he for certaine whether he was awake, or dreamed all the while? Howbeit, he thought that he heard a noise which light upon his head, and finot it, whereby the sutures or feanes thereof were disjoined and opened, by which he yeelded forth his foule; which being thus separat, was very joious, seeing it selfe mingled with a transparent & pure aire. And this was the first time that it seemed to breathe at liberty, as if long time before untill then, it had beene drawen in and pent, for then it became greater and larger than ever before, in maner of a faile 40 fpred and displaied to the full. Then he supposed that he heard (though not cleerely and perfeetly) as it were a noise or found turning round about his head, and the same yeelding asweet and pleafant voice. And as he then looked behinde him he could fee the earth no more, but the Ifles all bright and illuminate with a mild and delicate fire, and those exchanged their places one with another, and withall, received fundry colours, as it were divers tinctures, according as in that variety of change the light did alter: and they all feemed unto him in number infinite, and in quantity exceffive: and albeit they were not of equal pourprise and extent, yet round they were all alike: alfo, to his thinking, by their motion which was circular, the skie refounded, because unto the uniforme equality of their mooving, the pleasant sweetnesse of the voice and harmonic composed and resulting of them all, was correspondent and conformable. 50 Amid these Islands there seemed a sea or great lake diffused and spred, shining with divers mixt colours, upon a ground of grey or light blew. Moreover, of these Isles some few failed as one would fay, and were caried a direct course downe the water beyond the current; but others, and those in number many, went aside out of the chanell, and were with such a violence drawen backe, that they feemed to be swallowed under the waves. Now this sea or lake, was (as hee thought) very deepe toward the South; but on the North fide full of shelves and shallow flats;

in many places it swelled and overflowed the land; in others it retired and gathered in, as much for it againe, and arose not to any high tides: as for the colour, in some place it was simple and fea-like; in another, not pure, but troubled and confused with mud, like unto a meere or lake. As concerning the force of the waves about these liles which are caried together, the same bringeth them backe a little, but never conjoineth the end to the beginning: fo as they make at no time a circle entire and perfect, but gently divert the application and meeting of their ends, fo as in their revolution they winde in and out, and make one crooked obliquity. To the mids of thefe, and toward the greatest part of the ambient aire, is enclined the sea, somewhat lesse than eight parts of the univerfall continent, as he thought. And the fame fea hath two mouthes or to entrances, whereby it receiveth two rivers of fire breaking into it, opposite one to the other, in fuch fort, as the blewneffe thereof became whitifh, by reason that the greatest part was repelled anddriven backe. And these things he said, that he beheld with much delight. But when he came to looke downward, he perceived a mighty huge hole or gulfe all round, in maner of an hollow globe cut thorow the mids, exceeding deepe and horrible to fee to, full of much darkeneffe, and the same not quiet and still, but turbulent and often times boiling and walming upward, out of which there might be heard innumerable roarings and gronings of beafts, cries and wrawlings of an infinite number of children, with fundry plaints and lamcintations of men andwomen together, befides many noifes, tumults, clamors and outcries of all forts, and those not cleere, but dull and dead, as being fent up from a great depth underneath, wherewith he was an notalittle terrified, untill fuch time as after a good while, there was one whom he faw not, who faid thus unto him, O Timarchus, What is your defire to know? Who made answere: Even all, for what is there here, not admirable? True, quoth he; but as for us, litle have we to do, & a fmall portion in those superiour regions, because they apperteine to other gods: but the division of Proferpina being one of the foure, and which we dispose and governe, you may see if you will, howitisbounded with Styx. And when he demanded againe of him, what Styx was : It is (quoth he) the way which leadeth unto hell and the kingdome of Plate, dividing two contrary natures of light and darkneffe with the head and top thereof; for as you fee, it beginneth from the bottome of hell beneath, which it toucheth with the one extremity, and reacheth with the other to the light all about, and so limiteth the utmost part of the whole world, divided into 30 four regiments. The first, is that of life; the second, of moving; the third, of generation; and the fourth, of corruption. The first, is coupled to the second, by unity, in that which is not vifible; the fecond, to the third, by the minde or intelligence, in the Sun; the third, to the fourth, by nature, in the Moone. And of every one of these copulations, there is a friend, or Destiny the daughter of Necessity, that keepeth the key. Of the first, she that is named Arropos, as one would fay, Inflexible; of the fecond, Clotho, that is to fay, the Spinfler; of the third in the Moon, Luchefis, that is to fay, Lot, about which is the bending of geniture or nativity. As for all the other Isles, they have gods within them; but the Moone apperteining to the terrestrial Damons, avoideth the confines of Styx, as being fomewhat higher exalted, approching once only in an hundred seventie seven second measures: and upon the approach of this precinct of Siyx, 40 the foules cry out for feare. And why ? hell catcheth and fwalloweth many of them, as they glide and flip about it: and others, the Moone receiveth and taketh up, twimming from beneath unto her; fuch I meane, as upon whom the end of generation fell in good and opportune time, all fave those which are impure and polluted: for them, with her searefull flashing and hideous roaring, the fuffereth not to come neere unto her; who feeing that they have miffed of their intent, bewaile their wofull state, and be caried downe againe as you see, to another generation and nativity. Why, quoth Timarchus, I fee nothing but a number of starres leaping up and downe about this huge and deepe gulfe, some drowned and swallowed up in it, others appearing againe from below. These be (quoth he) the daemons, that you see, though you know them not. And marke withall, how this comes about. Every foule is endued with a portion of minde or under-50 standing; and of man, there is not one void of reason: but looke how much thereof is mingled with flesh and with passions, being altered with pleasures and dolours, it becommets unreasonable. But every foule is not mixed after one fort, one as much as another; for fome are wholly plunged within the bodie, and being troubled and disquieted with passions, runne up and downe all their life time: others partly are mingled with the flesh, and in part leave out that which is most pure, and not drawen downward to the contagion of that grosse part, but remaineth swimming and floating as it were aloft, touching the top or crowne onely of mans head: (whereas the rest is depressed downward to the bottome, and drowned there) and is in maner of a cord hanging up aloft just over the soule which is directly and plumbe under, to upholde and raise it up, so fattee forth as it is obeisant thereto, and not overruled and swaied with passions and perturbations; for that which is plunged downe within the bodie, is called the soule; but that which is entire and uncorrupt, the vulgar fort callest the understanding, supposing it to be within them as in mirrours that which apppeareth by way of reslexion: but those that judge aright and

according to the trueth, name it Damon, as being cleane without them.

These stars then which you see as if they were extinct and put out, imagine and take them to be the foules which are totally drowned within bodies : and fuch as feeme to thine out againe. and to returne lightfome from beneath, calling and shaking from them a certeine darke & fog. 10 gy milt, as if it were fome filth and ordure, effective the fame to be fuch foules, as after death are retired and escaped out of the bodies: but those which are mounted on high and move to and fro in one uniforme course throughout, are the Dæmons or spirits of men, who are said to have intelligence and understanding. Endevour now therefore and straine your selfe to see the connexion of each one, whereby it is linked and united to the foule. When I heard this, I began to take more heed, and might fee flarrs leaping and floting upon the water, some more, some leffe. like as we observe pieces of corke, shewing in the sea where fishers nets have beene cast : and fome of them turned in maner of spindles or bobins, as folke spin or twist therewith, yet drawing a troubled and unequall course and not able to direct and compose the motion straight. And the voice faid that those which held on a right course and order by motion, were they whose 20 foules were obeifant to the raines of reason, by the meanes of good nurture and civilleducation, and fuch as thewednot upon the earth their beaftly, groffe and favage brutishnesse: but they that eftfoones rife and fall up and downe unequally and diforderly, as ftruggeling to breake our of their bounds, are those which strive against the yoke, with their disobedient and rebellions maners, occasioned by want of good bringing up, one while getting the mailtry and bringing them about to the right hand, another while curbed by paffions and drawen away by vices, which notwithstanding they refist another time againe, and with great force strive to withstand. For that bond which in maner of a bridle-bit is put into the mouth as it were of the brutilh and unreasonable part of the soule, when it pulleth the same backe, bringeth that which they call repentance of fins, & the shame after unlawfull and prohibited pleasures, which is a griefe and re- 30 morfe of the foule restrained and brideled by that which governeth and commandethit, untill fuch time asbeing thus rebuked and chaftifed, it become obedient and tractable like unto a beaft made tame without beating or tormenting, as quickely and readily conceiving the fignes and markes which the Damon Theweth. Thefetherefore, at the last (long and late though it be) are ranged to the rule of reason. But of such as are obedient at the first, and presently from their very nativity hearken unto their proper Dæmon, are all the kind of prophets and divinors, who have the gift to foretell things to come, likewise holy and devout men: Of which number you have hard how the foule of Hermodorus the Clazomenian, was wont to abandon his body quite, and both by day and night to wander into many places: and afterwards to returne into it againe, having beene present the while to heare and see many things done and said a farreoff: 40 which it used so long, untill his enimies by the treachery of his wife, surprised his body one time when the foule was gone out of it, and burnt it in his house. Howbeit, this was not true: for his foule never departed out of his body: but the fame being alwaies obedient unto his Damon, and flacking the bond unto it, gave it meanes and liberty to run up and downe, and to walke to and fro in many places, in luch fort, as having feene and hard many things abroad, it would come and report the fame unto him: But those that confumed his body as he lay asleepe, are tormented in Tartarus even at this day for it: which you shall know your selfe, good yong man, more certainely within these three moneths (quoth that voice) and for this time see you depart. When this voice had made an end of speaking, Timarchus, as he told the tale himselfe, turned about to fee who it was that spake; but feeling a great paine againe in his head, as if it had 50 bene violently preffed and crushed, he was deprived of all sense and understanding, and neither knew himfelfe nor any thing about him: But within a while after when he was come unto himfelfe, he might fee how he lay along at the entry of the forefaid cave of Trophonius, like as he had himselfe at the beginning. And thus much concerning the fable of Timarchus: who being teturned to Athens, in the third moneth after, just as the voice foretold him, departed this life. And then we woondred heereat, and made report thereof backe to Socrates; who rebuked

and chid us, for faying nothing to him of it, whiles Timarchus was alive; for that he would willingly himfelfe have heard him more particularly, and examined every point at the full. Thus you have heard, Theoritus, a mingled tale and hillorie together of Timarchus: But see whether we thall not be faine to call for this strangers helpe, to the decision of this question : for verie proper and meet it is for to be discussed by such devout and religious men. And why (quoth Theaner) doth not Epaminondas deliver his opinion thereof, being a mantrained up, and infliused in the same discipline and schoole with us. Then my father smiling at the matter: This is his nature (quoth he) my good friend, he loveth to be filent, and wary he is what he speaketh, but woonderfull defirous to learne, and infatiable of hearing others. And heereupon Spinchato rus the Tarentine, who converfed familiarly with him heere a long time, was woont to give out this speech of him; That he had never talked with a man, who knew more, and spake lesse thanhe. Buttell us now what you thinke your felfe, of that which hath beene faid. For mine owne part (quoth he) I faie, that this discourse and report of Timarchus, as sacred and inviolable, ought to be confecrated unto God: and marvell I would if any should discredit and hardly believe that which Simmias himfelfe hath delivered of him; and when they name fwans, dragons, dogs, and horfes, facred, believe not that there be men celeftiall and beloved of the gods, confidering they hold and fay, that God is never enterprise, that is to fay, a lover of birds, but ειλαθημπε, that is to fay, a lover of mankinde. Like as therefore a man who is faid to be Phylippos, that is to fay, a lover of horfes, taketh not a fancie, nor regardeth alike all horfes, compri-20 fed under the whole kinde, but chufing alwaies fome one more excellent than the reft, rideth, cherisheth, and maketh much of him especially: even so, those divine spirits which surmount our nature, make choise and take as it were out of the whole flocke the best of us, upon whom they fet their brand or marke, and them they thinke woorthy of a more fingular and exquifite education, and those they order and direct not with reines and bridles, but with reason and learning, and that by fignes, whereof the common and rafcall for thave no knowledge nor experience. For neither doe ordinary hounds understand the signes that huntimen use, nor every horse, the fiflling and chirting of the escuirry, but such onely as have beene taught and brought up to it; for they with the least whistling and houping that is, know presently what they are commanded to do, and quickly be ordered as they ought. And verily, Homer feemeth not to be 30 ignorant of this difference, whereof we speake: for of divinors and soothstiers, some he calleth inorenthes, that is to fay, authours, or observers of birds; others, πρείς, that is to fay, bowel-priers, that spie into the inwards of facrifices; and some againe there be, who hearing and knowing what the gods themselves do speake, are able to declare secretly and foretell things to come; as may appeare by these verses:

King Priams deere sonne Helenus, their minde soone under stood, And what this god and goddesse both in counsell deemed good.

Anda little after :

For thus I beard the gods to fay, Who as immortall live for ay.

For like as they who are without, and not of the domesticall and neere acquaintance of kings, princes and generall captaines, do know and understand their willes & minds by the meanes of certeine firelights, sound of trumpets and proclamations; but to their faithfull, trustly and familiar friends they speake by word of mouth: even so, God communeth and talketh with few, and that very seldome; but unto the common forthe giveth signes, and of these consistent he arte of divination: for the gods receive very sew men in recommendation for to adome their lives, but those onely whom they are disposed to make exceeding happy and divine indeed: and those souls which be delivered from farther generation, and are for everafter at libertie and dismissed such sinch be delivered from farther generation, and take the charge and care of men, according as stessard lith. For like as champions, who otherwise heretofore have made prosession of wrestling and other exercises of the bodie, after they have given over the practise thereos, by reason of their olde age, leave not altogether the desire of glorie by that meanes, nor cast off the affection in cherishing the bodie, but take pleasure still to see other yoong men to exercise their bodies, exhorting and encouraging them thereto, yea, and enforcing themselves to runne in the race with them: even so, they that are past the combats & travels of this life, and through the

the vertue of their foules come to be Dæmons, despise not utterly the affaires, the speeches and studies of those that be here, but being favorable unto them who in their good endevorsaspire to the fame end that they have atteined to, yea, and after a fort, banding and fiding with them. do incite and exhort them to vertue, especially when they see them neere unto the ends of their hopes, and ready in maner to touch the fame. For this divine power of Dæmons, will not fort and be acquainted with every man indifferently, but like as they who fland upon the shore, can do no other good unto them who fwim farre within the fea, and a great way from the land, but looke upon them and fay nothing; but to fuch as are neere to the fea fide, they runne, and for their fakes, wading a little into the fea, helpe both with hand and voice, and so fave them from drowning: even to (Simmias) dealeth the Dæmon with us; for fo long as wee are plunged to and drowned within mundane affaires, and change many bodies, as it were fo many waggons and chariots, passing out of one into another, it suffereth us to strive and labour of our selves, yea, and by our owne patience and long fufferance to fave our felves, and gaine the haven: but when there is a foule, which hath already by innumerable generations supported and endured long travels, and having in maner performed her course and revolution, strainethall her might and maine, with much swet to get forthand ascend up: to it God envieth not her owne proper Dæmon and familiar spiritto be affiltant, yea, and giveth leave to any other whatsoever, that is willing thereto. Now one is defirous and ready alwaies to helpe and fecond another, yea, and forward to promote the fafetie thereof: the foule alfo for her part, give the good care, because the is so nere, and in the end is saved; but she that obeieth not nor hearkeneth to her owne familiar 20 & proper damon as forfaken of it, speedeth not well in the end. This faid, Epaminondus looking toward me : It is high time, Capbifico, for you (quoth he) to go into the wrestling schoole and place of exercise, to the end that you disappoint not your companions: meane while, we (when it shall be thought good to diffolve and difinisse this meeting) will take the charge of Theanor, Then faid I, Be it fo : but I suppose, that Theoeritus, together with Galaxidorus & my selfe, is willing to commune and reason with you a little. In good time (quoth he) let them speake their minde and what they will. With that, he rose up and tooke us apart into a winding and turning corner of the gallery, where we came about him, and began to perfwade and deale with him for to take part with us in the enterprise. He made us answere, That he knew well enough the day when the banished persons were to returne; and had taken order with his friends to be ready a- 30 gainst the time with Gorgidan, and to embrace the opportunity thereof: howbeit, they were not determined to take away the life of any one citizen, not condemned by order of law, unlesse fome urgent necessitie enforced them thereto. And otherwise, it were very meet and expedient for the comminaltie of Thebes, that there should be some not culpable of this massacre, but innocent and cleare of all that then shall be committed; for so these men will be lesse suspected of the people, and be thought to counfell and exhort them for the best. We thought very well of this advice of his, and so he repaired againe to Simmias; and we went downe to the place of publicke exercises, where we met with our friends; and there we dealt one with another apart, as we wreftled together, questioning about one thing or another, and telling this or that, every one preparing himselfe to the execution of the dessigne : and there we might see Archias and Plis 40 lippus all anointed and oiled going toward the feast. For Phyllidas fearing that they would make haste and put Amphitheus to death, so soone as ever hee had accompanied Lysanoridas and fent him away, tooke Archias with him, feeding him with hope to enjoy the lady whom he defired, and promifing that the should be at the feast: whereby he perswaded him to mindeno other thing, but to folace himfelfe and make merry with those who were woont to roist and riot with him. By this time it drew toward night, the weather grew to be colde, and the winder ofe high, which caused every man with more speed to retire and take house. I for my part, meeting with D.moclidas, Pelopidas and Theopompus, enterteined them; and others did the like to the rest. For after that these banished persons were passed over the mountaine Cythara, they parted themselves; and the coldnesse of the weather gave them good occasion (without all suspition) 50 to cover their faces, and fo to paffe along the city undiscovered. And some of them there were, who as they entred the gates of the city, perceived it to lighten on their right hand without thunder, which they tooke for a good prefage of fafetic and glorie in their proceedings, as if this figne betokened, that the execution of their defignment should be lightform and honourable, but without any danger at all. Now when we were all entred in, and fafe within house, to the number of eight and fortie, as Theoritus was facrificing apart in a little oratorie or chappell by

himselfe, he heard a great rapping and bouncing at the doore : and anon there was one came and brought him word, that two halberds of Archias guard knocked at the outward gate, as being fent in great hafte to Charon, commanding to open them the doore, as greatly offended that they had staied so long. Whereat Charon being troubled in minde, commanded that they thould be let in prefently: who meeting them within the court with a coronet upon his head, as having newly facrificed unto the gods, and made good cheere, demanded of thele halberds, what they would. Archias and Philippus (fay they) have fent us, willing and charging you with all foeed to repaire unto them. Why, what is the matter (quoth Charon) that they should fend for me in fuch haste at this time of the night, and what great newes is there? We know not, said thefe fergeauts; but what word would you have us to carry backe unto them? Mary, tell them (quoth he) that I will cast off my chaplet, and put on another robe, and prefently follow after: for if I should goe with you, it might be an occasion of trouble, and moove some to supcet that youlead me away to prison. You say wel, answered the officers againe, do even so; for we must goeanother way to those souldiers that watch and ward without the city, and deliver unto them acommandement from the head magistrates and rulers. Thus departed they. With that, Charon returned to us, and made relation of these newes; which strucke us into our dumps, and put usin a great affright, supposing for certeine, that we were betraied, and our plot detected most of the company suspected Hipposthenidas, for that he went about to impeach the returne of the exiled persons, by the meanes of Chlidon, whom he meant to send unto them : who seeing that 20 hemissed of his purpose, by all likelihood, upon a fearefull and timorous heart, might reveale our conspiracie, now when it was come to the very point of execution: for come hee was not with others into the house where we were all affembled; and to be short, there was not one of us all, that judged better of him than of a wicked and trecherous traitor: howbeit, we agreed all in this, that Charon should go thither as he was commanded, and in any wise obey the magistrates

who had fent for him. Then he commanding (ô Archidamus) his owne fonne to be present, a stripling about sifteene yeeres of age, and the fairest youth in all the city of Thebes, very laborious and affectionate to bodily exercises; and for stature and strength, surpassing all his fellowes and companions of that age; made this speech unto us: My masters and friends, this is my sonne and onely 30 child, whom I love entirely, as you may well thinke; him I deliver into your hands, befeeching you in the name of the gods and all faints in heaven, that if you finde any perfidious treacherie by meagainst you, to doe him to death and not spare him. And now I humbly pray you, most valiant and hardy knights, prepare your felves resolutely against the last feast that ever these tyrants shall make: abandon not, for want of courage, your bodies to be villanously outraged and spoiled by these most leud and wicked persons, but be revenged of them, and now shew your invincible hearts, in the behalfe of your countrey. When Charon had delivered these words, there was not one of us all but highly commended his magnanimitie and loialtie; but we were angry with him, in that he doubted of us that we had him in fuspition and distrust; and therefore willed him to have away his fonne with him. And more than that, me thinks (quoth Pelopidas) you 40 have not done well and wifely for us, in that you fent him not before to some other house: for what reason or necessitie is there, that he should either perish or come into perisl, being sound with us ? and yes it is time enough to convey him away, that in case it fall out with us otherwise than well, he may grow up after his kinde, for to be revenged of these tyrants another day. It shall not be so, quoth Charon; he shall even stay here, and take such part of fortune as we shall do : and befides, it were no part of honesty or honour, to leave him in danger of our enemies: And therefore, my good fonne (quoth he) take a good heart and a refolute, even above these yeeres of thine; enter in Gods name into these hazzards and trials that be thus necessarie, together with many valiant and hardy citizens, for the maintenance of liberty and vertue. And even yet, great hope we have, that good fucceffe will follow, and that fome bleffed angell will regard 50 and take in protection those who adventure thus for righteousnesse and justice sake. Many of us there were (Archidamus) whose teares trickled downe their cheeks, to heare Charon deliver these words ; but himselse being instexible and not relenting one jote, with an undanted heart, a setled countenance, and eies still drie, put his sonne into Pelopidas hands, embraced every one of us, shooke us by the hands, and so encouraging us to proceed, went forth of the doores. Woonderfull was this; but much more you would have woondred, to have feene the alacrity, cheerefull and constant resolution of his sonne, as if he had beene another Neoprolemus, who never

looked pale, nor changed colour for the matter, notwithflanding fo great danger prefented; neither was he one jote aftond: but contratiwife, drew forth *Pelopidas* fword out of his feabberd, to fee and trie whether it was keene enough.

Whiles these matters thus passed, there comes towards us Diotonus, one of Cephisodorus friends, with a fword by his fide, and a good cuirason of steele under his robe, who having heard that Charon was fent for to come to Archias, blamed much our long delay, & whetned us on to go forthwith to the tyrants houses: For in so doing (quoth he) we shall prevent them, by comming fuddenly upon them: if not, yet better were it for us, to fet upon them without dores, feparate one from another, and not all in one plumpe, than to stay for them, enclosed all within one parlour, and be there taken by our enemies, like a fwarme of bees, and have all our throats to cut. In like maner Theoritus the divinor, urged us to make hafte, faying, that all the fignes of facrifices were good, and prefaged happy fucceffe with all fecurity. Whereupon we began on all hands to take armes, and to prepare our felves: by which time, Charon was returned to us, with a merrie and cheerefull countenance: who fmiling and looking upon us: Be of good chere (quoth he) my masters and friends, all is well: there is no danger, and our affaire proceedethwell: for Archias and Philippus, so soone as they heard that I was come, upon their sending for me, being already well cup-fhotten, and halfe drunke with wine, fo as both their minds and bodies were very farre out of tune; with much adoe they rose from the boord, and came foorth to the dore unto me: Now Charon, quoth Archias, we heare that our banished men lie lurking here within the citie, being fecretly and by flealth entred into it. Whereat I feeming to 20 be much amazed: Where (quoth I) are they faid to be, and who? That we know not (quoth Archias, and that is the cause why we sent for you, to come before us, if haply you have heatdany thing of it more certainly. He ercupon I remaining for a while as one fomewhat aftonied and pensive, comming againe to my selfe, began thus to thinke, that this must needs be some headlesse rumour, and arising from no good ground, nor certeine author; neither was it like to be any one of them that were privy to the complot who had discovered it, because they would not then have been eignorant of the house where they were affembled, and therefore it could not chuse but be some blinde brute blowen abroad through the citie, and come to their eares. So I faid unto him, that during the life of Androclides, we had heard many fuch flying tales, and vaine falle rumors that ranne about the city and troubled us. But now (quoth he) ô Mr-30 chas, I have heard no fuch thing: howbeit, if it please you to command me, I will enquire and hearken farther into the thing, and if I find any matter of importance, I will come and enforme you of it. It is well faid of you (quoth Phyllidas: and it were very good Charon, that in these cases you be very inquisitive, and leave nothing unsearched: for why should we be carelesse and negligent in anything, but rather it behooveth us to be circumfpect, and to looke about us on every fide: providence in these cases is very requisite, and good it is to make all fure: and when he had so faid, he tooke Archias and had him into the parlour, where they be now drinking hard: and therefore my good friends, let us flay no longer; but after we have made our praiers unto the gods, for our good speed, go about our businesse. Charon had no sooner said this, but we praied unto the gods for their affiltance, and encouraged one another to the enter- 40 prife. It was the very just time, when all men use to be at supper; and the whistling winde arising stil more & more, had brought some snow or sleet, mingled with a drisling raine, so as there was not one person to be seene in the streets as we passed along. Those therefore who were appointed to affaile Leontidas and Hippates, who dwelt necre together, went out in their cloakes, having no other armes or weapons, but ech of them their fwords, and those were Pelopidas, Democlidas, and Cephisodorus: But Charon, Melon, and others, ordeined to set upon Archin, had their brestplates or demy-cuiraces before them, and upon their heads thicke chaplets, some of firre, others of the pine or pitch tree branches: and part of them were clad in womens apparell, counterfeir ting drunken persons, as if they were come in a maske and mummerie with their women. And that which more is, ô Archidamus, fortune also making the beastly cowardise and soutish igno- 50 rance of our enemies equall to our hardinesse, and resolute preparations, and having diversified and diffinguished even from the beginning our enterprise, like a plaie or enterlude, with many dangerous intercurrents, was affiftant & ran with us, at the very point and upfhot of the execution thereof, presenting unto us, even then a doubtfull & dangerous occurrent, of a most sudden & unexpected accident: for when Charen after he had talked with Archias & Philippus, was returned to the house, and had disposed us in order, for to go in hand with the execution of our

deffignment 3 there was brought from hence a letter written by Archias the high priest heere among you, unto that Archias his old hoaft and friend, which declared unto him (as it should feeme) by all likelihood, the returne of the banished, and the furprise which they were about. the house also wherein they were affembled, and all the complices who were of the conspiracy. Archias being by this time drenched and drowned in wine, and befides that, transported and past himselfe, with the expectation of the women, whose comming he attended, albeit the meslenger that brought the letter, faid it contained ferious affaires, of great confequence, yet he onely received it, and made no other answer but this: What tellest thou me of serious affaires; we shall thinke of them to morrow; and with that, put the letters under the pillow, whereon he 10 leaned, calling for the pot againe, and commanding that it should be filled; fending Phyllidas ever and anon to the dore, to fee if the women were yet comming. Thus whiles this hope enterteined and held the feast, we came upon them, and paffed along through the servicours unto to the very half or parlour, where they were at support, and there we staiced a while at the dore, eving and viewing every one of them as they fat about the table. Now the fight of those chaplets and garlands which we ware upon our heads, and of the womens apparell, which fome of us were dreffed in, deceived them a little upon our first comming, in such fort, as for a while there enfued filence, untill fuch time as Melon first laying hand upon his sword hilt, rushed into the middes of the place: with that, Cabirichus Cyamistos who was Archon for the time, tooke him by the arme as he passed by, and held him backe, crying out withall: Phyllidas, Is not this 20 Melon? but Melon thaking him off fo, as he left his hold, drew foorth his fword withall, and ranne upon Archias, who being hardly able to rife, he gave not over untill he had killed outright in the place. Charen then fet upon Philippus, whom he wounded in the necke, and notwithstanding that he defended himselfe with the pots that stood about him upon the table, yet Lysithern mounting upon the boord, laied him along on the floore, and there under-foot dispatched him. As for Cabirichan we spake him faire, and entreated him not to take part with the tyrants, but to joine with us, in delivering our native countrey from tyranny, as he was a facrofaint magistrate, and confecrated unto the gods for the good and fafetie of the commonwealth. But being not eafily induced to hearken unto reason, and that which was most expedientfor him, because he was little better than halfedrunke; he hanging still in doubtfull su-30 spence and perplexitie, arose up on his feet, and presented unto us his javelin, with the head forward, which by the custome of the place, the Provosts with us, ever goe withall: whereupon I caught hold of the javelin in the middes, and held it over my head, crying unto him, to let it goe, and fave himselse; or else he should die for it. In this meane while, Theopompus standing on his right fide, ranne him through with his fword, faying withall: There lie thou also together with them whom thou hast flattered and soothed up: for it were not beseeming thee to weare a coroner and garland when Thebes is fet free, nor to offer any more facrifice to the gods, before whom thou hast cursed thy countrey, by making praiers so often for the prosperity of her enemies. When Cabirichus was fallen downe dead, Theocritus who stood by, caught up the facred javelin, and drew it out of the bloud that there was shed. This massacre being done, 40 some sew of the servants, who durst interpose themselves, and come betweene for the desence of those usurpers, we slew; but as many as were quiet, and stirred not, we thut up within a chamber, where men are wont to keepe; being not willing that they should get foorth, and goe to publish throughout the city what was done, before we knew how the world went with others.

Thus you heare how this chare was done. As for Pelopulus and his traine, they came to the utmost gate of Leonidus, where they knocked as softly, as they thither came gently and with silence, and to one of the servants who heard them knocke, & demanded who was there, they answered, That they were come from Athens, and brought letters unto Leonidus from Calistratus. The servitour went and told his master for much, who being commanded to set open the gate, who are dain unbolted it; the gate no sooner yeelded from them a little, but they rushed in all at once with violence, bare downe the man and laid him along, ran a pace through the court and hall and so directly passed to the bed chamber of Leontidus: who presently suspecting what the matter was, drew his dagger, & put himselfe forward to make resistance & to stand upon his defence, unjust he was no doubt & tyrannicall, howbeit otherwise a tall man of his hands, and of touragious stomacke: yet forgat he to overthrow the lampe, & put out the light, and in the darke to intermingle himselfe with those who came to assault him, and so haply to get a way from them; but being espied by them, so soone as ever the doore was open, he stabbed Cephisodorus in

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the very flanke under the short ribs : and then incountring with Pelopidas who would have entred fecond into the chamber, he cried out aloud and called to his fervants for helpe: but Sams. das with others about him kept them backe, and otherwise of themselves they durst not meddle nor hazard their lives to deale with the nobleft persons of the city, and those who for strength and valour were knowen to surpasse the rest. So there was a scussing and stife combat between Pelopidas and Leontidas, in the very portall of the chamber dore, which was but narrow, where Cephisodorus fell downe in the midit betweene them ready to die, so that others could not come in to fuccor Pelopidas : Arthe last when our friend Pelopidas had received a little wound in his head, but given Leonidas many a one, he overthrew him and flew him upon the body of Cophifodor w, who being yet warme and not fully dead, saw his enimy fall, and therewith putting forth 10 his right hand to Pelopidas, and bidding all the rest adew, he joifully yeelded up his breath. When they had dispatched this businesse, they turned immediately from thence to Hypates house, and when the doore was likewife fet open for them, the killed him also, as he thought to escape, and fled by the roose of the house unto his neighbours. Which done, they returned with speed directly unto us, whom they found abroad at a gallery called Polystylon. Afterwe had faluted and embraced one another & talked a litle all together, we went straight to the common goale; where Phyllidas having called forth the goaler: Archias (quoth he) and Philippus command you with all speed to bring your prisoner Amphithem unto them. The goaler considering that it was an unreasonable houre, and withall perceiving that Phyllidas in his speeches was not very well staied, but that he was yet chased and panted still unquietly upon the freshfray 20 that he had beene at, doubting and suspecting a skirmish: When was it ever seene (quoth he) ô Phyllidas, that the Polemarchy or chiefe captaines fent for a prisoner at this time of the night? when by your and what token or watchword bring you from them? As the goaler reasoned thus, Phyllidas made no more adoe, but with an horsemans staffe or launce that he had in his hand, ranne him through the fides, and laied him dead on the ground, wicked wretch that he was, whom the next morrow, many a woman trampled under their feet, and spit in his face as he lay. Then brake we the prison dore open, and first called by name unto Amphichew, and afterwards to others, according a seach of them was of our acquaintance and familiarity; who hearing and knowing out voices leapt out of their pallets upon their feete, and willingly drew their chaines and ironsafter them: but fuch as had their feet fast in the stockes, stretched forththeir 30 hands and cried unto us, befeeching they might not be left behinde: and whiles we were buffein fetting them loofe, many of the neighbours by this time who dwelt neere and perceived what was done, were run forth already into the streets with glad and joifuil hearts. The very women alfo, as any of them heard ought of their acquaintance, without regard of observing the custome and maner of the Bocotians, ran out of dores on cunto another, and demanded of every one whom they met in the street, what newes? And as many of them as light either upo their fathers or husbands, followed them as they went, and no man impeached them in fo doing: for the pitifull commisferation, the teares, praiers, and supplications, especially of honest and chast wives, were in this case very effectuall, and moved men to regard them. When things were brought to this passe, so some as we heard, that Epamnondas and Gorgidas with other friends, were now 40 affembled within the temple of Minerva, we went directly unto them, and thithet repaired also many honest citizens and men of quality, flocking still more and more in great frequencie. Now after relation was made unto them how al things sped, & that they were requested to assist us in the performance and execution of that which was behind, and for that purpofe to meet all together in the common market place, incontinently they fet up a shout, and cried unto the citizens, Liberty, liberty, distributing armes and weapons among as many as came to joine with them: which they tooke forth of the temples and halles, being full of the spoiles of al forts, won from enimies in times past, as also out of the armorers, furbushers, and cutters shops there adjoining. Thither came Hippoft benidas likewife with a troupe of friends and fervants, bringing those trumpetters with him, who were by chaunce come to the city against the feast of Hereules: and 50 immediatly fome founded the alarm in the market place, and others in all parts of the city befides, and all to aftonith and affright those of the adverse part, as if the whole city were revolted, and had rifen against them : who making a great smoake, for the nonce in the streets, because they would not be descried, put themselves within the castle Cadmea, drawing with them those choife foldiers called Keerflores, that is to fay, the better, who were wont usually to ward all night and keepe a standing corps de guard about the said castle. Now those who were above in the

faid fort, feeing their owne captaine to run fo disorderly and in great affright, and to make hall to get in, perceiving also from above, how we were gathered together about the market place in armes; and no part of the city quiet, but full of tumult, uprores and garboiles, whereof the noise ascended up unto them, durst not adventure to come downe, though they were to the number of five thouland, as fearing the prefent danger: but pretended for their excuse the absence of Lylanoridats their captaine, who was ever wont to remaine with them, but onely that day, which was the cause that afterwards as we have heard, the Lacedæmonians making meanes by a peece ofmoney, to apprehend him in Corinth, whether he was retired, and immediately put him to death: but upon composition and safe conduct, they delivered up the castle into our hands, and to departed with all the foldiers in it.



THE MALICE OF HERODOTUS.

The Summarie.



Lutarch confidering in what credit and request Herodotus the Historiographer was, who in many places of his bookes, which are at this day extant in our bands, defameth divers states and honorable persons of Greece, is minded heere in this treatise to arme as it were and prepare the readers against all such false suggestions and imputations: and in the very entry of his discourse, accuse the Herodotus of malice and

leafing. For proofe of this challenge he setteth downe certaine markes , whereby a man may discerne a 30 flanderous writer from a sage and descreet Historiographer. Which done, he applieth the said markes unto Herodotus, shewing by a number of examples drawen out of his stories and narrations, that often times he useth odious words, when as other smore milde and gentlewere as ready for him to use: that he describeth an evill matter, when as there was no need to make mention thereof: that he taketh pleafure to speake ill & to raile: that among praises, he insertet the bitter blames of one and the same per-Sonage: and in recounting one thing two maner of waies and more, he resteth alwaies in the worse, and imputeshworthy deeds and brave exploits unto disordinate and irregular passions, and so after an oblique maner doth the persons injury. So that this treatise teacheth as well the writers of histories, to lookewell about themselves, and stand upon their quard, lest they be esteemed, slanderous, socisfs and impudent: as allothereaders to carry with them a pure and sincere judgement for to make their profit 40 by those bookes, which they take in hand to read.

THE MALICE of Herodotus



Any men there be, ô Alexander, whom the stile &phrase of Herodorm the Historiographer (because it seemeth unto them plaine, fimple, naturall, and running fmoothly upon the matters which he delivereth) hath much deceived : but more there are, who have bene caught and brought into the fame errour, by his maners and behaviour. For it is not onely extreame injustice, as Plato said, to seeme just and righteous, when a man is nothing leffe, but also an act of malice in the highest degree, to counterfait mildenesse and simplicity, and under that pretence and colour, to be covertly most bit-

ter and malicious. Now for that he sheweth this spight of his against the Boeotians and Corinthians especially, although he spareth not any others whatsoever, I thought it my part and LIIII 2

duty doe defend hecrein the honor of our ancesters in the behalfe of trueth, against this onely part of his writings, and no more. For to pursue and goe thorow all other lies and forged tales of his, dispersed in that historie, would require many great volumes. But as Sephoeles said:

Of eloquence the flattering face,

especially when it meeteth with a tongue which is pleasant, and carieth such a force, asto cover among other vices, the malicious nature of an Historiographer. Philip king of Macedonie was woont to say unto those Greeks who revolted from his alliance, and sided with Titus Quintum, that they had changed their former chaines, and given them for others, that were indeed more polished; howbert longer a faire deale. Even so a man may say, that the malignitie of Hero to dotus is smoother and more delicate than that of Theopompus, but it toucheth necere to the quicke, and stingeth more; like as the windes are more sharpe and piercing, which blow through a narrow streight or close glade, than such as are spred more at large. I thinke therefore that I shall doe very well, sirst to describe generally, and as it were in grosse, the tracks and marks as it were of a narration which is not pure, sincere, and friendly, but spightfull and malicious, for to apply the same afterwards to ech point that we shall examine, and see whether they doe agree fitly thereto.

First and formost therefore, he that useth the most odious nownes and verbs, when there be others at hand more milde and gentle, for to expresse things done: as for example; whereas he might say, that Alies was very ceremonious, and somewhat supersticiously given; reported to that he was fanaticall; and chuseth rather to chalenge Cleon for rash audacitie, and furious madnesse, than for light and vaine speech: surely he cariethnot a good and gentle minde, but ta-

keth pleasure to make a narration in the woorst maner.

Secondly, when there is some vice otherwise in a man, which apperteineth not unto the history, and yet the writer catcheth hold thereof, and will needs thrust it into the narration of those affaires which require it not, drawing his historic from the matter, setching a compasse about, after an extravagant maner, and all to bring in either the infortunitie or unhappy accident, or else some absurd and shamefull act of a man: it is very evident that such an one delighteth in reprochfull and evill language. And therefore contrariwise, Thucydides, howsover cleon committed an infinite number of grosse and foule faults, yet he never traduced him openly 30 for them in his writings. And as touching the busic oratour Hyperbolus, he glanced a him onely by the way, terming him a naughtie man, and so let him goe. Phisse likewise passed over all the outrages and wrongs (many though they were) of Dianysius the tyrant, which he offered unto the barbarous nations, so long as they were not interlaced among the affaires of the Greeks. For the digressions & excursions of an history, are allowed, principally for some sables or antiquities. Moreover, he who amog the praises of some great personages, thrusteth in some matter tending to reproch & blame, seemeth to incurre the malediction of the tragical Poet,

Curfed be thou, that low'ft a roll to have,

Of mens mishaps, who now lie dead in grave.

Furthermore, that which is equipollent and reciprocall thereto, every man knoweth, that the 40 leaving out and passing over quite of some good qualitie, or laudable sack, seemeth not to be a thing reprehensible and subject to account, though done it were maliciously, and the same were left out in some such place as perteined well to the traine of the historie: for to commend a man coldly and after an unwilling maner, savoreth no more of civilitie, than to blame him affectionately; and besides that, it is nothing more civill, it smelleth haply more of malice, and of the twaine is woorse.

The fourth figue of a malicious nature in an historian, in my account is this: when one and the fame thing is interpreted or reported two waies, or more, to encline unto the harder conftruction. For permitted it is unto Sophisters and Rhetoricians, either for to gainetheir fee, or to winne the name and reputation of eloquence, otherwhiles to take in hand for to defend 50 and adorne the woorfe cause; because they imprint not deepely any credit or beliefe of that which they deliver: and they themselves doe not deny, that they undertake to proove things incredible, even against the common opinion of men. But he that composeth an historie, doeth his part and devoir, if he written that which he knoweth to be true: but of matters doubtfull, obscure, and uncerteine, those which are better seeme to be reported more truely alwaies, than the worse. And many there be, who omit quite and overpasse the worse: as for example;

Ephorus having faid as touching Themistocles, that he was privy to the treason that Paulamise plotted and practifed, and what he treated with the lieutenants of the king of Persia: Howbeit, he confented not (quoth he) nor never could be induced to take part with him of those hopes, whereto he did follicite him. And Thucydides left this matter wholly out of his storie, as not acknowledging it to be true. Againe, in matters confessed to have beene done, but yet not knowen, for what cause, and upon what intention; he that guesseth and casteth his conjecture in the woorfe part, is naught and maliciously minded: and thus did the comicall Poets, who gave out, that Perisles kindled the Peloponnelian warre, for the love the of courtifan Albalia, or elle for Phidias fake, and not rather upon an high minde and contention to take downe the to pride of the Peloponnefians, & in no wife to give place unto the Lacedemonians. For of arts approoved and laudable affaires, he that supposeth and setteth downe a leud and naughty cause, and by calumniations draweth men into extravagant suspicions, of the hidden and secret intention of him who performed the act, which he is not able to reproove or blame openly : as they who report of Alexander the tyrants death, which dame Thebe his wife contrived, that it was not a deed of magnanimity, nor upon the hatted of wickednesse and vice, but proceeding from the paffionate jealoufie of a woman: as also those who say; that Cato uticensis killed himselfe. fearing left Cafir would execute him shamefully: these (Isay) are envious and spightfull in the highest degree. Semblably, an historical narration smelleth of malice, according as the maner of a worke or act done is related: as if it be put downe in writing, that it was by the 20 meanes rather of money and corruption, than of vertue & valour, that fome great exploit was performed, (as some there were who did not sticke to say as much of Philip:) or else, that it was executed without any travel and danger, as others gave out of Alexander the Great: also not by forecast and wisedome, but by the favour of fortune; like as the enviour and ill willer of Timothem, who in painted tables represented the pourtrature of diverscities and townes, that of themselves fell within the compasse of his net and toile, when he lay fast asseepe : evident it is, that it is that it tendeth to the empairing of the glorie, beautie, and greatneffe of those acts, when they take from them the magnanimity, vertue, and diligence of the authors, and give out they were not done and executed by themselves. Over and besides, those who professedly and directly speake evill of one, incurre the imputation of quarrellers, rash-headed and furious 20 persons, in case they keepe not within a meane: but such as doe it after an oblique maner, as if they discharged bullets, or shot arrowes at one side from some blinde corner, charging surmiles and fulpicions; and then to turne behinde and shift off all, by faying, they doe not bekeve any fuch thing, which they defire most of all to be believed, how soever they disclame all malice and evill will: over and befides their cancred nature, they are steined with the note of notorious impudencie. Next neighbours unto these, are they, who among imputations and blames, adjoine certaine praises: as in the time of Socrates, one Aristoxenus having given him thetermes of ignorant, untaught, diffolute; came in with this afterwards: but true it is that he doeth no man wrong, and is woorst to himselfe: for like as they, who will cunningly and artisicially flatter otherwhiles, among many and unmeasurable praises, mingle some light repre-40 hentions, joining with their fweet flatteries, (as it were fome tart fauce to feafon them) certeine words frankly and freely spoken : even so the malicious person, because he would have that beleeved which heblameth, putteth thereto some little sprinkling of a sew praises. There may be exemplified and numbered many other fignes and marks of malice: but these may suffice to give us to understand the nature and intention of this author whom now we have in hand.

First and formost therefore to begin at heavenly wights, and as they say at Vesta, so the daughter of Inachus, whom all the Greeks thinke to have bene destined and honored with divine honors by the barbarous nations, in such fortas that she hath lest her name to manie seas, and noble ports, in regard of her great glory and renowme; and opened the source (as it were) and original beginning of many right noble, most famous and roiall samilies; this our gentle Historiograph of the state of the sta

it is very apparent quoth he, that these women if they had not bene willing themselves, they had never bene foravithed, and had away as they were. And therefore we may as well fay that the gods did foolishly to shew themselves angry and offended, with the Laced emonians for the abuling of the daughters of Scedafie the Leuctrian; as alfo to punish Ajax, for that he forced lady Coffandra: for cetteine it is according to Herodotus, that if they had not bene willing, they had never beene defloured: and yet himselse faith that Arishmenes was taken alive, and eatted a. way by the Lacedemonians, and afterwards Phlopamer captaine generall of the Achaenstalled the same fortune, and Aritim Regular the confull of the Romans, tell likewife into the hands of his enimies : all of them such personages ashardly may be found more valiant and hardy warriors in the world. But what marvell is this, confidering that men doe take leopards, and tygres alive? Now Herodorm blameth the poore women, who were by force abused, and defendeth 10 those wicked men who offered them that abuse. Besides, to much affected he is in love unto the Barbarous nations, that he will acquite & cleere Businides of that ill name which went of him, for flaying of his guests & facrificing men, and attributing unto all the Aegyptians by all his softimonies, much godlineste, religion and justice, returneth upon the Greeks this inhumaine and abhominable cruelty. For in his second booke he writeth that Menelaus having received Helena at the hands of king Proteus his wife, and bene by him honored with great and rich prefents, shewed himselfe againe a most unjust and wicked man. For when the winde and weather served him not for to embarke and faile away, he wrought by his report, a most curfed and detretable fact, in taking two of the inhabitants male children of that countrey, and cut them in peeces for facrifice: by occasion whereof being hated of the Aegyptians, and purfued, he fled directly with his fleet, and departed into Libya. For mine owne part, I wot not what Aegyptian hath given out this report of Menelans : but contratiwise I know full well, that in Accept they retaine still to this day many honors in the memoriall, both of him and also of his wife Helens. Moreover this writer holding on still his course, reporteth that the Persians learned of the Greeks, to abuse boies carnally and contrary to kinde. And yet how is it possible that the Persians should learne this vilany and filthineffe of the Greeks, confidering that the Perfians in maner all doe confelle, that the children were there guelded, before they had ever seene the Greeks sea. Also he writeth, that the Greeks were taught by the Aegyptians, their folemne pompes, festivall processing ons, and publicke affemblies: likewife to adore the twelve gods: yea & that Melampu had learneid of the fame Aegyptians the very name of Dionyfus, that is to fay, Bacchus, who taughtit the 30 other Greeks. As touching the facred mysteries, and secret ceremonies of Ceres, that they were brought out of Aegypt by the daughters of Danaus: as also that the Aegyptians beat themfelves and are in great forrow, yet will themselves name nothing why they so doe, but remaine close and keepe tilence in the religious service of the gods. As touching Hercules and Bacchun whom the Aegyptians effecme as gods, and the Greeks very aged men, he maketh mention in no place of this precise observation and distinction: howsoever he faith that this Acgyptian Hercules, was reckoned and ranged in the second order of the gods, and Bacchus in the third, as those who had a beginning of their essence, and were not eternall : and yet he pronounceth those other to be gods, but unto these, he judgeth that we ought to performe anniversarie sune rals, as having been elometime mortall, and now canonized demi-gods, but in no wife to facti-40 fice unto them as gods. After the same maner spake he of Pan, overthrowing the most holy and venerable factifices of the Greeks by the vanities and fables which the Aegyptians devised. Yet is northis the woorst, nor so intollerable; for deriving the pedegree of Hercules from the race of Perfess, he holdeth, that Perfess was an Affyrian, according to that which the Persians fay: But the captaines and leaders of the Dorians (faith he) feeme to be descended in right line from the Aegyptians, and fetch their genealogie and ancestours from before Danae and Actifius : for as concerning Epaphus, Io, Iajus and Argus, he hath wholly passed over and rejected, ftriving to make, not oncely the other two Herenlees Aegyptians and Phoenicians, but also this whom himselse nameth to be the third, a meere stranger from Greece, and to enroll him among 50 Barbarians, notwithstanding that of all the ancient learned men, neither Homer, not Hesiodus, ne yet Archilochus, Pifander, Stefichorus, Aleman, nor Pindarus, do make mention of any Hereules an Aegyptian or Phoenician, but acknowledge one alone, towit, our Boeotian and Argien. And that which more is, among the seven sages, whom he termeth by the name of Sophillers, he will needs beare us downe, that Thales was a Phoenician borne, extracted from the ancient stocke of the Barbarians. And in one place, reproching in some fort the gods, under the vi-

fard and person of Selon, he hath thesewords: O Crafus, thou demandest of me as touching humane things, who know full well, that the deitie is envious and full of inconstant incertitude: where attributing unto Solon, that opinion which himselfe had of the gods, he joineth malice unto impiety and blafphemy. And as for Pitrachine, using him but in light matters, and such as are of no confequence, he paffeth over in the meane while, the most worthy and excellent deed that ever the mandid a for when the Athenians and Mitylenians were at warre about the port Sig aums; P brynon the captaine of the Athenians having given defiance, and challenged to combat hand to hand; the hardiest warriour of all the Mitylenians, Pitrachus advanced forward and presented himselfe to his face for so performe his devoir, where he bare himselfe with such dexto terityy that he caught this captaine, as mighty a man as he was and tall of feature, and fo entangled him; that he flew him outright. And when the Mitylenians, for this proweffe of his, offered unto him goodly tich presents, he launced his javelin out of his hand as farre as over he could, and demanded formuch ground onely as he raught with that shot. And thereupon, that field, even at this day, is called Pittacium. But what writeth Herodotus, when he comes to this place? In lieu of reciting this valiant act of Pittachus, he recounteth the flight of Aleaus the Poet, who flung from him his armour and weapons, and for an away out of the battell: whereby it appeareth, that in avoiding to write of vertuous and valiant acts, but in not concealing vicious and foule facts, he teltifieth on their fide who fay, that envie, to wit, a griefe for the good of another, and joy in other mens harmes, proceed both from one root of malice.

After all this, the Alemeonidæ who shewed themselves brave men and generous; and namely, by delivering their countrey from tyranny, are by him challenged for treason: for he faith, That they received Pifistratus upon his banishment, and wrought meanes for his returne again, upon condition, that he should espouse and marry the daughter of Megaeles: and when the maiden faid thus unto her mother, See my good mother, Pififtratus doth not company kindly withme, as he should, and according to the law of nature and marriage; heereupon the said Alemaonidae tooke fuch indignation against the tyrant for his perverte dealing, that they chafed him into exile. Now, that the Lacedæmonians should taste aswell of his malice as the Athenians had done before them, fee how he defaceth and traduceth Othryadas, a man esteemed and admired among them above all others, for his valiance: He only (faith he) remaining alive 30 of those three hundred, ashamed to returne to Sparta, when all the rest of that company and confort of his were flaine and left dead in the field, prefently overwhelmed himfelfe in the place under an heape of his enemies shields reared for a Tropha, and so died: for a little before, he faid, that the victory betweene both fides refted doubtfull in even ballance; and now he witneffeth, that through the shame and bashfuinesse of Othryadas, the Lacedæmonians lost the day: for as it is a shame to live being vanquished, so it is as great an honor to survive upon a victorie. I forbeare now to note and observe, how in describing Crasus every where for a foolish, vainglorious and ridiculous person in all respects, yet neverthelesse he faith, that being prisoner he taught and instructed Cyru, a prince who in prudence, vertue and magnanimitie surpassed all the kings that ever were. And having by the testimonie of his owne historie, attributed no 40 goodnesse unto Crassus, but this onely, that he honoured the gods with great offerings, oblations and ornaments, that he prefented unto them; which very fame (as himfelfe declareth) was the most wicked and profancit act in the world: for whereas his brother Pantaleon and he were at great variance and debate, about succession in the kingdome during the life of their father; after that he came once to the crowne, he caught one of the nobles, a great friend and companion of his brother Pantaleon, who had before-time beene his adverfarie, and within a fullers mill all to beclawed and mangled him with tuckers cards and burling combs, so as he died therewith; and of his money which he did confiscate and feize upon, he caused those oblations and jewels to be made which he fent as a prefent to the gods. Concerning Deioces the Median, who by his vertue and justice atteined to the kingdome, he faith, that he was not such an one indeed, but 50 anhypocrite, and by femblance of justice was advanced to that regall dignitie. But what should Istand upon the examples of Barbarous nations; for he hath ministred matter enough in writing onely of the Greeks. He faith, that the Athenians and many other Ionians, being ashamed of that name, were not only unwilling, but also denied utterly to be called Ionians: also, as many of them as were of the noblest blood, and descended from the very Senate and Pryraneum of the Athenians, begat children of Barbarous women, after they had killed their fathers and former

children: by occasion whereof those women made an ordinance among themselves, which they

bound with an oth, and ministred the same unto their daughters, never to eat nor drinke with their husbands, nor to call them by their names : and that the Milefians at this day be descended from the faid women. And having cleanly delivered thus much under hand, that those onely who celebrated the feast named apalatia, were indeed true Jonians : And all (quoth he) doe keepe and observe that solemnity, fave onely the Ephesians and Colophonians. By this slie device he doth in effect deprive these states, of the noble antiquity of their nation. He writeth likewife, that the Cumwans and Mirylenwans, were compacted and agreed withall, for a peece of mony, to deliver into the hands of Cyrus, Pattyus, one of his captaines, who had revolted from him: But I cannot fay (quoth he) certainly, for how much, because the just summe is not exactly knowen. But he ought not by his leave to have charged upon any city of Greece fuch a note of 10 infamy, without he had bene better affured thereof. And afterwards he faith, that the inhabitants of Chios pulled him , being brought unto them out of the temple of Alinerva Palinches that is to fay, Tutelar and protect reffe of the city, for to deliver him unto the Perfians; which the Chians didafter they had received for their hire, a peece of land called Starnes. Howbeit. Charon, the Lampfacinian, a more ancient writer, when he handleth the story of Pattyas, taxeth neither the Mitylen ans, nor the Chians, for any fuch facriledge: but writeth of this matter, thus word for word: Pacty as (quoth he) being advertised that the Persian army approched, fled first to Mitzlena, and afterwards to Chies: and there he fell into the hands of Cyrus. Moreover this our author in his third booke, describing the expedition or journey of the Lacedæmonians against Polycrates the tyrant, faith that the Samians, both are of opinion and also report, that it 20 was by way of recompence and requitall, because they had fent them aid in their warre against Messen, that the Lacedamonians entred into armes and warred upon the tyrant, for to reduce the exiled persons home againe, and restore them to their livings and goods: but he saith, that the Lacedæmonians deny flatly this to have bene the cause: faying it was neither to set the Isle Samos at liberty, nor to fuccour the Samians, that they enterprifed this warre: but ratherto chaftice the Samians, for that they had intercepted and taken away a faire standing cupof gold, fent by them as a prefent unto king Crasu: and besides a goodly cuirace or brestplate, fent unto them from king Amasis. And yet we know for certaine, that in all those daies, there was not a city in Greece fo desirous of honour, nor so infest and deadly bent against tytants, as Lacedamon was: for what other cuppe of gold, or cuirace was there, for which they chacedout 20 of Corimb and Ambracia the usurping tace of the Cypselidæ; banished out of Noxos, the tyrant Lygdamis 3 expelled out of Athens, the children of Pififtrasus 3 drave out of Sicyone, Aefchines; exiled from Thefes, Symmachus; delivered the Phoceans from Aulis; and turned Ariftogenes out of Miletus: as for the lordly dominions over Thessay, they utterly ruinated and rooted out, which Aristomedes and Angelus usurped, whom they suppressed and defaited by the meanes of Leotychidas their king? But of these things I have written else where more exactly and at large. Now if Herodotsus faith true, what wanted they of extreame folly and wickednesse in the highest degree, indifavowing and denying a most just and honorable occasion of this warre, to confesse that they made an invalion upon a poorer and miserable nation oppressed and afflicted under a tyrant, and all in remembrance of a former grudge, to be revenged for a small wrong upon abase minde and mechanicall avarice. Now haply he had a fling at the Lacedæmonians and gave them ablur with his pen, because in the traine and consequence of the story, they came to just under it; but the city of the Corinthians, which was cleane out of his way, he hath not withflan-40 ding taken it with him and befourted and dashed as he passed by, with a most grievous slander and heavy imputation. The Corinthians also (quoth he) did favor and fecond with great affection this voiage of the Lacedamonians, for to requite an hainous outrage and injury, which they had received before time at the Samians handes: And that was this? Periander the tyrant of Corinth, sent three hundred young boies, that were the sonnes of the most noble persons in all Corfu, to king Aliastes for to be guelded. These youths arrived in the Isle Samos, who being landed the Samians taught how to fit as humble suppliants within the temple and sanctuary of Di- 50 ana, & fet before them for their nourishment certaine cakes made of Sesam feed & hony. And this for foth was it that our trim historiographer calleth fo great an outrage & abuse offred by the Samians unto the Corinthians; for which he faith, the Lacedemonians also were stirred up and provoked against them, because they had saved the children of Greeks from eviration. But furely be that fasteneth this reproch upon the Corinthians, sheweth that the city was more wicked than the tyrant himselfe. As for him, his defire was to be revenged of the inhabitants of

Corfu, who had killed his fonne among them: but the Corinthians, what wrong received they of the Samians, for which they should in hostile maner set upon them, who opposed themfelves and empeached fo inhumane and barbarous crueltie to be committed? and namely, that they should revive and raise up againe an old cankred grudge and quarrels, that had lien dead and buried the space of three generations; and all in favour and maintenance of tyranny, which had laine very grievous and unsupportable upon them, and whereof, being overthrowen and ruined as it is, they cease not still to abolish and doe out the remembrance for ever. Loc, what outrage it was, that the Samians committed upon the Corinthians; but what was the revenge and punishment that the Corinthians devised against the Samians? For if in good earnest to they tooke indignation and were offended with the Samians, it had been emeet, not to have incited the Lacedæmonians, but to have diverted them rather, from levying warre upon Polyerates, to the end that the tyrant not being defaited and put downe, they might not have beene freed nor delivered from tyrannicall fervitude. But that which more is, what occafion had the Corinthians to bee angrie with the Samians, who though they defired, yet could not fave the Corcyreans children, confidering they tooke no displeasure against the Chidians, who not onely preferred, but also restored them to their parents? And verily the Corcyreans, make no great regard, nor speake ought, of the Samians in this behalfe: mary the Chidians, they remembred in the best maner; for the Chidians they ordeined honours, priviledges, and immunities, and enacted publicke decrees to ratific and con-20 firme the fame. For thefe Chidians failing to the Ifle of Samos, arrived there, drave out of the foresaid temple the guard of Persander, tooke the children foorth, and brought them safe to Corfu, according as Antenor the Candiot, and Dionysius the Chalcidian in the booke of Foundations have left in writing. Now that the Lacedæmonians undertooke this expedition, not for tobe quit with the Samians, and to punish them, but to deliver them rather from the tyrant, and for to fave them; I will believe no other testimonie but the Samians themselves. For they affirme, that there is among them now standing, a tombe or monument by them erected at the publike charges of the citie, for the corps of Archias a citizen of Sparta, whose memoriall they doehonour, for that in the faid fervice he fought valiantly, and loft his life: for which cause the posteritie descended from that man, doe yet unto this day, beare singular affection, and do 30 all the pleasures they can unto the Samians, as Herodot to himselfe beareth witnesse. Furthermore, in his fifth booke he writeth, that Clifthenes, one of the most noble and principall personages of all Athens, perswaded the priestresse Pythia, to be a false prophetesse, in mooving the Lacedæmonians alwaies by heranswers that the gave out, for to deliver the citic of Athens from the thirtie tyrants: and thus unto a most glorious peece of worke and right just, he adjoineth the impuration of fo great an impietie, and a damnable device of fallhood; and withall, bereaveth god Apollo of that prophelie which is fo good and honest, yea and beforming Themis. who also as they say affilteth him in the oracle. He faith also, that Isagoras yeelded his wife unto Cleomenes, for to use her at his pleasure, when sover he came unto her: and then, as his ordinary maner is, intermingling some praises among blames, because he would be the better be-40 leeved: This Isagoras (quoth he) the sonne of Tisander, was of a noble house; but I am not able to fay of what antiquitie before-time his pedegree was; but onely that his kinsfolke and those of his bloud, doe facrifice unto Tupiter, surnamed Carina. Now I assure you, this our Hiflorian is a proper and pleafant conceited fellow, to fend away Isagoras thus to the Carians, as it were to ravens, in a mischiefe. And as for driftogiton, he packeth him away not by a backe doore or posterne, but directly by the broad & open gate, as far as unto Phanice; saying, that his first originall came long since from the Gephyrians: but what Gephyrians trow yee: not those in Eubæa, or in Eretria, as some doethinke: but he faith plainly they be Phoenicians, and that he is so perswaded of them by heare-say. And not being able to deprive the Lacedæmonians of their glory, for delivering the city of Athens from the fervitude of the thirty tyrants, he 30 goeth about to obliterate quite, or at leastwife in some fort to disgrace and dishonor that most nobleact, with as foule a paffion, and as villanous a vice: for hee faith, that they repented incontinently, as if they had not well done, by the induction of falle and supposed oracles, thus to have chaced out of their countrey the tyrants their friends, guests, and allies, who promised to deliver Athens into their hands, and to have yeelded the city unto an unthankfull people; and that anon they fent for Hippias, as farre as to Sigaum, for to reduce him to Athens: but the Corinthians opposed themselves, and diverted them, whiles Sosieles discoursed and shewed

how many miseries and calamities the citie of Corinth had endured whiles Periander & Crofelus held them under their tyrannicall rule: and yet of all those enormous outrages which Periander committed, they could not name any one more wicked and cruell, than that of the three hundred children which he fent away for to be gelded: Howbeit, this man dareth to fay, that the Corinthians were mooved and provoked against the Samians, who had faved the faid youthes, and kept them from suffering such an indignity, and caried the remembrance thereof for revenge, as if they had done them fome exceeding great injurie : fo full is his malice and gall of inconstancie, of repugnance and contradiction in all his speeches, which ever and anon is ready to offer it selfe in all his narrations. After all this, comming to describe the taking of the citie Sardis, he diminished, deformeth, and discrediteth the exploit all that ever he can, be 10 ing fo armed with shamelesse audacitie, that he termeth those shippes which the Athenians set ont, and fent to fuccor the king, and to plague the Ionians, who rebelled against him, the originall causes of all mischiefe, for that they affaied to fet at liberty and deliver out of servitude, so many goodly and faire cities of the Greeks, held forcibly under the violent dominion of the barbarous nations. As touching the Eretrians, he maketh mention of them onely by the way. & paffeth in filence a most woorthy and glorious piece of service, which they performed at that time: for when all Ionia was now already in an uprore & hurliburly, and the kings armada neere at hand, they put out their navie, and in the maine fea of Pamphylia, defeated in a navall battell the Cyprians: then returning backe, and leaving their navie in the rode before Ephefus, they went by land to lay fiege unto the capitall citie of Sardis, where they beleagured Artaphernes 20 within a castle, into which he was fledde, intending thereby to raise the siege before the cine Miletus: which service they put in execution and performed; causing their enemies to remoove their campe, and dislodge from thence, in a woonderfull great feare and affright: but feeing a greater number of enemies to presse hard upon them, they returned. Many Chroniclers report the historie in this maner; and among the rest Lyfunds Mallotes, in his chronicle of the Eretrians. And verily it would have beformed well, if for no other reason, yet after the taking and destruction of their citie, to have added this their act of valour and prowesse. Howbeit, this good writer, contrariwife faith, that being vanquished in the field, the Barbarians followed in chase, and pursued them as farre as to their shippes: and yet Charon the Lampsacenian, maketh no mention thereof, but writeth thus, word for word: The Athenians (quoth be) put to sea with a sleet of twentie gallies, for to aid the Ionians, and made a voiage as farte as to Sardeis, where they were mafters of all, except the kings fortresse or wall; which done, they returned to Miletus. In the fixth booke, our Herodotus, after he had related thus much of the Platæans, that they had yeelded and committed themselves to the protection of the Lacedæmonians, who made remonstrance unto them, that they should doe farre better to raunge and fide with the Athenians their neighbours, and able to defend them: he addeth moreover and faith afterwards, nor by way of opinion and fulpicion, but as one who knew it was foindeed, that the Lacedæmonians thus advised and counfelled them at that time, not for any good will and loving affection that they bare unto them, but because they were all very well appaied to see the Athenians to have their hands full, and to be matched with the Bæotians. If then Herodotsu be not malicious, it cannot chuse, but that the Lacedamonians were very cautelous, fraudu-40 lent, and spightfull; and the Athenians as blockish and senselesse, not to see how they were thus deluded and circumvented. The Platæans likewise were thus posted from them, not for any love or honor entended unto them, but because they might be the occasion of war. Furthermore, he is convinced to have falfly devifed, and colourably pretended the excuse of the full moone against the Lacedæmonians, which whiles they attended and staied for, he saith, they failed and went not in that journey of Murathon, to aid the Athenians: for not onely they began a thousand voiages, and fought as many battels in the beginning of the moneth and new of the moone, but also at this very battell of Marathon, which was fought the fixth day of the month Boedromion, that is to fay, November, they missed very little, but they had arrived in 10 due time: for they came soone enough to finde the dead bodies of those that were slaine in the field, and lying still in the place: and yet thus hath he written of the full moone. It was impossible for them to doe this out of hand, being as they were, not willing to breake the law; for that as yet it was but the ninth day of the moneth: and they made answere, that they might not let foorth, unleffe the moone were at the full. And thus these men waited for the full moone. But you good fir transferre the ful moone into the beginning of the halfe moone or fecond quarter, confounding

The malice of Herodotus.

confounding the course of heaven, and the order of daies, yea, and shuffling every thing together. Over and besides, promising in the forefront and inscription of your historie, to write the deeds and affaires of the Greekes, you employ all your eloquence to magnifie and amplifie the acts of the Barbarians; and making femblance to be affectionate to the Athenians, yet for all that, you make no mention at all of that folemne pompe and procession of theirs at Mera, which they hold even at this day, in the honour of Hecate, or Proferpina, by way of thanker giving for the victorie, the feast whereof they do celebrate. But this helpeth Herodorus verie much to meet with that improperation and flander that went of him, namely, that he flattered the Athenians in his storie, for that he had received a great summe of money of them 10 for that purpose: for if he had read this unto the Athenians, they would never have neglected nor let passe that wicked Philippides, who went to moove and sollicite the Lacedamonians to be at that battell, from which himselfe came, and he especially, who as he saith himselfe, within two daies was in Sparta, after he had beene at Athens, if the Athenians after the winning of the field did not fend for the aide of their confederates and allies. But Diyllm an Athenian, none of the meanest Chroniclers, writeth, that he received of the Athenians, the fumme of ten talents of filver, by vertue of an an act that Anytes propounded.

Moreover, many are of opinion, that Herodotm in his narration of the battell of Marathon, himselfe marred the whole grace and honour of the exploit, by the number that he putteth downe of them who there were flaine: for he faith, that the Athenians made a vow to facrifice 20 unto Proferpina or Diana furnamed Agrotera, as many yeere old goats as they flew of the Barbarians: but when after the discomfiture and overthrow, they saw that the number of the dead bodies was infinit, they made supplication to the goddesse for to be dispensed for their you and promife, and to acquit them for five hundred every yeere to be killed in facrifice for her. But to passe over this, let us see what followed after the battell. The Barbarians (quoth he) with the rest of their thips drawing backe and retiring into the open fea, and having taken a thip boord thofe flaves of Eretria, out of the Isle where they had left them, doubled the point of Sunium, with a full purpose to prevent the Athenians before they could recover the citie. And the Athenians were of opinion, that they were advised thus to do by a secret complot betweene them and the Alcmæonidæ who had appointed and agreed with the Persians to give them a signall so soone as they were all embarked, by holding up aloft and shewing them a shield afarre off. And so they fetched a compaffe about the cape of Sunium. And here I am content that he should go cleere away with this, that he called those prisoners of Eretria by the name of slaves, who shewed as much courage and valour in this warre, yea, and as great a defire to win honour, as any Greeks whatfoever, although their vertue fped but ill, and was unworthily afflicted. And leffe account Imake also of this, that he defameth the Alcmaonida, of whom were the greatest families and noblest persons of all the citie. But the worst of all is this, that the honour of this brave victorie is quite overthrowen, and the iffue or end of fo woorthy and renowmed a piece of fervice is come just to nothing in a maner, neither feemeth it to have beene any fuch battell or so great an exploit, but onely a short scuffling or light skirmish with the Barbarians when they were landed, as evill willers, carpers and envious persons give out to deprave the service, if it be so, that after the battell, they fled not when they had cut the cables of their ships, permitting themselves to the winde, for to cary them as far as possibly might be fro Atrica, but that there was a shield or 40 targuet lifted up aloft in the aire as a fignall unto them of treason, and that of purpose they made faile toward the city of Athens, in hope to furprise it; and having without any noise in great silence doubled the forelaid point of Sunium, and were discovered a float, hovering about the port Phalera, infomuch as the principall and most honourable personages of the Athenians, being out of all hope to fave the citie, betraied it into their hands: for afterwards he dischargeth and cleereth the Alcmæonidæ, and attributeth this treason unto others: And cetteine it is (quoth he) that fuch a targuet or shield was shewed. And this he faith so confidently, as if himselfe had 50 feene the thing. But impossible it is that it should be so, in case the Athenians won the victorie cleere: and fay it had so beene, the Barbarians never could have perceived it, slying so as they did in great affright and danger, wounded also as they were, and chased both with sword and shot into their ships, who left the field every man, and fled from the land as fast as ever he could. But afterwards againe, when he maketh femblance to answere in the behalfe of the Alcmæonidæ, and to refute those crimes which himselfe broched, and charged upon them: I woonder (quoth he) and I can not beleeve the rumour of this imputation, that ever the Alcmæonidæ, by any

compact with the Barbarians, shewed them the figuall of a shield, as willing that the Athenians should be in subjection to the Barbarians under Hippias. In thus doing, he putteth me in mind and remembrance of a certeine clause running in this maner: Take him you will; and having taken him, let him goe you will. Semblably, first you accuse, and anon you defend: write you do and frame acculatorie impurations against honourable persons, which afterwards you seeme to cancile, difcrediting herein (no doubt) and diftrufting your felfe: for you have heard your owne selse to say, that the Alemaonidae set up a targuet for a signal to the Barbarians vanquished and flying away; but in relieving them againe and answering in their defence, you shew your felfe to be a flanderous fycophant: for if that be true which you write in this place, that the Alcmæonidæ were worle, or at leastwise, as badly affected to tyrants, as Callias the sonne of Phenip- 10 pus and father of Hipponieu, where will you bestow and place that conspiracie of theirs against the common wealth, which you have written in your former books? faying, that they contracted alliance and affinitie in marriage with Pifftratus; by meanes whereof, they wrought his returne from exileto exercise tyrannie: neither would they ever have banished him againe, had it not beene that their daughter had complained and accused him, that he used her not according to law of marriage & of nature. Thus you fee what confused variations, contradictions and repugnances there be in that imputation and suspicion of the Alcmæonidæ: but in sounding out the praises of Callast the sonne of Phenippus, with whom he joineth his sonne Hipponicus, who by the report of Herodotus himselfe , was in his time the richest man in all Athens, he confessed plainly, that for to infinuate himselfe into the favor of Hipponicus, and to flatter him, without any 20 reason or cause in the world arising out of the matter of the story, he brought Callias. All the world knowes, that the Argives refused not to enter into that generall confederacy and affociation of the Greeks, requiring onely, that they might not be ever at the Laced amonians command, nor forced to follow them, who were the greatest enemies, & those who of all men living hated them most : when it would not otherwise be, he rendereth a most malicious and spightfull cause and reason thereof, writing thus: When they saw (quoth he) that the Greeks would needs comprise them in that league, knowing full well, that the Lacedae monians would not impartunto them any prerogative to command, they feemed to demand the communion thereof, to the end that they might have some colourable occasion and excuse to remaine quiet and sit still: which he faith, that Artaxerxes long after, remembred unto the embaffadors of the Argives, 30 who came unto him at Sussa, and gave this testimonie unto them, That he thought there was not acity in all Greece friended him more than Argos. But soone after, as his accustomed maner is, feeming to retract all, and cleanly to cover the matter, he comes in with these words: Howbeit, as touching this point, I know nothing of certeinty; but this I wot wel, all men have their faults, and I doe not believe, that the Argives have caried themselves woorst of all others: but howsoever (quoth he) I am bound to fay that which is commonly received, yet I beleeve not all: and let this stand thorowout the whole course of mine historie. For this also is given out abroad That they were the Argives who follicited and fent for the king of Persia to levie warre upon all Greece; because they were not able in armes to make head against the Lacedæmonians, and cared not what became of them, to avoid the present discontentment and griefe wherein they 40 were. And may not a man very well returne that upon himselfe, which he reporteth to be spo-க்கூழ்களில் na ken by an Aethiopian, as touching the sweet odours and rich purple of the Persians ? * Decision Minary PAA full are the Persian continents, deceitfull are their babilliments. For even so a man may very well tay of him: Decenful are the * phrases, decenful are the figures of Herodotus bu speeches;

So intricate and tortuous, fo winding quite throughout, As nothing found is therin found, but all turn's round about.

And like as painters make their light colours more apparent and eminent, by the shadowes that they put about them; even so Herodotus by seeming to denie that which he affirmeth, dothen 50 force and amplifie his calumniations so much the more; and by ambiguities and doubtfull speeches, maketh suspicions the deeper. But if the Argives would not enter into the common league with all other Greeks, but held off and flood out upon a jelousie of sovereigne command or emulation of vertue and valour against the Lacedæmonians; no man will say the contrary, but that they greatly dishonoured the memorie of their progenitous Hercules, and disgraced the nobilitie of their race. For better it had beene, and more beferming, for the Siphnians and

Cithnians, the inhabitants of two little Isles, to have defended the libertie of Greece, than by ftriving thus with the Spartans, and contesting about the prerogative of command, to shift off and avoid to many combats and to honourable pieces of service. And if they were the Argives, who called the king of Perfia into Greece, because their sword was not so sharpe as the Lacedamonians was, and for that they could not make their part good with them; what is the reason, that when the faid king was arrived in Greece, they shewed not themselves openly to band with the Medes and Persians? And if they were unwilling to be seene in the field and campe with the Barbarian king; why did they not, when they staied behinde at home, invade the territory of the Laconians? why entred they not againe upon the Thurians countrey, or by fome other meanes to prevented & impeached the Lacedamonians? for in fo doing, they had been able greatly to have endamaged the Greeks, namely, by hindring them from comming into the field at Place with so puiffant a power of armed footmen. But the Athenians verily in this service, he highly extolleth and fetteth out with glorious titles, naming them, The faviours of Greece; which had beene well done of him and juiltly, if he had not intermingled with these praises, many blames and reprochfull termes. Howbeit now, when he faith, that the Laceda monians were abandoned of the other Greeks, and nevertheleffe, thus forfaken and left alone, having undertaken many woorthy exploits, died honourably in the field, forefeeing that the Greekes favouring the Medes, complotted and combined with king Xerxes; is it not evident hecreby, that he gave not out those goodly words directly to praise the Athenians, but rather, that he commended them, 20 to the end that he would condemne and defame all other Greeks ? For who can now be angric and offended with him, for reviling and reproching in fuch vile and bitter termes the Thebans and Phoceans continually as he doth, confidering that he condemneth of treason (which neverwas, but as he gueffeth himfelfe might have so fallen out) even those who were exposed to all perils of death for the liberties of Greece? And as for the Lacedæmonians themselves, he putteth adoubt into our heads, Whether they died manfully in fight, or rather yeelded ? making flight arguments, God wot, and frivolous conjectures, to impaire their honour, in comparison of others that fought at Thermopyle.

Moreover, in relating the overthrow and shipwracke which hapned to the king of Persias fleet, wherein a mighty and infinit maffe of money and money worth was cast away: Aminocles 20 a Magnefian citizen (quoth he) and fonne of Cretines, was mightily enriched; for he met with infinit treasure as well in coine as in plate both of filver and gold. But he could not passe over so much as this, and let it go, without fome biting nip favouring of malice : For this man (quoth he) who otherwise before time was but poore and needy, by these windfalles and unexpected cheats became very wealthy: but there befell unto him also an unhappy accident, which troubled him and difgraced his other good fortune, for that he killed his owne fonne. For who feeth not, that he inferteth in his historic these golden words of wrecks, and of great treasure found floating or cast upon the sands by the tides of the sea, of very purpose, to make a fit roume and a convenient place, wherein he might bestow the murder committed by Aminocles upon the person of his owne sonne. And whereas Aristophanes the Bootian wrote, that having de-40 manded money of the Thebans, he could receive none of them; and that when he went about to reason and dispute scholastically with the youth of the city in points of learning, the magistrates (such was their rusticitie and hatred of good letters) would not suffer him: other proofe and argument thereof he putteth downe none: but Herodotus gave testimonic with Aristophames, whiles those imputations wherewith he chargeth the Thebans, hee putteth downe some fallely, others ignorantly, and fome againe upon hatred, as one that had a quarrell against them: for he affirmeth, that the Theffalians combined and fided with the Medians at the first upon meereneceffitie, wherein he faith true. And prophefying as it were of other Greeks, as if they minded to betray and forfake the Lacedæmonians, he commeth in afterwards with this shift, that this was not voluntarily and with their good liking, but upon constraint and necessity, because they were surprised city by city, one after another. But yet he alloweth not unto the Thebans the excuse of the same compulsion, albeit they had sent a band of sive hundred men under the conduct of captaine Mnamias, for to keepe the streights of Tempe, and likewise unto the Paffe of Thermopyla, as many as king Leonidas demanded, who onely together with the Thefpians stucke to him and remained with him, when he was for faken of all other, after they faw how he was environed round about on every fide. But after that the Barbarous king, having gotten

all the Avennes, was entred upon their confines, and Demaratus the Spartan, being in right of

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(ชีวิ าสิ เก็นสen bis. * Jekspik wif ·ra pinuara doλες 23 τα 3/-ματα της 'H- mutuall hospitalitic friendly affected to Apaginus a chiefe upholder and principall pillar of the Oligarchie, or faction of some few, usurping principalitie, wrought so, as that he brought him first acquainted and afterwards into familiar friendship with the Barbarian king, whiles all other Greeks were embarked and at fea, and none seene upon the land to encounter the enemies. By this meanes, at the last driven they were to accept conditions of peace, and to grow into a composition with the Barbarians, finding themselves brought to so hard termes of necessitie: for neither had they sea at hand, nor a navy at command as the Athenians, neither dwelt they farre off from the heart of Greece in a most remote angle thereof, as did the Lacedaemonians, but were not above one daies journey and an halfe from the Medians rotall campe, and had already encountred in the streight passages with the kings power, affisted onely with the Spartans 10 and Thespians, where they had the worse and were defaited. And yet this our historiographer is fo just and equall, that he faith, The Lacedæmonians seeing themselves for saken and abandoned of all their allies, were faine to give care unto any composition whatsoever, & to accept at a venture what was offered: and to being not able to abolish not utterly blot out to brave and so glorious an act, nor to denie, but that it was atchieved; he goeth about to discredit and deface it with this vile imputation and fulpicion, writing thus: The allies then and the confederats being fent backe, returned into their countreys and obeied the commandement of Leonidas; only the Thespians and Thebans remained still with the Lacedamonians: and as for the Thebans, it was full against their willes, for that Leonidas kept them as hostages; but the Thespians were willing thereto, for they faid, they would never for fake Leonidas nor his company. Sheweth he not ap 20 apparently heerein, that he carrieth a fpightfull and malicious minde particularly against the Thebans, whereby not onely he flandereth the city fallly and unjuftly, but also careth nor fo much, as to make the imputation seeme probable, no norto conceale at leastwise unto sew men, that he might not be espied to have beene privie unto himselse of contradictions : for having written a little before, that Leonidas feeing his confederates and allies out of heart and altogether discouraged to hazard the fortune of the field, commanded them to depart : a little after, clean contrary he faith, that he kept the Thebans perforce with him and against their wils, whom by all likelihood he should have driven from him, if they had bene willing to stay, in case that he had them in jelousie and suspition, that they tooke part with the Medians: for seeing he would not have those about him who were cowardly affected, what boot was it to keepe among 30 his foldiers men suspected? For being as he was, a king of the Spartans, and captaine general of all the Greeks, he had not beene in his right wits not found in judgement, if he would have stated with him in hostage foure hundred men well armed, when his owne company were but three hundred in all, especially at such a time when as he saw himselfe hardly bested and beset with enimies, who pressed upon him at once, both before and behind. For how soever before time he had led them about with him as hoftages, probable it was that in fuch an extremity they would either have had no regard of Leonidas and so departed from him, or else that Leonidas might have feared to be environed by them rather then by the Barbarians. Over and besides, had not king Leonidas bene ridiculous and worthy to be laughed at, to bid other Greeks to depart, as if by tarying they should soone after lose their lives: and to forbid the Thebans, to the 40 end that he might keepe them for the behalfe of other Greekes, he I say who was resolved anon to die in the field; for if he led the men about with him in trueth as hoftages, or no better than flaves, he never should have kept them still with those who were at the point to perish and be flaine, but rather delivered them unto other Greeks who went from him. Now whereas there remaineth one cause yet, that a man may alledge, why he retained them still with him, for that peradventure they should all die with him, this good writer hath overthrowen that also, in that he writeth thus of the honorable mind & magnanimity of Leonidas, word for word in this wifer Leonidus (quoth he) cafting and confidering all these matters in his minde, & desiring that this glory might redound unto the Spattans alone, fent away his friendly allies every one into their owne countries, therefore rather than because they were of different minds & opinions: for ex-50 ceeding folly it had bene of his part, to keepe his enemies for to be pertakets of that glory, fró which he repelled his friends. It appeareth then by the effects, that Leonidas distrusted not the Thebans, nor thought amisse of them, but reputed them for his good and loiall friends: For he marched with his army into the city of Thebes, and at his request obtained that which to no other was ever granted, namely to be lodged all night and sleepe within the temple of Heraules, and the next morning related unto the Thebans, the vision which appeared unto him: For he

faw as he thought, all the greatest and most principall cities of Greece in a sea, troubled and disquieted with rough windes and violent tempests, wherein they floted and were toffed to and fro. But the city of Thebes surpassed all the rest, for mounted it was on high up to heaven, & afterwards fuddenly the fight therof was lost, that it would no more be seene. And verily these things as a type refembled that which long time after befell unto that city. But Herodorus in writing of this conflict, burieth in filence the bravest act of Leonidas himselfe, faying thus much barely: They all lost their lives in the straights, about the top of a certaine hill. But it was far otherwise, For when they were advertised in the night that the enimies had invested them round about, they arose and marched directly to their very campe, yea and advanced so far forth as they came to within a little of the kings roiall pavilion, with a full resolution there to kill him, and to leave their lives all about him. And verily downethey went withall before them, killing, flaying and putting to flight, as many as they met, even as farre as to his tent. But when they could not meet with Xerxes, feeking as they did for him in fo vast and spacious a campe, as they wandred up and downe fearthing for him with much adoe, at the last hewed in peeces they were by the Barbarians, who on every fide in great number came about them. And albeit we will write in the life of Leonidas, many other noble acts and worthy fayings of his, which Herodorus hath not once touched, yet it shall not be amisse to quote heere also by the way, some of them. Before that he and his noble troupe departed out of Sparta in this journey, there were exhibited solemne funerall games for his and their fakes, which their fathers and mothers frood to behold: 20 & Leonides himselfe, when one faid unto him, That he led forth very few with him to fight a battell: Yeabut they are many enough (quoth he) to die there. His wife asked him when he tooke his leave of her, what he had elfe to fay? No more (quoth he) turning unto her but this, that thou marry againe with some good man, and beare him good children. When he was within the vale or passe of Thermopyle, and there invironed, two there were in his company of his ownerace and family, whom he defired to fave: So he gave unto one of them a letter to carry whether he directed it, because he would send him away: but the party would not take it at his hands, faying in great cholar and indignation, I am come hither to fight like a warrior, and not to conveigh letters as a carrier. The other he commanded for to goe with credence, and a meffage from him unto the magistrates of Sparta: but he made answere not by word of mouth, but 10 by his deed: for he tooke up his shield in hand and went directly to his place, where he was appointed to fight. Would not any man have blamed another for leaving out the fethings? But this writer having taken the paines to collect and put in writing the bason and close stoole of Amasis, and how he brake winde over it; the comming in of certaine affes which a theese diddrive; the congiary or giving of certaine bottles of wine, and many other matters of fuch goodstuffe; can never be thought, to have omitted through negligence, nor by overlight and forgetfullneffe, so many worthy exploits, and notable fayings: but even of peeviflineffe, malice and injustice, to some. And thus he saith, that the Thebans at first being with the Greeks, fought indeed, but it was by compulfion, because they were held there by force. For it should feeme for footh, that not only Xerxes, but Leonidas alfo, had about him a company that followed 40 the campe with whips, to scourge those I trow, who lagged behinde, and these good sellowes held the Thebans to it, and made them to fight against their willes: And thus he faith that they fought perforce, who might have fled and gone their waies: and that willingly they tooke part with the Medes, whereas there was not one came into fuccor them. And a little after, he writeth, that when others made hast to gaine the hill, the Thebans being disbanded and divided a funder, both stretched forth their hands unto the Barbarians, and as they approched neere unto them, faid that which was most true, namely, that they were Medians in heart, and so in teken of homage and fealty, gave unto the king water and earth: that being kept by force they were com-Pelled to come into this passe of Thermopyla, and could not doe withall, that their king was wounded, but were altogether innocent therof: By which allegations they went clere away with 50 their matter: For they had the Theffalians witnesses of these their words and reasons. Lo how this apologie and juttification of theirs, had audience among those barbarous outcries of so many thousand men, in those confused shouts and dissonant noises, where there was nothing but running and flying away of one fide, chafing and purfuit of another: See how the witneffes were deposed, heard and examined. The Theffalians also amid the throng and rout of those that were knocked downe and killed, and over those heapes of bodies which were troden under foot (for all was done in a very guller and narrow passage) pleaded no doubt very formally for the Thebans: Mmmmm 2

Thebans: for that a little before they having conquered by force of armes all Greece, chaled them as far as to the city The spie, after they had vanquished them in battell, and slaine their leader and captaine Lattamias. For thus much paffed even at that very time betweene the Thebans and the Thessalians: whereas otherwise there was not so much as civil love and humanity, that appeared by mutual offices from one to the other. Besides, how is it possible that the Thebans were faved, by the testimony of the Thessalians? For the Barbarous Medes, as himselfe faith. partly killed outright fuch as came into their hands : and in part whiles their breath was yet in their bodies, by the commandement of Xerxes, fet upon them a number of thekings markes. beginning first at the captaine himselfe Leontiades. And yet neither was Leontiades the generall of the Thebans at Thermopyle, but Anaxander as Ariftophanes writeth out of the Annals, and 10 records in the arches of Thebes, as touching their foveraigne magistrates: and so Nicander likewise the Colophonian hath put downe in his cronicle : neither was there ever any man before Herodotus who knew that Xerxes marked & branded in that maner any Theban: for this had bin an excellent plea in their defence against the foresaid calumniation, and a very good meanes for this city to vaunt and boast of such markes given them, as if king Xerxes meant to punish and plague as his greatest and most mortall enimies, Leonidas and Leontiades. For he cauled the one to be scourged, and his body to be hanged up when he was dead; and the other to be pricked whiles he was alive. And this our Historiographer hath used this cruelty which they thew. ed unto Leonidas dead, for a manifest proofe that the Barbarous king hated Leonidas in his life time above all men in the world. And in avouching that the Thebans who fided with the 20 Medes at Thermopyle were thus branded & marked as flaves, and afterwards, being thus marked, fought egetly in the behalfe of the fame Barbarians before Platea, me thinks he may well fay as Hippoclides the feat moriske dancers, unto whom, when at a feaft he bestirred his legges, and hopped artificially about the tables, one faid unto him, Thou dancest truly. Hippoclides answered againe, Hippoclides careth not greatly for the trueth. In his eighth booke he writeth that the Greeks being affrighted like cowards, entred into a resolution for to flie from Artemisium into Greece: and that when those of Eubara belought them to tarry still awhile, untill such time as they might take order how to bestow their wives, children and familie, they were nothing moved at their praiers, nor gave any care unto them, untill fuch time as Themistocks tooke a peece of mony of them, and parted the same betweene Eurybiades and Adimant us the Pretour or cap- 30 taine of the Corinthians. And then they staied longer, and fought a navall battell with the Barbatians. And verily Pindarus the Poet, albeit he was not of any confederate city, but of that which was suspected and accused to hold of the Medians side, yet when he had occasion to make mention of the battell at Artemfum, brake forth into this exclamation:

This is the place where Athens youth, fometime as writers fay,
Did with their bood, of liberty
the glorious groundworkelay.

But Herodotus contrariwife, by whom some give out that Greece hath bene graced and adorned, writeth that the faid victory was an act of corruption, bribery and mere theft, and that the 40 Greeks fought against their wils, as being bought and fold by their captaines, who tooke mony therefore. Neither is here an end of his malice. For all men in maner doe acknowledge and confesse, that the Greeks having gotten the upper hand in sea fight upon this coast, yet abandoned the cape Artemisium, and yeelded it to the Barbarians, upon the newes that they heard of the overthrow received at Thermopyle. For it had bene no boot nor to any purpose, for to have fitten still there, and kept the sea for the behoofe of Greece, considering that now the warre was hard at their dores within those straights, and Xerxes, master of all the Avenies. But Herodotus feigneth, that the Greeks, before they were advertised of Leontidas death, held a counsell and were in deliberation to flie: For these be his words: Being in great distresse (quoth he) and the Athenians especially, who had many of their ships, even the one halfe of their fleet shrewdly 50 brused and shaken, they were in consultation to take their slight into Greece. But let us permit him thus to name or to reproch rather this retrait of theirs before the battell : but he termed it before, a flight: and now at this present he calleth it a flight: and hereafter he will give it the name of flight, fo bitterly is he bent to use this vile word, flight. But (quoth he) therecame to the Barbarians prefently after this, in a barke or light pinnace a man of Estiaa, who advertised them, how the Greeks had quit the cape Artemissium and were fledde: which because they

could not beleeve, they kept the meffenger in ward and fafe custody, and thereupon put forth certainte swift foists in espiall to discover the trueth. What say you Herodotus? What is it you write? That they fled as vanquished, whom their very enimies themselves after the battell could not beleeve that they fled, as supposing them to have had the better hand a great deale? And deserveth this man to have credit given him, when he writeth of one perticular person, or of one city apart by it selfe, who in one bare word, spoileth all Greece of the victory? He overthroweth and demolisheth the very Trophæe and monument, that all Greece crecited. He abolisheth those titles and inscriptions, which they set up in the honor of Diana, on the East side of Artimisum, calling all this but pride and vaineglory. And as for the Epigram, it ran to this effect.

From Asia land, all forts of nations stout When Ashens youth, sometime in navall fight Had vanquished, and all these coasts about Dispers their sleet; and therewith put of light And slame the host of Medes: Loe heere in sight What monuments to the with due respect, Diana virgin pure, they did creek.

He described not the order of the battels, and how the Greeks were ranged, neither hath he shewed what place every city of theirs held, during this terrible fight at sea: but in that retrait of their fleet, which he termeth a flight, he faith, that the Corinthians failed formost, and the A-20 thenians hinmost: he should not then have thus troden under foot, and insulted too much over those Greeks, who tooke part with the Medes: he (I say) who by others is thought to be a Thurian borne, and reckoneth himselfe in the number of the Halicarnasseans, and they verily being descended from the Dorians, come with their wives and children to make warre against the Greeks. But this man is to farre off from naming and alledging before the flreights and neceffities whereto those states were driven, who sided with the Medians, that he reporteth thus much of the Medians, how notwithstanding the Phocæans were their capitall enemies, yet they fent unto them aforehand, that they would foare their countrey, without doing any harme or damage unto it, if they might receive from them as a reward, fiftie talents of filver. And this wrote he as touching the Phocæans in these very termes: The Phocæans (quoth he) were the 30 onely men who in these quarters sided not with the Medians, for no other cause as I finde upon mature confideration, but in regard of the hatred which they bare against the Thessalians: for if the Theffalians had bene affected to the Greeks, I suppose the Phocæans would have turned to the Medes. And yet a little after, himselfe wilfay, that thirteene cities of the Phocæans were fet on fire, and burnt to ashes by the Barbarian king, their countrey laid waste, the temple within the citie Abes confumed with fire, their men and women both put to the fword, as many as could not gaine the top of the mount Pernaffue: Nevertheleffe he rangeth them in the number of those that most affectionatly tooke part with the Barbarians, who indeed, chose rather to endure all extremities and miseries that warre may bring, than to abandon the desence and maintenance of the honour of Greece. And being not able to reproove the men for any deeds 40 committed, he bufied his braines to devife falle imputations, forging and framing with his pen diversfurmifes and fuspicions against them, not willing that their intentions should be judged by their acts, if they had not beene of the fame minde and affection with the Theffalians, as if they would have renounced the treason, because their countrey was already seized by others. If then, a man, who would goe about to excuse the Thessalians for siding with the Medes, should lay, that they were not willing thereto, but for the hatred which they bare unto the Phocarans, feeng them adhere and allied to the Greeks, therefore they tooke the contrary fide, and clave to the Medes, even against their will and judgement: might not he seeme to be an egregious flatterer, who thus in favour of others, fearthing honest pretentes to colour and cover foule facts, perverteth the trueth? Yes verily, as I thinke. How then can it otherwise be, but that he 50 shall be taken for a plaine sycophant, who faith; that the Phocæans followed not the better for vertue, but because they knew the Thessalians were of a contrary minde and judgement? For he doeth not turne and father this flander and calumniation upon others, as his maner is else whereto doe, faying, that he heard fay, &c. but he affirmeth, that in conferring all things together, himselfe found no other occasion thereof. He ought then to have alledged withall, his prefumptions and proofes; whereby he was perfuaded, that they who performe all actions semblable to the best, are yet in will and intention all one with the woorst. For the occasion Mmmmm 3

which he alledgeth, to wit, enmitte, is frivolous, and to be laughed at, because neither the enmitie that was betweene those of Aegins and the Athenians; nor that which the Chalcidians bare against the Eretrians; nor the Corinthians against the Megarians; was a barre to empeach them for joining together in the league of Greece, for the defence of common libertie: like as on the contrary fide, the Macedonians most bitter and mortall enemies unto the Theffalians, and those who plagued them most, diverted them not from the consederacie and alliance with the Barbarians. For the publicke perill, covered and hidde their private quarrels: infomuch as abandoning and banishing their passions, they gave their consent, either to honesty for vertue. or to profit for necessitie. And yet beside this necessitie, wherewith they found themselves overtaken, yea, and forced to submit themselves to the Medes, they returned againe to the to Greeks fide : and heereof Lecerates the Spartane, giveth direct testimonic in their behalfe, Yea and Herodotus hunfelfe being forced and compelled thereto, confesseth in the description of the affaires that passed at Placea, that the Phocians sided with the Greeks. And no marvell is it, if he be fo rough and violent with fuch as have beene infortunate; when as, even those who were present in the action, and hazarded their whole estate for the good of the common-wealth. he transposeth into the ranke of enemies and traitors. For the men of N axos sent three gallies or shippes of warre to aide the Barbarians in their service : but one of the captaines of those veffels named Democritus, perfinaded his other two fellowes, to turne, and range rather on the Greeks side. See how he can not for his life, praise, but he must withall dispraise: but looke when some particular person is commended, he must needs by and by condemne a whole citie 20 and nation: Witneffe heereof, among ancient writers, Hellameus, and of our moderne authors, Ephorus: for the one faith, that the Naxians came to fuccour the Greekes with fixe gallies, and the other faith with five: yea and Herodorus himselfe is convinced to have seigned and salissed this: For the particular chroniclers of the Naxians write, that before time they had repulled Megabetes the lieutenant of the kings, who with two hundred faile arrived at their Isle, & there ridde at anchor: afterwards drave away Datis another generall of his, who as he passed by, burnt their cities. And if it be fo as Herodotus faith ellewhere, that they themselves destroied their city, by fetting it on fire, but the people faved themselves, by flying into the mountaines, had they good cause to send aid unto those, who were the cause of the ruin and destruction of their owner country, and not to joine with them who fought for the common liberty? But that it was not so much to praise Democritus, as to blame the Naxians, that he devised this lie, he sheweth evidently by this, that he concealeth and omitteth to speake of the valiant feats of armes, which at that time captaine Demceritus exploited, according as Simonides shewed by this Epigram.

Democritus in third place gave the charge with all his might, What time as Greeks neve Salamis, with Medical te did fight, Five ships of enimes he tooke: a sixth there chunc do be, One of the Greeks in Barbarous hands, and that recovered be.

But why should any man be angry with him about the Naxians? For if their be any Antipodes, as some fay there are, who dwell in the other Hemisphære and goe opposit unto us, I suppose that they also have heard of Themispoeles, and the counsell that he gave unto the Greeks for to fight an avail battel before Salamis, who atterwards caused a temple to be built in the Isle of Melite unto Dians the wise counseller, after that the Barbarous king was discomfitted. Now this kinde and gentle cronicler of ours, refusing as much as lieth in him to avow this exploit, and to transfer the glory thereof unto another, writeth expressly thus. When things stood upon these termes, as Themispoeles went a boord into his owne gally, there was a citizen of Athens named Mnesiphelus, who demanded of him what they had resolved upon in their councell? And when so he heard that concluded it was to retire with their sleet unto Ithmus or the streights, there to fight a battell at sea even before Peloponnesus: I say unto you (quoth he) againe that it here to fight a battell at sea who here of the sum over the navy from Salamis, you shall never sight more upon the sea for any country of your owne: for every man will presently returne home to his owne city. And therefore if there any device and meanes in the world, goe your waies and indevor to breake this resolution, and if it be possible deale so with Eurybiades, that he may change his minde and tarry here still: And a little

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little after, when he had faid that this advice pleafed Themistocles wondrous much, & that without making any answere at all he went directly to Eurybiades, he writeth againe in these very tearmes: And fitting neere unto him, he relateth what counsell he had heard Mness to give, taking it upon himselfe, and addeth more things besides. Thus see you not how in some fort he brings Themistocles unto an ill name and opinion of leaudnesse, in that he attributeth unto himselfe a counsell which was none of his owne, but the invention of Mnesiphilus? And afterwards deriding still the Greeks more and more, he faith that Themistocles was no such wife man, as to fee what was good and expedient, but failed in his forelight, notwithstanding that for his prudence and cunning he caried the furname of uliffes. Mary, lady Artemifia borne in the 10 fame city that Herodot us was, without the prompting or teaching of any person, but even of her own head, fortold Xerxes that the Greeks could not hold out long, nor make head against him, but would disband and disperse themselves, & every one sie home unto his owne city: Neither it is like (quoth the) if you march with your army by land unto Peloponnes us, that they will be quiet and fit still, and take no care to fight at sea for the Athenians : Whereas, Sir, if you make haft to give them a navall battell, I feare me greatly that if your armada receive any foile or damage, it wil greatly prejudice your land forces. But here Herosotus wantednothing but his propheticall veries, to make Artemifia another Sibylla, prophefying of things to come fo exactly. Well in regard of this advertisement Xerxes gave her commission to carry his children with her to the city of Ephelic: for he had fogotten belike, to bring any women with him from his toi-20 all city of Sufa, in case his children needed a convoy of women to conduct them. But I make no account of fuch lies as these which he hath devised against us: yet let us onely examine a little what flanders he hath raifed upon others. He faith that the Athenians give out, how adimanus the captaine of the Corinthians, when the enimies were at the point of giving the charge, and joining battell, in great feare and aftonishment fled, not by shoving the ship backeward at the poupe by little and little after a foft maner of retreat, nor yet making way of evaluon and escape closely and with filence through his enimies; but hoising up and spreding full faile, and turning the proces and beake heads about of all his veffels at once. And then there was a fregat or fwift pinnace fent out after him, which overtooke him about the coasts of Salamis, our of which one cried out unto him: What Adimantus, doe you flie indeed, and have you abando-30 ned and betraied the Greeks? And yet they have the better hand, according as they made their praiers unto the gods for to vanquish their enemics. Now this fregat, we must thinke verily came downe from heaven: for what need had he to use any such tragique engine, or fabricke to worke fuch feats, who every where elfe furpaffeth all the Poets tragicall in the world, for lying and vanity. Well Adimantus believing the faid voice, was reclaimed and returned againe to the armada, when all was done, and the businesse dispatched by others to his hands. Thus goes the bruit and speech among the Athenians. But the Corinthians confessenot so much, faying that they themselves were the formost who in the vaward gave the first onset and charged theenimies in this battell at sea : and on their side beare witnesse all the other Greeks. And thus dealeth this man in many other places: He foweth flanders here and there upon one or o-40 ther, to the end that he may not miffe but light upon fome, tall it out as it will, who may appeare most wicked. Like as in this place he speedeth very well in his purpose. For if his flander and accusation be believed, the Corinthians shall sustaine infamie: if discredited, the Athenians shall beare the dishonor: or if the Athenians have not lied upon the Corinthians, yet himselfe hath spared neither of them, but told a lie of them both. For proofe hereof, Thurgdides who bringeth in an embaffador of Athens, to contest against a Corinthian at Lacedamon, and speake bravely of their owne worthy exploits against the Medes, and namely, of the navall battell of Salamis, chargeth upon the Corinthians no matter of treason nor cowardise in abandoning their colours: for there is no likelihood, that the Athenians would have reproched the city of Corinth in fuch termes, confidering that they faw it ingraven in the third place after the 50 Lacedamonians, and those inscriptions of spoiles which woon from the Barbarians, were conlecrated to the gods. And at Salamis, they permitted them to interre and bury their dead neere to the citie fide, as who were brave warriours, and had borne themselves most valiantly in that fervice, with an infeription in Elegick verses to this effect:

Once (p.sseer) we dwelt in Corinth towne, Well watered with sea on either side: And now our bones thu Isle of renowne,

Phanician ships we sunke, that here didride: The Medes so stout we slew and Persians brave,

That facred Greece from bondage we might fave. But their Cenotaph or imaginary tombe which was erected in Ishmus, carieth this Epitaph:

Loe heere we lie, who with our lives fet free

All Greece, neere brought to shamefull slaverte.

Likewise over the offerings which Diodorus one of the captaines of the Corinthian gallies, caufed to be fet up in the temple of Latona, there was this superscription:

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From cruell Medes, these armes which hang in sight,

7 he mariners of Theodorus won: And as memorials of their navall fight,

To dame Latona offred them anon. Adimant us himselfe, whom Herodorus evermore doth revile and reproch, saying, That he alone of all the captaines, went away with a full purpose to flie from Artemisium, and would not flay untill the conflict; fee what honour he had:

Friendpaffenger, heere les fir Adimant Entombed, by whose prowesse valiant, All Greece is crown'd with freedome at this day, Which els had beene to thraldome brought for ay.

For neither is it like that fuch honour should have beene done unto him after his death, if hee had beene a coward and a traitour; neither would he ever have dared to name one of his daughters Nausintee, that is to say, Victoric in battell at sea; another, Acrothmien, which is as much as the First fruits of spoiles won from enemies; and a third, Alexibia, that is to say, Aide against force: also to give unto his sonne the name of Aristem, which fignifieth a brave warriour; if he had not won fome glory and reputation by worthy feats of armes. Moreover, it is not credible, I will not fay, that Herodotus, but the meanest and most obscure Carian that is, was ignorant of that glorious and memorable praier which in those daies the Corinthian dames alone of allother Grecian wives made, That it might please the goddesse Venus to inspire their husbands with the love and defire to give battell unto the Barbarians. For this was a thing commonly 30 knowen and divulged abroad, infomuch as Simonides made an Epigram engraven over those their images of braffe, which are fet up in the temple of Venus, which by report was founded in times palt by Medea, as some say, to this end, that the herselse might cease to love her husband; but as others, that Jason her husband might give over the love of one Thetis. And the said Epigram goeth in this maner:

These ladies here, whose statues stand in place. Did whilom praiers to goddeffe Venus make, In Greeks behalfe 3 that it might please her grace Them to incise, the warres to undertake. Dame Venus then, for those good womens sake To Median archers expos'd not as a pray The Greeks, nor would their Citadel betray.

Such matters as thefe, he should have written and mademention of, rather than inferted into his historie, how Aminocles killed his owne sonne. Over and besides, after he had satisfied himselfe to the ful with most impudent imputations which he charged upon Themistocles, accusing him, that he ceased not secretly to rob and spoile the Isles, without the knowledge of the other captaines joined in commission with him; in the end, taketh from the Athenians the crowne of principall valiance, and fetteth it upon the head of the Aeginets, writing thus: The Greeks having fent the first truits of their spoiles and pillage unto the temple at Delphos, demanded of Apollo in generall, whether he had fufficient, and flood content with that portion of the bootie: 50 unto whom he answered, that of all other Greeks, he had received enough, & wherewith he was well pleased: but of the Aeginets not so; at whose hands he required the chiefe prise and honor of prowesse, which they woon at the battell of Salamis. Thus you see he fathereth not upon the Scythians, the Perfians or Acgyptians his lying tale, which he coggeth and devifeth, as Aspe doth upon crowes, ravens and apes, but he uleth the very person of god Jobla Pyrbiu, for to disappoint and deprive the Athenians of the first place in honor, at the battell of Salamis; as also Themistocks

The missocles of the second, which was adjudged unto him at Isthmus or the streights of Peloponnefus for that ech captaine there, attributed the highest degree of prowesse to himselfe, and the next unto him: and thus the judgement heereof growing to no end and conclusion, by reason of the ambition of the faid captaines, he faith, All the Greeks weighed anchor and departed, as not being willing to conferre upon Themistocles the sovereigne honour of the victorie. And in his ninth and last booke, having nothing left to wreake his teene upon, and to discharge his malicious and spigntfull stomacke, but onely the Lacedamonians, and that excellent piece of service which they performed against the Barbarians before the city of Placea, he writeth, That the Lacedæmonians, who aforetime feared greatly, that the Athenians being follicited and perfua-

10 ded by Mardoniu, would for fake all other Greeks: now that the Streights of Isthmus were mured up & their country fafe enough, they tooke no further care of others, but left them at fix and feven, featting & making holiday at home, deluding the embaffadors of the Athenians, and holding them off with delaies, and not giving them their dispatch. And how is it then, that there went to Platea a thousand and five Spartans, having every one of them seven Ilotes about him, for the guard of his person? How is it (I say) that they taking upon them the adventure of so great a perill, vanquished and discomfited so many thousands of Barbarians? But hearken what a probable cause hee alledgeth: There was (quoth he) by chance, a man at Sparta, named Chilem, who came from Tegaa thither, and sojourned there, for that among the Ephori he had some friends, as betweene whom and him there was mutuall hospitalitie: He it was who

20 perswaded them to bring their forces into the field, Thewing unto them that the bulwarke and wall for the defence of Peloponnesus would serve in small stead or none, if the Athenians joined once with Mardonius; and this was it that drew Paufamas forth with his power to Place: fo that if some particular businesse haply had kept Chiless at home still in Teges, Greece had never gotten the victoric. Againe, not knowing another time what to doe with the Athenians: one while he extolleth their city on high, and another while he debaseth it as low, toffing it to and fro, saying, that being in question about the second place of honor with the Tegeats, they made mention of the Heraclida, alledging their valiant acts, which before time they had atchieved against the Amazones: the sepultures also of the Peloponnesians, who died under the very wals of the castle Cadmea; and finally that they went downe to Marathon vaunting gloriously in 30 words, and taking great joy that they had the conduct of the left wing or point of the battell,

Also a little after, he putteth downe, that Paufanias & the Spartans willingly yeelded the superioritie of command to them, and defired them to take the charge of the right wing themselves, to the end they might confront the Perfians, and give them the left; as if they had excused themselves by their disuse, in that they were woont to encounter with the Barbarians. And verily, albeit this is a meere mockerie, to fay, that they were unwilling to deale with those enemies, who were not accustomed to fight with them: yet he faith moreover, that all the other Greeks, when their captaines ledde them into another place for to encampe in, fo soone as ever their flanderds marched & advanced forward: The horfemen (quoth he) in generall fled, and would willingly have put themselves within the city Platen, but they fledde indeed as sarre as to the 40 temple of Juno. Wherein he accuse thall the Greeks together of disobedience, cowardise, and

treason. Finally, he writeth that there were none but the Lacedæmonians and the Tegcates who charged the Barbarians; nor any befides the Athenians, who fought with the Thebans; depriving all other cities equally of their part in the glory of that so noble an exploit: for that there was not one of them who laid hand to worke, but fitting all still, or leaning upon their weapons hard by, abandoning and betraying in the meane time, without doing ought, those who fought for their fafetie, untill that the Phliafians, and the Megarians, though long it were fift, hearing that Paulanias had the upper hand, ranne in with more hafte than good speed, and falling upon the cavallerie of the Thebanes, where they were presently defaited and slaine, without any great adoe: But the Corinthians (quoth he)were not at this fray, but after the vic-

50 torie, keeping above on the high ground among the mountaines, by that meanes met not with the Thebanes horsemen. For the cavallery of the Thebanes, seeing the Barbatians to fly all in a rout, put themselves soorth before them, to make them way, and by this meanes very affectionately affifted them in their flight, and all in recompence and by way of thankelgiving, for footh, (for so you must take it) for those marks which were given them in their faces, within the streight of Thermopila. But in what ranke and place of this battell the Corinthians were raunged, and how they did their devoir, and quit themselves against the Barbarians before Pla.

Amid the hoft arraunged flood,
and in the battell maine,
Those who inhabit Ephyra,
waterd with many a vaine
Of lively springs: Men who in seats
of mariall armes extell:
And joint with them, they that in old
so Glaucus citic dwell,
Faire Cotinth hight: and the se their deeds
of prowess to express,
A stately gift of precious gold,
did a sterwards addresse,
And conservate to gods above
in heavins: and by the same
Chusch amplified their owne revowme,

and their forefathers fame. For this wrote he of them, not by way of a scholasticall exercise, as if he taught a schoole in Corinth: nor as one who of purpose made a song or balad in praise of the city, but as a chronicler penning the historie of these affaires in elegiack verses to that effect. But this writer here of ours, preventeth the conviction of a loud lie, lest he might be taken therewith, by those that 20 should demaund of him in this maner: How commeth it then to passe that there be so many fepulchres, tombes, graves, and monuments of the dead, upon which the Plateans even to this day doe folemnly celebrate the anniversarie effusions, to the ghosts and soules of those that are departed, in the presence of other Greeks affiftant with them? And verily in mine opinion he feemeth yet more shamefully to charge these mations with the crime of treason, in these words following: And these sepultures or places of burial which are seene about Platea, those I meane which their posteritie and successors, being ashamed of this foule fault, that their progenitours were not at this battell, or came too late, cast up, and raised on high, every man for his part in generall, for the posteritic sake. As for Herodotus he is the onely man of all others who hath heard of this absence from the battell, which is reputed treason: But Paufanias, Ariftides, the 30 Lacedamonians and the Athenians, never knew of those Greeks who made default, and would notbe at this dangerous conflict: And yet the Athenians neither impeached the Aeginetes though they were their adverfaries, that they were not comprised within the inscription, nor yet charged and convinced the Corinthians for flying from the battell at Salamis, considering that Greece beareth witnesse against them. And verily as Herodotus himselse dothtestifie, ten yeeres after this warre of the Medes, Cleadas a citizen of Platea, to gratifie and pleasure the Aeginetes as a friend, raifed a great mount bearing their name, as if they had bene interred therein. What ailed then the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, or what moved them, being so jealous one of another about this glory as they were, that they had like to have gone together 40 by the cares presently upon the exploit performed, for erecting of a Tropæe or monument of victory, not to deprive them of the price of honor, who upon cowardly feare were either away or else fled from the service, but to suffer their names to be written upon the Tropzes, Colopes and giantlike statues erected in memorial of them, allowing them their part in the spoiles and pillage, yea and in the end cauling this Epigram or superscription to be engraven upon a publicke alter?

The Greeks in figne of noble victory,
Which they fometimes wan of the Persians host,
And to retaine the thankefull memory
That they them drave away from Gretian coast,
(So refoluse they were or elfe all had bene lost)
This common alter built to Jupitet

Surnamed hercupon Deliverer.

How now Herodotus, was it Cleades, or fome other I prayyou, who in flatterie of the Greeks, made this Epigram or Infeription? What need had they then to take fuch paines & trouble thefelves in digging the ground in vain, & by cafting up of earth raife fuch mounts & monuments for

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for the age to come, when as they might fee their glory confectated and immortalized in these most conspicuous and samous memorials, dedicated to the honor of the gods? And verily Paulanias, when as he intended, as men say to usurpe tyrannicall government, in a certaine oblation which he offred in the temple of Apollo at Delphos, set this inscription;

The malice of Herodotus.

Paulanias the captaine generall
Of all the Greeks: when he had conquered
The Medes in fight, for amemoriall
This monument to Phoebus offered.

And albeit infome fort he communicated the glory of this execution with the Greeks, whose to fovereigne captaine he termed himfelfe, yet the Greeks being not able to endure it, but utterly milliking him therefore, the Lacedæmonians above the rest sent their embassadors unto Delphos, and caused the said Epigram to be cut out with a chizzell, and in lieu thereof, the names of the cities, as good reason was, to be engraven: And yet what likelihood is there, that either the Greeks should take offence and discontentment for being left out in this inscription, in case they were culpable, and privy to themselves, that they were not with others at the battell ? or the Lacedæmonians when they raced out and defaced the name of their generall and chiefe commander, cause to be written and engraved their names, who had for saken and left them in the middeft of danger? For this were a manifest indignity, and most absurd, if when Socharus Dip. mission, and all those that performed the best service in that journey, never grieved nor complaian ned that the Cythnians and Melians had their names recorded in those Tropæes, Herodot us in autibuting the honor of this battell unto three cities onely, thould dash all others out, and not fuffer their names to stand upon any Tropæes or consecrated places: For whereas there were foure battels given then unto the Barbarians, he faith, that the Greeks fled from the cape Artemilium: And at the passe or streights of Thermopyla, whiles their king and soveraigne captaine exposed himselfe to the hazzard of his life, they kept themselves close at home and sat still, taking no thought for the matter, but folemnized their Olympicke games and Carnian feats.

Moreover when he commeth to discribe the battell at Salamis, he speaketh so much of Artemiss, that he spendeth not so many words againe, in all the narraton of that navall battell, and the iffue thereof. Finally as touching the journey of Platea, he faith that all other Greeks, fit-20 ting idly at their ease, knew nothing of the field fought, before all was done, according as Pigres Arimnsias being pleasantly disposed to jest, writeth merily in verse, that there was a battell betweene frogs and mice, wherein they were agreed to keepe filence, & make no noise al the whiles they fought; to the end that no others might take any knowledge thereof: also that the Lacedamonians were no better warriors nor more valiant than the Barbarians: but their hap was to defait and vanquish them, because they were naked men and disarmed: For Xerxes himselse being present in person, if they had not beene followed with whips & scourged forward, had neverbene able to have made them fight with the Greeks; mary in this journey of Platea, having changed their hearts and courages (for needs it must be so) they were nothing inferior in boldnesse of heart, strength of body, and resolution to the Greeks; but it was the apparell, which 40 wanting armes upon it, hurt them so much & marred al, for being themselves lightly appointed and in maner naked, thay had to deale with the Lacedæmonians that were heavily armed at all pieces. What honor then or great matter of glory could redound unto the Greeks out of thefe fourebattels, in case it be so that the Lacedæmonians encountred naked and unarmed men? And for the other Greeks although they were in those parts present, yet if they knew not of the combat, untill the fervice was done to their hands: and if the tombs honored yeerely by the feverall cities belonging to them, be emptie, and mockeries onely of monuments and fepulchres; and if the trevers and alters erected before the gods, be full of false titles and inscriptions; and Herodorus onely knew the trueth; and all men in the world besides, who have heard of the Greeks, and were quite deceived by the honorable name and opinion that went of them for their 30 fingular proweffe and admirable vertue; what is their then to be thought or faid of Herodo. Surely that he is an excellent writer, and depainteth things to the life: he is a fine man; he hath an eloquent tongue: his discourses are full of grace, they are pleasant, beautifull, and artificiall: and as it was faid of a Poet or Mulician in telling his tale; how ever he hath pronounced his narration and history not with knowledge and learning, yet furely he hath done it elegantly, smoothly, and with an audible and cleare voice. And these I wis be the things that move delight and doe affect all that reade him. But like as among roles we must beware of the veni-

mous

mous flies Cantharides: even fo we ought to take need of detractions and backebiting of his base penning likewise of things deserving great praise, which infinuate themselves and creepe under his smooth stile, polished phrase and figurative speeches: to the end, that ere webe aware we intertaine not, nor foster in our heads, false conceits and absurd opinions of the bravest men and noblest cities of Greece.



OF MVSICKE.

A Dialogue.

The persons therein discoursing: On esicrates, Soterichus, Lysias.

This treatife, little or nothing at all concerneth the Musicke of many voices according and interlaced together, which is in use and request at this day; but rather apperteineth to the ancient fashion, which consisteth in the accordand consonance of song with the sense and measure of the letter, as also with the good grace of gesture: and by the stile and maner of writing, it seemeth not to be of Plutarchs doing.



He wife of that good man *Phoeion*, was wont to fay, that the jewels and ornaments wherein the joied, were those stratagemes and worthy feats of armes which her husband *Phoeion* had atchieved i but for my part may well and truely avouch, that the ornaments not onely of my felfe in particular, but also of all my friends and kinfolke in generall, is the diligence of my schoolemaster and his affection in teaching me good literature. For this we know full well, that the noblest exploits and bravest pieces of service performed by great generals and captaines in the field, can doe no more but onely save from present perill or imminent danger, some smallar 40

mie, or some one citie, or haply at the most, one entire nation and countrey; but are not able to make either their fouldiers, or citizens, or their countreymen, better in any respect: whereas on the other fide, good erudition and learning, being the very substance indeed of felicitie, and the efficient cause of prudence and wisdome, is found to be good and profitable not onely to one family, city and nation, but generally to all mankinde. By how much therefore the profit and commodity enfuing upon knowledge and good letters is greater than that which proceedeth from all stratagemes or martiall feats; by so much is the remembrance and relation thereof more worthy and commendable. Now it fortuned not long fince, that our gentle friend Onesierates invited unto a feaft in his house, the second day of the Saturnall solemnities, certeine perfons very expert and skilfull in Musicke, and among the rest, Soterichus of Alexandria, and Ly-50 fins, one of those who received a pension from him: and after the ordinary ceremonies and complements of fuch feafts were performed, he began to make a speech unto his company after this maner: My good friends (quoth he) I suppose, that it would not beseeme a feast or banquet, to search at this time what is the efficient cause of mans voice; for, a question it is, that would require better leafure and more fobrietie: but forasmuch as the best Grammarians define voice, to be the beating or percuffion of the aire, perceptible unto the sense of hearing, and because that yesterday we enquired and disputed as touching Grammar, and sound it to be an art making prosession and very meet, to frame and shape voices according to lines and letters, yea, and to lay them up in writing, as in the treasury and storehouse of memorie; let us now see what is the second science next to it, that is meet and agreeable to the voice: and this I take to be Musicke. For a devout and religious thing it is, yea, and a principall duty belonging unto men, for to fing the praises of the gods, who have bestowed upon them alone this gift of a distinct and articulate voice: which Homer also by his testimonie hath declared in these verses:

Then all day long the Gresian youth in Jongs melodious

Be Jonght god Phoebus of his grace, to be propitious:

Phoebus I Jay, who from afarre doth shoot his arrowes nie,

They chaint and praise; who takes great joy, to heare such harmony.

Goeto therefore my masters, you that are professed Musicians, relate unto this good company here that are your friends, who was the first inventour of Musicke; what it is that time hath addedunto it afterwards; who they were that became famous by the exercise and profession of this science; as also, to how many things and to what, is the said study and practise profitable. 20 Thus much as touching that which Onesicrates our master moved and propounded; whereupon Lysias inferred againe, and said: You demand a question, good Oneserates, which hath alreadie beene handled and discussed: for the most part of the Platonique Philosophers, and the best fort of the Peripateticks have emploied themselves in the writing of the ancient Musicke, and of the corruption that in time crept into it. The best Grammarians also and most cunning Musicians, have taken great paines and travelled much in this argument; and yet there is no small discord and jarre among them, as harmonicall otherwise as they be about these points, Heraclides in his Breviarie, wherein he hath collected together all the excellent professiours of Musicke, writeth that Amphion devised first the maner of singing to the Lute or Citherne, as also the Citharædian poelie; for being the fonne of Antiope and Jupiter, his father taught him that 30 skill. And this may be proved true, by an olde evidence or record enrolled, and diligently kept in the city Sieyone, wherein he nameth certeine Priestresses in Argos, as also Poets and Musicians. In the same age, he faith, there lived Linux also of Eubea, who composed certeine lamentable and dolefull ditties; Anthes likewise of Anthedon in Baotia, who made hymnes; and Pierim borne in Pieria, who wrote poëmes upon the Muses: he maketh mention besides of Philammon a Delphian, who reduced into fongs and canticles the nativity of Latona, Diana and Apollo; and he it was who instituted first the quires and dances about the temple of spollo in Delphos. And as for Thamyris a Thracian borne, he reporteth, that of all men living in those daies, he had the sweetest brest, and sung most melodiously, insomuch as if we may believe Poets, hee challenged the Muses, & contended with them in singing. It is written moreover, that this 7 ha-40 myris compiled in verse the warre of the Titans against the Gods; as also, that Demodocus of Coreyra was an ancient Musician, who endited a poeme of the destruction of Troy, and the marriage betweene Venus and Vulcane: Semblably, that Phemius of Ithaca wrote in verse of the retume of those Greeks from Troy, who came home againe with Agamemnon. Furthermore, it is faid, that the stile of those poemes above said, was not loose and in prose, without metricall numbers, but like unto that of Steficherus and other old Poets and fong-makers, who first made naked ditties in verse, and afterwards arraied them with Musicall tunes and notes: for the same author reporteth, that Terpander a maker of fongs with notes and measures to be sung unto the Lute or Cithern, according to ech law and rule of the faid measures, adorned both his owne verses and those of Homer also, with harmonicall tunes, and fung them accordingly at the so-50 lemne games, wherein Mulicians fing one against the other for the prise : he affirmeth likewise, that the same Terpander was the first who imposed names and termes to those tunes which are to be fung to the forefaid stringed instruments : and in imitation of Terpander, Clonas first composed songs and set tunes to the fluit and other winde instruments, as also the Prosodies and sonets fung at the entrie of facrifices, and that he was a Poet who made Elegiack and Hexameter vertes; also, that Polymne from the Colophonian, who came after him, used likewise the same poemes. Now the Metricall lawes and fongs in measures, called in Greeke Nopau, which these Po-

ets and Mulicians used to the pipe, were termed (good One fierates) in this fort, namely, Apothetos, Elegi, Comarchios, Schanton, Cepion, Dios and Trimeles: but in processe of time, were devised others beside, called Polymnastia. As for the Musicall lawes or tunes to be sung unto the stringed instrument, they were invented long time before those other belonging to pipes, by Terpinde ; for he beforetime named those of the stringed instruments, Baotius, Acolius, Trochaus, Oxys, Capion, Terpandrios and Tetraædios. Furthermore, the faid Terpander made certeine processor voluntary fongs to the Lute, in verfe. Now, that the fongs or ditties to be fung unto stringed instruments, were composed in olde time of Hexamiter verses, Timotheus giveth us to understand; for mingling the first metricall rules in his verses, he sung the Dithyrambick ditty, to the end, that he might not feeme immediatly at the first, to breake the lawes of to the ancient Mulicke. This Terpander feemeth to have beene excellent in the art of playing upon the Lute and finging to it; for wee finde upon record in ancient tables written, that foure times together, one after another, he caried the prife away at the Pythian games: and no doubt, of great antiquitie he was. Certes, Glaucus the Italian writer, will have him to be more ancient than Architochus; for so he writeth in a certeine treatise as touching the olde Poets and Musicians, faying, that he followed in the fecond place after those who instituted first fongs unto the flute and other pipes. And Alexander in his Breviarie of the Poets and Mulicians of Phrygia, recordeth Olympus to be the first man who brought into Greece the feat and skill of striking the strings of instruments, and besides, those that are called Idei Dactyli. But Hyagnis was the first by his faying, who plaied upon pipes: after him, his fonne Marfyas, and then Olympus: alfo, that 20 Terpander imitated Homer in verses, and Orpheus in song : as for Orpheus, it should seeme, that he imitated none, confidering that before him there was not one, but those Poets who made ditties and fongs to pipes, wherewith the works of Orpheus have no refemblance at all. Touching this Cloras a composer of longs and tunes for the pipe, who lived somewhat after the time of Terpander, he was a Tegewan borne, as the Arcadians fay, or rather as the Boeotians give out, a Theban. After Terpander and Clonas, Archilochus is ranged in a third place, howfoever other Chroniclers write, that Ardalus the Troezenian ordeined the Mulicke of pipes before Clanss, as also, that there was one Polymnestus a Poet the sonne of Meles a Colophonian, who made those tunes and songs which carie the name of Polymnestos and Polymneste. True it is, that those who compiled the tables and records of Musicians, make mention that Clonus deviced these two fongs or tunes named Apostneros and Schamos. Andas for the above named Polymnessus, Pin. darus and Aleman, both fong-makers, made mention of him; and they report befides, that olde Philammon of Delphos composed some of those songs and tunes to the Lute and Harpe, which be attributed unto Terpander. In fumme, the fong and musicke to the Lute and Harpe, deviled by Terpander, continued very plaine and fimple, unto the daies of Phrynis: for in olde time, it was not lawfull to fing voluntary, as now they do at their pleasure, to stringed instruments; not to transferre either harmonies or muficall numbers and measures: for according to every fong and tune, they kept a proper and peculiar tension or stretching of the strings; which is the reafon that they be called Nowa, as one would fay, Lawes, because it was not lawfull to trangresse in any of these songs or tunes, that severall kinde of tension & stretching the strings, which was 11-40 fuall and ordinary. For after that they had performed those songs which appeare ine to the pacifying of Gods wrath, they leapt immediatly to the Poetric of Homer and of others, at their pleasure, which may evidently appeare, by the procemes and voluntarie tunes of Terpander. And verily, about this time, according as Capion the scholar of Terpander reporteth, was first formed that maner of Lute or Cithern which was called Afias, for that the Lesbian Minstrels and Musicians, who bordered hard upon Asia, used such a forme : and it is faid, that Perichtus was the last plaier upon such an instrument, who wan the prise at the Carnian games at Lacedemon, of all those who were Lesbians borne: after whose death ever after, there failed in Lesbos, that continuall fuccession of such Musicians. But some there be, who are greatly deceived, to thinke that Eipponax was of the same time with Terpander; and it seemeth that even Periolitus 50 was more ancient than Hipponax. -

Having thus declared the olde metricall longs and tunes jointly together, of Mulicians to ftringed inftruments and pipes, let us turne now to fuch as properly concerne those that pettine to plaiers upon pipes alone: for it is said, that the above-named Olympus being a plaier of the flute and other pipes, and came out of Phrygia, set a song to his instrument in the honor and praise of Ippollo, and the same was called Polycephalus: and by report, this Olympus descended

lineally from that first Olympus the scholar of Marsyas, who composed ditties, and set times for the worship of the gods: for this Olympus being the derling of Marsyns, and singularly loved of him, learned likewife of him to play upon the flute and other pipes, and by that meanes brought into Greece those harmonicall tunes and songs, which at this day the Greeks use at the solemne fealts of the gods. Others are of opinion, that the foresaid song or tune Polycephalus, is to be aferibed unto Crates ascholar of Olympus: but Praimas writeth, that this song came from another Olympus of later time; and as for that other kinde of fong or time, named Harmation, the first Olympus, disciple to Marsysas, by report, composed it. And some there be who holde, that Marsy as was named Masses: others say no, and that he was called Marsy as onely, being the to some of Hyagnia, who first devised the art of playing upon the flute. And that this Olympus was the authour of the muficke or tune, named Harmatias, appeareth by the table or register of the ancient Poets, collected by Glaucus: and by the fame, a man may alfo learne, that Stefichorus borne in Himera, proposed to himselfe for to imitate, neither Terpander, nor Antilochiu, ne yet Thaletos, but Olympus; using altogether the law of Musicke Harmatias, and that forme of meafure which is according to Dattylus: and that, fome fay, artieth from the loud muficke called Orthios, but others hold, that it was an invention of the Mylians, for that there were certeine ancient pipers of the Mysians. Moreover, there is another antique song or tune, called Cradius, according to which (as Hipponax faith) Mimnermus plaied: for at the beginning, the minstrels and plaiers of pipes, fung certeine Elegies, reduced into measures and metricall lawes, which ap-20 peareth by the tables and registers, that testifie what Musicians they were, that contended at the games of prife, in the festivall Panathenacke folemnities. Moreover, there was one Sacadas of Arges, a Poet that made fongs and elegies or ditties, reduced into measures, for to be fung: and reckoned hee is among the better fort of Poets, and as it appeareth upon record inthose registers, hee wanne the best game three times at the Pythian folemnities. And Pindarm himselfe maketh mention of him. And whereas there be three kindes of tunes and measures in Musicke, according to Polymness and Sacadas, to wit, the Prygian, Dorian, and the Lydian, they say, that in every one of them Sacadas made a cetteine flexion or tune, called Strophe, and taught the Chorus to fing the first according to the Dorian tune; the second after the Phrygian measures; and the third, to the Lydian mulicke: and that this maner of fong 30 was thereupon called Trimeres, by reason of the three changes or parts: Howbeit, in the tables and registers of the auncient Poets, which are to be feene at Siegone; it is observed and noted, that it was Clonas who devised this melody or muficke Trimeres. Now the first maner of mulicke, ordeined and inflituted in the city of Sparta, by Terpander, was in such fort. The second was appointed as it is most generally received, by Thaletas the Gortynian, by Xenodamus the Cytherian, Xenocritus the Locrian, Polymnest us the Colophonian, and Sacadas the Argive; as the principall authors and directors: for as these were they who instituted first at Lacedamon thenaked daunces called Gymnopedia, fo in Areadia they ordeined those that were termed Apodixer; and in Argos the Endymatics. As for Thaletas, Xenodamus, and Xenocritus, they were the Poets that composed the songs of victorie, named Pæanes : Polymness w, of the Orthian 40 canticles; and Sacadas of the elegies. Others lay, that Xenodamas was the Poet who invented the longs entituled Hyporchemara, at the found whereof, folke danced at the feafts of the gods: buthe devised northe Paranes aforesaid, as Prainas did. And even at this day, there is a sonet extant of this very fame Xenodamus, which is evidently an Hyporchema; and this kind of poefic Pindarus ufeth. Nowthat there is a difference betweene a Pæan and an Hyperchema, the works of Findarus fufficiently do shows for he hath written as wel the one as the other. Polymnessus also made fongs and ditties to the flute; and in Orthian canticles, used measures and melodie, according as our harmonicall Musicians give it out: As for us, we know not the trueth, because our ancients have left nothing in writing thereof. There is some doubt also, whether Thalet as of Candie were a Poet that made Pæans: For Glauces in faying, that he was after Archilochus, 50 writeth indeed, that he imitated his fongs; but he extended them farther, and made them longer, inserting the measures Maron and Creticus into his melodie, which Archilochus never used, nor Orphess, nor yet Terpander: for it is said, that Thales as learned this from Olympus his playing and piping, and was reputed a good Poet. As touching Xenocritus of Locres in Italy, it is not yet resolved and for certeine knowen, that he was a maker of Pæanes. Certes, it is confidently faid, that he tooke for the subject matter and argument of his Poesse heroicke deeds, informuch as forme terme his arguments Dithyrambes. Glaucus affureth us, that Thalesas was Nnnnn 2

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more ancient than Xenocritus. And Olympus as Ariflocritus writeth, is reputed by Mulicians to have beene the inventor of the Musicke called Euharmonian : for before his time, al Musicke was either Diatonique, or Chromatique: and it is conjectured to have beene invented in this maner: For Olympus practifing the Diatonique Mulicke, and extending his fong otherwhiles as farre as to the note Parhypate Diatonique, sometimes from Paramela, and sometime from Mese, and surpassing Lichenos Diatonique, observed the sweetnesse and beautie of such an affection, and the composition arising of that proportion, and allowing it to be good, inferted it in the Dorian Mulicke: for he touched nothing of that which properly perteineth to the Diatonique or Chromatique kinde, neither medled he with that which concerned harmony, And these were the beginnings of the euharmonique Musicke: For first of them they put 4 10 Spondaeus, wherein no division sheweth that which is proper, unlesse a man having an cic unto a vehement Spondiasme, will conjecture and say the same to be a kinde of Diatonos, But manifest it is, that he will put a falsitie and discord, who thus setteth it downe: A falsity (I say)in that it is by one Diefus leffe than the tone or note that is next unto the prime, and a discordor diffonance: for that if a man doe fet in the power of a Toniæum, that which is proper unto a vehement Spondiasme, it will fall out that he shall place jointly together, two Diatoniques, the one simple, and the other compound, for this enharmonique reenforced, and comming thicke upon the Mese, which now adaies is so much used, seemeth not to be devised by the Poet. Thusmay a man foone perceive, if he observe and marke one very well, who plainthupon a pipe after the old maner: For by his good will, the Hemitone in the Mefe, will be in- 20 compounded. Thus you fee what were the first rudiments and beginnings of Euharmoniques: But afterwards the demi-tone, was divided and diffracted as well in Lydian as in Phrygian Muficke: and it feemeth that Olympus hath amplified and augmented Musicke, because he brought in that which never yet was found, and whereof his predeceffors all were ignorant; fo that he may very well be thought the Greekish and elegant Musician. Semblably we are to speake of the numbers and measures in Musicke called Rhythmi: for devised there were and found out to the rest, certeine kinds and speciall forts of Rhythmi, as also there were those who ordeined and instituted such measures and numbers. For the former innovation of Terpander, brought one very good forme into Mulicke: Polymnestus after that of Terpander another: which he used, and yet he adhered also to that good forme and figure before. Semblably did 30 Thaletas and Sacadas: And these men verily were sufficient in making of these Rhythmi, and yet departed not from that good and laudable forme: But Crexus, Timotheus, and Philoxenus, and those about their age, were overmuch addicted to new devices, and loved novelties, in affeeting that figure which in these daies is called Philanthropon, that is to say, humane; and Thematicon, that is to fay, positive. For antiquitie embraced few strings, simplicitie also, and gravity of Musicke. Thus having according to my skill & ability discoursed of the primitive Musicke, and of the first authors who invented it, and by what inventions in processe of time it grewto fome meane perfection, I will breake off my speech, and make an end, giving leave to our friend Soterichus for to speake in his turne, who is a man not onely well studied in Musicke, and as well practifed therein, but also throughly seene in all other learning, & liberal literature. For mine 40 owne part I am better acquainted with the fingring Musicke & manuall practise than otherwise.

Of Musicke.

When Lysian had thus said, he held his peace: and then Soterichus after him began thus: You have heere good Onesterates mooyed and exhorted us to discourse of Musicke, a venerable science, and a profession right pleasing to the gods: and for mine owne part, I greatly approove of my master Lysias, as well for his good conceit and knowledge, as for his memorie, whereof he hath given us a fufficient proofe, by reciting the authors and inventors of the first Musicke, and the writers also thereof. This will I put you in minde by the way, that in all his proofes he hath reported himselfe, to the registers and records of those who have written thereof, and to nothing elfe. But I am of a farre other minde, and thinke verily that no earthly man was the inventour of this fo great good, which Musicke bringeth with it unto us, but even 50 god Apollo himselfe, who is adorned with all maner of vertues. For neither Marlyas, nor Olympus, ne yet Hyagnis, as some doethinke, devised the use of the flute and pipe, no more than both of the one and the other: the lute or harpe onely was the invention of dpollo: for this god deviled the play which may eafily be known by the daunces, and folemnities of factitices, which were brought in with the found of hautboies and flutes, to the honour of that god: according as Alcess among many others, hath left written in one of his hymnes:moreover, his

very image in the Isle of Deles testifieth as much, where he is portraied standing thus; holding in his right hand a bow, and in his left the Graces, and every one of them hath an inftrument of Mulicke; the one an harpe or lute; another the shaulme or hauthoies; and she in the middes a flute or shrill fife neere unto her mouth. And because I would not have you to thinke, that I have picked this out of mine owne fingers ends; both Anticles and Hifter in their Commentaries, and Elucidarres, of these things doe quote and alledge as much. As for the image aforefaid, and the dedication thereof, fo auncient it is, that by report, it was made and erected in the time that Hercules lived. Moreover, the childe that bringeth the lawrell out of the valley of Tempe to the citie of Delphos, is accompanied with a piper or plaier of the hauthoies: yea and the facrifices which were woont in old time to befent from the Hyperboreans into the Isle of Delos, went with a fort of hauthoies, flutes, pipes, and lutes or ftringed inftruments about them. And sometherebe who say more than this, namely, that god Apollo himselfe plaied upon the flute and hautboies. And thus writeth Aleman an excellent Poet, and maker of sonners. And Comma faith furthermore, that Apollo was taught by Minerva, for to pipe. See how honourable and facted every way Muficke is, as being the very invention of the gods. And in olde time they used it with great reverence, and according to the dignitic thereof, like as they did all other fuch exercises and professions: whereas in these daies men rejecting and disdaining the majestie that it hath, in stead of Musicke, manly, holy and acceptable to the gods, bring that into the theaters, which is effeminate, enervate, broken, puling and deceitfull. And therefore 20 Plate in this third booke of his Common weath, is offended with fuch Musicke, and utterly resecteth the Lydian harmonie, which is meet for mones and lamentations, like as it is faid, that the first institution and making thereof was lamentable: for Aristoxenus in his first booke of Mulicke reporteth, that Olympus founded with the hautboies a dolefull and funerall dumpe in Lydian Musicke, upon the death of Python. And others there be who affirme, that Melanippides began first this tune. Pindaras in his Pæans saith, that this Lydian Musicke began first to be taught at the wedding of Niebe: others, that one Torebus used first this harmonic, according as Dunysius Iambus writeth. The Myxolydian Musicke also, is full of affection, and in that regard meet for tragedies. Arifoxenu writeth, that Sappho invented first this Myxolydian harmonie, of whom the tragedie makers learned it, and joined it with the Dorian: for that as 30 the one giveth a certeine dignitie and stately magnificence, so the other mooveth affections: and a tragedy you wot well is mixed of them both: Howbeit, in their rolles and registers, who have written of Musicians, it is said, that Pythoclides, the plaier of the hauthoies, was the first inventer of this Muficke, But Ly/is referreth the invention thereof to Lamproeles the Athenian, who having found and perceived, that the disjunction is not there where in maner all others thinke it is, but toward that which is high and fmall, made such a forme and figure thereof, as is from Para-mese to Hypate Hypaton. Likewise the Sublydian Musicke, if it be contrary unto the Myxolydian, and in refemblance comming neere unto the Ionique, was by report deviled by Damon the Athenian: Nowe because of these two harmonies, the one is mournfull and lamentable, the other diffolute and enervate; Plato had good reason to reject 40 them both : andtherefore he chose the Dorian , as that which is most beseeming valiant , sober and temperate men: not , I affure you because hee was ignorant (as Aristo xenus faith, in his fecond booke of Mulicians and Mulicke) that in the other there was some thing good for acommon-wealth, and circumspect pollicie: (for Plate had much applied his minde unto Mulicke, as having beene the scholar of Draco the Athenian, & Metellus the Agrigentine) but confidering as we have faid before, that there was more gravity and dignitic in the Dorian Muficke, he preferred the same before the rest. And yet he wish well enough, that Pindarus, Aleman, Simonides, and Bacebylides, had written and fet many other Parthenies to the Dorian Musicke: besides Prosodies and Pæans also. Neither was he ignorant, that tragical plaints, and dolefull mones, yea, and amatorious ditties, were composed for to be fung in this Dorian tune. 50 But he ftood fufficed and contented with those which were endited to the praise of Mars and Minerva, and with Spondaes; for these are sufficient to fortifie &confirme the minde of a temperate and lober man. Neither was he unskilfull in the Lydian Muficke, nor the Ionian; for he knew well enough that the traggedie used this kinde of melodie. Moreover, all our ancients before time, being not unexpert of all other kinds of Mulicke, yet contented themselves with the useof one. For ignorance or want of experience, was not the cause that they ranged themselves into fo narrow aftreight. & were contented with fo few strings: neither are we to thinke that Ter-Nnnnn 3

pander and Olympus, and they that followed their fect; for default of skill and experience, cut off the multiplicitie of strings, and their varietie. Witnesse heereof the Poems of Terpander Olympus, and all their followers, and fuch as tooke their course: for being but simple, and having no more than three strings, yet are they more excellent than those which consist of manie ftrings, and be full of varietie; in fuch fort, as no man is able to imitate the maner of Olympus; and all those who use many strings and varietie, be farre short, and come behinde him. Now that our ancients in old time absteined from the third, in that Spondcaik kinde, not upon ignorance, they shew sufficiently in the use of striking the strings: for never would they have used the accord and consonance with Pare-hypate, if the use thereof had beene unknowen unto them: but certeine it is, that beauty of affection which is in the Spondeaik kinde, by the third, to was it that led their fense to raise & exalt their note and song to Paranete: and the same reason also there is of Nete: For this verily they used to their stroke of the instrument, to wit, unto Pa. ranete in discord, & unto Mese in accord. But in song they seemed not unto them, proper and fit for the Spondeaik kinde. And not onely in these, but also in Nete of the Tetrachord conjunct, all used so to doe: For in the very stoake of the strings, they disaccorded with Paranete. Paramefe, and Lichanos, but in fong, they were ashamed thereof, for the very affection that refulted thereupon. Moreover, it appeareth manifeltly by the Phrygians, that this was not for any ignorance of Olympus, or his fecturies: for they used it not onely in fingring, and in the stroake of the stringes, but also in singing at the solemne feasts of the great mother of the gods, Cybile, and in some other Phrygian solemnities. It appeareth also mani- 20 feftly, by the Hypates, that it was not for ignorance that in the Dorian tunes they forbare this Tetrachord, for incontinently in other tunes they used it : so that it is evident that they did it wittingly but to avoide affection they tooke it out of the Dorique Musicke, honoring the beauty and honesty thereof: as we may observe some such like thing in tragicall Pocts. For never yet to this very day, did the tragedy use Chromaticke musicke, nor rhyme: whereas the citherne or lute, which by many ages is more ancient than the traggedy used it even from the very beginning. And evident it is that Chroma is of greater antiquity than is Harmony. For we must account this antiquity, whereby the one is said to be more ancient than an other, according to the use & practife of men, because in regard of the nature of these kinds one is not elder than another. If then some one would say, that Aefchylus or Phrynichus forbareto 30 use Chromaticke Musicke upon ignorance, & for that they knew it not, were he not thinke you very abfurd and much deceived? For the fame man might as well fay that Panerates also was ignorant of this Chromaticke kind, because for the most part he forbare to use it; and yet in some places he used it. So that it was not for want of knowledge, but of set purpose, and upon judgement that he abstained from it. He imitated then, as he faith himselfe, the maner of Pindarus and Simonides, and in one word, that which the moderne Musicians call the ancient Musicke. The like reason there is of Tyrtaus the Mantinean, of Andreas the Corinthian, Thrasyllus the Phliafian, and of many others whom we know upon good confideration to have absteined from the Chromaticke, from change and multiplicity of strings, yea and many other things interferted which are in common use, namely rhymes, harmonies, ditties, songs, and interpretations. 40 And not to goe far for proofe hereof, Telephanes the Megarian was fo great an enimy to flutes, fifes, and small pipes, that he would never abide the artificers and pipe-makers so much as to fer them to the shawme and hautboies; and for this cause especially, he forbare to come unto the Pythicke or Apollican games of prife. In summe, if a man will conjecture that if a thing be not used, it is long of ignorance, he might condemne of ignorance many of those who live in these daies; as for example the Dorioneans, because they despise the Antigenidian kinde of Musicke, for that they used it not. To the Antigenidians likewise they might impute ignorance of the Dirionian Mulicke, for the fame cause, as also the minstrels & harpers, as ignorant of the maner of Timothem his Musicke. For they have in maner all betaken themselves to patcheries and fallen to the Poëmes of Polydius. On the other fide, if a man confider aright, and with ex-50 perience make comparison betweene that which then was and that which now is, he shall finde that variety and diversity was in use and request even in those daics also. For the ancient Musicians used in their numbers and measure, their variety, much more diverse & different than now it is. So that we may boldly fay that the varietic of rhymes, the difference also and diversitie of strokes was then more variable. For men in these daies love skill and knowledge, but in former times they affected numbers and measures. So that it appeareth plainely that the ancients ab-

flained from broken Muficke and fong, not because they had no skill, but for that they had no will to approve thereof. And no mervell: for many fathions there be in the world and this our life, which are well enough knowen, though they be not practifed: mary strange they be by reason of disule, which grew upon occasion that some thing was observed therein, not decent & feemly. But, that it was not for ignorance, nor want of experience, that Plate rejected other kindes of Musicke, but onely because they were not beseeming such a common wealth of his, we will show hereafter : and withall that he was expert and skilfull in harmony : For in that procreation of the foule which he describeth in the booke of Timess, he declareth what fludy he hademploied in other Mathematicall studies and in Musicke besides, writing after this maner: to Thus in maner (quothhe) did God at the first : And after that, he filled the double and treble intervals, in cutting off one portion from thence, and putting it betweene both of them: in fuch fort as in everie intervall or distance, there were two moities. Certes, this Exordium or Proceme, is a sufficient proofe of skill and experience in harmonic, according as wee will shew heereafter. Three forts of primitive medicties there be, out of which all other bee drawen, to wit, Arithmeticall, Geometricall, and Harmonicall. Arithmeticall is that which furmounteth, and is furmounted in equal number: Geometricall, in even proportion: and Harmonicall neither in reason and proportion nor in number. Plato therefore intending to declare harmonically, the harmony of the foure elements of the foule, and the cause why things fo divers accorded together: in each intervall hath put downe two medicties of the foule, 20 and that acording to mulical proportion. For in the accord Diapason in Musicke, two intervals there are betweene two extremities, whereof we will them the proportion. For the accord Diapalon confifteth in a double proportion: as for example, fix and twelve, will make a double proportion in number: And this intervall, is from Hypate Meson, unto Nete Diezeugmenon: Now fix and twelve being the two extremities: Hypate Meson conteineth the number of fix, and Nete Diezeugmenon that of twelve. It remaineth now, that we ought to take unto thefe the meane numbers betweene these two extremities; the extreames whereof will be found, the one in proportion Epitritos or ferfquitettian, the other Hemiotios, or fefquialterall. And thefe be numbers eight and nine. For eight is ferquitertian to fix and nine, fefquialterall. Thus much as touching one of the extreames. As for the other which is twelve, it is above nine in fef-30 quitertian proportion, and above eight in sesquialterall. These two numbers then, being betweene fix and twelve, and the intervall Dappalon compounded and confifting of Diatefferon and Diapente, it appeareth that Mele shall have the number of eight, and Paramele, the number of nine: which done there will be the fame habitude, from Hypate and Mefe, that is from Paramefeto Nete, of a disjoint Tetrachord. The fame proportion is found also in numbers, for the same reason that is from fix to eight, is from nine to twelve, and looke what reason there is betweene fix and nine, the same is betweene eight and twelve. Now betweene eight and fix the proportion is sesquitertian, as also betweene twelve and nine. But betweene nine and fix, sesquialterall, like as betweene twelve and eight. Thus much may ferve to flew that Plato was well studied and very expert in the Mathematicks.

Now that harmony is a venerable, worthy and divine thing, Artstotle the describe of Plato tellifieth in these words: Harmony (quoth he) is celestiall, of a beautifull and wonderfull nature and more than humaine: which being of it felfe divided into foure, it hath two medicties, 40 the one arithmeticall, the other harmonicall; and of the parts thereof the magnitudes and extremities are seene according to number and equality of measure: for accords in fong are appropriat and fitted in two Tetrachords. These be the words of Aristotle: who said that the body of harmony is composed of parts dislike, and accordant verily one with the other, but yet the medicties of the same agree according to reason arithmeticall: for that Nete according to Hypate, by double proportion maketh an accord and confonants of Diapafon: For it hath as we have before faid, Nete of twelve unities, and Hypate of fix, & Paramete according with Hypa-50 te, in proportion sesquialterall of nine unities. But of Mese, we say, that it hath eight unities: &the principal intervals of Musicke are composed of these: to wit, Diateslaron, which consists ethof a proportion felquitertian, & of Diapente, which standeth upon a fesquialterall: and Dia-Palon of a duple : For to is preserved the proportion sequinoctave, which is according to the proportion Tonizus. Thus you fee how the parts of harmony doe both furmount and also are furmounted of other parts, by the same excesse: and the medieties of medieties, as well according to expresse in numbers, as Geometricall puissance. Thus Aristotle declareth them to have these and such like powers, namely that Nete surmounteth Mese by a third part, and that Hypate is semblably surmounted of Paramese: in such fort as these excesses, are of the kindeof Relatives, which have relation to another: for they furmount and be furmounted by the fame parts. And therefore by the same proportion the two extreames of Mese and Paramese, doe furmount, and be furmounted, to wit sesquitertian and sesquialterall. And after this sort is the harmonicall excesse. But the excesse of Nete and Mese by arithmeticall proportion, sheweth the exuperances in equall partie: and even so Paramese in proportion to Hypate: for Paramefe furmounteth Mesein proportion sesquioctave: Like as againe Nete is a double proportion of Hypate: and Paramele of Hypate in proportion sesquialterall: and Mese sesquitertian in regard of Hypate. See then how harmony is composed according to Aristotle himselfe, of her 10 parts and numbers. And so verily by him it is composed most naturally of a nature as well finit as infinit: both of even and also of od, it selfe and all the parts thereof: for it selfe totally and whole is even, as being composed of foure parts or termes: the parts whereof and their propor. tions, be even, od, and even not even. For Nete it hath even of twelve unities: Paramese od of nine unities: Mese even of eight unities, and Hypate even not even of six unities. So that harmony thus composed both it selfe and the parts thereof one to the other, as well in excesse as in proportions, the whole accordeth with the whole and the parts together. And that which more is, the very fenfes being inferted and ingraffed in our bodies by harmony, but principally those which are celestiall and divine, namely sight and hearing, which together with God give understanding and discourse of reason unto men with the voice and the light, doe represent har- 20 mony: yea and the other inferrior fenses which follow them, in as much as they be senses, are likewife composed by harmony: for all their effects they performe not without harmony, and howfoever they be under them and leffe noble, yet they yeeld not for all that: for even they entring into the body accompanied with the presence of a certaine divinity, together with the discourse of reason, obtaine a forcible and excellent nature. By these reasons evidentitis that the ancient Greeks, made great account, and not without good cause, of being from their infancie well instructed and trained up in Musicke: for they were of opinion, that they ought to frame and temper the mindes of young folke unto vertue and honesty by the meanes of Musicke, as being right profitable to all honest things, and which wee should have in great recommendation, but especially and principally for the perillous hazzards of warre: In which 30 case some used the Hauthoies, as the Lacedæmonians, who chaunted the song called Casterium, to the faid instruments, when they marched in ordinance of battell, for to charge their enimies. Others made their approch, for to encounter and give the first onset, with the noise of the Lyra that is to fay, the harpe or fuch like stringed instruments. And this we finde to have bene the practife of the Candiots for a long time, for to use this kinde of Musicke, when they fer forth and advanced forward to the doubtfull dangers of battell. And some againe continue even to our time in the use of Trumpets sound. As for the Argives, they went to wrestle at the folemne games in their city called Sthenia with the found of the Hauthoies. And these games, were by report instituted at first in the honor and memory of their king Danasse: and afterwards againe were confectated to the honor of Jupiter furnamed Sthenius. And verily even at this 40 day, in the Pentathlian games of prife, the maner and custome is to play upon the Hauthoics, and to fing a fong thereto, although the same be not antique nor exquisite, nor such as was wont to be plaied and fung in times past as that Canticle composed sometime by Hierax, for this kinde of combat, and named it was Eudrome. Well though it be a faint and feeble maner of fong, yet fornewhat, fuch as it was, they used with the Hautboies. And in the times of greater antiquity it is faid that the Greeks did not fo much as know Theatricall Musicke, for that they emploied all the skill & knowledge thereof in the service and worship of the gods,&in the inititution and bringing up of youth, before any Theater was built in Greece by that people : but all the Musicke that yet was, they bestowed to the honor of the gods and their divine service in the temples, also in the praises of valiant and woorthy men: So that it is very probable that 50 these termes Theater afterwards, and beopen, long before were derived of bees, that is to say, God. And verily in our daies, Musicke is growen to such an heigth of difference and diversity, that there is no mention made, nor memory remaining of any kinde of Mulicke for youth to be taught, neither doth any man fet his minde thereto, or make profession thereof: but looke who soever are given to Musicke, betake them selves wholy to that of Theaters for their delight. But some man may haply say unto me: What good fir, thinke you that in old time they devised

no new Musicke and added nothing at all to the former? Yes I wis, I confesse they did adjoine thereto some new inventions, but it was with gravity and decency. For the historians who wrote of these matters, attributed unto Terpander the Dorian Nete, which before time they used not in their songs and tunes: And even so it is said that the Myxolidien tune was wholly by him devised to the rest: as also the note of the melody Orthien: and the song named Orthius, by the Trochæus, for sounding the all arme and to encourage unto battell.

And if it be true as Pindar w faith, Terpander was the inventour of those songs called Scolia, which were fung at feafts. Archilochus also adjoined those rhymes or Iambicke measures called Trimetra: the translation also and change into other number and measures of a different kinde, 10 yea, and the maner how to touch and strike them. Moreover, unto him, as first inventour, are attributed the Epodes, Tetrameter, Iambicks, Procritique and Profodiacks; as alfo, the augmentation of the first, yea, and as some thinke, the Elegie it selfe: over and besides, the intension of Iambus unto Paran Epibatos, & of the Herous augmented both unto the Profodiaque & alfothe Creticke. Furthermore, that of Iambique notes, fome be pronounced according to the stroke, others sung out. Archilochus was the man, by report, who shewed all this first, and afterwards, tragicall Poets used the same : likewise it is said, that Crexus receiving it from him, transported it to be used at the Bacchanall songs, called Dithyrambs. And he was the first also, by their faying, who devised the stroake after the fong; for that beforetime they used to sing, and strike the strings together. Likewise unto Polymnestus is ascribed all that kinde of note or 20 tune which now is called Hypolydius, and of him they fay, that he first made the drawing out of the note longer, and the diffolution and ejection thereof much greater than before. Moreover, that Olympus, upon whom is fathered the invention of the Greeke muficke, that is tied to lawes and rules, was hee who first brought, by their faying, all the kinde of harmonic, and of rhymes or measures, the Prosodiaque, wherein is conteined the tune and song of Mars; also the Charies, whereof there is great use in the solemnities of the great mother of the gods: yea, and some there be, who make Olympus the authour also of the measure Bacchius. And thus much concerning every one of the ancient tunes and fongs. But Lafus the harmonian, having transferred the rhymes into the order of Dithyrambs, and followed the multiplicitie in voice of hautboies, in using many founds and those diffused and dispersed to and fro, brought 30 a great change into Musicke, which never was before. Semblably, Melanippides who came after him, conteined not himselse in that maner of Musicke which then was in use, no more than Philoxenus did & Timotheus for he, whereas beforetime unto the daies of Terpander the Antiffæan, the harpe had but feven strings, distinguished it into many more founds and strings: yea, and the found of the pipe or hauthoies, being simple and plaine before, was changed into a Musicke of more distinct varietie. For in oldetime, unto the daies of Melamppides a Dithyrambicke Poet, the plaiers of the hautboies were wont to receive their falaries and wages at the hands of Poets, for that Poetrie you must thinke, bare the greatest stroke, and had the principal place in Musicke and acting of places, so as the Minstrels before faid were but their ministers: but afterwards, this custome was corrupted; upon occasion whereof, Pherecrates the Comicall 40 Poet bringeth in Musicke in forme and habit of a woman, with her bodie piteously scourged and mangled all over : and he devifeth befides , that Dame Justice demandeth of her the cause why, and how the became thus inituled; unto whom Poelie or Mulicke maketh answere in this wife:

Musicke.

I will glady tell, fine i hat we pleasure take
Ton for to heare, and I to answer make:
One of the first, who didme thus displease
And worke my woe, was Melanippides;
He with we've string; my bodie whipt so fore,
That soft it is, and looser than before.
Tes was this man unto me tolerable
And not to the se my hurnes now, comparable.
For one of Athick land, Cynesias he,
Shame come to him, and cursed may hebe,
By making twines and winding cranks so strange
In all his strophes, and shose withous the range

Of harmony; hathme perverted fo, That where I am, unneth I now do kno. His Dithyrambs are framed in such guise, That left feeme right, in shield and tar quet wife. And yet of him one can not truly fay, That cruelly he meant me for to flay. Phrynis it was who fet to me a wrest (His owne device) that I could never rest: Wherewith he did me winde and writhe fo hard, That I well neere for ever was quite marr'd. Out of five strings for footh he would devise No fewer than twelve harmonies to rife: Well of this man I cannot most complaine, For what he mist, he soone repair a againe. Timotheus (weet Lady (out alas) Hath me undone: Timotheus it was, Most shamefully who wrought me all despite, He hath me torne, he hath me buried quite.

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Justice.
And who might this Timotheus be (deere hart)
That was the cause of this thy wofull smart?

Imeane him of Miletus, Pytthias
Surnam d, his head and haire fo ruddy was.
Thus fellow brought upon me forrowes more
Than all the rest whom I have nam d before.
A fort he of unpleasant quavers brings,
And running points, when as he plates or sings:
He never meets me when I walke alone
tipon the way, but me assailed sanone.
Off go my robes, and thus devessed hare
He teaver me with twelve strings, andmakes no spare.

Aristophanes also the Comicall Poet maketh mention of Philosense, and saith, that he brought songs into the dances called Rounds: and in this maner he deviseth, that Musick should speake and complaine:

What with his Exharmonians, Niglars and Hyperbolians, And Juch loud notes, I wot not what, He hash me fluft fo full, as that My voice is britsle when I speake, Likeradish root that soone will breake.

Semblably, other Comicall Poets have blasoned and set our in their colours, our moderne Muficians, for their absurd curiositie, in hewing and cutting Musicke thus by peace-meale, and min-40 cing it so small. But that this science is of great power and efficacie, a swell to set strait and reforme, as to pervert, deprawe and corrupt youth in their education and learning, Aristocemus hath made very plaine and evident: for he saith, that of those who lived in his time, Telesius the Theban happened when he was yoong, to be brought up and instructed in the most excellent kinds of Musicke, and to learne many notable ditties and songs; among which, those also of Pindarus, of Dionysius the Theban, of Lamprus, Pratinus and other Lyricall Poets, singular men in their facultie, and prosession of playing cunningly upon the harpe and other stringed instruments. He had learned likewise to sound the hautboies passing well, and was sufficiently exercited and practifed in all other parts of good literature: but when he was once past the flower and middle of his age, he became so farre rivished and caried away with this Scenicall musicke so sufficiently exercited, that he despised that excellent musicke and poesse wherein he was nourtred, & all for to learne the ditties and tunes of Philoxenus and Timosheus, and principally such of them as had most varietie and noveltie: and when he betooke himselfe to compose ditties and set songs.

making triall what he could do in both kinds, aswell in that of Pindarus and this of Philosenus, he was able to performe nothing wel and to the purpose in that Musicke of Philoxenus: the reafon whereof, was his excellent education from his infancie. If then a man be defirous to use muficke well and judicioufly, let him imitate the olde maner: and yet in the meane while furnith the same with other sciences, learne Philosophie, as a mistresse to guide and leade; for thee is able to judge what kinde of measures is meet for musicke, and profitable. For whereas three principal points and kinds there be, unto which all musicke is universally divided, to wit, Diatonos, Chroma and Harmonie, he ought to be skilfull in Poetrie, which ufeth these severall kinds, who commeth to learne Muficke; and withall, he must atteine to that sufficiencie, as to know 10 how to expresse and couch in writing his poeticall inventions, First and formost therefore he is to underst and, that all musicall science is a certeine custome and usage, which hath not yet atteined to farre as the knowledge to what end every thing is to be leatned by him that is the scholar. Next to this it would be confidered, that to this teaching and instruction, there be not yet adjoined presently the enumeration of the measures & maners of musicke. But the most part learner as fully and without discretion, that which seemeth good & is pleasant either to the learner or the teacher; as the Lacedæmonians in old time, the Mantineans likewife and the Pellenians: for these, making choise of one maner above the rest, or els of very few, which they tooke to be meet for the reformation and correction of maners, used no other musicke but it: which more evidently may appeare, if a man will enquire and confider, what it is that every one of these sci-20 ences taketh for the subject matter to handle : for certaine it is, that the Harmonique skill conteineth the knowledge of intervals, compositions, sounds, notes and mutations of that kinde which is named Hermofmenon, that is to fay, well befitting and convenient: neither is it possible for it to proceed farther. So that, we must not require nor exact of her, that she should be able to discerne whether a Poet hath well, properly and fitly used (for example sake in musicke) the Hyperdorian tune in his entrance; the Mixolydian and the Dorian at his going forth; and the Phrygian or Hypophrygian in the mids: for this perteineth not at all to the subject matter of the Harmonicke kinde, and hath need of many other things: for he knoweth not well the force of the proprietie. And if hebe ignorant of the Chromaticke kinde and Enharmonian, he shall never atteine to have the perfect and absolute power of the proprietie, according to which, the 30 affection of the measures that are made are seene : for this is the office and part of the artificer. And manifest it is, that the voice of the composition called Systema, is one thing; and the melodie or fong which is framed in the faid composition, another: which to teach and whereof to treat, perteineth not to the facultie of the Harmonicke kinde. Thus much also we are to say as touching Rhythme; for no Rhythme will ever come to have in it the power of perfect proprietie: for that alwaies which is faid to be proper, is in regard and reference to the affection; wherof weaffirme the cause to be either composition or mixtion, or els both together: like as with Olympus, the Enharmonian kinde is put in the Phrygian tune, and Paon mixed with Epibatos: for this affection of the beginning hath it ingendred and brought forth in the fong of Minerva. For when the melody and rhythme or measure was artificially fet to, & the number or rhythme 40 alone cunningly transmuted, so as a Trochæus was put in stead of a Pæon. Hercof came the Harmonicke kinde of Olympus to be composed. Yet neverthelesse, when both the Enharmonicke kinde and the Phrygian tune remaine, and befide thefe, the whole composition also, the affection received a great alteration: for that which is called Harmonie in the long of Minerva, is farre different from the affection which is in common use and experience. If he then, who is expert and skilfull in Musicke, had withall, the facultie to judge, certeine it is, that such an one would be a perfect workman, and a paffing good mafter in Muficke. For he who is skilfull in the Dorique muficke, and knoweth not how to judge and different the proprietie, he shall neverknow what he doth, nor be able to keepe fo much as the affection, confidering there is fome doubt as touching the judgement of Dorian melodies and tunes, whether they apperteine to 50 the subject matter of Harmonie or no? as some Dorians are of opinion. The like reason there is of all the Rhythmike skill; for he who knoweth Pæon, shall not incontinently know the pro-Perty of the use thereof, for a fmuch as there is fome doubt as concerning the making of Pæonik thythmes, to wit, whether the Rhythmetique matter is able to judge with diffinct knowledge of them ? or whether as some say, it doe not extend so farre? Of necessitive therefore it soloweth, that there must be two knowledges at the least in him, who would make distinction and be able to judge betweene that which is proper and that which is strange: the one of maners and af-

fections, for which all composition is made; theother, of the parts and members of which the composition doth confist. Thus much therefore may suffice, to shew that neither the Harmonique, nor the Rhythmicke, nor any one of these faculties of Musicke, which is named particular, can be sufficient of it selfe alone to judge of the affection, or to discerne of other qualities. Whereas therefore, Hermofmenian, which is as one would fay, the decent and elegant temperature of voices and founds, is divided into three kinds, which be equall in the magnitudes of compositions, in puissances of sounds, and likewise of Tetrachords; our ancients have treated but of one: for those who went before us, never considered, either of Chroma, or Diato. nos, but onely of Enharmonios, and that onely in a magnitude of a composition, called Diapason: for of the Chroma they were at some variance and difference: but they all in maner did 10 accord to fay, that there was no more but this Harmonie alone. And therefore he shall never understand that which perteineth unto the treatise of Harmonie, who hath proceeded so farre as to this onely knowledge: but apparent it is that he ought to follow both other partitular fciences, and also the totall body of Musicke; yea & the mixtions and compositions of the parts for he that is onely Harmonicall, is confined within one kinde and no more. To speake therefore generally and once for all, it behooveth that both outward fense and inward understanding concurre to the judgement of the parts in Musicke: Neither is one to prevent & runne before another, as the fenfes doe, which are more forward and hastie than their fellowes; nor to lagge behinde and follow after, as those senses doe which are slowe and heavy of motion. And yet otherwhile in some senses it falleth out upon a naturall inæquallitie which they have, that both 20 happen at once, to wit, they draw backe, and hast forward together: wee must therefore cut off these extremities from the sense, if we would have it runne jointly with the understanding: for necessarie it is, that there be alwaies three things at the least meet together in sense of hearing, to wit, the found, the time, and the fyllable or letter. And come to paffe it will, that by the going of the found, will be known the proportionable continuitie, called Hermosmenon; by the gate of time, the Rhythme, and by the passing and proceeding of the syllable or letter, the dittie: Now when they march altogether, there must needs be an incursion of the sense. This also is evident, that the sense not being able to distinguish and discerne every one of these three things, and accompany them feverally, impossible it is, that it should know or judge that which is well or amisse, in ech of them particularly. First and foremost therefore, we are 30 to take knowledge of the coherence and continuation; for necessarie it is, that there should be in the facultie and power of judging, a certaine continual order, for as much as good and bad be not determinately in fuch founds, times, letters or fyllables, severed one from the other, but in the continued fuit and conherence of them, for there is a certeine mixture or parts which cannot be conjoined in usage. And thus much may suffice for the consequence. After this we are to confider, that men, sufficient otherwise, and skilfull masters in Musicke, are not by and by able to judge: for impossible it is to be a perfect Musician, and a judge withall, of those which seeme to be the parts of totall Musicke, as the science and skill of instruments; likewise of long, as also of the exercise of the senses, I meane that which tendeth to the intelligence & knowledge of the well proportioned Hermosmenon, and of Rhythme. Over and besides, of the 40 Rhythmick and Harmonique treatife, and of the speculation, touching the stroke and the dittie, and what other foever there are besides. But what the causes should be, that it is not possible for one to be a Critick and able to judge, by meanes of these things by themselves, let us endevour to search and know. First, by this supposall, That of those things which are propofed unto us for to be judged of, some be perfect, others imperfect: Perfect, for example, every Poeticall worke, that is either chaunted, or plaied upon the pipe, or founded on the lute and ftringed instrument; or else the interpretation or elocution of the said Poemes, which they call equius as is the noise of the pipe, or of the voice, and such like: Unperfect, as those which tend heereto, and are for them ordeined, as by the parts of that which is called interpretation. Secondly, by Poesie or fiction, whereof the case is alike; because a man may as well judge if hee 50 heare the minstrell play or fing, whether his pipes accord or no, and whether his dialect or dittiebe cleere, or contrariwise obscure; for ech of these is a part of the foresaid interpretation of pipes, not the end it selfe, but that which respecteth the end; for the affection of the interpretations shall be judged heerby, and by all such causes, whether they be well fitted & accommodate to the Poeme composed, which the agent hath taken in hand to treat of, to handle, to expresse and interpret. Semblable is the reason also of the affections and passions, which are lig-

nified in the Poemes, by Poefic. Our ancients then, as those who made principall account of the affection, preferred and esteemed best that fashion of antique Musicke, which was grave, not curious nor much affected. For it is said that the Argives did set downe in times past a punishment for those who brake the lawes of Musicke, yea, and condemned him to pay a good fine, who first used more than seven strings, & who went about to bring in the use of the Myxolydian Mulicke. But Pythagoras that grave and venerable personage, reproved all judgement of Mulicke which is by the eare, for he faid, that the intelligence and vertue thereof, was verice subtile & slender, and therfore he judged thereof, not by hearing, but by proportionall harmonie: and he thought it sufficient to proceed as farre as to Diapason, and there to stay the know-10 ledge of Mulicke: Whereas Mulicians in these daies disesteeme and reject wholly that kinde of Mulicke which was in greatest reputation among our ancestors, for the gravitie thereof: infomuch as the most part of them make no reckoning of any apprehension of Euharmonian intervals and spaces. So idle and lazie they be, that they thinke and say, the harmonicall diesis giveth no apparence at all, nor representation of those things that fall under the sense of hearing; yea, and banish it quite out of their tunes and songs, counting those no better than prating, vaine, and toyifh persons, who have either written or spoken thereof, or used that kinder and for proofe heereof, that they fay true, they suppose they have found a doubty good argument and demonstration, drawen from their owne groffe stupiditie and senselessie, as it all that which their sense apprehended not, must needs incontinently have no subsistence at all in 20 nature, and be altogether unprofitable. And then moreover they hold, that there can no magnitude be apprehended by fymphonie and confonance of voice, as the note, the halfe note, and other fuch intervals. Meane while they doe not perceive (fuch is their ignorance) that they may as well banish the third magnitude, the fifth, and the seventh; whereof the first consisteth of three, the second of five, and the third of seven Dieses: and generally they should reject and reproove all the intervals that be odde, as superfluous and good for nothing: inasmuch as none of them can be found by confent or fymphonie. And thefe they may be, which the least Diefis doeth measure in odde number: whereupon it followeth necessarily, that no division of the Tetrachord, is profitable, but this onely, by which we may use all even intervals: and this verily were that of Syntonos, Diatonos, and Tonizan Chroma. But to give out, or to conceive 20 fuchthings, were the partnot of those onely who contradicted that which is apparent and evident, but also of such as went against themselves: for they use more than any other such partitions of Tetrachords, wherein all the intervals be either odde or else proportionable to those that be odde: for evermore they mollifie all the notes, called Lichani, and Paranete: yea, and they let downe a little, those very notes which are stedfast and firme, by I wot not what intervall, without al reason; and together with them, they let flacke also very absurdly, the Thirds and the Paranetæ, & they suppose that the use of such compositions is most commendable, wherein the most part of the intervals, be without al reason & proportion, by letting downe not onely those founds which naturally are woont to stir & bemooved, but also some of them which are innumerable: as appeareth manifestly to those who are sufficient and able to judge of such things. To come now to the use of Musicke, how meet and seemely it is for a valiant man; gentle Homer hath given us very well to understand: for to proove unto us how commodious Musicke

To come now to the use of Mussicke, how meet and seemely it is for a valiant man; gentle Homer hath given us very well to understand; for to proove unto us how commodious Mussicke is in many respects, he seigned and devised Achilles to concoct his anger which he had conceived against Agamemon, by the meanes of Mussicke, which he had learned of that most prudent and wise Chiron: for thus he writeth:

They found him then, within his tent, with found of lute fo fertil.

His heart that was now his content, to folice and to fill:

Aninstrument right faire in fight this was, and trimly wrought:

The necke with filver richly dight, which he himfelfe had caught
Out of the fipoles there larely won of Thebes, that flately won of Thebes, that flately won, and citie of Ection, when it was rated downe:

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Hecrewith

Of Musicke.

Heerewith I say, he pass d his time, this was his hearts delight, He sung withall the praise in rhyme of many a valiant knight.

Note heereby and learne (quoth Homer) what use we ought to make of Musicke: for he sung unto the lute, the noble exploits of brave men, and the glorious acts of woorthies and demigods: a thing that full well befeemed Achilles the sonne of most righteous Peleus. Over and befides, Homer teaching us the proper and convenient time of using Musicke, found out an exercife, both profitable and pleafant for a man at leifure, and not occupied otherwife in affaires. For schilles being a martiall man of action, yet for the anger that he had conceived against 10 Agamemnon, had no hand in the perils and hazards of warre: Homer thought therefore that it became very well this heroique and hardy knight, to whet his courage by these excellent songs, to the end that he might be provided and ready against that fallie and skirmish which soone after he undertooke: and this no doubt he performed very well, by calling to remembrance the doubty deeds and feats of armes achieved by others in times past. Such verily was the ancient Musicke, and for this purpose it served. For we doe heare that both Hercules made use of Musicke, and also Achilles, with many other valourous knights, whom Chiron that most sage and learned mafter and bringer up of youth taught, who was a teacher not of Musicke onely, but of justice beside and Physicke. In summe, a man of wisedome and found judgement, will thus deeme, that good sciences are not to be blamed, if haply they be not well used, but impute 20 all the fault unto them that abuse the same. And therefore if any one from his childhood, shall be well instructed and trained up in Musicke, and withall employ his labour and diligence therein, he will receive and approove that which is honest and commendable: blame also he will and reject the contrary: not in mulicke onely, but in all things elfe: and fuch a one will decline all unhonest and unwoorthy actions, and thus reaping from mulicke the greatest and best contenument that can be, he may benefit exceeding much, as well himselfe as his whole countrey, using no word nor deed unfeemely, but observing at all times and in every place, that which is befitting, decent, temperate and elegant. Moreover, that cities and states best governedby pollicie and good lawes, have alwaies had a speciall regard of generous and good muficke, many and fundry testimonies may be alledged: and namely, a man may very well cite 30 to this purpose Terpander, who suppressed in timespast, the great sedition and civill discord that was in Lacedamon: Thales also the Candiot, who went as it is said, by the commandement and oracle of Apollo, to Lacedemon, and there cured the citizens and delivered them from that great pestulence, which reigned in that citie, and all by the meanes of musicke, as writeth Pratinas. Homer also himselfe faith, that the plague which afficted the Greeks, was by musicke flaied and appealed:

appeared:
Then all day long, the Grecian youth
in long; melodious,
Belought god Phocbus of his grace,
to be propitious:
Phocbus I fay, who from a fare
doth shoot his arrowes nie
They chaums and praife, who takes great joy,
to heare such humonic.

with these verses as with Corollarie, good master I will conclude this my discourse of Musicke, and the rather, because you first by the very same verses commended unto us the force and power of Musicke; for in very trueth, the principall and most commendable worke thereof, is thanksgiving unto the gods, and the acknowledgement of their grace and favour: the second, and that which next followeth, is a sanctisted heart, a pure, consonant and harmonicall estate of the soule. When Socrichus had said: Thus you have (quoth he) my good master heard us different of of Musicke round about the boord as we sit. And verily Socrichus was highly admired for that which he had delivered for he sheet evidently both by his voice and visage, how much he was affected unto Musicke, & what study he had emploied thereto. Then my master:

Over and above other things, this also I commend in you both, that you have kept your owne course and place, the one as well as the other. For Lyssus hath surnished our feast with those things which are proper and meet for a Musician, who knoweth onely to handle the lute of

harpe, and hath no farther skill than manuall practife. Soterichus also hath taught us whatsoever concerneth both the profit and also the speculation thereof, yea and withall comprehendeth therein the power and use of Mussicke, whereby he hath mended out fare and seafted us most surprusously. And I suppose verily that both of them, have of purpose and that right willingly, left thus much into me, as to draw Musickeunto seafts and banquets: neither will scondenne them of timidity, as if they were ashamed so to doe: For if in any part of mans life, certes in such seafts and mery meetings it is right profitable. For according as good Honer saith:

Both fong and dannee, delight affoord, And things that well be seeme the boord.

To Neither would I have any man to inferre heereupon, that Homer thought Mulicke good for nothing elfe but to delight and content the company at a feast: confidering there is in those verses couched and hidden a more deepe and profound meaning. For he brought Musicke to those times and places wherein it might profit and helpe men most. I meane the feasts and meetings of our ancients: and expedient it was to have her company there, for that the is able to divert and temper the heat and strength of wine, according as our Aristoxenus also else where faith: Musicke (quoth he) is brought in thither, became that whereas wine is wont to pervert & overturne as well the bodies as the minds of those who take it immoderatly. Musicke by that order, fymmetry, and accord which is in it, reduceth them againe into a contrary temperature, and dulceth all. And therefore Homer reporteth that our ancients used Musicke as a remedy 20 and helpe, at fuch a time. But that which is principall and maketh Musicke above all things most venerable, you have my good friend let passe and omitted. For Pythagoras, Archias, Plato and all the rest of the old Philosophers doe hold that the motion of the whole world, together with the revolution of the starres, is not performed without Musicke: For they teach that God framed all things by harmonic. But to profecute this matter more at large, this time will not permit: and besides it is a very high point and most Musicall to know in every thing how to keepe a meane and competent measure. This faid, he sung an hymne, and after he had offered alibation of wine unto Saturne, and to all the gods his children, as also to the Muses, he gave his guests leave to depart



OF THE FORTVNE OR VERTUE OF

K. Alexander.

The Summarie.



A this treatife and that which followeth, framed both in forme of a declamation, Plutarch magnifieth Alexander, a praife worthy prince for many good parts that were in him: wherein he streeth alfo, that we ought to attribuse unto vertue and not to fortune, those brave exploits which he performed. By fortune, he meaneth that course of the assaurant in this world, whereby it falleth out many times that the wisess man are not

50 Awaies most happy and best advanced. To proove therefore, that Alexander was endued with exquisit qualities for execution of those enterprises which by him were atchieved asterwordes and brought to an end, he compareth him in the beginning of this treatise, with the kings of Persia raised up to their greatnesses by fortune: and them shows that Alexander being an excellent Philosopher, we ought not to wonder or he associated by his vertue he saw the end of many things which the most fortunate princes of the world durst never take in hand and begin. Now the bester to set out the excellencie of this Philosophy of Alexanders, he compareth his scholars with the disciples of Plato and O0000 2 Socrates:

Socrates: proving that those of this prince surpassed the others, as much as a good deed or benefit done to an infinit number of men surmounteth a good speech or instruction given to some perticular persons; the most part of whom make no account thereof. He proceedesh forward and discribes his he wisdome and sufficiencie of Alexander in politicke government, which he amplifieth by the consideration of his amiable behaviour and lovely cariage toward those nations which by him were subdued : also by the recitall of some notable sayings of his; likewise by the love and affection which he caried unto wisdome, and men of knowledge. In briefe bis acts ; be evident proofes of his versue, and in no wife of the teme. rity and rashmesse of fortune. But even in this very place, Plutarch hash broken off his treatise, lea. ving the end hereof defectuous : namely where he began to discourse of the contempt of death, and of the constant resolution of Alexander against the most churlish and boisterous assaulses of fortune. 10

OF THE FORTUNE OR vertue of K. Alexander.



Hefe are the fayings and allegations of fortune, affirming and proving that Alexander was her owne peculiar peece of worke, andto be afcribed unto her alone. But we must gaine say her in the name and behalfe of Philosophy, or rather of Mexander himselfe : who 20 takethit not wel, but is highly displeased, that he should be thought to have received his empire at fortunes hand gratin, and as a meere gift and benefit which he had bought and purchased with sheding much of his owne blood, and receiving many a wound one upon

Who many restlesse nights did passe Without all sleepe full broad awake: And many a bloody day there was, Whiles he in field did skirmifh make.

Whiles he fought against forces and armies invincible, against nations innumerable, tivers im- 40 passable, rocks inacceffible, and such as no shot of arrow could ever reach; accompanied alwaies with prudent counsell, constant patience, resolute valour, and staied temperance, And verily I am perswaded, that himself would say unto fortune, chalenging unto herselse he honor of his hautie & worthy acts, in this maner: Come not heere either to deprave my vertue, or to deprive me of my due honor, in afcribing it unto thy felfe. Darius was indeed a peece of worke made by thee, whom of a base servitor, no better than a currior or lackey to a king, thou diddest advance and make the lord of the Perfians. Sardanapalus likewife was thy handy worke, upon whole head, when he was carding and fpinning fine purple wooll among women, thou diddelt fet the imperiall diademe. As for me, I mounted up and ascended as farre as to Su/a with victory after the battell at Arbela. The conquest of Cilicia made the way open for me to enter into 40 Aegapt: and the field that I wan at the river Granicus; which I paffed over going upon the dead bodies of Mathridates and Spithridates leutenants to the king of Persia, gave me entrance into Cil cia. Vaunt now and boatt as much as thou wilt of thosekings, who never were wounded in fight, nor loft one drop of their blood. Thefe I fay may well be counted fortunate and thy derlings, Ochus I meane & Artaxerxes, whom immediately from the very day of their nativity, thou half entitalled in the rotal throne of Cyrus. But this body of mine carreth the markes & tokens of fortune not favourable and gracious, but contrariwile adverse and opposit unto me. First in Illyricum, I had my head broken with a great stone, and my necke bruted and crushed with a pestill. Asterwards in the journey and battell of Granicus, my head was cloven with a Barbarians cimeter. At the field fought neere Iffus, my thigh was run through with a fword before the city of 30 Gaza, I was thot through the ancle above my foot with one arrow, and into the shoulder with another, whereupon I was unhorfed, and falling heavy in mine armour out of my faddle, I lay there for dead upon the ground, Among the Maracadarts, my shin bone was cut in sunder with shotof quarels and arrowes. Besides many aknocke & wound which I gat among the Indians: and every where I met with hot fervice among them, untill I was shot quite through the should der. Another time as I fought against the Gandrida: I had the bone of my leg cut in twaine,

with another shot likewise in a skirmish with the Mallotæ, I caught an arrow in my brest and bofome, which went fo farre and flucke fo fast that it left the head behinde : and with the rap and knocke of an iron peftill my necke bone was crushed. And at what time as the skaling ladders reared against the wals brake, fortune enclosed and shut me up alone to fight and maintaine combate, not against noble concurrents and renowmed enimies, but obscure and simple Barbarous foldiers, gracing and gratifying them thus farreforth, as that they went with in a little of taking away my life: And had not Ptoleman come betweene and covered me with his targuee; had not Limnem in defence of me opposed his owne body and received many a thousand datts, and there loft his life in the place for me; had not I say the Macedonians by force of to armes and refolute courage broken downe the wall and laid it along, certes that base village, that Barbarous burrow of no name, had bene at this day the sepulcher of Alexander. Furthermore, all that journey and expedition of mine, what was it elfe but temperations fromes, extreame heat and drought, rivers of an infinit depth, mountaines fo exceeding high, as no bird could flie over them, monftrous beafts and fo huge withall, as they were hideous and terrible to be feene, strange and favage fashions of life, revolts of dissolal states and governours, yea and afterwards their open treasons and rebellions? And as for that which went before his voiage: all Greece panting still and trembling for remembrance of the warres which they enduted under his father Philip, now put up their head. The city of Athens now thaking off from their armour the dust of the battell at Charonea, began to rife againe and recover themselves after that over-20 throw. To it joined Thebes and put forth their helping hand. All Macedonia was suspected, and stood in doubtfull termes, as enclining to Amyntas and the children of Acropus. The Illyrians brake out into open warres and made hostile invasions. The Scythians hung in equal ballance uncertaine which fide to take, expecting what their neighbours would doe, that began to fiir and revolt. Befides the good gold of Persia which had found the way into the purses of orators and governors of every citie, made all Peloponne fus to rife in armes. The coffers of Philip his father were emptic and had no treasure in them: but insteed thereof they were indebted and paid interest as Onesierities writesth for * two hundred talents. In these great wants, in such poverty * That is to and so troubled a state, see a yong mannewly come out of his infancie and childhood, durst fay,120000 hope and affiredly looke, for to be lord of Babylon and Sufa: nay to speake more truely and in French-30 aword, he intended in his defignements the conquest of the whole world; and that with a power crownes. onely of thirty thousand foomen, and some thousand horse: for no greater forces brought he into the field as An flobulus reporteth: or according asking Ptolemans writeth, they were thirty thousand foot and five thousand men of armes: or as Anaximenes putterhit downe, his army amounted to forty thousand three hundred footmen and five thousand five hundred horsemen. Now all the glorious meanes and great provision for the maintenance and entertainment of this power more or leffe, which fortune had prepared for him, came to feventy talents: as Aristobulus hath set it downe in writing, or as Duris recordeth he was furnished with mony and victuals to ferve for thirty daies and no longer. How then ? was Alexander fo inconfiderate, raffi and void of counfell, as to enterprise warre with so small meanes, against so pursuant an armie of 40 the Persians? No I wis : for never was their captaine, that went forth to warre better appointed and with greater and more fufficient helpes than he, to wit, magnanimity, prudence, temperance, & fortitude, wherewith Philosophy had furnished him, as with munition for his voiage: as being better provided for this enterprise against the Persians by that which he had learned of his mafter and teacher Aristotle, than by all the patrimonie and revenewes which his father Phihip had left him. Well, to beleeve those who write, that Alexander himselfe would otherwhiles fay, that the Ilias and Odyffæa of Homer accompanied him alwaies as his voiage provision to the warres, we may be easily enduced, for the reverence and honor which we owe unto Homer: but if a man should fay, that Homers Ilias and Odyssæa, were unto him an easement of his travels, or an honest pastime and recreation at his leafure, and that the true municion and voiage 50 Provision indeed for the maintenance of his wars, were the discourses & precepts which he had learned out of Philosophy, and the treatifes or commentaries as touching confidence & fearelefferefolution of proweffe, valour, magnanimity and temperance, we are ready to mocke and deride him: and why forbecause for footh he hath written nothing of Syllogishies, of Axiomes, or of the elements and principles of Geometry; because he hath not used to walke in the schoole of Lycen, nor held positions and disputed of questions in the Academie: for these be the things wheteby they measure and define Philosophy, who thinke that it consisteth in words and not in-

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deeds. And yet Pythagoras never writ ought, nor Socrates, nor Arcefilaus, no nor Carneades: who all, no doubt, were most renowmed Philosophers: neither were they imploied and occupied in so great warres, in reducing Barbarouskings to civillity, or in founding and building great cities, among favage nations: neither travelled they through the world visiting lawlesse and cruell people, to teach them to live peaceably and in order, who had never heard of peace or of lawes: but these great and famous personages, for all the leasure and rest that they had from imploiments and bufic affaires, left all writing for Sophisters onely. How came it then, that they were reputed Philosophers? Surely it arose either upon their sayings which they delivered or the maner of life that they led, and the actions which they did, or elfe the doctrine which they taught. Let us now therefore judge of Alexander also accordingly, by the same : for it will be 10 found and seene by the words which he said, the deeds that he wrought, and the lessons which he taught, that he was some great Philosopher: and in the first place, if you thinke good, consider (which at first fight may seeme most strange and wonderfull) what disciples Alexander had a and compare them with the scholars of Plate or of Socrates. These men raught those who were of quicke wit, and spake the same language that they did; and if they had nothing else, yetunderitood they at least wife the Greeke tongue: how beit for all this, many of their auditours and disciples there were whom they could never perswade to their rules and precepts : but such as Crinas, Alcibiades and Clestiphon, rejected and shoke off all their doctrine, as the bitte of a bridle. and turned another way. Whereas, if you marke and confider the discipline of Alexander, you shall finde, that he taught the Hyrcanians to contract mariage and live in wedlocke; the Ara-20 chosians to till the ground and follow husbandrie; the Sogdians he perswaded to nourish their aged fathers, and not to kill them; the Persians to reverence and honour their mothers, and not to mary them as they did before. O the admirable Philosophie of this prince! by meanes whereot, the Indians adore and worship the gods of Greece: the Scythians burie their dead and eate them not. We woonder at the powerfull and effectuall speech of Carneades, for that he knew how to make Clitomachus, named before Afdrubal, and a Carthaginian borne, to conforme himselse to the Greekes fashions and language. Wee admire the emphaticall gift of Zeno, who was able to perswade Diogenes the Babylonian, to give himselfe to the studie of Philosophic. But while Alexander conquered Aga, and reduced it to civilitic, Homer was read ordinarily: the sonnes of the Persians, Sustains, and Gedrosians, chaun- 30 ted the tragoedies of Euripides and Sophoeles. As for Socrates, condemned hee was and put to death by the Athenians, at the fute of fycophants and promoters, who enformed against him, that he had brought into Athens new gods: whereas by the meanes of Alexander, the inhabitants of Bactra and the mountaine Cancafus, even at this present, adore the gods of Greece. Plate hath left in writing one forme of policie and government of common wealth, but he could never perswade so much as one man to use and followit, so harsh and austere it was found to be. But Alexander having founded above threescore and ten cities among the barbarous nations, and lowen throughout all Asia, the mysteries, sacrifices, and ceremonies of Divine service which were used in Greece, reclaimed them from their favage and brutish life. And verily, few there be among us, who read and peruse the lawes of Plato: whereas there be infinit thou- 40 fands and millions of men, who have used, and doe at this day practise those of Alexanders ordeining; and fuch nations were much more happy whom he conquered and fubdued, than they that escapedhis puissance. For these had never any person who eased and delivered themout of their miserable life, but the other were forced by the conquerour to lead a bleffed life; in fuch fort, as that which Themistocles sometime said, when being banished out of Athens, and fled to the king of Persia, at whose hands having received rich gifts, and the donation besides of three cities which paid him yeerely tribute, one for bread, another for wine, and the third for his meat and other viands; be spake thus unto his sonnes: Oh, how had we bene undone, if we had not beene undone! The fame may more justly be verified of those who were then subdued by Alexander: Never had they beene civilized, if by him they had not beene vanquished and 50 brought under his subjection : there had beene no citie Alexandria built in Aegypt, no Selencia in Mesopotamia; no Prophthasia in the Sogdians countrey; no Bucephasia among the Indians; neither should the mountaine Caeaufus have had neere unto it the citie Hellas, inhabited and peopled; by the meanes of which cities, their rude bestiality being first stated and held under, by little and little was extinct, and by custome of the better, changed the woorle. To conclude therefore, if Philosophers stand most upon this point, and beare themselves alost, for

that they are able to dulce and reforme rude maners, and not polifhed before by any doctrine. And if it be feene that Alexander hath altered and brought into order an infinite number of wilde nations, and beaftly natures; good reason there is, that he should be esteemed an excellent Philosopher.

Moreover, that pollicie and forme of government so highly esteemed, which Zeno the first founder of the Stoicks feet devifed, tendeth to this one principall point, that we who are men, should not live divided by cities, towns & divers countries, separated by distinct laws, rights, & customs in severall, but thinke all men our felow citizens, & of the same country : also that there ought to be but one kind of life, like as there is but one world, as if we were all of the fame flocke 10 under one herdman, feeding in a common pasture. Zeno hath set this downe in writing, as a very dreame & imaginarie Idea, of a common-wealth well governed by Philosophicall lawes; but Alexander hath put that in reall execution and practife, which the other had figured and drawen out in words: for he did not as his mafter Ariffetle gave him counfell to doe: namely, to cary himselfe toward the Greeks as a father; and toward the Barbarians as a lord : likewise, to have regard and care of some, as of his friends and kinsfolke; but to make use of others, as if they were brute beafts or plants, and no better: for in fo doing, he should have pestered his dominions and empire with banishments; which are evermore the secret seeds of warre, of factions and fidings most dangerous: but taking himselfe to be sent downe from heaven, as a common reformer, reconciler, and governour of the whole world; fuch as he could not draw to accord ao and agreement, by reason and speech, he compelled by force of armes, and so from every side reduced all into one 3 causing them to drinke round (as one would say) of one and the same cup of amitie and good fellow thip, wherein he tempered and mixed together, their lives and maners, their mariages and fathions of life, commanding all men living to thinke the whole earth habitable, to be their countrey; his campe their citadell and castle of defence; all good men to be their kinsfolke and allies; all leud persons, strangers and aliens. He commanded them moreover, to distinguish Greeks and Barbarians, not by their mantle, round targuet, cemeter turbants, or high crowned chaplets; butto marke and discerne Greece by vertue; Barbarie by vice: in reputing all vertuous folke Greeks, and all vicious persons Barbarians: to thinke also their habilliments and apparell common, their tables common, their mariages besides and 30 maner of life common, as being united all, by the mixture of bloud and communion of children. Demaratase verily the Corinthian, one of the friends that used to give interteinment to king Philip, when he saw Alexander in the citie of Su/a, greatly rejoiced thereat, infomuch as for very joy of heart, the teares ranne downe his checks, and he brake foorth into these words: That the Greeks, before departed out of this life, were deprived of exceeding contentment, and hearts delight; in that they had not seene Alexander sitting upon the regall throne of Darius. For mine owne part verily, I would not repute them very happy, for feeing fuch a fight as that, confidering it is the gift of fortune, and as much as that befalleth ordinarily to meaner kings: but I affure you, much pleasure could I have taken, if I had beheld those goodly and sacred espoulals, when under the roofe of one pavilion, seeled all over, and wrought with gold, he enterreined at once, all at one common feast and table, a hundred Persian Brides, maried to an hundred Bridegromes of Greece and Macedonie: at which folemnitie himselfe being crowned with a chaplet of flowers, was the first that began to sing the nuptial song Hymenæus, as a 40 canticle of generall amitie, when two of the igreatest and most puissant nations of the world came to be joined in alliance together by mariage, being himfelfe spouse unto one, but the maker of all their mariages, yea, and the common father and mediator to them all, being the meanes of that knot and conjunction. For willingly I would have faid; O barbarous, senselesse and blockish Xerxes, that tookest so great paines, and all to no purpose, about making a bridge over Hellespont. For after this maner thould wife kings and prudent princes, conjoine Europe and Asia together, not with wood and timber; not with boates and barges, nor with those 50 linkes and bonds which have neither life nor mutuall affection; but by lawfull love, by chafte and honest wedlocke, by communication also of children, to unite and affociate two nations together. To this comely ornament Alexander hadan eie, when he would not admit the habiliments and robes of the Medes, but the attire and apparell of the Persians, as being farre more fobre, modest and decent than the other: for rejecting & casting aside that outlandish, unusuall

Pompeous and tragical excesse in the barbarous habit, to wit, the copped turbant Tiara, the side

and superfluous purple mantell Candys, their wide breeches and slacke sloppes Anaxyridæ; he

he wore himselfe a certeine kinde of robe, composed partly of the Macedonian, and in part of the Persian habit, according as Eratosthenes hath written. As a Philosopher he made use of things indifferent, neither good fimply, nor ill: and as a gracious ruler and courteous king, he wanne the love and heart of those whom he had subdued, by gracing and honouring upon his owne person their apparell: to the end that they should continue fast unto him, and sirme in loialtie; loving the Macedonians as their natural lords, and not hating them; as tyrannizing enemies. For it would have bewraied a foolish minde, and withall disdainfull and proud, to have made great account of a felfe-coloured homely mantell, and withall, to have taken of fence at a rich coate, embrodered all over with purple; or contrariwife, to have had this in admiration, and the other in contempt; like unto fome infant or little childe, keeping still pre- to cifely to that apparell, which the cultome of the countrey as a nurse or foster-mother hath once put on: whereas we fee, that huntimen who use to choose deere, are wont to clad themfelves with the skinnes and hides of those wilde beasts which they have taken; as for example, of flagges and hindes: foulers alfo, that lie for to catch birds, cast upon themselves, gabardines, and coates of fetherworke, or befer with wings and fethers. Those who weare red clothes, beware how they come in the way of buls: and fuch as be clothed in white, are as carefull not to be feene of elephants; for that these beasts fare as though they were wood and mad at the sight of fuch colours. Now iffo great a king as Alexander was, minding to tame warlike nations, like unto wilde beafts, or to dulce and keepe them gentle, who were fo fierce and untractable, used those robes and habilliments which were proper, usuall, and familiar to them; and all to gaine 20 their hearts by little and little, mollifying by that meanes the fierceneffe of their courage, pacifying their displeasure, and dulcing their grimnesse and austeritie: would any man blame or reproove, and not rather honour and admire his politicke wildome, in that with a little change and altering of his garments, he had the dexteritie and skill to gaine all Asia, and lead it as he would, making himselfe, thus by his armour, master and lord of their bodies; and by his apparell alluring and winning their hearts. And yet these men commend Aristippus the Philosopher, and disciple of Socrates, for that one while wearing a poore, thinne and thred-bare cloke, and another while putting on a rich mantell of tiffew wrought and died at Miletus, he knew how to keepe decorum, and decently to behave himselfe, as well in the one garment as the other: meane while, they blame and condemne Alexander, in that as he honored the habit of 30 his owne countrey, so he disdained not the apparell of another, which he had conquered by armes, intending therby to lay the ground-worke & foundation of greater matters: for his deffeigne and purpole was not to over-runne and waste Asia, as a captaine and ring-leader of a rable of theeves and robbers would doe, nor to facke and racke, harry and worrie it, as the praie and booty of unexpected and unhoped for felicity: like as afterwards Anniball did by Italy; and before time, the Tricrians delt by Ionia; and the Scythians by Asia, who made havocke and waste as they went: but as one, who meant to range all the nations upon earth, under the obedience of one and the fame reason, and to reduce all men to the same policie, as citizens under government of a common-weale, therefore thus he composed and transformed himselfe in his raiment and habit. And if that great God, who sent the soule of Alexander from heaven to 40 earth below, had not so suddenly called it away againe unto himselfe; peradventure there had beene but one law to rule and overlooke all men living, the whole world haply had beene governed by one and the same justice, as a common light to illustrate all places: whereas now, those parts of the earth, which never had a fight of Alexander, remaine in the shadow of datkneffe, as destitute of the very light of the sunne: and therefore the very first project of his expedition and voiage sheweth, that he caried the minde of a true Philosopher indeed, who aimed not at the gaining for himselfe daintie delights, and costly pleasures, but intended to procure and compasse an universall peace, concord, unitie and societie of all men living one with a

In the second place consider we his words and sentences; for that in other kings and poten-50 tates also, their maners and intentions of their minde, are principally bewrated by their speeches. Antigonia the elder, when a certeine Sophister upon a time presented and pronounced unto him certeine commentaries and treatises which he had composed as touching justice: Good sellow (quoth he) thou are a soole, to come and preach unto one of justice, when thou seed mue bending mine ordinance against the cities of other princes, and battering their wals as I do. Denys also the tyrant was wont to say, that we should deceive children with dies and cockal

bones, but beguile men with othes: And upon the tombe of Sardanapalus was engraven this epitaph:

What I dideat and arinke, I have: the sports also remaine Whichlady Venus did vouchsave, all else I count but vaine.

Who can denie, but that by the last of those speeches and apophthegmes, sensual lust and voluptuous field was authorized; by the second, Atheisme and impietie; and by the first, injustice
and avarice. Now if you take away from the sayings of Alexander his roiall crowne and diatode methe addition of Jupiter Amnon whose some he was stilled to be, and the nobility of his
birth, certes you would say they were the sage sentences of Socrates, Plato or Pythagor as. For we
must not stand upon the brave titles and proud inscriptions which Poets have devised to be imprinted or engraven upon his pictures, images and statues, having an eie and regard not to shew
the modellie, but to magnifie the puissance of Alexander: as for example;

This image here that stands in braste fo bright, Of Alexander is the portraict right: Up toward heaven he both his cies dorb cast, And unto Jove seemes thus to speake at last: Mine is the earth, by conquest I it hold: Thou supicet in heaven may to be bold.

20 And another:

Of Jupiter that heavenly God of might, The sonne am I (Great Alexander hight.)

These were the glorious titles which glavering Poets I say, in flattery of his fortune fathered upon him. But if a man would recount the true apophthegmes indeed of Alexander, he may do well to beginne first at those which he delivered in his childhood: for being in footmanship the fwhich of all other yoong lads of his age, when his familiar play-feeres and mates were in hand with him very earnestly to runne a course at the Olympian games for a prise, he demanded of them againe, whether he should meet with kings there for his concurrents in the race: and when they answered, No: Then were the match (quoth he) not equally nor indifferently made, wherin if I have the woorfe, a king shall be foiled; and if I gaine the victorie, I shall but conquer private persons. When his father Philip chanced in a battell against the Triballians to be runne thorow the thigh with a launce; and albeit, that he escaped danger of death, yet was much grieved and difficulted to limpe and halt thereupon as he did: Be of good cheere good father (quoth he) and go abroad hardly in the fight of the whole world, that at every step you tread and set forward, you may be put in minde of your valour and vertue. How fay you now, proceed not these answeres from a Philosophicall minde? and shewthey not an heart, which being ravished with adivine inftinct and ardent love of good and honest things, careth not for the desects of the bodie? for how greatly thinke you joyed and gloried he in the wounds that he received in his owner 40 person, who in every one of them bare the testimony and memoriall of some nation subdued, fome battell won, of fome cities forced by affaile, or of fome kings that yeelded to his mercie? Certes, he never tooke care to cover and hide his fearres, but carried them about him, and shewed them where ever he went, as fo many marks and tokens engraved, to testifie his vertue and prowesse. And if at any time there grew some comparison, either by way of serious disputation in points of learning, or in table talke, as touching the verfes of Homer, which of them were best: when some seemed to commend this verse, others that, he would evermore preferre this, above all other:

aμφότεον, βαπλώς τ' άγαθές, κεατεείς τ' αίχωντίς.

A prince right good and gracious,

A knight withall most valourous.

and making this account, that the praife which another had given to king Agamemon beforetime, stood for a law unto himselfe; infomuch, as he would say, that Homer in that one vertiched recommended the vertue of Agamemon, and prophessed the prowesse of Alexander. And therefore, so often as he passed over the Streight of Hellesson, his maner was to goe and visit. Try, where he represented unto his owne minde, the woorthy seats of armes which those brave princes and noble worthies performed, who sought there. And when one of that country pro-

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mifed to bestow upon him in free gift, if he would accept it, the harpe of Paris. I have no need (quoth he) of it, for I have already, that of Achilles : to the found whereof he was woont for his recreation,

The praises for to sing and chant, Of dowtie knights and valiant:

whereas this here of Paris, warbled a wanton and feminine harmony, to which he used to sing fonnets and balads of Love.

Nowmost certaine it is, that to love wisdome, and to have in esteeme, sages and learned perfons is an infallible figne of a philosophicall spirit. And this was in Alexander, if ever in any other prince: for what kindneffe and affection he caried to his tutour and mafter, Ariffolle; al 10 fo, that hee did as great honour unto Anaxarchus the skilfull Musician, as to no favourite and familiar friend the like; I have alreadic shewed elsewhere. The first time that ever Pyrrho the Elian talked and conferred with him, hee gave unto the man tenne thousand pieces of golde. Unto Xenocrates one of Platoes disciples, he sent a present of fistic talents. And as most hiltoriographers doe report, he made One furitus, one of Diogenes his scholars, his admirallat fea. And himselfe meeting upon a time with Diogenes at Corinth, where he communed with him, he fo woondered at his maner of life, and had his gravitie in fuch admiration, that many a time after, in speaking of him, he would fay: Were I not Alexander, I would be Diogenes: which was as much to fay, as thus : I could willingly employ my whole life and fpend my time atmy booke and in contemplation, but that I am determined to be a Philosopher in deed and action, 20 He faid not: If I were not a king, I could finde in mine heart to be Diogenes: nor, If I were not rich, and one that loved to go gay and in sumptuous robes, &c. For he never in his life preferred fortune before wisdome; nor the purple mantle of estate, or the roiall diademe, before a ferip and a poore threedbare Philosophers cloake; but simply this was his faying: Were I not Alexander, I would be Diogenes: that is to fay, Had I not proposed to my selfe to joine together in mutuall focietie, Barbarous nations with the Greeks, and by travelling in voiage thorow the earth, to polith and make civill what favage people foever I find, fearthing from one end of the world to another, and vifiting all the coasts of the sea, to joine Macedonie unto the Ocean, to sow as it were, Greece in all parts, and to fpread thorowout all nations peace and justice, yet would I not fit still idle indelights, and take my pleasure, but imitate the simplicity and frugality of Dio 20 genes. But now pardon me, I pray thee, ô Diogenes: I follow Hercules, I take the way of Perfem, I tread the trace of god Bacchus, my stocke-father and author of my race and progeny; I would gladly, that the Greeks might once more dance with victory among the Indians, and reduce into the memory and remembrance of those mountainers and favage nations who dwell beyond the mountaine Caucasus, the joily feasts and meriments of the Bacchanales. And even there, by report, there be those who follow a certeine strict, austere, and naked profession of wisdome, called thereupon Gymnosophists, holy men, living according to their owne lawes, devoted altogether to a contemplative service of God, making lesse account of this life than Diogenes doth, and living more barely, as having no need at all of bagge and wallet; for, no provision make they of victuals, because the earth furnisheth them alwaies with that which is new and fresh to 40 their hand: the rivers affoord them drinke; the leaves falling from trees and the greene graffe of the earth together, serve for their beds: by my meanes shall they know Diogenes, and Diogenes them. I must also alter the stampe of the coine, and in stead of a Barbarian marke, signe it after the Greeke maner and according to their common wealth. Well, thus much of his words and fayings: come we now to his deeds. And doe they feeme to cary before them the blinde raftneffe and temerity of Fortune, and bare force of armes and violences of the hand? or rather, of the one fide, great proweffe and justice; on the other fide, much elemency and lenity, together with good order and rare prudence, of one managing all things by fober, different and considerate judgement? Certes, I am not able to say and discerne in all his acts thus much, as to pronounce, That this was a deed of valour; that, of humanity; and another, of patience or 50 continence: but every exploit of his, feemeth to have beene mingled and compounded of all vertues in one, to confirme the famous fentence and opinion of the Stoicks, That every act, a wife man doth effect by all vertues jointly together. True it is indeed, that in ech action there is one vertue or other, eminent and predominant alwaies above others; but the fame inciteth and directeth the rest to the same end : and even so we may see in the acts of Alexander, That as his mattiall valout is lumane, fo his humanitie is valourous; his bounty is thrifty, his liberality

frugall; his choler foone appealed, his heat quickly cold; his loves temperate, his pastimes not idle; and his travels not without their folace and recreation; who, evermore tempered feafts with warre, milifary expeditions with games, masks and sports; who, interlaced among his sieges of cities, warlike exploits and executions, festivall Bacchanales, wedding and nuptiall songs of Hymeneus. Who was there ever, greater enemy to those that doe wrong, or more mercifull and gracious to the afflicted ? Who ever caried himfelfe more heavie to ftiffe necked and obftinate persons; and more friendly againe, to humble suppliants? And heere in this place it comes into my minde, for to alledge and cite the faying of king Porm, who being brought prifoner before king Alexander, and demanded by him, in what maner he wished that he should to use him : Roially (quoth he) of Alexander. And when Alexander replied againe, and asked what he had els to fay: Nothing, quoth Porm; for in that one word [Roially] is comprised all. And even so me thinks, that in all the actions of Alexander, a man may use this for a reffrein or faburden, All Philosophically. For this in deed conteineth all. He was enamoured of Roxane the daughter of Oxiathres, by occasion that he saw her to dance with a good grace among other captive ladies: howbeit, he would not force her, nor offer any violence to her dishonour; but espoused her for his wife: wherein he did as a Philosopher. When he saw his enemy Darius lying dead, with many an arrow and dart flicking in his body, he neither facrificed to the gods, nor founded the triumph for joy, that fo long a war by his death was come to an end; but taking the mantle from his owne shoulders, cast it over the dead corps, as if he would thereby have covered 20 and hidden the wofull destiny of a king. And this also was done like a Philosopher. He received one day a letter of fecrets from his owne mother, which whiles he perufed, it chanced that Hephaftion also sitting at that time by him , read it simply together with him , and thought nothing, Alexander debarred him not; onely he tooke the fignet from his owne finger, let it to his mouth, fealing as it were his filence, by the faith that he owed unto a friend. See how herein he thewed the part of a Philosopher: for if these be not Philosophicall acts, I know not what els be, Socrates was well enough content, that faire Alcibiades should lie with him; but Alexander, when Philoxenus his licutenant generall over the fea coasts of Asia, wrote unto him, that there was a yong boy within his government in Ionia; for fweet favour and beauty incomparable, demanding of him by his letters to know his pleafure, whether he should fend the said youth unto 30 him, he wrote sharply unto him, in this wife: What hast thou knowen by me, most leaud and wicked variet as thou art, that thou shouldest presume thus to allure and entice me with such pleatures? Xenocrates we have in admiration, for turning backe a prefent of fifty talents, which Alexander fent unto him; and shall we not wonder as well at the giver? shall we not thinke, that he made as small account of money, who gave so liberally, as he who refused it? Xenoerates had no need of riches, professing as he did Philosophy; but Alexander had use therefore, even in regard of Philosophy, because he might exercise his liberality in bestowing the same so bountifully upon fuch perfors. We honour theremembrance of those, who have left behinde them testimonies of their contempt of death: and how often thinke you, hath Alexander delivered as much, when he faw the darts and arrowes flying to thicke about his cares, and himfelfe, preffed 40 hard upon by the violence of enemies? We are perfinaded verily, that there is in all men whatfoever, some light of found judgement, for that nature herselfe frameth them to discerne that which is good and honest: bur a difference there is betweene the common fort and Philosophers, for that Philosophers excell the rest in this, that their judgements be more firme, settled and resolute in dangers than others; wheras the vulgar fort are not armed and fortified beforehand with fuch deepe impressions and resolutions as these:

eis ilwo dans G, &c. a tale and a tale and a The best presage by augury and bird flight, Is, in defence of countrey for to fight. Againe:

This full account all men must make, By death one day their end to take.

But the occurrences and occasions of perils presented unto them, doe breake their discourse of reason; and the imaginations of dangers imminent, doe drive out all counsell and considerate judgement. For feare doth not only maskre and aftonish the memory, as Thueydides faith, but The end of also driveth out every good intention, all motions and endevors of well doing: whereas Philo-this reatise fophy bindeth them fast with cords round about, that they cannot stirre. * * * *

* divers,



OF THE FORTVNE OR VERTUE OF K. Alexander.

The second Oration.

The Summarie.

Del Lutarch doth prosecute in this declamation, the argument and discourse beguninthe former: the some whereof is this, that the vertue of Alexander surmounted bis for- 20 tune, which was alwaies in maner contrary unto him. But before that he entrethinto this matter he opposeth unto the sufficiency and singular parts of this prince, the base demeanour and brutish vilany of certaine other kings and potentates, adjoining over and besides thus much that al his exercises and imploiments, are proofes every one of his hauty courage and magnanimity, Then discourseth he particularly, in what account and reputation good workemen were with Alexander, and what his selfe conceit was of his owne workes in comparison of theirs. Afterwards, he commeth to shew, that if Alexander be considered from his very first beginning to his last end, he will be found, to be the very handy worke of valour and fortitude. In proceeding forward, he faith, that fortune received more honor by Alexander than he by her. The which is verified by comlidering the flate of his armie, after his death. Uponthis, he entreth into a common place of mans 30 greatnesse, which serveth to cleere and illustrate the former points and matters handled. And by the consideration of the evill cariage and government of many other princes, as by a foile, he givetha most beautifull lustre unto the vertues of Alexander, which be desciphereth in particular. Thu done , he answereth those, who object that fortune rassed Alexander to that greatnesse. And to give the mightier force and weight to the reasons by him produced, he disputeth against fortune her selfe: wherein he examineth his severall exploits, wherein as vertue is evidently seene to accompany and asist, so fortune to oppose her selse and resist him. And this doth he particularize at large. After this digre sion, he commeth againe to his precedent matter, and bringeth out new proofes of the versue and magnanimity of this mighty Monarch even from his youth unto his dying day; comparing him as a Paragon, with the wifest Sages, and most valiant warriours both of Persia and of Greece. Shewing also that he surpassed them all, in commency, liberality, piety, prudence, justice, beneficence and valour. For the last point, be relateth the great jeopardy wherein Alexander was plunged one time among the rest, out of which, wertue caused him to retire fafe as it were, in despite of fortune: which is the very conclusion of this treatise, confirming the principall intenti-

KEREBERS.

on of our authour, which is to proove that the fore-

faid grandeur of Alexander ought not to

be ascribed unto fortune, but

to vertue.

THE FORTUNE OR vertue of K. Alexander.

The second Oration.



E forgat yesterday (as it should seeme) among other matters to say, that the age wherein Alexander lived was in this respect happy, for that it brought forth many excellent arts, and as many great and singular wits: or rather it may be said, that this was not so much the good fortune of Alexander, as of those cunning artisans and rare foirits, to have for their witnesses & spectator such a personage, who both knew best how to judge truely of good workemanship, and also was most able to reward the same as liberally. And verily to this purpose reported it is, that somtime after, in the age ensuing, when

Archestrasso a fine headed Poet and a pleasant, lived in great want and penury, for that no man made any reckoning of him to his defert, there came one unto him and faid : Had it beene thy hap Archestratus to have lived in the daies of Alexander, he would for every verse of thine 20 have bestowed upon thee either Cyprus or Phanice. Certes for mine owne part thus I conceive of it, that the artificers and workemen living in that age, became so famous and excellent not so much under Alexander and by Alexander. For it is the good temperature of the weather and subtilty of the ambient aire, that causeth abundance and plenty of fruits: but the gracious countenance, the fovor, honor, bounty and humanity of a prince, is it that provoketh and flirrethup good arts, yea and advanceth excellent wits: whereas contrariwife all the fame languisheth, decaieth, is extinguished and perisheth cleane by the envie, avarice, spary pinching, and peevilh frowardnesse of rulers and those in authority. And heere I must call to minde the report that goeth of Dionyfius the tyrant, who heering one day a famous minstrell playing passing well upon the lute and as fweet finging thereto, faid openly, that he would beflow upon him for 30 a reward a talent of filver. The morrow after comes this musician to call for the money according to promife: unto whom Dionylius made this answere: Sirrha (quoth he) yesterday as I tookecontentment by thee follong as I heard thee play and fing, fo I am fure I did thee a pleafure againe in the hope of this promife: thouwert paied therefore prefently for the delight which thou gavest me, by the joy that thou received throm me: goe thy waies therefore, thou halt thy reward already. Alexander, the tyrant of Phera, (whom indeed I should call by this addition onely [tyrant] and not steine and contaminate so good a name as Alexander, by stilling therewith fo wicked a wretch:) this tyrant I fay, whiles he beheld one day an excellent plaier acting in a traggedy, was so much moved with a certaine tickling delight comming upon him, that his heart began to relent even upon a tender commiferation and pitie: whereupon he fuddenly 40 left the theater, made hafte away, & went fafter than an ordinary pace untill he was out of fight, laying withall, that it were a great indignity for him to be feene for to weepe and fined teares, in compassion of the miseries and calamities of queene. Hecuba or lady Polyxena, who every day caused so many citizens and subjects throats to be cut. This monstrous tyrant was so mischievoully bent, that he want within a little of punishing that excellent actour most grieveously, because he had mollified his hard heart and made it melt like a peece of iron in the furnace. Archelsus king of Muedature formed to be not very free of gift, whereupon Timotheus the mulician finging to the harped, would efficience glaunce at him, and iterate this prety lcoffe as the foot of his fong; and home.

Tou* prasse sir, as your whole delight.

But Archelaus met with him, extempore againe, and replied not unwittily, in this wife,

And thou as faine would It silver have, And doest as shamelessely it * crave.

Aleas a king of the Scythians, having taken prisoner in warre, that samous minstrell Ismenias, commanded him to sound upon his stute or pipe, whiles he sat a dinner. Now when all the company besides wondred at his excellent musicke, and applauded him for his good playing, Pppp D

hehimselfe sware a great oth, that he tooke more pleasure to heare his horse neigh, so unmusicall were his cares and so farre removed from the Muses: so much also was his minde setupon the stable and manger, fitter indeed to heare affes bray than horses neigh. What honour then or advancement may a cunning artifan, or fo absolute a master in musicke hope for at the hands of fuch kings? Certes no more than from those who would seeme themselves to be skilful, yea and dare contend with professours in the sufficiencie of their arte: and therefore upon envie or malice feeke to overthrow and deprave those that indeed be excellent artists. Such an one was Dionylius above named (whom heere I must bring in againe) who caused the Poet Philoxensus to be cast into the prison or dungeon called Latomie, that is to say, the Quarries, because when Dionysius had put into his hands a tragoedy of his owne making, commanding him to review 10 and correct the fame, he dashed it out and interlined it all from the beginning to the end. And even Philip alfoking of Macedonie, for that late it was ere he gave his minde to mulicke, was in this behalfe unlike himfelfe and not answerable to his greatnesse otherwise. Howbest upon an opinion that he had of his owne skill that way, he would needs (as the report goes) enter into disputation with a professed musician and plaier of instruments, and argue about the strokes and ftops, points and notes and fuch like terms, yea and feeme for footh to controle him in his owne art; whereat the minstrell smiling pleasantly upon him: God sorbid sir (quoth he) that you a king, should ever be so unfortunate and at so low aneb, as to have more skill in these matters than I. But Alexander knowing full well what things he should be a spectatour and auditour of, as also what he ought himselfe to practise and execute with his owne hand, studied continually 20 to be expert and accomplished in feates of armes, indevouring, as the Poet Aefehylus faith,

Most manfully his standing, good to make:

And terribly to force his foesto quake.

And this indeed was the hereditarie art which he received by fuccession from his auncestors the Aeacidæ, and Hercules: as for other sciences, he honored them in other men, without any emulation at all for their profession: and as he highly commended any excellency or grace therein, so for no pleasure & delight that he tooke thereby, was he easily surprized with any affection for to follow the same. In his time there flourished two noble Tragoedians above the rest Theffalus and Athenodorus; who when they contended one against another for the prise, who could act the better, the kings of Cyprus defraied the charges belonging to this folemne spectacle, 30 and pageant; but the principall and most renowmed captaines, were judges to decide the quarrell. In the end, when Athenodorus was declared victour; Alexander who stood better affected to Theffalus: I would I had (quoth he) lost the one halfe of my kingdome, fo I had not seene Theffalus take the foile: howbeit, he neither expostulated with the umpiers, nor complained of their judgement; for howfoever he thought that himselfe ought in other respects to outgoe all, yet he was to yeeld and give place to justice. Among Comedians in those daies, there was one Lycon a Scarphean: this actour in playing his part before him in a comedie, had interlaced handsomly a verse, wherein he seemed cleanly to crave some reward: Alexander laughed at the conceit of the fellow, and gave him ten tallents. Many excellent harpers there were, and plaiers of the lute, and one Aristonicus among others, who in a certeine battell running in to 40 rescue and succour him, fought manfully, and there was slaine, and sell dead at his soot: Alexander heereupon caused his statue to be made in brasse, and to be set up in the temple of Apollo Pythius holding a lute in the one hand, and a launce in the other. In fo doing henot onely honored the man, but also Musicke, as being an art which breedeth animostie in menshearts, filling those with a certeine ravishment of spirit and couragious heart to fight valiantly, who are naturally framed and bred up to action: for even himselfe one day, when Antigenides sounded the battell with his flute, and finging thereto a militarie fong, called Harmation, was thereat fo much mooved, and let in fuch an heat by his warlike tune, that he started out of the place where he fat, and caught up the armes that hung up thereby; ready to brandish them and to fight, the fact of the contract of the contract of

Sweeily to play on Lute and Harpe; To fing thereto as pleafantly: Befeemeth thofe that love at sharpe, To fight it out right valiantly.

There lived also in the time of Alexander, Apelles the Painter, and Exsispens the Imager: the former of these two, painted Alexander holding a thunderbolt in his hand, but so exquisitely

egy you get a guidant de

to the life, and so like unto himselse, that it was a common saying; Of two Alexanders, the one, king Philips sonne, was invincible; the other of Apelles drawing, was inimitable. As for Lysppm, when he had cast the first image of Alexander, with his face up toward heaven, expersing thereby the very countenance of Alexander, who was woont so to looke, and withall, to turns his necke somewhat at one side; there comes me one and setteth over it this epigram, alluding very prettily to the said portraicture:

This image heere that stands in brasse all bright, The portraies is of Alexander, right: Up toward heaven, he both his cies doth cast, And unto Jove, stemes thus to speake at last: Thou Jupiter in heav nomais well be bold: Mine is the earth, by conquest I it hold.

And therefore Alexander gave commandement, that no other braffe founder, should cast his image, but only Lylippon: for he alone it was (as it should feeme) that had the feat to represent his naturall disposition in brasse, and to expresse his vertue answerable to the lineaments and proportion of his thape. As for others, howfoever they might be thought to refemble the bending of his necke, the cheerefull caft & amiable volubility of his quicke eie; yet could they neverobserve and keepe that virilitie of visage and lion-like looke of his. In the ranke of other rare workmen, may be ranged a famous Architect, named Stafferates, who would not feeme to bu-20 fie himselfe in making any thing, that was either gallant & pleasant, or delectable and gracious to the eie; but intended fome great matter, and fuch a piece of worke, and of that argument, as would require no leffe then the riches and treasure of a king to furnish and set foorth. This fellow comes up to Alexander, being in the high countries and provinces of his dominion, where before him he found fault with all his images, as well painted, and engraven, as call and pourtraied any way; faying, they were the hand-works of base minded and mechanical lattificers: But I (quoth he) if it may please your majestie, know how, and doe intend to found and establish the similitude of your rotall person, in a matter that is living and immortall, groundedupon eternall roots, the weight and ponderofitie whereof is immooveable, and can not beshaken: For the mountaine Athos (quoth he) in Thracia, whereas it is greatest, and ri-30 feth to a most conspicuous height; where the broad plaines and high tops are proportionate to it felfe every waie; having in it, members, lims, joints, diffances, and intervals, refembling for all the world, the forme of mans body, may be wrought and framed fo, as it would ferve verie well both to be called, and to be indeed, the statue of Alexander, and worthy his Greatnesse: the foote and base whereof, shall touch the sea; in one of the hands comprehending and holding a great citie peopled and inhabited by an infinit number of men: and in the right, a runingriver, with a perpetual current, which it powreth as it were out of a great pot into the fea: as for all these petty images and puppets made of gold, brasse, and ivorie, these wodden tables with pictures, away with them all, as little paltrey portracts, which may be bought and fold, theefe-stollen and melted, defaced and marred. Alexander having heard the man speake, 40 highly praifed him, as admiring his hautic minde, his bold courage, the conceit of his extraordinary invention: Good fellow (quoth he) let Athor alone, and permit it to stand a Gods name, in the place where it doth, and never alter the forme of it: it sufficeth that it is the monument of theoutragious pride, infolent vanitie and folly of one king already: and as for me, the mountaine Caucaling, the hilles Emodi, the river Tanan, and the Caspian sea, shall be the images and statues to represent my acts. But set the case I pray you, that such a piece of worke had beene

rantyou. What fay we now to his image called Ceramophoros, that is to fay, the thunder-bolt-bearer? what fay we to another named the statement of the factorial statement of the factor

made& finished as this great architect talked of: is there any man thinke you, seeing it in that

forme, disposition, and tashion, that would thinke it grew so by chance & adventure? No I war-

Poppp 2

Anti (thines

Antishenes said, very well and truely, that we should wish unto our enemies all the good things in the world, save onely valour and fortitude: for by that meanes they be not theirs who are in present possession of them, but become theirs who are the conquerors. And this is the reason men say, that nature hath set upon the head of an Hart for his defence, the most heartlesse and cowardly beast that is, woonderful hornes for bignesse, and most dangerous by reason of their sharpe and branching knagges: teaching us by this example, that bodily strength and amour, serveth them in no stead, who have not the courage and resolution to stand their ground and sight it out. And even thus we see, that fortune many times by heaping upon heartlesse cowards, and widesse soles, a great estate of riches and dominion; which they know not how to weld, and wherewith they discredit themselves, doeth honour and grace vertue, as upon to which onely dependentall the puissance, all the worship, glory, and reputation of men: for significant must faith,

The minde it is that seeth cleare: And t is the minde that eke doeth heare.

then all the rest are blinde and dease, which be void of reason: for the senses seeme verilie to have their proper and peculiar functions. Now, that the minde is all in all, that the minde is availeable in all things, that the minde disposeth every thing in good order, that it is the minde which conquereth, which ruleth & reigneth over all; & whatsoever beside, blind, dease, & which could be complished by the experience and course of wordly affaires: for by the same pulsance and command, Semiramis being but a woman, tigged and manned armadoes at sea, seaved and armed maine battels of land forces, built Babylan, scoured and conquered all the coast of the red sea, substituted and brought to her obedience the Arabians and Aethiopians: whereas Sadanapalan, a manborne, sat within house at home, carding and spinning purple, tumbling and lying along, waltring among a fort of concubines: and when he was dead, they made for him a statue in stone, dauncing by himselfe alone after the Barbarian sathion, and knacking (as it were) with his singers over his head, like an antique, with this epigram set over it:

Eat, drinke, the wanton lecher play,

For nothing els is ought, I fay. Crates the Philosopher seeing upon a time within the temple of Apollo Pythiw at Delphi, the image of Phryne the curtisan, shrined all in golde, cried out: Behold heere stands the trium. phant Trophæc, over the loofe and lascivious life of the Greeks. But whosoever beholdeth the life or fepulture, whether you will (for in mine opinion there is no difference) of Sardanapalus, he may well and truely fay to the Trophæe of fortunes goods. What then? shall we fuffer fortune after Sardanapalus to meddle with Alexander, and to chalenge unto herselfe any part of his mightineffe and puissance? That were no reason at all: for what gave she ever unto him more than other kings have received at her hands? whether it were armour, horses, weapons, monie, foldiers, and a guard about their persons? Well, let her by these meanes make Aridden great if the can; let her magnifie (I fay) by these meanes Amasis, Ochus, Oarses; Tigranes the Atmenian, and Nicomedes the Bithynian: of whom the one, to wit, Tigranes, 40 flung downe his crowne and diadem at the feet of Pompeius, and Chamefully loft his kingdome, as a pray or escheat fallen into his enemies hand: the other, namely Nicomedes, having shaven his head, and wearing a cap upon it, declared himfelfe thereby, to be an affranchifed vaffall of the Romans? What? Say we then, that fortune maketh men cowards, fearefull, and base minded? Surely, it were no reason to impute cowardise upon infortunitie, no more than to attribute valour and wisdome to prosperitie. But well and truely may one say, that fortune herselfe was great, in regard of her lord and mafter Alexander: for in him the was glorious, invincible and magnanimous; not proud nor infolent, but full of clemencie and humanitie: no fooner was the breath out of his body, but prefently her power, that is to fay, his armie and forces, as Leofthenes faid wandring up and downe stragling and running upon it selfe, resembled that 50 fame Czelops Polyphemus, who after his eie was out of his head, went groping all about, putting forth his hands before him, but not knowing where to lay them : For even the greatnesse other puissance, after he was once dead, went to and fro, wandring it wist not where, and stumbling ever and anon, wanting a directour and governour, as in time of Anarchie, when there is no soveraigne ruler knowen; or rather it might be compared unto dead bodies when the life is newly departed out of them. For like as the parts are not knit together, nor hold one to another

any longer, but fall away one from the other, and loofely withdraw themfelves apart: even to the armie of Alexander after it had loft and forgone him, did no more but fprunt, pant, ftruggle and firive for life, toffe and tumble to and fro, under the Perdiccaies, the Meleagers, the Seleuci, the Antegoni, and I wot not whom, like unto fome small vital spirits, yet remaining hot and beating within thearteries heere and there disorderly, and now and than like intermittent pulses, until fuch time as at the last it grew to putrifaction and corruption in maner of a dead carcase, and engendred wormes crawling within it: I meane such base kings, degenerat rulers & captaines who had no generosity nor heart in them. Certes, Alexander himselfe in his lifetime rebuking Hephastion when he quarelled with Craterio, tanted him & tooke him up in this wife: What power to halt thou of thy felfe? what couldeft thou do, and where wouldeft thou be, if aman should take Alexander from thee ? Semblably, I will not flicke to fay thus unto the fortune of that time : What is thy greatneffer what is thy glory? where is thy puiffance? where is thine invincible power, if one should bereave thee of Alexander? That is as much to say, as if one should deprive thine armes & weapons, of skill and experience to use them; thy riches, of liberality; thy sumptuolity and magnificence, of temperance; thy fights & combats, of refolute valor; thy victories and superiorities, of mildenesse and lenity. Make any other great if thou canst, who bestoweth nothis goods bountifully, who in the forefrunt of the battell hazzardeth not his owne person fieltbefore his armie, who honoreth not nor regardeth his friends, who taketh no pitie of his enimies captive, who is not in his pleasures continent, in his occasions & affaires vigilant, in his victories foone pacified and easie to be compounded with, and last of all, who in his prosperity and good fucceffe is not kind and courteous. How can a man possibly be great, what power and authority fo ever he have, if he be foolish, vicious, & wicked withal : for in one word, take vertue from a man otherwise fortunate, he is every way meane and of base account; meane in his gifts &donations, by reason of nigardife; meane in his travels, in regard of his cowardife and tendernes; meane in the fight of the gods, because of his superstition; meane among good men, for his envie; meane with valiant warriors, in respect of his timorous nesses and meane in the conceit of honest women, confidering his diffolute voluptuousnesse. For like as unskilfull workemen who set little statues upon great bases and large piedstals, shew thereby the smalnesse of their statues so much the more : even so when fortune raiseth up a man of base minde into high 30 place and to an estate wherein he is to be seene of the whole world, the discovereth his wants, the discrediteth and dishonoreth him the rather, waving and shaking every way through his levitie. So that, by this we must consesse, that greatnesse lieth not in the bare possession, but in the well using of good things: For many times it falleth out that very infants even from their cradle, inherite the realmes and feignories of their fathers; like as Charillus did, whom Lycurgus his uncle broght in his swadling bands into the common hall Phiditium, where the lords of Sparta were wont to dine together, fet him in the roiall throne, and in the stead of himselse, declared and proclaimed him king of Lacedamon. Now was not this babe for all this, great: but he rather might be accounted a great person, who rendring unto the new borne infant his fathers honor due unto him, would not intervert and derive it upon himselfe, and so defraud his 40 nephew thereof. As for Aridam, who could make him a great man, whom differing indeed nothing from a babe, Meleager swadled indeed and enwrapped onely within a purple robe and roiall mantell of estate, and so enstalled him in the throne of Alexander: wherein he did very well, to give the world to understand within a few daies after, how men reigne by vertue; and how by fortune: for he subrogated in the place of a true prince that managed the empire indeed, a very counterfect plaier and actor of a kings part; or to fpeake more truly, he brought a muteand dumbe diademe to walke through the world for a time, as it were upon a stage. The comical! * Poet faid:

A very woman may well a burden beare, If first a man upon her doe it reare.

So Butaman may contratiwife fay, that a filly woman or a yong child may take up, yea and charge upon the (houlders of another, a feignory, a realme, a great effate and empire, as Bagoas the Eunuch tooke and laid upon Oarfes and Darine the kingdome of the Perfians. Mary when as one hath taken upon him a mighty power and dominion, to beare, to weld & manage the fame, and not under the weight and heavy load of affaires belonging thereto, to be overwhelmed, brufed, or wrestled awry: that is the act of a man endued with vertue understanding and courage, such anone as alexander was: how soever some there be who reproch him that he loved wine to Ppppp 3 well

well and would be drunke. But this great gift he had, that in his important affaires he was fober, neither was he drunke and overfeene, nor ever forgat himselse and grew to any outrage, for all the puissance, authority and liberty that he had: whereof others when they had some part and little tast, could not hold and containe themselves: For

No fooner are their purfes fluft
With coine: or they to honor brought,
But they anon with pride are past,
And foone bewray that they be naught:
They kicke, they winse, they sling and prance,
No nemay stand safely in their way,
If fortume once their bouse advance
Some unexpected power to sway.

Clytus for having funke three or foure gallies of the Greeks, nere the Isle Amorgus, would needs be filled with the name of Neptune, and a three tined mace caried before him. Demetrius, upon whom fortune had bestowed a little skirt or lappet (as it were) which he tare from Alexanders dominion, was well content to heare himselse called Jupiter KarusGáns, that is to say, the vawter. Cities sent unto him not embassadors, but Theores, forsooth, that is to say, especiall persons deputed for to confult with the gods: and his answeres to them, must be termed (I would not else) Oracles. And Lysimachus who held the coasts of Thracia, which was but the border or edge of Alexanders kingdom, grew to that heigth of furly pride & intollerable arrogancy, that he would 20 breake out into these words: Now the Bizantines come to doe homage unto me, seeing how I reach and touch the skie with my launce. At which speech of his, Passades standing by, could not forbeare, but fay unto the company: Let us be gone my masters, with all speed, lest this man bore an hole in heaven with the point of his launce. But what should we speake more of these persons? who might be allowed in some fort to cary an hauty minde and beare their heads aloft, in regard of Alexander, whose souldiers they were? seeing that Clearchus the tyrant of Heraclea, caried upon his scepter as his device, the resemblance of lightning, and one of his sonnes he named xegunds, that is to fay, a thunderbolt. And Denys the yonger, called himselfe the sonne of Apollo, in a certeine Epigram to this effect:

Doris the Nymph, by Phoebus did conceive, And from them bothmy birth I do derive.

And in trueth, Depy, the elder, the naturall father of this man, who put to death ten thouland of his owne citizens and fubjects (if not more) who for very envie betraied his owne brother into the hands of his enemies; who had not the patience to flay for his owne mothers death, anaged woman, and who by the course of nature would have died within few daies after, but since thered and stopped her breath; who also himselse wrote in a traggedy of his owne making,

For why? know this, that lordly tyranny

The mother is of wrong and vilany. yet forfooth, of three daughters which he had, named one Arete, that is to fay, Vertue; another, Sophrofyne, that is to fay, Temperance; and a third, Diecosyne, that is to fay, Justice. Some there 40 were, who needs would be furnamed Euergera, that is to fay, Benefactors; others, Soreres, that is to fay, Saviours. Some called themselves Callinici, that is to fay, Victorious; others, Megali, that is to fay, Great. And yet as glorious additions as they caried in their filles, who is able to expresse in words, their marriages following thicke one in the necke of another, spending the long day continually, like a fort of stallions among a number of women, as if they had beene a flud of formany mares; their unkind abusing of faire boies, their violent rapes and enforcements of yong damosels, their drumming and tabouring with a fort of esseminate & womanlike wantons, their dice playing in the day time, their piping and founding the flute in open Theaters, their nights spent in suppers, and whole daies in long dinners? But Alexander gat up, and sat to his dinner by the breake of day, and went not to supper before it was late in the evening; he so dranke and made good cheere when he had first facrificed to the gods; he plaied at dice with Midia, one time, whiles he had a fever upon him; his pattimes and recreations were, 2012avell and march upon the way, and withall, to learne how to fhoot an arrow, how to launce a dart, how to mount a chariot nimbly, and difmount againe with facility. Roxane he espoused and wedded, onely for pure love, and to content his fancy and affection; but Statira the daughter of Darius he tooke to wife upon pollicy, because the state of his kingdome and affaires required

fuch a match; for expedient it was, thus to mix and unite two nations together. As for other ladies and women of Persia, he went as farre beyond them in chastity and continence, as he did the Persian men in valour and fortitude; for he never would so much as see one of them against her will; and those whom he saw, he lesse regarded than such as he never set eie upon : and whereas otherwise to all persons he was courteous and popular, to such onely as were faite and beautifull he shewed himselfe strange, and used them in some fort proudly. As touching the wife of Dariue, a lady of furpaffing beauty, he would not endure fo much as one word that tended to the praise thereof; yet when the was dead, he performed her funerals with so sumptuous and princelike obsequies, he mourned and bewailed her death so piteously, that as his kindnesse to in that behalfe made the world miltruft and suspect his chaftity, so his bountifull courtesie incurred the obloquy and imputation of injustice. And verily, Darius was at the first mooved to conceive jealousse and a finister opinion of him that way, considering he had the woman in his hands, and was befides, a gallant and yoong prince: for he also was one of them, who were perfinaded that Alexander held the tenure of his mighty dominion and monarchy, by the goodnesse and favour of Fortune; but after he knew the trueth once, upon diligent search and inquisition by all circumstances into the thing: Well (quoth he) the Persians state I perceive is not interly overthrowen, neither will any man repute us plaine cowards and effeminate perfons, for being vanquished by such an enemie: for mine owne part, my first with and principall przier unto the gods is, that they would vouchfafe me fortunate successe, and at the last, an hap-20 py victory of this warre, to the end that I may furmount Alexander in beneficence; for an earneft defire I have and an emulation, to flew my felfe more milde and gracious toward him, than he is to meward: but if all be gone with me and my house, then, ô Jupiter the protectour of the Persians, and ye other tutelar gods and patrons of kings and kingdomes, suffer not any other but him, to be enthronifed in the roiall feat of Cyrus. Certes, this was a very adoption of Alexan-

der, that passed in the presence and by the testimony of the gods. See what victories are atchieved by vertue. Aferibe now (if you will) unto Fortune, the journey of Arbela, the battell fought in Cilicia, and all other fuch like exploits performed by force of armes: let it be, that the fortune it was of warrewhich shooke the city of Tyrus, and made it quake before him, and opened Aegypt unto 30 him; grant, that by the helpe of Fortune Halicarnaffus fell to the ground, and Miletus was forced and won; that Mazeur abandoned the river Euphrates, and left it disfurnished of garifons; and that all the plaines about Babylon were overspred with dead bodies: yet it was not Fortune thatmade him temperant, neither was he continent by the meanes of Fortune; Fortune it was not, that kept and preferved his foule as within a fortreffe inexpugnable, fo as neither pleasures could it surprise and captivate, nor lusts and fleshly defires wound or touch. And these were the very meanes whereby he vanquished and put to flight the person of Darius himselse. All the reflwere, the discomfiture of his great barbe-horses, the overthrow and losse of his armour, skirmishes, battels, murders, executions, massacres and slights of his men. But the great soile and defaiture indeed, most confessed, and against which least exception can be taken, was that 40 wherein Darius himselfe was overthrowen; namely, when as he yeelded unto the vertue of Alexunder, to his magnanimity, fortitude and justice, admiring that heart of his, invincible of pleafure, unconquered by travels, and in gratuities and liberality immatchable. For in shields and fpeares, in pikes and targuets, in shouts and alarmes, in giving the charge and in buckling together with the classering of armour, right hardie and undaunted, aswell as he, were Tarrias the forme of Dinomenes, Antigones of Pellen, and Philotas the forme of Parmenio: but against ticklingpleasures, against the attractive allurements of women, against flattering silver and golde, they were no better, nor had more rule of themselves than slaves and captives. For Tarrias at what time as Alexander undertooke to pay all the debts of the Macedonians, and to make fatiffaction unto all those who had lent them any money, falfly belied himselfe, saying, he was in-50 debt, and withall suborned and brought foorth a certeine usurer, to the verie table where this discharge was made, who tooke it upon him, that he was a creditor of his. And afterwards when Tarries was detected and convict heereof, he had made himselfeaway for very shame and com-Punction of heart, but that Alexander being advertised thereof, pardoned his fault, yea and permitted him alfo to keepe the filver still, that he had disbursed for his counterfet debt; calling to minde, how at what time as his father Philip laid fiege to the citie Perinthus, the faid Tarrias in askirmish was shorinto the eie, and would not suffer the same to be dressed, nor the shaft to be well and would be drunke. But this great gift he had, that in his important affaires he was fober, neither was he drunke and overfeene, nor ever forgat himfelfe and grew to any outrage, for all the puiffance, authority and liberry that he had: whereof others when they had some part and little tast, could not hold and containe themselves: For

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But they anon with pride are puss,
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They kicke, they winse, they sling and prance,
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For in shields and fpeares, in pikes and targuets, in fhouts and alarmes, in giving the charge and in buckling together with the clattering of armour, right hardie and undaunted, as well as he, were Tarrias the fonne of Dinomenes, Antigones of Pellen, and Philotas the sonne of Parmenio: but against ticklingpleafures, against the attractive allurements of women, against flattering silver and golde, they were no better, nor had more rule of themselves than slaves and captives. For Tarrias at what time as Alexander undertooke to pay all the debts of the Macedonians, and to make fatiffaction unto all those who had lent them any money, fallly belied himselfe, saying, he was in-50 debt, and withall suborned and brought foorth a certeine usurer, to the verie table where this discharge was made, who tooke it upon him, that he was a creditor of his. And afterwards when Tarrias was detacted and convict heereof, he had made himselfe away for very shame and com-Punction of heart, but that Alexander being advertised thereof, pardoned his fault, yea and permitted him also to keepe the filver still, that he had disbursed for his counterfet debt; calling to minde, how at what time as his father Philip laid fiege to the citie Perinthus, the faid Tarrias in askirmish was shorinto the cie, and would not suffer the same to be dressed, nor the shaft to be plucked foorth, before the enemies were put to flight. Antigenes causing himselfe to be enrolled, and his name registred among others who were sent backe againe from the campe into Ma. cedonie, by occasion of sicknesse or maime, whereby they were not serviceable: being found afterwards to aile nothing, but to counterfet ficknesse, who otherwise was a good fouldior, and caried the marks of many a scarre in his body to be seene, offended Alexander heereby; and when the king demanded the reason, why he had so done; he confessed by and by, that he was in love with a yoong woman named Telesippa, whom he purposed to follow and accompanie, being minded to goe to the sea-coast, for that he could not find in his heart to be far from her. Then Alexander asked him, to whom the wench appertained, & who was to be dealt with, for to make her staie: Antigenes answered, she was her owne woman, & of free condition: Why then (quoth to Alexander) let us perswade her to tary still by faire promises & good gifts; for in no wise force her we may. So casie was he to pardon and beare with love, in any other rather than in himselfe. The first cause of the infortunate fall of Philoras the sonne of Parmenio, was in some fort his owne intemperance: for there was a yoong woman borne in the citie of Pella, named Antigona, who in the faccage of the citie of Damafeus, was taken prisoner among other captives, and indeed had bene thither brought before by Autophradates, who surprised her at sea, as the failed fro the coast of Macedonie, roward the Isle Samothrace: faire the was, & welfavored to fee to; and fo far had the entangled Philotas with her love, after he came once to be acquainted with her, that being a man otherwise as hard as iron, and steele to the very backe, she had so mollisted and made him pliable, that in the mids of his pleasures, poore man he, he was not master of himselfe and his 20 owne heart, but lying open unto the woman, revealed many fecrets unto her, and let fall foolith words in her hearing: For what had that Philip beene (would be formetimes fay) but for Paimenio; and what were this Alexander heere, without Philotas? what would become of his high addition, Jupiter Ammonius, where were those dragons of his, if we were not well pleased with him? Antigona told these speeches unto another woman one of her familiar friends; and she reported them againe to Craterus: Craterus brought Antigona herselfe secretly unto Alexander: and verily Alexander touched not her body, but absteined from her: howbeit, by her meanes, founding Philotas, & comming within him, he discovered fully what he was: yet in seven yeeres space and more, he never either at any feast where he dranke wine liberally, & was thought otherwhiles to be drunke, made he shew of this suspicion conceived of him, or in his 30 anger, being of nature hastic and cholericke; or to his friend Hephastion, untowhom he was woont to disclose all, and make partaker otherwise of his secrets: for one day by report, having opened a letter of secrets, sent from his owne mother, as he read it to himselfe, Hephastion held his head close to , and read it gently together with him; neither had he the heart to forbid him: onely after he had fuffred him to read it through, he tooke the fignet from his owne finger, fet it to his mouth, as it were to feale up his lips, that he should say nothing. But if a man should goe about to rehearfe at large all the notable examples, whereby it might be prooved that this prince used the greatnesse of his power exceeding well, and as most woorthily became a king; his strength and voice would faile him: for say, that by the goodnesse and savour of Fortune he became great: yet greater he is, in that he used his fortune aright, and wisely as he should: 40 and the more that a man extolleth his good fortune, the more doeth he amplifie that vertue of his, for which he was woorthy of fuch fortune.

But now its high time that I should proceed to the beginning of his growth, and the first entry of his mightie power: wherein I consider and looke every way about me, what act of fortune is therein, whereby men should suppose and mainteine, that *Alexander arole to such greatnesses ? How now? Tell me I befeech you for the love of God, placed she him in the regal throne of *Cyrus*, without drawing a sword, without striking one stroke, without bloudshed, without wounds, without a field fought, or expedition of armes made? by the neighing (forfooth.) of an horse, as sometime she did by that stist *Darius*, the sonne of *Histafees? or was it fome kinde husband wonne by the stattering perswasion of his wise, that crowned him king; 50 like as the same *Darius* made *Xerxes* king, induced by his wise *Atossa*, or haply the roial diademe came of it selfs to his very gates, as it came unto *Parylais*, by the meanes of *Baggus the eunuch; who did no more for it, but change and put off his lackies mandilion, put himselfse presently into the roiall robe, and set upon his head the pointed turbant, named *Cydaris*: or all on a sudden, beyond all expectation, by the fortunate fall of a lot, and the meere benefit of fortune, he became the monarch of the whole earth; like as at *Athers* their officers* Thesmothete,

and Archontes are created by lotterie. But would you know how men come to be kings by the meanes of Fortune? This one example will tell you. The race of the Heraclidæ, defcending lineally from Hercules, out of which they were woont at Argos from time to time to elect their kings, chaunced to faile, and be utterly extinct: whereupon, when they had fent out to the oracle of Apollo, for to demand and enquire what to do in this case; this answer was made, That an eagle should direct them what was to be done. Some few daies after, an eagle was seene soaring aloft in the aire, and at length to fettle upon the house of one named Aegon : and thus was Aegondeclared for their king. Will you have another ? He who reigned for the time in the citie Paphos, was found to be wicked, unjust, violent, and a great oppressiour of his people: whereupon Alexander deposed him from his regall state and dignitie; and when he had so done, sought for another torulain his flead, out of the house & familie of the Cinyrada, which was thought in maner to be worne out, and uttelly extinct : howbeit, advertifed hee was, that there remained of that rade no more but one obscure and poore man, of whom there was no reckoning in the world made; and he dwelt in a certeine garden unregarded, where he lived in verie meane efface. Prefently he fent foorth to feeke for this man: they who were put in commission heereabout found him there indeed, watering certaine beds of leeks, and fuch like worts and potherbs. The man was woonderfully troubled and affrighted to feethefe fouldiers come toward him, and especially when they finde that he must come and speake with Alexander the king: thus was be brought unto him, in a fimple thin linner wastcote, and presently proclaimed king 20 of Paphos, received the purple rojall robe, and was reckoned in the number of those who are called the kings Minions: and his name was Alynomus. Lo how Fortune makes menkings, onely by altering their robes, by polymutation of their names, and changing their copies a little, all on a fudden, quickly in a trice, with great facilitie, beyond all hope, and without any expectation at all. Come now unto Alexander, what great matter did he ever attaine unto without his defert? what hapned unto him without the fweat of his browes, nay without the effusion of his bloud? what had he grain, that he paid not for? what got he, that did not cost him paines and travell ? Drunke he hath of rivers steined and coloured with bloud; passed he hath over them upon bridges made of dead bodies; for very hunger he hath beene glad to eat of graffe and greene herbes, the first hee could finde growing; he hath with much digging and 30 featching, discovered nations buried under deepe fnow, and cities lying in caves within the ground: failed he hath upon feas, warring and fighting against him: and traveling over the dry fands of the Gedrofians and Arhachofians, he faw trees and plants growing within the fea, before any upon the land. Now if a man might be allowed to addresse his speech unto Fortune, as unto some person in the defence of Alexander, might not one say unto her? When and where was it, that thou ever madeft way for the affaires of Alexander? what fortreffe wanne he through thy favour, without the loffe of bloud? what citie or towne didft thou cause to be yeeldedunto him without a garrison? or what army, without their weapons? where found he ever through thy grace any kings fluggish and flothfull; any captaine carelesse and negligent; any watder or porter of the gates drowfie and fleepie? nay , he never met with river that had farre 40 paffable, Winter that was tolerable, or Summer that was not painfull and it kefome. Goe thy waies, goe, to Antiochus the fonne of Seleucus; to Artaxerxes the brother of Cyrus; to Ptolomans Philadelphus. These were they, whom their fathers in their life time declared heires apparent, yea, and crowned them kings: these wonne fields and battels, for which never cie shed teare: these kept holiday continually: these celebrated festivall folemnities daily in theaters, with all maner of pompes and goodly fights: every one of these reigned in all prosperitie, untill they were very aged: whereas Alexander (if there were nothing elfe) lo how his body is wounded and piteoully mangled, from the crowne of his head, to the fole of his foot, gashed heere, thrust in there, drie beaten, brused and broken with all maner of hostile weapons,

With launce and speare, with sword most keene, With stones that bigge andmassie beene.

At the river Granicus, his armer or morion was cleft with a curtelace, as farre as to the haire of his head: before the towne of Gaza he was shot into the shoulder with a dart: in the Maragandians countrey his shin was wounded with a javelin, in so much as the greater bone thereof was so broken and shattered, that it came out at the wound: in Hireania he gat a knocke with a great shoeke his neede, which shooke his head so, as that his eie-sight was dimmed thereby, so for certeine daies, he was afraid that he should have beene starke blinde for ever: in a skirning the should have beene starke blinde for ever.

mith with the Affacans, his ancle was wounded with an Indian datt: at what time when he faw it to bleed, he turned unto his flatterers and paralites, and shewing them the place, smiled and faid: This is very bloud indeed,

And not that humour, fay all what you will, Which from the gods most bleffed doth destill.

At the battell of Iffus his thigh was pierced with a fword, even by king Darius himselfe, as Chares writeth, who came to close with him at hand fight. And Alexander himselse writing simply and the plaine trueth to Antipater, I my selfe also caught a stab with a short sword in my thigh, but thanked be God (quoth he) I had no great hurt thereby either at the present or afterwards. Fighting against the Mallians he was wounded with a dare two cubits long, that being driven 10 through his cuirace entred in at his breft and came out againe at his necke, according as Ariflobuliu hath left in writing. Having paffed over the river Tanais for to march against the Scythians, when he had defaited them in battell, he followed the chase and pursued them on horse backe for a hundred and fifty stadia, notwithstanding all the while he was troubled with a fore laske or flux of the belly. Now truly fortune, much beholden is Alexander unto thee for advancing his effate: Is this thy making of him great, by fuffering him thus to be pierced through on every side? Here is a faire upholding of him indeed to lay open thus all the parts of his bodie: cleane contrary to that which Minerva did unto Menelain, who with her hand turned afide all the shot of the enimies, and made them light upon his armour where it was most sure and of the best proofe, to wit, upon his cuirace, his bawdricke or belt, or upon his helmet; and by that 20 meanes brake the force of the firoke before it could come to the bare bodie, fo as all the harme it could do, was but a little to rafe the skin and let out some smal shew and a few drops of blood: but thou contrariwife, hast exposed his naked and unarmed parts and those most dangerous to be wounded, cauling the flot to enter fo farre as to goe through the very bone, environing and hemming in his body round, befetting his cies and feet, impeaching him for chafing his enimies, diverting the traine of his victories, and overturning all his hopes. Certes I am of this opinion, that there never was king who had fortune more adverse & a shrewder stepdame than he; although the hath beene curft, envious and fpightfull enough to many befides : for whereas the hath fallen upon others violently like a thunderbolt or shot of lightning, whom she hath cut off and diftroied right out at once; hermalice and hatted unto Alexander hath bene cankted 30 obffinate and implacable even as it was before him unto Herales. For what Typhons or monstrous Giants of prodigious stature hath she not raised up as concurrents to fight with him? What enimies hath not the fortified and furnished against him with infinit store of armes, with deepe rivers, with prerupt and craggy rocks, or with extraordinary strength of most favage beafts? Now if the courage of Alexander had not bene undaunted, and the fame arifing from exceeding great vertue, firmely grounded and fettled thereupon to encounter fortune, how could it otherwise have bene, but the same should have failed and given over, as being wearied and toiled out with fetting fo many battels in array, arming his foldiers fo daily, laying feege fo many times unto cities and townes, chafing and purfuing his enimies fo often, checked with so many revolts and rebellions, croffed so commonly with infinit treasons, conspiracies and infurrections of nations, troubled with fuch a fort of stiffe necked kings who shooke off the yoke of allegeance? and in one word, whiles he conquered Bactra, Maracanda and the Sogdians, among faithleffe and trecherous nations who waited alwaies to fpie fome opportunity and occa-40 fion to do him a displeasure, & who like to the serpent Hydra, as fast as one head was cutoff, put forth another, and so continually raised fresh and new warres? I shall seeme to tell you one thing very strange and incredible, howbeit most true: Fortune it was and nothing but fortune by whose maligne and crosse aspect, he went very neere of losing that opinion that went of him, namely, that he was the sonne of Jupiter Ammon. For what man was there ever extract and defeended from the feed of the gods, who exploited more laborious, more difficult and dangerous combates? unlesse it were Hercules against the sonne of Jupiter? And yet one outrageous and 50 violent man there was who set him a worke, enjoining him to take sell lions, to hunt wide bores, to chase away ravenous fowles, to the end that he should have no time to be emploied in greater affaires whiles he visited the world, namely, in punishing such as Annaus, and in repreffing the ordinary murders which that tyrant Busin and such like committed upon the persons of guests and travellers. But it was no other thing than vertue alone that commanded Alexander to enterprise and exploit such a peece of worke as beseemed so great a king and one derived

from a divine race: the end whereof was not a masse of gold to be carried along after him upon ten thousand camels backs, nor the superfiseous delights of Media, not sumptuous and dilicate tables, not faire and beautifull ladies, not the good and pleasant wines of Calydonia, nor the dainty fish of Hyreania out of the Caspian sea : but to reduce the whole world to be governed in one and the same order, to be obedient to one empire, and to be ruled by the same maner of life, And verily this defire was inbred in him, this was nourished and grew up with him from his veryinfancie. There came embaffadors upon a time from the king of Persia to his father Philip, who at the same time was not in the country but gone forth: Alexander gave them honorable intertainement very courteoutly as became his fathers sonne : but this especially was observed 10 in him, that he did not aske them childish questions as other boies did, to wit, about golden vines trailed from one tree to another, nor of the pendant gardens at Babylon hanging above in the aire, ne yet what robes and fumptuous habiliments their king did weare ? but all his talke and conference with them was concerning matters most important for the state of an empire : inquifitive he was, what forces and power of men the king of Perfucould bring out into the field and maintaine; in what ward of the battell the king himselfe was arranged when he fought a field: much like uuto that ulysses in Homer, who demanded of Dolon (astouching Hettor)

Which be the readiest and shortest waies for those who would travel from the coasts of the Me-

20 dittraneansfea up into the high countries? in fo much as these strangers, the embassadors won-

His martiall armes where doth he lay? His horses, tell me, where stand they?

dered exceedingly and faid: Now furely this child is the * great king, and ours the rich. No *Fortheking fooner was his father Philip departed this life, but prefently his heart ferved him to passe over the called the Braights of Helle (pont, and being already fed with his hopes, and forward in the preparation and great kings provision of his voiage, he made what speed he could to set foot in Asia. But see heere how fortune croffed his designes: she averted him quite and drew him backe againe, raising a thousand troubles and busic occasions to stay & hinder his intended course. First the caused those barbarous nations bordering and adjoining upon him, to rife up in armes, and thereby held him occupied in the warres against the Illyrians and Triballians: by the meanes whereof he was haled away as farre as to Seythia and the nations inhabiting along the river Danubie, who diverted him 30 cleane from his affaires intended in the high provinces of Asia. Howbeit having overrunne thele countries and dispatched all difficulties with great perils and most dangerous battels, he fet in hand againe with his former enterprise, and made haste to his passage & voiage a second time. But lo, even there also fortune excited the city of Thebes against him, and laid the warre of the Greeks in his way to frop his expedition, driving him to extreame streights and to a very hard exigent, by fire and sword to be revenged of a people that were his owne countrymen, and of the same kinned and nation, the issue whereof was most grieveous and lamentable. Having exploited this, he croffed the feas at the last, furnished with provision of money and victuals as Phylarchus writeth: to ferve for thirty daies and no longer, or as Arifobulus reporteth having onely leventy, talents of filver to defray the whole charges of the voiage. For of his owne de-40 maine and possessions at home, as also of the crowne revenewes, he had bestowed the most part upon his friends and followers : onely Perdice as would receive nothing at his hands, but when he made offer to give him his part with the rest, demanded thus of him: But what reserve Hanforyour felfe, Alexanders Who answered, My hopes. Why then (quoth he) I will take part thereof: for inistor reason that we should receive your goods, but wait for the pillage of Dawith And what were those hopes of Alexander, upon which he passed over into Asia? Surely not Ahower measured by the strong wals of many rich & populous cities, not fleets of ships failing

without himstelfe, a resolution of prowesse in a small power of armed men well trussed and com-36 partingether; an amulation to excell one another among yong men of the same age, a con-Binnion and the for vertue and glory in those that were his minions about him: But the great hopes indeed and most affured were in his owne person, to wit, his devout religion to Godward, shatualty confidence and affiance that he had in his friends, frugality, continence, bounty, consempt of death; magnanimity and refolution, humanity, courteffe, affable intertainement, a finple nature plaine without plaits, not faigned and counterfait, constancie in his counsell, cederity in his execution, foveraignty and priority in honor, and a resolute purpose to accomplish

through the mountaines, not whips and tetters, testifying the folly and madnesse of barbarous

Princes , who thought thereby to punish and chastice the raging sea. But for external meanes

any honest duty and office. For Homer did not well and decently, to compose and frame the beautifull personage of Agamemnon, as the patterns of a per sect prince out of three images, after this maner,

For eies aud head, much like he was in sight To Jove, who takes in lightning such delight: God Mars in wast and loines resembled he:

In brest compar'd to Neptune he may be. But the nature of Alexander (in case that God who made or created him, formed and compounded it of many vertues) may we not well and truly fay, that he endued with the courageous fpirit of Cyrus, the fober temperance of Agefilaus, the quicke wit and pregnant conceit of The- 10 missocles, the approaved skill and experience of Philip, the valourous boldnesse of Brasidas, the rare eloquence and fufficiencie of Pericles in State matters and politicke government? For to speake of those in ancient times, more continent he was and chast, than Agamemnon, who preferred a captive concubine before his owne espoused and lawfull wife: as for Alexander, he absteined from those women whom he tooke prisoners in warre, and would not touch one of them before he had wedded her: more magnanimous than Achilles, who for a little money yeelded the dead corps of Hetter to be ranfommed; whereas Alexander defraied great funmes in the funerals and interring of Darius bodie. Againe, Achilles tooke of his friends, for the appealing of his choler, gifts and prefents after a mercenary maner: but Alexander enriched his very enemies, when he had gotten the victorie. More religious he was than Diame des, a man who was 20 evermore ready to fight against the gods: whereas he, thought that all victory & happy successe came by the grace and favour of the gods. Deerer he was to his necre kinsfolke and friends, and more entirely beloved than ulyffes, whose mother died for forrow and griefe of heart: whereas when Alexander died, his very enemies mother, forkinde affection and good will died with him for company. In fumme, if it was by the indulgence of Fortune, that Solon established the common-wealth of Athens fo well at home, that Militades conducted the armies fo happily abroad; if it was by the benefit and favour of fortune, that Ariftides was so just : then farewell vertue for ever; then is there no worke at all effected by her; but onely it is a vaine name and speech that goeth ofher, passing with some shew of glorie and reputation thorow the life of man; seined and devised by these prating Sophisters, cunning Law-givers and Statists. Now if every one 30 of these persons, and such like, was poore or rich, feeble or strong, foule or faire, of long life or thort, by the meanes of fortune; againe, in case ech of them shewed himselse a great captaine in the field, a great politician or wife law-giver, a great governour and ruler in the city and common-wealth, by their vertue and the direction of reason within them; then consider (I pray you) what Alexander was in comparison of them all : Solon instituted at Athens, a general cutting off and cancelling of all debts, which he called Erodybia, which is as much to fay, as Adifcharge of burdens; but Alexander out of his owne purse paied all debts in the name of debtors, due unto their creditors. Pericles having imposed a tax and tribute upon the Greeks, with the money raifed by that levie, beautified the citadell or castle of Athens with temples and chapels whereas Alexander fent of the pillage and treasure which he gat from the Barbarians, to the 40 number of tenne thousand talents into Greece, with commandement to build therewith saved temples to the honour of the gods, Brasidau wan a great name and reputation of valour among the Greeks, for that he passed from one end to another thorow his enemies, caining, pitched long the fea fide before the towne Methon: but that wonderfull leape that Alexander made into a towne of the Oxydraques, which to them that he are it, is incredible, and to as many as faw it, was most fearefull; namely, at what time as he cast himselse from the battlements of the walles among his enemies, ready to receive him with pikes, with javelins, with dars and raked fwords; whereto may a man compare, but unto a very flash of lightning breaking violently out of a cloud, and being carried with the winde lighteth upon the ground, refembling a spiritor apparition resplendent all about with flaming and burning armours? insomuch as arthefirst 50 fight, men that faw it were fo affrighted, as they ran backward and fled ! but after that they beheld it was but one man fetting upon many, then they came againe, and made head against him. Heere Fortune shewed (no doubt) many plaine and evident proofs of her speciall good will so Alexander; namely, first when she put him into an ignoble, base and barbarous towne, and there inclosed him sure enough within the walles thereof; then, after that those without made haste to refeue him, and reared their fealing ladders against the walles for to get over and come unto

him, the caufed them all to breake & fall in pieces, whereby the overthrew and cast them downe who were climbed halfe way up: againe, of those three onely whose hap it was to mount up to the top before the ladders brake, and who flang themselves desperatly downe, and stood about theking, to guard his person, the fell upon one immediatly and killed him in the place, before he could do his mafter any fervice: a fecond, overwhelmed with a cloud of arrowes and darts, was so neere death, that he could do no more, but onely see and seele. All this while, the Macedonians without, ranne to the walles with a great noise and outcry, but all in vaine, for artillerie they had none, nor any ordinance or engins of battery; onely they laied at the walles with their naked fwords and bare hands : and so earnest they were to get in, that they would have made to way with their very teeth, if it had beene possible. Meane while, this fortunate prince, upon whom Fortune attended at an inch, ready now to accompany and defend him, you may be fure, as at all times els, was taken and caught as a wilde beaft within toiles, abandoned and left alone, without aide and fuccour, not iwis to win the city of Sussa or of Babylon, nor to conquer the province of Bactra, nor to seize upon that mighty body of king Porus: for of great and renow med attempts, although the end alwaies prove not happy, yet there can redound no infamy. But to fay atrueth, Fortune was on his behalfe fo spightfull and envious, but on the other side, so good and gracious to the Barbarians, so adverte I fay she was to Alexander, that she went about as much as lay in her, to make him not onely lose his life and body, but also to forfeit his honour and glory: for if he had beene left lying dead along the river Euphrates, or Hydas spes, it had beene 20 no great defastre and indignitie : neither had it beene so dishonorable unto him, when he came to joine with Darius hand to hand, if he had beene maffacred among a number of great horfes, with the fwords, glawes, & battle-axes of the Perfians fighting for the empire: no, nor when he was mounted upon the wals of Babylon, if he had taken the foile and bene put by his great hope offorcing the city : for in that fort, lost Pelepidas and Epaminendas their lives; and their death wastather an act of vertue, than an accident of infortunitie, whiles they gave the attempt to execute fo great exploits, and to gaine fo worthy a prife. But as touching fortune, which now we examine and confider, what piece of worke effected the ? In a Barbarous countrey farreremoved, on the further fide of a river, within the walles of a base village in comparison, to shut up and enclose the king and sovereigne lord of the earth, that he might perish there shamefully, by 30 the hands & rude weapons of a multitude of Barbarous rascals, who should knocke him downe with clubs and staves, and pelt him with whatfoever came next hand; for wounded he was in the head with a bill that clove his helmet quite thorow, and with a mighty arrow which one dischargedout of a bow, his breft-plate was pierced quite thorow, whereof the stelle that was without his bodic weighed him downe heavily: but the yron head which stucke fast in the bones about one of his paps, was foure fingers broad and five long. And to make up the full measure of all milchiefs, whiles he detended himselfe right manfully before, and when the sellow who had shot the forefaid arrowadventured to approach him with his fword, to dispatch him outright with a dead thrust, him he got within, and with his dagger gave him such a stabbe, as he lated him along and killed him out of hand: but feethe malice of Fortune, there runnes me forth out of a 40 milhouse or backhouse thereby, another villaine with a pessle, and comming behinde him, gave him such a soule upon the very necke bone, that he was assonished the cewith, and there lay along in a swoone, having lost his fight and other senses for a time. But vertue it was that affished him, which gave both unto himselse a good heart; and also unto his friends strength, resolution and diligence to fuccour him: for Limnaus, Ptolemeus, and Leonnatus, with as many belides, as either had clambred over the walles or broken thorow, came in and put themselves betweene him and his enemies; they with their valour were to him in ftead of a wall and rampier; they for meercaffection and love unto their king, exposed their bodies, their forces and their lives beforehim, unto all dangers whatfoever. For it is not by fortune, that there be men who voluntatily prefent themselves to prefent death; but it is for the love of vertue; like as bees having 50 dunke (as it were) the annatorious potion of natural love and affection, are alwaies about their king and flicke close unto him. Now fay there had beene one there without the danger of thos, to have feene this fight at his pleasure, would not he have faid, that he had beheld a notable combat of fortune against vertue? wherein the Barbarians by the helpe of fortune prevailed above their defert; and the Greeks by meanes of vertue relisted above their power: and if the former get the better hand, it would be thought the worke of fortune and of some maligne and envious Spirit; but if these become superior, vertue, fortitude, faith and friendship should cary away the

honour of victory; for nothing els accompanied Alexander in this place. As for the reft of his forces and provisions, his armies, his horses and his fleets, fortune set the wall of this vile towne betweene him and them. Well, the Macedonians in the end defaited these Barbarians, beat the place downe over their heads, and rafed it quite, and buried them in the ruins and fall thereof. But what good did all this to Alexander in this case? Caried he might well be and that speedily away out of their hands, with the arrow sticking still in his bosome; but the war was yet close within his ribbes, the arrow was set fast as a spike or great naile, to binde as it were the cuirace to his bodie; for, who foever went about to plucke it out of the wound, as from the root, the head would not follow withall, confidering it was driven fo fure into that folid breft bone which is over the heart; neither durft any faw off that part of the stelle that was without, for feare of 10 shaking, cleaving & cracking the faid bone by that means so much the more, and by that means cause exceeding and intolerable paines, besides the effusion of much bloud out of the bottome of the wound : himselfe seeing his people about him a long time uncerteine what to doe, set in hand to hacke the shaft a two with his dagger, close to the superficies of his cuirace aforesaid. and so to cut it off cleane; but his hand failed him, and had not strength sufficient for to do the deed, for it grew heavie and benummed with the inflammation of the wound: whereupon he commanded his chirurgians to fer to their hands boldly and to feare nought, incouraging (thus hurt as he was) those that were found and unwounded, chiding and rebuking some that kept a weeping about him and bemoned him; others he called traitours, who durst not helpehim in this diffresse; he cried also to his minions and familiars, Let no man be timorous and cowardly 20 for me, no not though my life lie on it: I shall never be thought and beleeved not to feare dytion, and not ing, if you be affraied of my death.

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OF ISIS AND

The Summarie.



He wisdome and learning of the Aegyptians hath bene much recommended unto us by ancient writers, and not without good cause: considering that Acgypt hath bene the source and sountaine from whence have flowed into the world arts and liberall sciences, as aman may gather by the testimony of the first Poets and punny of the server were: But time, which consumeth all things, bath bereft us of the knowledge of 40 over were: But time, which consumeth all things, bath bereft us of the knowledge of 40

such wisdome : or if there remaine still with us any thing at all, it is but in fragments and peeces seattered heere and there, whereof many times we must divine or quesse, and that is all. But in recompense thereof, Plutarch, a man carefull to preserve all goodly and great things, hath by the meanes of this discourse touching lis and Olivis maintained and kept entier a good part of the Aegyptians doctrine: which he is not content to set down literally & there an end, but hath adjoined thereto also an interpretation thereof, according to the mystical sense of the Islake priests: discovering infew words an infinit number of fecrets hidden under ridiculous & monstrous fables in fuch fort, as we may calthutreatife a comentary of the Aegyptians Theologie and Philosophy. As for the contents thereof, a man may reduce it mo three principall parts : In the first, which may serve instead of a preface ; he yeeldeth a reason of his enterprise & upon the consideration of the rasture, vesture, continence and ab sinence of lis priests, 50 there is an entrie made to the rehearfall of the fable concerning His & Offices. But before he toucheth it he fi eweth the reason why the Acgyptians have thu darkly enfolded their devinity. Which done, he commeth to descipher in particular the said sable, relating it according to the bare letter : which is the second part of this booke. In the third be expoundeth the fable it selfe: and first discovereth the principles of the faid Acgyptian Philosophy, by a fort of temples, sepulchers and sacrifices. Afterwards having refuted certaine contrary opinions, he speaketh of Damons, ranging Isis, Oficis and Typhon

Typhon in the number of them. After this Theologicall exposition, he consideres his he fable according to naturall Philosophy; meaning by Osicis the river Nilus and all other power of moissine what Joever : by Typhon , Drineffe : and by Itis that nature which preferves hand governeth the world. Where he maketh a comparison betweene Bacchus of Greece and Ofiris of Aegypt, applying all unto naturall causes. Then expoundet hhe she fable more exactly and in particular maner, conferring, this interpretation thereof with that of the Stoicks: wherupon he doth accommodate and fit all to the course of the Moone, as she groweth and decreaseth, to the rising also and mundation of Nilus, mas king of all the former opinions accretaine mixture, from whence he draweth the explication of the fable. By occasion hereof, he entreth into a disputation as touching the principles and beginnings of all things, letting downerwaine, and alledging for the proofe and confirmation of his speech, the testimony of the ancient Mages and Philosophers: which done be entrethinto a discourse of Osicis, Ilis, and Typhon, referring and reducing allinto Physicks and Metaphysicks, with a certaine conference or comparison of Placocs doctrin with that of the Aegyptians, which maketh him take in hand a particular treatise of matter, forme, the idea, of generation also and corruption. Having thus examined and discussed the Acgyptians Theology & Philosophy, be ariset to the more hidden & secret mysteries of the flake priests, or then descendeth againe to the consideration of naturall causes, especially of the flate of the Moone, and drawing compendeously into one word, all his precedent discourse, he declares b what we ought to understand by Ilis, Olivis and Typhon. Consequently he adjoineth three observations, to make this treatise more pleasant and profitable: withdrawing thereby the reader and plucking him backe both from superstition and Atheisme. Then having condemned the Greeks for being taint with the fame folly that the Aegyptians were addicted to be brosheth many opinions concerning the transformation of the Pagans gods into fundry forts of beafts; discovering thereby the dotage and foolery, wifing from this argument and matter most corruptly under stood; and stretching the same yet further he rendreth areason of that honour which the Aegyptians did to such creatures : whereupon hewould not have us in any wife to reft, but rather to looke into the divinity represented by them. And for an end he entrethinto an allegoricall discourse of the habilliments, perfumes, and diversodoriferous confections made every day in the temple of Itis: but more especially he treateth of one named Cyphi : wherein there be to the number of sixteene ingredients: which composition they use in their very drinke, observing therein as in all the rest of their superstitions, a million of ceremonies, whereaf he 30 doth particularize especially in the third part of this discourse, even to the very end thereof. All the premises being reduced to their right use, do seem the vanity of men abandoned and given over to their owne senses : and prove that all their sufficience is nothing but blockish folly, and their intelligence a darke and mirke night, when the brightnesse and light of Gods word dorb failethem. For the more apparence they have both of celestiall and also human wisdome, the more appeareth their blinde Supersition: in such fort as in sted of resting upon the creatour they remaine fixed upon the creatures, and have a longing and languishing defire after discourses void of true instructions and consolations: which ought to incite so much the more all Christians to make great account of the effectuall grace of fired umo shem in the medication and practife of true Philosophy as well naturall as divine.

OF ISIS AND OSIRIS.



En that are wife, or have any wit in them (ô Clea) ought by praier to crave all good things at the hand of the gods: but that which we most wish for, and defire to obteine by their meanes, is the very knowledge of them, to farre footth as it is lawfull for men to have: for that there is no gift either greater for men to receive, or more magnificall and beleeming the gods to give, than the knowledge of thetrueth: for God bestoweth upon men all things else, whereof they fland in need, but this he referveth to himselfe, and keepeth for his owne use. Neither is the godhead and divine power in this regard counted happie and bleffed, because it possesses a great

quantity of gold or filver, nor puiffant in respect of thunder and lightning, but for prudence and wildome. And verily of all those things which Homer hath well delivered, this simply is the best and most elegant speech, when as touching Jupiter and Neptune, he saith thus:

The felfe same parents they both had, one native soile them bred, But Jupico: the elder was, and had the wiser head.

and had the wifer head. whereby he affirmeth, that the preeminence and rule of Jupiter, being the elder, was more venerable, facred and fuller of majestie, for his knowledge and wisdome. And of this opinion I affure you am I, that the beatitude and felicitie of eternall life, which Jupiter enjoieth, confifteth heerein, that he is ignorant of nothing that is done: as also, that immortalitie if it be despoiled of the knowledge and intelligence of all things that be, and are done, is not life indeed, but bare time. And therefore we may very well fay, that the defire of deitie and divinity is all one to with the love of tructh, and especially of that trueth which concerneth the nature of the gods; the study whereof, and the searching after such science, is as it were a profession and entrance into religion, yea, and a worke more holy than is the vow or obligation of all the challity & purity in the world, or than the cloifter or fanctuarie of any temple what loever : right acceptable alfoisthis *goddeffe whom you ferve, confidering that the is most wife,& full of knowledge,according as the very derivation of her name doth imply, that skill & cunning appertement unto her more than to any other: for Isis a meere Greeke word; like as Typhon also the very adverfarie and enemie oppolite unto this goddesse, as one puffed up and swollen by his ignorance and error, diffipating, defacing, and blotting out the facred word and doctrine, which this goddeffe collecteth, composeth, and delivereth unto those who are initiated and professed in 20 this divine religion, by a continuall precise observance of a sober and holy life, in absteining from many meats, in depriving themselves of all fleshly pleasures, for to represse lust and intemperance; and in being acquainted long before to abide and endure within temples and churches, hard and painfull fervices performed unto the gods: of all which abstinences, paines, and fuffrances, the end is the knowledge of that first prince and lord, who is apprehended onely by intelligence and understanding, whom the goddesse exhorteth to search and seeke after, as converfing and companying with her. And verily, thename of her temple, doth manifeltly promise an intelligence or knowledge of that which is, for Ison it is called, which is as much to fay, as * eioviceror ro or, for that, if we enter into that facred place and holy religion of this goddesire, with reason and devotion, as we ought to doe, we shall atteine to the understanding of 30 all things whatfoever. Moreover, many have written, that she is the daughter of Mercurie, others of Prometheus, of which twaine, the one is reputed the author of wildome and providence, and the other, namely Mercurie, the inventor of Grammar and Musicke. And heereupon it is, that in the city Hermopolis, they call the former of the Muses, both Isis and also Juflice; as being wisdome herselfe, (according as hath elsewhere beene said) and thewing divine things to them who are justly furnamed Hierophori, and Hieroftoli, that is to fay, religious, and wearing the habits of holinesse and religion. And these be they that cary in their minde, and keepe enclosed as within a box or casket, the holy doctrine of the gods, pure and clensed from all superstition and affected curiositie: who also of that opinion which is held of the gods, declare forme things which are obscure & darke, others also which be cleere and lightsome; like as 40 be those, which are reported as touching their holy and religious habit. And therefore whereas the religious priests of 1/is, after they be dead, are thus clad with these holy habiliments; it is a marke and figne witneffing unto us, that this facred doctrine is with them, and that they be departed out of this world into another, and carie nothing with them but it: for neither to weare a long beard, nor to put on a frize rugge and course gabardine (dame Clea) makes a Philosopher; no more doth the furplice and linnen vestment or thaving, an Isiaque priest. But he indeed is aprieft of Iss, who after he hath seene and received by law and custome, those things which are shewed and practifed in the religious ceremonies about these gods, searcheth and diligently enquireth, by the meanes of this holy doctrine, and discourse of reason, into the trueth of the faid ceremonies. For very few there be who among them, who understand and know the cause 50 of this ceremony, which is of all other the smallest, and yet most commonly observed; namely, why the Isiaque priests shave their heads, and weare no haire upon them; as also, wherefore they goe in vettments of Line? And some of them there be, who care not at all for any knowledge of fuch matters: yet others fay, they forbeare to put on any garments of wooll, like as they doe to cat the flesh of those sheepe which carie the said wooll, upon a reverence they beare unto them: femblably, that they cause their heads to be shaven in token of dole and forrow: likewife that they weare furplices and veftments of linnen, in regard of the colour that the flower of line or flaxe beareth, which refembleth properly that celeftiall azure skie that environeith the whole world. But to fay a trueth, there is but one cause indeed of all: for lawfull it is, not for a man who is pure and cleane, to touch any thing (as Plato faith) which is impure and uncleane. Now it is well knowen, that all the superfluities and excrements of our food and non-sufflment, be foule and impure, and of such be engendred and grow, wooll, haire, shagge and nailes: and therefore a meere ridiculous mockenicitwere, if when in their expiatoric tanctifications and divine services, they cast off their haire, being shaven and made smooth all their bodies over, they should then be clad and arraied with the superfluous excrements of beasts: for so we must thinke that Hessaus the Poet when he writeth thus,

At feaft of gads and facred meriment, Take heed with knife, thy nailes thou do not pare, To cut I fay, that dry dead excrement, From lively flesh of fingers five, beware.

teacheth us, that we ought first to be cleansed and putified, then to solemnise sessivall holidaies, and not at the very time of celebration and performance of holie rites and divine service, to use fuch clenting and tidding away of superfluous excrements. Now the herbe Line groweth out of the earth which is immortall, bringeth foorth a frute good to be eaten, and furnitheth us wherewith to make a simple, plaine, and flender vestment, which sitteth light upon his backe as that weareth it, is meet for all featons of the yeere; and of all others, (as men fay) leaft breedeth lice or vermine; whereof I am to discourse else where. Now these Isiaque priests so much abhorre the nature and generation of all superfluities and excrements, that they not onely resule to cate most part of pulse, and of flesh meats, mutton and porke, for that sheepe and swine breed much excrement, but also upon their daies of fanctification and expiatoric folemnities, they will not allow any falt to be eaten with their wands; among many other reasons, because it whetteth the appetite, and giveth an edge to our stomacke, provoking us to cate and drinke more liberally: for to fay as Aristagor as did, That falt was by them reputed uncleane, because when it is congealed and growen hard, many little animals or living creatures, which were caught within it, die withall, is a very fooleric. Furthermore, it is faid, that the Acgyptian go priests have a certeine pit or well apart, out of which they water their bull or beese Apis : and be very precise in any wise not to let him drinke of Nilu, not for that they thinke the water of that tiver uncleane, in regard of the crocodiles which are in it, as some be of opinion (for contrariwife, there is nothing to much honored among the Aegyptians as the river Nilus) but it feemeth that the water of Nilus doth fatten exceeding much, and breed flesh overfast, and they would not in any case that their Apis should be sat, or themselves grosse and corpulent : but that their foules might be clothed with light, nimble, and delicate bodies; fo as the divine part in them should not be oppressed or weighed downe, by the force and ponderositie of that which is mortall. In Heliopolis, which is the citie of the Sunne, those who serve and minister unto their god, never bring wine into the temple, as thinking it not convenient in the day time to drinke 40 in the fight of their lord and king: otherwise the priests drinke thereof, but sparily: and besides many purgations and expiations they have, wherein they absteine wholly from wine; and during those daies, they give themselves wholly to their studies and meditations, learning and teaching holy things: even their very kings are not allowed to drinke wine their fill, but are flinted to the gage of a certeine measure, according as it is prescribed in their holy writings, and those kings also were priests, as Hecataus writeth. And they began to drinke it after the daies of king Pfammetichus; for before his time they dranke it not at all, neither made they libaments thereof unto their gods, supposing it not acceptable unto them; for they tooke it to be the verie bloud of those giants which in times past warred against the gods; of whom after they were flaine, when their bloud was mixed with the earth, the vine tree sprang: and this is the cause, say 50 they, why those who be drunke, lose the use of their wit & reason, as being full of the bloud of their progenitours. Now that the Aegyptian priests both hold and affirme thus much, Eudoxus hath delivered in the second booke of his Geographie. As concerning fishes of the sea, they doe not every one of them absteine from all indifferently; but some forbeare one kind, & some another: as for example, the Oxyrynchites will cate of none that is taken with an hooke; for adoring as they doe, a fish named Oxyrynchos, they are in doubt and feare lest the hooke should be uncleane, if haply the faid fish swallowed it downe with the baite. The Sienites will Q9999 3

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not touch the fish. Phageus, for it should seeme that it is found, what time as Nilus beginnes to flow; and therefore the faid hish by his appearing, fignifieth the rising and inundation of Ni. lm, whereof they be exceeding joious, holding him for a certaine and fure messenger. But the priests absteine from all fishes ingenerall; and whereas upon the ninth date of the first moneth, all other inhabitants of Aegypt, feede upon a certaine broiled or rosted fish before their dores; the priefts in no wife talle thereof; mary they burne fishes before the gates of their houses; and two reasons they have the one holy, fine and subtile, which I will deliver hereaster: as that which accordeth and agreeth very well to the facred discourses as touching Ofirin and Typhon: the other plaine; vulgar and common tepresented by the fish, which is none of the viands that be necessary, rare and exquisit, according as Homer beareth withesse, when he brings to not in the Pheacians delicate men & loving to feed daintily, nor the Ithacefians, Ilanders, to eat fish at their feasts: no nor the mates and fellow travellers with ulyses, during the time of their long navigation and voiage by sea, before they were brought to extreame necessity. To be briefe, the very sea it selfe they thinke to be produced a part by fire, without the bounds & limits of nature, as being no portion nor element of the world, but a strange excrement, a corrupt superfluity and unkinde maladie: For nothing abfurd and against reason, nothing fabulous and superstitious, (as some untruly thinke) was inserted or served as a sacred signe in their holy ceremonies, but they were all markes grounded upon causes and reasons morall, and the same profitable for this life, or elfe not without fome historicall or naturall elegancy. As for example, that which is faid of the oinion; for that Dictys the foster father of Is, fell into the river of Wilm, 20 and was there drowned, as he was reaching at oinions and could not come by them, it is a mere fable and carieth no fense or probability in the world : but the trueth is this, the priests of Isis hate the oinion and avoid it as a thing abominable, because they have observed, that it never groweth nor thriveth well to any bigneffe but in the decrease and waine of the Moone: Neither is it meet and fit for those who would lead an holy and fanctified life, or for such as celebrate solemme feasts and holidaies, because it provoketh thirst in the former; and in the other causeth teares, if they feed thereupon. And for the same reason they take the sow to be a prophane and uncleane beaft, for that ordinarily the goeth a brimming and admitteth the bore, when the Moone is past the full: and looke how many drinke of her milke, they breake out into a kinde of leprofie or drie skurfe all over their bodies. As touching the tale which they inferre, who once 30 in their lives doe facrifice a fow when the Moone is in the full, and then eat her flesh: namely that Typhon hunting and chafing the wilde swine at the full of the Moone, chanced to light upon an arke or coffin of wood, wherein was the body of Ofiris which he diffnembred and threw away by pecce meale, all men admit not thereof, supposing that it is a fable as many others be, mitheard and milunderstood. But this for certaine is held, that our ancients in old time so much hated and abhorred all exceffive delicacy, superfluous and costly delights and voluptuous pleasures, that they said within the temple of the city of Thebes in Aegypt there stood a square columne or pillar, wherein were engraven certaine curses and execuations against their king Minis, who was the first that turned and averted the Aegyptians quite from their simple and frugal maner of life, without mony, without fumptuous fare & chargeable delights. It is faid also 40 that Technatiu the father of Bocchoreus, in an expedition or journey against the Arabians, when it chaunced that his cariages were far behind and came not induc time to the place where he incamped, was content to make his supper of whatsoever he could get, & so to take up with a very fmall and fimple pittance, yea and after fupper to lie upon a course and homely pallet, where he flept all night very foundly and never awoke : whereupon, he ever after loved fobrietie of life & frugality, & curfed the forefaid king Minis: which malediction of his being by the priefts of that time approved, he caused to be engraven upon the pillar abovesaid. Now their kings were created either out of the order of their priests, or else out of the degree of knights and warriors; for that the one estate was honored and accounted noble for valour, the other for wisdome and knowledge. And looke whom soever they chose from our of the order of knighthood, presently 50 after his election he was admitted unto the colledge of priefts, and unto him were difcoled and communicated the fecrets of their Philosophy, which under the vaile of fables and darke speeches couched and covered many mysteries, through which the light of the trueth in some fort thoughdimly appeare. And this themselves seeme to signific and give us to understand, by setting up ordinarily before the porches and gates of their temples, certaine Sphinges: meaning thereby, that all their Theologie containeth under ænigmaticall and covert words, the secrets

of wildome. In the citie of Sais, the image of intinerva which they take to be 1/is, had fuch an infeription over it, as this: I am all that which hathbeene, which is, and which thall be, and never any man yet was able to draw open my vaile. Moreover many there be of opinion, that the proper name of Supiter in the Acgyptians language is Amoun, of which we have in Greeke, derived the word Ammon : whereapon we furname Jupiter , Ammon : but Manethos who was an Aegyptian himselfe of the citie of Sebenna; supposeth that by this word is signfied, a thing hiddenoroccultation; and Hecatemithe Abderite affirmeth, that the Aegyptians used this terme among themselves, when they called one unto another, for it was a vocative word, and for that they imagined the prince and foveraigne of the gods to be the fame: that Pan, that is to fay, an to univerfall nature, and therefore unfeene; hidden and unknowen; they praied and befought him for to disclose and make himselfe knowen unto them, by calling him Amoan. See then, how the Aegyptians were very ftrict and precise, in not profaning their wisdome, nor publishing that learning of theirs which concerned the gods: And this the greatest Sages and most learned clerkes of all Greece do tellific, by name, Solon, Thales, Plato, Eudoxus, Pythagorus, & as fome let notto fay, Lyeurgus himlelfe; who all travelled of a deliberate purpose into Acgypt, for to confer with the priefts of that country. For it is constantly held that Endoxus was the auditour of Chonapheus the priest of Memphis; Solon of Sanchis the priest of San, Pyth: goras of Oenupheus the priest of Heliopolis. And verily this Pythigor as last named, was highly esteemed among thole men, like as him felfe had them in great admiration, in fo much as he of all others feemed 20 most to imitate their maner of mysticall speaking under covert words, & to involve his doctrine and lentences within figurative & enigmaticall words: for the characters which are called Hicroglyphicks in Aegypt, be in maner all of them, like to these precepts of Pythagoras: Eat not upon a stoole or chaire; Sit not over a bushell; Plant no date tree; Stirre not the fire in the house, nor rake into it with a sword. And me thinks, that whereas the Pythagoreans call tinitie, Apollo, Tiro, Diana; the number of feven, Minerwa; and the first cubicke, Neptune; this refembleth very neere, that which the Aegyptians confectate & dedicate in their temples, and agreeth with that which they both do & write. For their king and lord Oficis, they depaint and pourtray, by an eie and a fcepter: and some there be, who make this interpretation of the name Osivi, as if it fignified, having many eies, for that Os in the Aegyptian tongue, betokeneth many, and 30 Iti, an eic. As for heaven, they deferibe by a yoong countenance, by reason of the perpetuity thereof, whereby it never waxeth old. An eie they let out by an heart, having under it an hearth with fire burning upon it. In the city of Thebes there stood up certaine images without hands, refembling Judges; and the chiefe or Prefident among them, was blindfolded or hoodwincked, to give us to understand, that justice should neither be corrupted with briberie, nor partiall and respective of persons. In the signet or seale ring of their marrials and militaric men, there was engraven the portracture of the great flie called the Beettill, because in that kinde there is no female, but they be all males: they blow or cast their seed in some of a pellet or round ball, under dung, which they prepare to be a place, not for their food more, than for their brood. Whenfoever therefore you shall heare the Aegyptians tell tales of the gods, to wit, of their vagarant 40 and wandring perigrinations, or of their difmembrings, and other fuch like fabulous fictions, you must call to minde, that which we have before said; and neverthinke that they meane any fuch thing is or hath beene done according to that litterall fenfe: for they do not fay, that Mercwie properly is a dog, but forasmuch as the nature of this beast is to be wary, watchfull, vigilant and wife, able to difftinguish by his taking knowledge and semblance of ignorance, a friend and familiar from an anemy and stranger: therefore (as Plate faith) they attributed and likened him to the most eloquent of all the gods. Neither doe they thinke, when they describe the Sunne, that out of the barke of the tree Lotus there arifeth a babenew borne; but in this wise doe they represent unto us the Sunne rising, giving thus much to understand covertly, that the light and illumination of the Sunne proceedeth out of the waters of the fea: for even after the fame ma-50 ner the most cruell and terrible king of the Perfians, Ochus, who put to death many of his nobles and subjects, and in the end sew their beefe Apis, and eathirn at a feast together with his friends, they called The fword; and even at this day, in the register and catalogue of their kings, he goeth under that name; not fignifying thereby his proper substance, but to expresse his hard and fell nature, and his mischievous disposition, they compared him to a bloudy instrument and weapon made to murder men. In hearing then and receiving after this maner, that which shalbe toldeunto you as touching the gods after an holy and religious maner, in doing also and obser-

ving alwaies diligently the accultomed rites ordeined for the facted fervice of the gods, and beleeving firmely, that you can not performe any facrifice or littingy more pleating unto them, than to study for to have a found and true opinion of them : by this meanes you shall avoid supersition, which is as great a sinne as impigue and Atheisme. Now the sable of Iss and Oficia, is as briefly as may be, by cutting off many superfluous matters that serve to no purpose, delivered in this wife: It is faid, that dame Rhea, at what time as Saturne lay fecretly with her, was espied by the Sunne, who curfed lier; and among other maledictions, praied that the might not be delivered, nor bring forth child, neither in any moneth nor yeere : but Mercurie being inamoured of this goddesse, companied likewise with her; and afterwards, as he plated at dice with the Moone and won from her the feventieth part of every one of her illuminations, which being all 10 put together, make five entire daies, he added the same unes the three hundred and threescore daies of the yeere; and those odde daies the Aegyptians do call at this present, the daies of the Epact, celebrating and folemnizing them as the birthdaies of their gods: for that when the full time of Rhea was expired, upon the first day of them was Ofirth borne; at whose birth a voice was heard, That the lord of the whole world now came into light: and some say, that a certeinewoman named Pamyle, as the went to fetch water for the temple of Jupiter in the city of Thebes, heard this voice, commanding her to proclaime aloud, That the Great King and Benefactour Ofris was now borne : alfo, for that Saturne committed this babe Ofris into her hands for to be nourfed, therefore in honour of her there was a feltivall day folemnized, named thereupon Pamylia, much like unto that which is named Phallephoria, unto Priapus. On the second 20 day the was delivered of Aroueris, who is Apollo, whom force likewife call the elder Orus. Upon the third day she brought forth Typhon, but he came not at the just time nor at the right place, but brake thorow his mothers side, and issued foorth at the wound. On the fourth day was Iss Or Nephaly, borne, in a watery place called Panhygra. And the fifth day the was delivered of * Nephthe, who of some is named also Teleute and Venue; others call her Nice. Nowit is said, that the conceived Ofris and Arouers by the Sunne, Ifis by Mercurie, Typhon and Mephthe by Saturne, which is the cause that the kings reputing the third of these intercalar dates to be desasterous and difmall, dispatched no affaires thereupon, neither did they cherish themselves by meat and drinke or otherwise, untill night : that Nephthe was honoured by Typhon; that Isis and Osais were in love in their mothers bellie before they were borne, and lay together feeretly and by 30 flealth; and fome give out, that by this meanes Aroueris was begotten and borne, who by the Aegyptians is called Orm the elder, and by the Greeks, Apollo. Well, during the time that Ofristreigned king in Aegypt, immediatly he brought the Aegyptians from their needy, poore and favage kinde of life, by teaching them how to fow and plant their grounds, by establishing good lawes among them, and by thewing how they should worthip and serve God. Afterwards, he travelled thorowout the world, reducing the whole earth to civility, by force of armes leaft of all, but winning and gaining the most nations by effectuall remonstrances & sweet perswafton couched in fongs, and with all maner of Musicke: whereupon the Greeks were of opinion, that he and Bacchus were both one. Furthermore, the tale goes, that in the absence of Ofinia, Typhon flirred not, nor made any commotion, for that Isis gave good order to the contrary, and was of 40 fufficient power to prevent and withstand all innovations; but when he was returned, Typhon complotted a confpiracy against him, having drawen into his confederacy seventy two complices, besides a certeine queene of Aethopia, who likewise combined with him, and her name was Aso. Now when he had fecretly taken the just measure and proportion of Ofirsbody, he caused a coffer or hutch to be made of the same length, and that most curiously and artificially wrought and fet out to the cie, he tooke order, that it should be brought into the hall, where he made a great feast unto the whole company. Every man tooke great pleasure with admiration, to beholde such a singular exquisit piece of worke; and Typhon in a meriment, stood up and promised that he would bestow it upon him, whose body was meet & fit for it: hereupon, all the company one after another affaied whose body would fit it; but it was not found proportionate nor of a 50 just fize to any of all the rest: at length, Ofiris gat up into it, and laied him there along; with that, the conspiratours ran to it, and let downe the lidde and cover thereof upon him, and partly with nailes, and partly with melted lead which they powred aloft, they made it fure enough; and when they had so done, caried it forth to the river side, and let it downe into the sea, at the verie mouth of Nilus named Tanitieus; which is the reason, that the said mouth is even to this day odious and execrable among the Aegyptians, infomuch as they call it Cataphyston, that is to

Of Isis and Osiris.

fay, Abominable, or to be spitat. Over and besides, it is said, that this sell out to be done upon the feventeenth day of the moneth named Athyr, during which moneth, the Sunne entreth into the figne Scorpius, and in the eight and twentieth yeere of Ofo is reigne: howbeit, others affirme, that he lived in deed, but reigned not fo long. Now the first that had an inckling and intelligence of this hainous act, were the Panes and Satyres inhabiting about Chennis, who began to whifper one unto another, & to talke thereof; which is the reason, that all sudden tumults and troubles of the multitude and common people, be called Panique affrights. Moreover, it followeth on in the tale, that Isis being advertised hereof, immediatly cut off one of the treffes of her haire, and put on mourning weeds in that place which now is called the city Coptus, in re-10 membrance thereof 3 howfoever others fay, that this word Coptes, betokeneth Privation, for that water in Greeke, fignificth as much as to deprive. In this dolefull habit the wandred up and downe in great perplexity to heare tidings of Ofris, and whomfoever the met withall, the failed not to enquire of them; and the miffed not fo much as little children playing together, but afked them, whether they had feene any fuch coffer : at length, the light of those children who had seene it indeed, and they directed her to the mouth of the river 20 ilm, where the complices and affociats of Typhon had let the faid veffell into the sea. And ever fince that time, the Acgyptians are of opinion, that young children have the gift of revealing secrets, and they take all their words which they paffe in play and sport, as offes and presages, but especially within the temples, what matter foever it be that they prattle of. Moreover, when Isis understood that Osi-20 ris fell in love with her fifter Nephthys, thinking fhe was Ifis and fo carnally companied with her, and withall, found a good token thereof, to wit, a chaplet or garland of Melilot which he had left with Nephthe, the went for to feeke her babe (for prefently upon the birth of the infant, for feare of Typhon she hid it) and when with much adoc and with great paines taken, Isis had found it, by the meanes of certeine hounds which brought her to the place where he was, the reared and brought it up, in such fort, as when he came to some bignesse, he became her guide and squire, named Anubis, who also is faid to keepe the gods, like as dogs guard men. After this, the heard newes of the foresaid coffer, and namely, that the waves of the sea had by tides cast it upon the coast of Byblus, where, by a billow of water it was gently brought close to the foot of a thrubbe or plant called * Erice: now this Erice or Tamarix in a small time grew to faire, and spread . Gerson. 30 forth fo large and big branches withall, that it * compaffed, enclosed and covered the faid coffer * Or forme all over, so as it could not be seene. The king of Byblus wondring to see this plant so big, caused Gath strub. the branches to be lopped off, that covered the foresaid coffin not seene, and of the truncke or * Some transbody thereof, made a pillar to sustaine the roofe of his house: whereof 1/st by report being ad the also were vertiled by a certaine divine spirit or winde of slying same, came to Byblus, where she sat her inclosed water downe by a certaine fountaine, all heavie and in diffresse, pitiously weeping to herselse; in the truncke neither spake she aword unto any creature, onely the Queenes waiting maids and women that came by, she faluted and made much of, plaiting and broiding the tresses of their haire most exquisitly, and casting from her into them a marvellous sweet and pleasant sent issuing from her body, whiles the dreffed them. The queene perceiving her women thus curioufly and 40 trimly fee out, had an earnest defire to fee this stranger, aswell for that the yeelded such an odoriferous finell from her body, as because she was so skilfull in dressing their heads: so she sent for the woman, and being growen into some familiar acquaintance with her, made her the nourse and governoffe of her young fonne: now the kings name himselfe was Maleander, and the queenes, Aftarte, or rather Saofis, or as fome will have it, Wemanow, which is as much to fay in the Greeke tongue, as Athenais. And the speech goes, that Isis suckled and nourished this infant, by putting her finger in stead of the brest-head or nipple, into the mouth thereof; also, that in the night feafon the burnt all away that was mortall of his body : and in the end, was herfelfe metamorphized and turned into a fwallow, flying, and lamenting after a moaning maner about the pillar aforefaid, untill fuch time as the queene observing this, and crying out when the 30 faw the body of her child on a light fire, bereaved it of immortality. Then Isin being discovered to be a goddeffe, craved the pillar of wood: which she cut downe with facility, and tooke from underneath the truncke of the Tamarix or Erice, which the anointed with perfumed oile, and enwrapped within a linnen cloth, and gave it to the kings for to bekept: whereof it commeth, that the Byblians even at this day reverence this piece of wood, which lieth confecrate within the temple of Ils. Furthermore, it is faid, that in the end she *light upon the coffer, over which * means ein. the wept and lamented for much, that the yongest of the kings fonnes died for very pity of her;

but the herselfe accompanied with the eldest of them, together with the coffer, embarked, tooke fea & departed. But when the river Phadrus turned the wind formwhat roughly, about the dawning of the day, 1/1/1 was fo much displeased and angry, that she dried it quite. And so some as she came unto a solitary place, where the was by herselfe alone, she opened the coffer, where finding the corps of O/frin, the laid her face close to his, embraced it and wept. Herewith came the child fofily behinde and espied what she was doing: whom when she perceived, she looked backe, cafling an untoward cie, and beheld him with fuch an angry aspect, that the poore infant not able to endure so terrible a looke, died upon it. Some say it was not so; but that he sell into the sea. in maner aforefaid, and was honored for the goddeffe fake, and that he is the same whom the Acgyptians chaunt at their feasts, under the name of Maneros. Butiothers give out, that this 10 child was named Palestinus, and that the city Pelusium was built in remembrance of him by the goddeffe Isis and so tooke thename after him; and how this Maneros whom they so celebrate in their fongs, was the first inventour of mulicke. Howbeit others there are againe, who affirme, that this was the name of no person, but a kinde of dialect or language, proper and agreeable unto those who drinke and banquet together, as if a man should say, in good houre and happily may this or that come. For the Aegyptians were wont ordinarily to use this terme Maneros in fuch a fense: like as no doubt the drie sceletos or dead corps of a man which they used to carie about and shew in a bierre or cossin at the table, was not the representation or memoriall of this accident which befell unto Ofiris, as some doe imagine, but served as an admonition to put the guests in minde to be merry and take their pleasure and joy in those things that were pre- 20 fent; for that foone after they should be like unto it. This I say was the reason that it was brought in at their feafts and mery meetings. Furthermore when Isis was gone to fee her fonne Horus who was fostered and brought up in the city Butus, and had laid the foresaid coffer with Ofiris body out of the way, Typhon fortuned as he hunted in a cleere moone-shine night to meet with it, and taking knowledge of the body, cut it into four eteen peeces and flung them heere and there one from another: which when Is understood, she searched for them in a bote or punt made of papyr reed, all over the moores and marishes: whereof it comes that the Crocodiles never hurt those who saile or row in vessels made of that plant, whether it be that they are affraid of it, or reverence it for this goddesse sake I know not. And thus you may know the reason, why there be found many sepulchres of Ofiris in the country of Aegypt, for ever as the foundary 30 peece of him, she caused a tombe to be made for it : others say no : but that she made many images of him, which she left in every city, as if she had bestowed among them his very body indeed: to the end that in many places he might be honored: and that if happly Typhon when he fought for the true sepulcher of Ofiris (having vanquished and overcome Horus) many of them being reported and showed, he might not know which was it, and so give over seeking farther. Over and befides, the report goes, that Isis found all other parts of Osiru body but onely his privy member, for that it was immediately cast into a river and the fishes named Lepidotus, Phagrus and Oxyrynchus devoured it: for which cause Isis detesteth them above all other fishes: but in fted of that natural part, the made a counterfet one, called Phallus, which the confectated: and in the honor thereof the Aegyptians hold a folemne feast. After all this it followeth in the 40 fable, that Ofiris being returned out of the infernall parts, appeared unto Horse, for to exercise, instruct and traine him against the battell : of whom he demanded what he thought to be the most beautifull thing in the world: who answered, To be revenged of the wrong and injury which had benedone to a mans parents. Secondly, what beaft he thought most profitable to goe into the field withall : unto whom Horus should make answere, The horse : whereat Ofiris marvelled, and asked him why he named the horse and not the lion rather: Because (quoth Horun) the lion ferveth him in good fled, who flands upon his owne guard and defente onely and hath need of aid: but the horse is good to defait the enimy quite, to follow him in chace and take him prisoner. When Ofiris heard him sayso, he tooke great pleasure and contentment heerein, judging heereby that his some was sufficiently appointed and prepared to give battell 50 unto his enimies. And verily it is faid that among many that daily revolted from Typhon and fided with Horus, even the very concubine of Typhonnamed Thueris was one, who came to him: and when a certaine * ferpent followed after and purfued her, the fame was cut in peeces by the guard about Horus: in remembrance whereof, at this very day they bring forth a certaine cord, which likewise they chop in peeces. Well, they say the battell continued many daies: but in the end Horus had the victory: As also that Isis having Typhon prisoner fast bound in her hands,

killed him not: but loofed him and let him goe: which Horm not able to endure with patience, laid violent hands upon his mother, and plucked from her head the roiall ornament that the had thereon: in fted whereof, Mercury fet one a morion made in maner of a cowes head. Then Typhon called Horm judicially into question, charging him that he was a bastard; but by the helpe of Mercury who pleaded his cause, he was judged by the gods, legitimate: who also intro other battels vanquished Typhon. And more than all this, the tale faith, that Jis after death, was with child by Osir 16, by whom she had Helitomenus and Harpocrates who wanted his nether parts. Thus you see what be in maner all the principall points of this sable, setting assed and excepting those which are most exectable, to wit, the dismembring of Horus and the beheading of 1/10s. To Now, that, if any there be who hold and affirme such fables as these touching the blessed and immortall nature, whereby especially we conceived in our minde the deity, to be true and that such things were really done or happed so indeed,

We ought to spit upon their face And curse such mouthes with all disgrace. as Aefehylus faith, I need not fay unto you, for that you hate and detell those enough alreadie of your felfe, who conceive to barbarous and abfurd opinions of the gods. And yet you fee veriewell, that these benot narrations like unto oldwives tales, or vaine and foolish sictions, which Poets or other idle writers devise out of their owne fingers ends, after the maner of spiders, which of themselves without any precedent, & subject matter, spin their threeds, weave and firetch out their webbes: for evident it is that they conteine some difficulties and the memorials of certeine accidents. And like as the Mathematicians fay, that the rainbow is a reprefentation of the Sunne, and the same diftinguished by fundry colours, by the refraction of our eie-fight against a cloud: even so this fable, is an apparence of some doctrine or learning, which doeth reflect and fend backe our understanding, to the consideration of some other trueth; much after the maner of facrifices, wherein there is mingled a kinde of lamentable dole, and forrowfull heavineffe. Semblably, the making and disposition of temples, which in some places have faire open Isles and pleasant allies open over head: and in other, darke caves vaults, and shrouds under the earth, resembling properly caves, sepulchers, or charnell vauts, wherein they put the bodies of the dead; especially the opinion of the Osirians: for albeit the bodie 30 of O/nu, be faid to be in many places, yet they name haply Abydus the towne, or Memphis a littlecitie, where they affirme that his true body lieth, in fuch fort, as the greatest and welthiest persons in Aegypt usually doe ordeine and take order, that their bodies be interred in Abydus, to the end they may lie in the same sepulchte with Ofiris: and at Memphis was kept the beese Apis, which is the image and figure of his foule, and they will have his body also to be there. Some likewise there be, who interpret the name of this towne, as if it should signific the haven and harbour of good men: others, that it betokeneth the tombe of Ofris: and there is before the gate of the citie, a little Isle, which to all others is inacceffible, and admitteth no entrance, informuch, as neither fowles of the aire will there light, nor fishes of the sea approach thither: onely at one certeine time, the priests may come in, and there they offer facrifices, and present 40 oblations to the dead; where also they crowne and adorne with flowers the monument of one Mediphibe, which is overthadowed and covered with a certeine plant, greater and taller than any olive tree. Eudoxuo writeth, that how many sepulchres soever there be in Aegypt wherein the corps of Office thould lie, yet it is in the civie Buffree; for that it was the countrey and place of his nativitie: so that now there is no need to speake of Taphosiris, for that the very name it felfe faith enough, fignifying as it docth, the fepulture of Ofirit. Well, I approove the cutting of the wood, and renting of the linnen, the effulions also and funerall libaments there performed, because there be many mysteries mingled among. And so the priests of Aegypi affirme, that the bodies not of these gods onely, but also of all others, who have been engendred, and are not incorruptible, remaine among them where they honoured and reverenced; but their 50 foules became starres, and thine in heaven: and as for that of Isis, it is the same which the Greekes call Cyon, that is to fay, the dogge-starre, but the Aegyptians Sothis: that of Orm is Orion, and that of Typhon, the Beare. But whereas all other cities and states in Aegypt contribute a certeine tribute imposed upon them, for to pourtray, draw and paint such beasts as are honored among them, those onely who inhabite the countrey Thebait, of all others give nothing thereto, being of opinion, that no mortall thing, subject to death, can be a god: as for him alone, whom they call Cmepb, as he was never borne, so shall he never die. Whereas there-

· Othis.

chrans.

fore many fuch things as thefe, be reported and shewed in Aegypt, they who thinke, that all is no more but to perpetuate and eternize the memorie of marvelous deeds and strange accidents of fome princes, kings, or tyrants, who for their excellent vertue & mighty puissance, have adjoined to their owne glory, the authoritie of deitie, unto whom, a while after, there befell calamities; use heerein a very cleanly shift, and expedite evasion, transferring handsomly from the gods unto men, all finister infamie that is in these fable, and helpe themselves by the testimonies which they finde and read in histories: for the Aegyptians write, that Mercurie was but finall of stature, and slender limmed: that Typhon was of a ruddy colour; Orus white; Ofini of a blackith hew, as who indeed were naturally men. Moreover, they call Ofiris, captaine or generall, Canobus pilot or governor of a ship, after whose name they have named a starre: and as for 10 the shippe which the Greeks name Argo, they hold that it was the very resemblance of Ofitis thip, which for the honour of him, being numbred among the starres, is so situate in heaven, as that it mooveth and keepeth his course not farre from that of Orion, and the Cyon or doggeftarre; of which twaine, the one is confecrate unto Horus, the other to Ifis. But I feare me, that this were to stirre and remoove those facred things which are not to be touched and medled withall, and as much as to fight againft, not continuance of time onely and antiquitie, as simpnides faith, but also the religion of many forts of people and nations, who are long fince posses fed with a devotion toward these gods : I doubt (I say) lest in so doing they faile not to transfer fo great names as these out of heaven to earth, and so goe very neere and misse but a little to overthrow and abolish that honour and beliefe, which is ingenerate and imprinted in the hearts 20 of all men, even from their very first nativitie: which were even to set the gates wide open for a multitude of miscreants and Asheists, who would bring all divinity to humanity, and deitie to mans nature; yea and to give a manifest overture and libertie for all the impostures and jugling calts of Euemeras the Messenian, who having himselfe coined and devised the originals of fables, grounded upon no probability nor subject matter, but even against the course of reason and nature, spred and scattered abroad throughout the world all impietie, transmuting and changing all those whom we repute as gods, into the names of admirals, captaines generall, and kings, who had lived in times past, according as they stand upon record, by his faying, writ-Or, Panchee, ten in golden letters, within the citie * Panchon, (which never Gracian nor Barbarian fave himselfe faw) as having failed unto the countreies of the Panchonians and Triphylians; nati- 30 ons for footh that neither are, nor ever were in this world. And yet verily, a great name there goeth among the Assyrians, of the woorthy and renowmed acts of Semirami: as also in Aegypt of Selostris. As for the Phrygians, even at this day they terme noble exploits and admirable enterprises, by the name Manica, of one of their ancient kings, whom they called Manis, who in his time was a most prudent and valiant prince, and whom others named Majo des. Cyrus led the Perfians, and Alexander the Macedonians, with conquest still and victorie, from one end of the world in maner to another; and yet for all these brave acts, no otherwise renowmed they are, nor remembred, but onely for puilfant and good kings: and fay, there were haply some of them who upon an overweening and high conceit of themselves, helped forward with youth, and want of experience, as Plato faith, and whose mindes were puffed up and 40 inflamed with pride and vain-glory, tooke upon them the furnames of gods, and had temples founded in their names, yet this glory of theirs lasted but a while, and soon after being condemned by the posterity, of vanitie, and arrogancie together, with impletie and injustice,

Were quickly gone, like smoke which mounting hie,

Into the aire, doth vanish by and by. and now as fugitive flaves that may be brought backe againe where ever they be found, they are haled and pulled away from their temples and altars, and nothing remaineth for them but their tombs & fepulchers: and therefore that oldking Antigonus, when a certeine Poet named Hermodet us, in his verses called him the sonne of the Sun, yea, & a god. Well quoth he, my groome that daily voideth my close stoole, knowes no such matter by me. Lysppus also the Imager did 50 very well to reproove Apelles the painter, for that, when he drew the picture of Alexander, hee Portraied him with lightning in his hand; whereas Lysippus put in his hand a launce, the glory and renowme whereof, as due and proper unto him, yea, and befeeming his person indeed, no time nor age should ever be able to abolish. In which regard, I hold better with them who thinke that the things which be written of Typhon, Ofirin, and Isis, were no accidents or passions incident to gods or to men; but rather to some great Dæmons : of which minde were Pythager 44,

Plato, Xenocrates, and Chrysippus, following heerein the opinions of the ancient Theologians, who hold, that they were farre stronger than men, and that in puissance they much surmounted our nature: but that divinitie which they had, was not pure and simple; but they were compounded of a nature corporall and spirituall, capable of pleasure, of griefe, and other passions and affections, which accompanying these mutations, trouble some more, others lesse. For in these Damons, there is like, as also among men, a diversity and difference of vice and of vertue. For the acts of Giants and Titans, so much chaunted in every Greeke song, the abominable deeds likewife and practifes of one Saturne, the refiftance also of Python against opollo, the founds of Batchus, and the wanderings of Ceres, differ in no respect from the accidents of Osiris to and Typhon, and of all other fuch like fabulous tales, which every man may heare as much as he lift; as also what soever lying covered and hidden under the vaile of mystical facrifices and ceremonies, is kept close not uttered nor shewed to the vulgar people, is of the fame fort. And acding hereto, we may heare Homer how he calleth good men, and fuch as excell others diverfly, one while bear offer, that is to fay, like unto the gods; other while, arables, that is to fay, comparable to the gods: formetimes bein and what experses, that is to fay, having their wifdome and counfell from the gods. But the denomination or addition drawen from the Dæmons, he useth commonly as well to the good as the bad; indifferent to valiant persons and to cowards: to a timorous and fearefull foldior thus:

Δαιμώνιε χεθον έλθε, τη δειδίωτεαι έπως,

apyeius.

Damonian, approch thou neare: The Greeks why doest thou so much feare?

On the other fide, of an hardy foldior:

άλλ' ότε δι τό τεταρτιν επίσουτο βαίμονι έτος,

When he the charge in field the fourth time gave, Like to some Damon he did himselfe behave.

And againe, in the woorfe fenfe,

Δαιμονίη, τί νυ τὲ Πείαμος, Πειαμοίο τὲ παίθες, ξες.

* Dæmonian, what is that great offence, Which Priam and his sonnes committed have Against thee, for to make thy just pretence, In wrathfull tearmes upon them thus to rave, And them no grace and mercy to vouch fave,

Nor rest, untill thou seeft the stately towne, Of Ilion destroid and rased downe?

Giving us heereby thus much to understand, that the Dæmons have a mixtnature, and a will or affection which is not equall, nor alwaies alike. And heereupon it is, that Plato verily attri-

fay, wicked

or curft 70-

piter,to Mi-

buteth unto the Olympian and celestiall gods, all that which is dexterous and odde: but unto the Dæmons, what foever is finister and even. And Xenocrates holdeth, that those daies which 40 be unluckie and difmall, those festivall solemnities likewise, which have any beatings or knocking and thumping of brefts, or falting, or otherwife any curfed speeches and filthy words, are not meet for the honour & worthip either of gods or of good Damons: but he supposeth that there be in the aire about us, certeine natures great & puiffant; howbeit, shrewd, malicious and unsociable, which take some pleasure in such matters: and when they have obteined and gotten fo much to be done for their fake, they goe about no farther mischiefe, nor wait any shrewder turnes: whereas contrariwife, both Hesiadus calleth the pure and holy Dæmons, such also as be the good angels and keepers of men,

Givers of wealth and opulence, as whome This regall gift and honour doth become.

10 And Plato also termeth this kinde of Dæmons or angels Mercuriall, that is to say, expositours or interpretours, and ministeriall, having a middle nature betweene gods and men, who as mediatours, present the praiers and petitions of men heere unto the gods in heaven, and from thence transmit and convey unto us upon earth, the oracles and revelations of hidden and future things, as also their donations of goods and riches. As for Empedocles, he faith, that these Damons or fiends, are punished and tormented for their sinnes and offences which they have committed, as may appeare by these his verses:

Rrrrr

For why? the power of aire and skie,
did to the fea them chace:
The fea them caft up, of the earth,
even to the outward face:
The carth them fends unto the beames,
of never-tyred Sunne,
The Sunne to aire, whence first they came,
doth sling them downe anon:
Thus possess the medium canon;
Thus possess, and heav in aboue,
From one they to another passe:

10

not one yet doth them love. untill fuch time as being thus in this purgatory chaftifed and clenfed, they recover againethat place estate and degree which is meet for them and according to their nature. These things and fuch like for all the world they fay, are reported of Typhon, who upon envy and malice committed many outrages ; and having thus made a trouble and confusion in all things, filled sea and land with wofull calamities and miseries, but was punished for it in the end. For 1st the wife and fifter of Ofris in revenge plagued him in extinguithing and repreffing his fury and rage: and yet neglected not the the travels and paines of her owne which the endured, her trudging also and wandring to and fro, nor many other acts of great wildome and proweffe suffered $_{20}$ The to be buried in filence and oblivion: but inferting the fame among the most holy ceremonies of facrifices, as examples, images, memorials and refemblances of the accidents hapning in those times, the consecrated an enfiguement, instruction and consolation of piety and devout religion to godward, as well for men as women afflicted with mileries. By reason whereof the and her husband Oficis of good Dæmons were transmuted for their vertue into gods, like as afterwards were Hercules and Buchus, who in regard thereof, and not without reason, have honours decreed for them both of gods and also of \tilde{D} æmons intermingled together, as those who in all places were puissant, but most powerfull both upon and also under the earth. Forthey fay that Sarapis is nothing else but Pluto, and Isis the same that Proferpina, as Archemachus of Eube a and Heraclitus of Pontus tellific and he thinketh that the oracle in the city Canobus, is that of 30 father Dis or Pluto. King Ptolemeus furnamed Soter that is to fay, faviour, caused that hugestatue or coloffe of Pluto which was in the city Sinope, to be be taken from thence, not knowing, nor having scene before of what forme and shape it was, but onely that as he dreamed he thought that he faw Serapis, commanding him withall speed possible to transport him into A. lexandria. Now the king not knowing where this statue was, not where to finde it, in this doubtfull perplexity related his vision aforesaid unto his friends about him, and chanced to meet with one sofibine a great traveller and a man who had bene in many places, and he faid that in the city of simplehe had seene such a statue as the king described unto them. Whereupon Prolemans fent Soteles and Dionyfins, who in long time, and with great travell, and not without the efpeciall grace of the divine providence, ftole away the faid coloffe and brought it with them: 40 Nowwhen it was come to Alexandria and there feene, Timotheus the great Cosmographer and Antiquary, and Alaneshon of the province Sebennitis, gueffed it by all conjectures to be the image of Pluto, and namely by Cerber ut the hel-dog and the dragon about him, perswading the king that it could be the image of no other godbut of Serapis. For it came not from thence with that name; but being brought into Alexandria, it tooke the name Serapis, by which the Aegyptians doe name Pluto. And yet Heraelitus verily the Naturalist faith, that Hades and Dromiss, that is to say, Pluto and Bacchus, be the same. And in treeth when they are disposed to play the fooles and be mad, they are caried away to this opinion. For they who suppose that Hades, that is to fay, Pluto, is faid to be the body and as it were the sepulcher of the soule, as if it feemed to be foolish and drunken all the while she is within it, me thinkes they doe allegorize 50 but very baldly. And better it were yet to bring Ofiris and Bacchus together, yea and to reconcile Sarapis unto Ofiris, in faying that after he hath changed his nature, he became to have this denomination. And therefore this name Sarapis is common to all, as they know very well who are professed in the sacred religion of Osris. For we ought not to give eare and credit to the bookes and writings of the Phrygians, wherein we finde, that there was one Charopos the daughter of Hercules, and that of Islaces a sonne of Hercules was engendred Typhen: neither yet to

make account of Phylarchia who writeth, that Baschia was the first, who from the Indians drave two beeles, whereof the one was named Apis, and the other Ofiris: That Sarapis is the proper name of him who ruleth and embelisheth the universall world, and is derived of the word Sairein, which some fay, fignifieth as much as to beautifie and adorne. For these be absurd to ies delivered by Phylarchus: but more monstrous and senselesse are their absurdities who write, that Sarapis is no god, but that it is the coffin or sepulcher of Apis that is so called: as also that there be certain two leaved brasen gates in Memphis, bearing the names of Lethe & Cocytus, that is to fay, oblivion and wailing, which being fet open when they interre and bury Apis, in the opening make a great found and rude noise: which is the cause that we lay hand upon every copper or 10 brasen vessell when it resoundeth so, to stay the noise thereof. Yet is their more apparence of trueth and reason in their opinion, who hold that it was derived of these verbes overs, and overs, which fignifieth to move, as being that which moveth the whole frame of the world. The priests for the most parthold, that Sarapis is a word compounded of Ofris and Apis together, giving this exposition withall and teaching us, that we ought to believe Apis to be an elegant image of the foule of Ofiris. For mine owne part, if Sarapis be an Aegyptian name, I suppose rather frat it betokeneth joy and mirth: And I ground my conjecture upon this, that the Aegyptians ordinarily call the feast of joy and gladnesse termed among the Athenians Charmosyna, by the name of Sairei. For Plato himselfe faith, that Hades which fignifieth Pluto, being the fonne of Aidos, that is to fay, of shamefaltnesse and reverence, is a milde and gracious god to 20 those who are toward him. And very true it is, that in the Acgyptians language, many other proper names are fignificant and carry their reason with them : as namely that infernal place under the earth, into which they imagine the foules of the dead doe defeend after they be departed, they call Ament hes, which terme is as much to fay, as taking and giving; but whether this word be one of those, which in old time came out of Greece and were transported thither, we will confider and discusse better hereafter: Now for this present let us prosecute that which remaineth of this opinion now in hand. For Ofiris and Isis of good Dæmons were translated into the number of the gods: And as for the puissance of Typhon oppressed and quelled, howbeit panting as yet at the last gaspe and striving as it were with the pangs of death, they have certame ceremonies and facrifices, to pacify and appeale. Other featts also there be againe on the 30 contrary fide wherein they infult over him, debafe and defame him what they can: In fo much as men of a ruddy colour they deride & make of them a laughing stocke. And as for the inhabitants of Coptos, they use at a certaine feast to throw an affe headlong downe from the pitch of an high rocke, because Typhon was ruddy and of ared asses colour. The Businitants and Lycopolites forbeare to found any trumpets, because they resemble the braying of an affe: and generally they take an affe to be an uncleane beaft and demonicall, for the refemblance in hiew that it hath withhim: and when they make certaine cakes in their facrifices of the moneths, Payni and Phaophi, they worke them in paiftry with the print upon them of an affe bound. Also in their folemue facrifice to the Sun, they command as many as will be there to worthip that god, notto weareany brooches or jewels of gold about their bodies, nor to give any meat or pro-40 vander unto an affe what need foever he have thereof. It feemeth alfo, that the Pythagoreans themselves were of opinion, that Typhon was some siend or damonical power; for they say that Typhon was borne in the even number of fix and fifty : againe, that the triangular number or figure, is the puissance of Pluto, Bacchus and Mars: of the quadrangle, is the power of Rhea, Venus, Ceres, Vefta, and Juno: that of twelve angles belongeth to the might of Jupiter: but that of fifty fix angles is the force of Typhon, as Endoxun hath left in writing. But the Acgyptians supposing that Typhon was of a reddish colour, doekill for facrifice unto him, kine and oxen of the same colour, observing withall so precisely, that if they have but one haireblacke or white, they be not facrificeable; for they thinke such factifices not acceptable, but contrariwise displeasant unto the gods; imagining they be the bodies which have received the foules of leand and wicked persons, transformed into other creatures. And therefore after they have cursed the head of fuch a factifice, they cut it off and cast it into the river, at least waies in old time: but now they give it unto strangers. But the oxe which they meane to facrifice indeed, the priests called Sphragiffa, that is to fay, the fealers, come & marke it with their feale, which as Caffor writeth, was the image of a man kneeling, with his hands drawen backe and bound behinde him, and having a sword set to his throat: Semblably they use the name of an affe also, as hath bene said, for his uncivill rudenesse and insolency, no lesse than in regard of his colour, wherein he resemblesh Rrrrr 2

Typhon; and therefore the Aegyptians gave unto Ochus aking of the Persians, whom they have ted above all others as most curied and abominable, the surname of asse: whereof Ochubeing advertised and faying withall, This affe shall devour your oxe; caused presently their beese A. ph to be killed and facrificed, as Dinon liath left in writing. As for those who say, that Typhonafter he had loft the field, fled fix daies journy upon an affe backe, and having by this meanes escaped, begat two fonnes, Hierofolymus and Judams, evidentit is heerein that they would draw the itory of the Iewes into this fable. And thus much of the allegorirall conjectures which this tale doth affoord. But nowfrom another head, let us (of those who are able to discourse somewhat Philosophically and with reason) consider first and formost such as deale most simply in this behalfe, And thefebe they that fay, like as the Greeks allegorize that Saturne is time, June the 10 aire, and the generation of Vulcan, is the transmutation of aire into fire; even so they give out that by Ofiris the Aegyptians meane Nilss, which lieth and keepeth company with I/is, that is to fay, the earth: That Typhon is the fea, into which Wilm falling lofeth himselfe, and is difpatched heere and there, unlesse it be that portion thereof, which the earth receiveth and whereby it is made fertill. And upon the river Nilm there is a facred lamentation, even from the daies of Saturne: wherein there is lamenting, how Nilus fpringing and growing or the left hand, decaieth and is lost on the right: For the Aegyptians doe thinke, that the east parts where the day appeareth, be the forefront and face of the world, that the North part is the right hand & the South part the left. This Nilm therfore, ariling on the left hand, and loft in the fea on the right hand, is faid truely to have his birth and generation in the left fide, but his death and cor- 20 ruption in the right. And this is the reason why the priests of Aegyps have the sea in abomination, and terme falt the fome and froth of Typhon. And among those things which are interdicted and forbidden this is one, that no falt be used at the boord by reason whereof they never falute any pilots or failers, for that they keepe ordinarily in the fea, and get their living by it. This also is one of the principall causes, why they abhorre fishes; in such fort as when they would describe hatred, they draw or purtray a fish : like as in the porch before the temple of Minerva within the city Sai, there was puttraied and engraven, an infant, an old man; after thema falcon or some such hauke, and close thereto a fish, and last of all a river-horse : which Hieroglyphicks, doe symbolize and fignifie thus much in effect. Oall year that come into the world and goe out of it: God hateth shamelesse injustice. For by the hauke they understand God, by the 30 fith hatred, and by the river-horfe impudent violence and vilany, because it is faid that hekilleth his father, and after that, forceth his owne mother and covereth her. And femblably it should feeme, that the faying of the Pythagoreans, who give out that the fea is a teate of Saturne, under covert words doe meane, that it is impure and uncleane. Thus have I beene willing by the way to alledge thus much, although it be without the traine of our fable, because they fall within the compasse of a vulgar and common received history. Butto returne to our matter: the priests as many as he of the wifer and more learned fort, understand by Ofiria, not onely the river Nilua, and by Typhon the fea: but also by the former, they fignifie in one word and fimply, all vertue and power that produceth moisture and water, taking it to be the materiall cause of generation, and the nature generative of feed: and by Typhonthey represent all deficcative vertue, all heat 40 of fire & drineffe, as the very thing that is fully opposite and adverse to humidity; and hereupon it is, that they hold Typhon to be red of haire and of skin yellow: and by the fame reason they willingly would not encounter or meet upon the way men of that hew, no nor delight to speake unto such. Contratiwise they seigne Osiris to be of a blacke colour, because all water, causeth the earth, clothes and clowdes to appeare blacke with which it is mingled. Also the moisture, that is in yong folke maketh their haire blacke; but grifled hoarinesse, which seemeth to be a pale yellow, commeth by reason of ficcity unto those who be past their flower, and now in their declining age: also the Spring time is greene, fresh, pleasant, and generative: but the latter seafon of Autumne, for want of moisture, is an enemie to plants, and breedeth diseases inman

To speake also of that oxe or beefe named Mneuis, which is kept and nourished in Heliopolis at the common charges of the city, confecrated unto Ofiris, and which some say, was the sire of Apu; blacke he is of haire, and honored in a fecond degree after Apis. Moreover, the whole land of Aegypt is of all others exceeding blacke, fuch a blacke I meane, as that is of the ele, which they call Chemia, and they liken it to the heart; for hote and moift it is, and enclineth to the left and South parts of the earth, like as the heart lieth most to the left side of a man. They

affirme also, that the Sunne and Moone are not mounted upon chariots, but within bardges or boates continually do moove and faile as it were round about the world; giving us thereby covertly to understand, that they be bred and nourished by moisture. Furthermore, they thinke, that Homer (like as Thales also) being taught out of the Aegyptians learning, doth hold and set downe this position, That water is the element and principle that engendereth all things : for they fay, that Ofiris is the Ocean, and Ifis, Tethys, as one would fay, the nourfe that fuckleth and feedeth the whole world. For the Greeks call the ejaculation or calting foorth of naturall feed, Aστοία, like as the conjunction of male and female Σωνεσία: likewife 4105, which in Greeke fignifieth a son, is derived of the wording, that is to say, water, and one betokeneth also to raine. Moreto over, Bacchus they furname Hyes, as one would fay; the lord and ruler of the moist nature; and he is no other than Ofiris. Furthermore, whereas we pronounce his name Ofiris, Hellanicus putteth it downe Hyfiris, laying, that he heard the very priests themselves of Aegypt to pronounce it fo. And thus verily calleth he the faid god in every place, not without good shew of reason, having regard unto his nature and invention. But that Ofris is the same god that Bacchus, who should in all reason better know than your selle (ô Clea) considering that in the city of Delphi you are the miftreffe and lady Prioreffe as it were of the religious Thyans, and from your infancy have beenea votary and Nun confectated by your father and mother to the fervice of Ofris. But if in regard of others, we must alledge restimonies, let us not meddle with their hidden secrets; howbeit, that which the priests do in publicke when the inter Apis, having broughthis corps in a boat or punt, differeth not at all from the ceremonies of Bacchus: for, 20 clad they be in stags skinnes, they cary javelins in their hands, they keepe a loud crying, and shaking of their bodies very unquietly, much after the maner of those who are transported with the fanaticall and facred fancy of Bacchus, And what reason els should there be, that many nations of Greece pourtray the statue of Bacches with a bulles head? and the dames among the Elians in their praiers and invocations do call vnto him, befeeching this god to come unto them with his bulles foot? yea, and the Argives commonly furname Bacchus, Bugenes, which is as muchto fay, as the fonne of a Cow, or engendred by a bull: and that which more is, they invocate and call upon him out of the water with found of trumpets, calling into a deepe gulfe, a lambe, as to the Portier, under the name of Pylaochos. Their trumpets they hide within their javelins, called 30 Thyrfi, according as Socrates hath written in his books of facred ceremonies. Moreover, the Titanicall acts, and that whole, entier and facred night, accord with that which is reported as touching the differenbring of Oficio, and the refurrection or renovation of his life : in like maner, those matters which concerne his buriall. For the Aegyptians shew in many places the sepulchres of Ofris: and the Delphians thinke, they have the bones and reliques of Bacchus among them, interred and bestowed neere unto the oracle: and his religious priests celebrate unto him a fecret facrifice within the temple of Apollo, when the Thyades who are the Priestresses begin to chaunt the fonnet * Lientes. Now that the Greeks are of opinion, that Bacchus is the * One of the lord and governour, not of wine liquor onely, but also of every other nature which is moist and furnames of liquid, the testimony of Pindarus is sufficient, when he saith thus: Baechus

Taking the charge of trees that grow, Doth cause them for to bud and blow: The verdure fresh and beauty pure Of lovely fruits he doth procure.

And therefore it is, that those who serve and worship Ofir is are streightly forbidden and charged, not to destroy any fruitfull tree, nor to stop the head of any fountaine. And not onely the tiver Nilm, but all water and moisture what soever in generall, they call the effluence of Ofris: by reason whereof, before their sacrifices they cary alwaies in procession a pot or pitcher of water, in honour of the faid god.

They describe also a king and the Southern or meridionall climat of the world, by a figuree to leafe, which fig leafe fignifieth the imbibition and motion of all things: and befides, it feemeth naturally to refemble the member of generation. Also, when they solemnize the feast called Pamylitia, which as before hath beene faid, was instituted in the honour of Priapus, they shew and cary about in procession an image or statue, the genitall member whereof, is thrice as bigge as the ordinary : for this god of theirs is the beginning of all things; and every such principle, by generation multiplieth it felfe. Now, we are wont moreover to fay, Thrice, for many times ; to wit, a finite number for an infinite; as when we use the word, Tecquarages, that is to fay, Thrice

happy, for most happy; and Three bonds, for infinite; unlesse peradventure this ternary or threefold number was expresly and properly chosen by our ancients. For the nature of moiflure being the principle that engendreth all things, from the beginning hath engendred these three elements or primitive bodies, Earth, Aire and Fire. For that branch which is fet unto the fable, to wit, that Typhon flung the genitall member of Ofiris into the river, that Iss could not finde it, but caused one to be made to resemble it, and when she was provided thereof, ordeined that it should be honoured and caried in a foleime pompe; tendeth to this, for to teach us, that the generative and productive vertue of god, had moisture at the first for the matter, and by the meanes of the faid humidity, was mixed with those things that were apt for generation. Another branch there is yet, growing to this fable, namely, that one Apopis brother to the Sunne, 10 warred against Jupiter; that Ofiris aided Jupiter and helped him to defait his enemie; in regard of which merit he adopted him for his fonne, and named him Diony fus, that is to fay, Bacchus, Now the Muthology of this fable, as it evidently appeareth, accordeth covertly, with the trueth of Nature : for the Acgyptians call the winde, Jupiter, unto which nothing is more contrary, than ficeity and that which is firy : and that is not the Sunne, although some confanguinity it hath unto it : but moisture comming to extinguish the extremity of that drinesse, fortifieth and augmenteth those vapors, which nourish the wind and keepe it in force. Moreover, the Greeks consecrate the Ivie unto Bacchus, and the same is named among the Aegyptians, Chenosiris. which word, (as they fay) fignifieth in the Aegyptian tongue, the plant of Ofris: at leastwife Ariston who enrolled a colonic of the Athenians, affirmeth that he light upon an epiftle of 20 Anaxarchus, wherein he found as much; as alfo, that Bacchus was the fonne of a water nymph, Nains. Other Aegyptians also there be, who hold, that Bacchus was the fonne of Isis, and that he was not called Ofiris, but Arfaphes, in the letter Alpha, which word fignifieth proweffe or valour. And thus much giveth Hermaus to understand, in his first booke of Aegyptian acts; where he faith also, that Ofiris by interpretation, is as much, as * flout or mightie. Heere I forbeare to alledge Mnafas, who referreth and afcribeth unto Epaphus, Bacchus, Ofiris, and Sarapis. I overpasse Anticlides likewise, who affirmeth, that Isis was the daughter of Prometheus. and married unto Bacchus. For the very particular properties that we have faid were in their feafts and facrifices, yeeld a more cleere evidence and proofe, than any allegations of witneffes whatfoever. Also they hold, that among the starres, the dogge or Sirius was confecrate un- 30 to Iss, the which starre draweth the water. And they honour the lion, with whose heads and having the mouth gaping and wide open, they adorne the dores and gates of their temples, for that the river Nilus rileth

So soone as in the circle Zodiake,

The Sunne and Lco signe, encounter make. And as they both hold and affirme, Nilm to be the effluence of Ofris; even to they are of opinion, that the body of Isis is the earthor land of Aegypt; and yet not all of it, but so much as Willus overfloweth, and by commixtion maketh fertile and fruitfull: of which conjunction, they fay, that Orus was engendred, which is nothing else but the temperature and disposition of the aire, nourishing and maintaining all things. They fay also, that this Orus was nourished with-40 in the mores neere unto the citie Buius, by the goddeffe Latona; for that the earth being well drenched and watered, bringeth foorth and nourifheth vapors, which overcome, extinguish, and represse, (nothing so much) great ficcitie and drinesse. Furthermore, they call the marches and borders of the land, the confines also of the coasts which touch the sea, Nephthys: and this is the reason why they name Nephthys, Teleut ea, that is to say, finall or last; and say that she was married unto Typhon. And when Nilus breaketh out and overrunneth his banks fo, as he approcheth these borders, this they call the unlawfull conjunction or adultery of Ofir is with Nephthys, the which is known by certeine plants growing there, among which is the Melilot: by the feed whercof, faith the tale, when it was friedde and left behinde, began Typhon to perceive the wrong that was done unto him in his mariage. And hecreupon they fay, that Orus was the 50 legitimate sonne of Ir is, but Anubis was borne by Nephthys in bastardie. And verily in the fuccession of kings they record Nephthys maried unto Typhon, to have beene at first barren. Now if this be not meant of a woman, but of a goddeffe, they understand under these anigmaticall speeches, a land altogether barren and untruitfull, by reason of hardnesse and stiffe soliditie. The lying in wait of Typhon to surprise Ofrin, his usurped rule and tyranny, is nothing els but the force of drinesse, which was very mightie, which dissipated also and spent all that humi-

dirie that both engendreth and also encreaseth Nilus to that height. As for that queene of Acthiopia, who came to aid & affifthim, the betokeneth the Southerly winds comming from Aethiopia: for when these have the upper hand of the Etesian windes, which blow from the North, and drive the cloulds into Aethiopia, and fo hinders those showers and gluts of faine which power out of the clouds, and make the river Nilus to swell : then Typhon, that is to say, drouth, is faid to winne the better, and to burne up all; and to having gotten the mattery cleane of Nilus, who by reason of his weaknesse and feeblenesse, is drivening and forced to retire a contrary way, he chafeth him, poore and low into the fear. For whereas the fable faith, that Ofiris was thus fall within an arke or coffer, there is no other thing fignified thereby; but this departure backe of the water, and the hiding thereof within the fea: which is the cause also, that they say Ofiris went out of fight in the moneth Athyr, and was no more feene; at what time as when all the Etesian windes are laid and given over to blow, Nilm returners into his chanell, leaving the land discovered and bare. And now by this time as the night groweth longer, the darknesse encreafeth, like as the force of the light doth diminish and is impaired; and then the priests among many other ceremonies, tellifying their fadnesse and heavie cheero, bring foorth and fhew abeefe with golden hornes, whom they cover all over with a fine vaile of blacke filke, thereby to represent the heavy dole and mourning of the goddesse for Ofiris: (for thus they thinke, that the faid beefe is the image of Ofiris: and the veltment of blacke aforefaid, tellifying the earth, doth fignific Iss) and this shew exhibit they foure daies together; to wit, from 20 the seventh unto the tenth following: And why? Foure things there be for which they make demonstration of griefe & fortow: the first is the river Nilus, for that he seemeth to retire and falle: the second are the North-windes, which now are husht and still, by reason of the Southern winds, that gaine the mastrie over them: the third is the day, for that now it waxeth shorter than the night: and last of all, the discovering and nakednesse of the earth, together with the devesting of trees, which at the very fame time begin to shed and lose their leaves. After this, upon the ninteenth day at night, they goe downe to the sea side, and then the priests revested in their facred Stoles and habits, carie foorth with them, a confecrated cheft, wherein there is a veffell of gold, into which they take and powre fresh and potable water; and with that, all those who are prefent fet up a note and shout, as if they had found Offris againe: then they take a 30 piece of fatty and fertile earth, and together with the water, knead and worke it into a paste, mixing therewith most precious odors, perfumes and spices, whereof they make a little image in forme of the Moone croiffant, which they decke with robes and adorne, flewing thereby evidently that they take these gods to be the substance of water and earth.

Thus when Isu had recovered Ofru, nourished Orus, and brought him up to some growth, so that he now became strengthned & fortified, by exhalations, vapors, mists and clouds, Typhon verily was vanquished, howbeit, not flaine, for that the goddesse, which is the ladie of the earth, would not permit & fuffer, that the power or nature which is contrary unto moifture, should be utterly abolished : onely she did slacken and let downe the vehement force thereof, willing that this combat and strife thould still continue; because the world would not have beene entier and perfect, if the nature of fire had beene once extinct & gone. And if this goe not currant among them, there is no reason and probability, that any one should project this affertion also, namely, that Typhon in times past overcame one part of Ofiris: for that in olde time, Aegypt was sea: whereupon it is, that even at this day, within the mines wherein men dig for mettals, yea, and among the mountaines, there is found great flore of fea fish. Likewife, all the fountaines, welles and pits (and those are many in number) cary a brackith, faltith and bitter water, as if some remnant or residue of the oldesea were reserved, which ranne thither. But in processe of time, Orus fubdued Typhon, that is to fay, when the feafonable raine came, which tempered the excessive heat, Niliw expelled and drave forth the fea, discovered the champian ground, and filled it continually more and more by new deluges and inundations, that laied formewhat still unto it. And 50 hereof, the daily experience is presented to our cies; for we perceive even at this day, that the overflowes and tiling of the river, bringing new mud, and adding fresh earth still by little and little, the fea giveth place and retireth: and as the deepe in it is filled more and more, fo the fuperficies tifeth higher, by the continuall shelves that the Nile casts up, by which meane, the sea runneth backward : yea, the very Isle Pharos, which Homer knew by his daies to lie farre within the sea even a daies failing from the continent & firme land of Aegypt, is now a very part thereof not for that it re mooved and approched neerer and neerer to the land; but because the sea which was betweene, gave place unto the river that continually made new earth with the mudde that it brought, and so mainteined and augmented the maine land. But these things resemble very neere, the Theologicall interpretations that the Stoicks give out for they holde, that the generative and nurritive Spirit, is Bacchue; but that which firiketh and divideth, is Hercules; that which receiveth, is Ammon; that which entreth and pierceth into the earth, is Ceres and Proferpina; and that which doth penetrate farther and passe thorow the sea, is Neptune. Others, who mingle among naturall causes and reasons, some drawen from the Mathematicks, and principally from Aftrology, thinke that Typhon is the Solare circle or sphære of the Sunne; and that Ofiris is that of the Moone; inafmuch as the Moone hath a generative and vegetable light, multiplying that sweet and comfortable moisture which is so meet for the generation of living crea- 10 tures, of trees and plants: but the Sunne having in it a pure firy flame indeed without any mixture or rebatement avail, heateth and drieth that which the earth bringeth forth, yea, and whatfoever is vetdant and in the flower; infomuch, as by his inflamation he caufeth the greater pare of the earth to be wholly defert and inhabitable, and many times subdueth the very Moone. And therefore the Aegyptians evermore name Typhon, Seth, which is as much to fay, as ruling lordly, and oppreffing with violence. And after their fabulous maner they fay, that Hercules sitting as it were upon the Sunne, goeth about the world with him; and Mercurie likewise with the Moone: by reason whereof, the works and effects of the Moone resemble those acts which are performed by eloquence and wifedome: but those of the Sunne are compared to such as be exploited by force and puiffance. And the Stoicks fay, that the Sunne is lighted and fet on fire by 20 the Sea, and therewith nourished but they be the fountaines and lakes which fend up unto the Moone a milde, sweet and delicate vapour. The Aegyptians faine, that the death of Ofiris hapned on the seventeenth day of the moneth, on which day, better than upon any other, the is judged to be at the full: and this is the reason why the Pythagoreans call this day, The obstruction, and of all other numbers they most abhorre and detest it: for whereas sixteene is a number quadrangular or foure-fquare, and eighteene longer one way than another; which numbers onely of those that be plaine, happen for to have the ambient unities, that environ them equall to the spaces conteined and comprehended within them; seventeene, which falleth betweene, separateth and disjoineth the one from the other, and being cut into unequall intervals, distractes the proportion fesquioctave. And some there be who say, that Ofiris lived, others that he reigned, cight and twenty yeeres: for so many lights there be of the Moone, and so many daies doth she turne about her owne circle: and therefore in those ceremonies which they call The sepulture of Ofris, they cut a piece of wood, and make a certeine coffin or case in maner of the Moone croiffant, for that as the approcheth neere to the Sunne, the becommeth pointed and cornered, untill in the end the come to nothing, and is no more seene. And as for the dismembring of Osiris into foureteene pieces, they fignific unto us under the covert vaile of these words, The daies wherein the faid planet is in the wane, and decreafeth even unto the change, when the is renewed againe. And that day on which the first appeareth, by passing by and escaping the raies of the Sunne, they call an unperfect good: for Ofiris is a doer of good: and this name fignifieth many things, but principally an active and beneficiall power, as they fay: and as for the other 40 name Omphis, Hermaus faith, that it betokeneth as much as a benefactour. Alfo, they are of opinion, that the rilings and inundations of the river Nilus, answere in proportion to the course of the Moone; for the greatest height that it groweth unto in the countrey Elephantine, is eight and twenty cubits; for fo many illuminations there be, or daies, in every revolution of the Moone : and the lowest gage about Mendes and Xois, fixe cubits, which answereth to the first quarter: but the meane betweene, about the city Memphis, when it is just at the full, commeth to four etcene cubits, correspondent to the full Moone. They holde moreover, Apisto be the lively image of Ofiris, and that he is ingendred and bred at what time as the generative light descendeth from the Moone and toucheth the Cow desirous of the male: and therefore Apis refembleth the formes of the Moone, having many white spots obscured and darkened with the 50 shadowes of blacke. And this is the reason, why they solemnize a feast in the new Moone of the moneth Phamenoth, which they call The ingreffe or entrance of Ofirit to the Moone; and this is the beginning of the Spring feason: and thus they put the power of Ofris in the Moone. They fay also, that 1/is (which is no other thing but generation) lieth with him; and so they name the Moone, Mother of the world; faying, that the is a double nature, male and female: female, in that the doth conceive and is replenithed by the Sunne : and male, in this regard, that

the fendeth forth and fprinkleth in the aire, the feeds and principles of generation: for that the drie distemperature and corruption of Typhon is not alwaies superior, but often times vanquished by generation, and howfoever tied it be and bound, yet it rifeth fresh againe, and fighteth against Orus, who is nothing els but the terrestriall world, which is not alrogether free from corruption, nor yet exempt from generation. Othersthere be, who would have all this fiction coverily to represent no other thing but the ecclipses: for the Moone is ecclipsed, when the is at the full directly opposite to the Sunne, and commeth to fall upon the shadow of the earth : like as they fay, Ofir is was put into the cheft or coffer above faid. On the other fide, the feemeth to hide and darken the light of the Sunne, upon certeine thirtieth daies, but yet doth not wholly a-10 bolish the Sunne, no more than Isis doth kill Typhon : but when Nephthys bringeth forth Anubis Ilis putteth herselfe in place : for Nephthys is that which is under the earth and unseene; but Is, that which is above, and appeareth unto us: and the circle named Horizon, which is common to them both, and parteth the two hemisphæres, is named Anubis, and in forme resembleth a dogge: for why? a dogge feeth aswell by night as by day: fo that it should seeme, that Anulis among the Aegyptians hath the like power that Proferpina among the Greeks, being both terrestriall and coelestiall. Others there be, who thinke, that Anubis is Saturne, and because he is conceived with all things, and bringeth them foorth, which in Greeke the word zeen fignifieth, therefore he is furnamed Kvwr, that is to fay, Adogge. So that there is some hidden and mysticall fecret in it, that causeth some, even still to reverence and adore A dogge: for the time was, 20 when more worship was done unto it in Aeg ypt, than to any other beast; but after that Cambyses hadkilled Apis cut him in pieces, and flung the fame heere and there, no other creature would come neere to tafte thereof, fave the dogge onely; whereupon he loft that prerogative and preeminence to be more honoured than other beafts. Others there are, who would have the shadow of the earth, which causeth the Moone to be ecclipsed when she entreth into it, to be named Typhon. And therfore me thinks, it were not amiffe to fay, that in particular there is not any one of these expositions and interpretations perfect by it selfe and right, but all of them together cary some good costruction: for it is neither drought alone, nor winde, nor sea, ne yet darkneffe; but all that is no isome and hurtfull whatfoever, and which hath a special part to hurt and destroy, is called Typhon. Nether must we put the principles of the whole world into bodies 30 that have no life and foule, as Democrit us and Epicurus doe: nor yet fet downe for the workman and framer of the first matter, a certeine reason and providence, without quality (as do the Stoicks:) fuch a thing as hath a fublistence before and above all, and commandeth all: for impossible it is, that one fole cause, good or bad, should be the beginning of all things together; for God is not the cause of any evill, and the coagmentation of the world bendeth contrary waies, like as the composition of a lute or bow, as Heraslisus saith, and according to Euripides,

Nothings can be bythemselves goodor bad: That things dowell, a mixture must be had.

And therefore this opinion fo very auncient, is descended from Theologians and Law-givers unto Poets and Philosophers, the certeine author and beginning whereof, is not yet knowen; 40 howbeit, fo firmely grounded in the perswasion and beliefe of men, that hard it is to suppresse or abolish the same; so commonly divulged not onely in conferences, disputations, and ordinary speeches abroad, but also in the facrifices and divine ceremonies of gods service, in many places, as well among the Barbarians as Greeks, to wit, that neither this world floteth and waveth at aventure, without the government of providence and reason, nor reason onely it is that guideth, directeth, and holdeth it (as it were) with certeine helmes or bits of obeifance, but manie things there be confused and mixed, good and bad together: or to speake more plainely, there is nothing heere beneath that nature produceth and bringeth foorth, which of it felfe is pure and fimple: neither is there one drawer of two tunnes, to disperse and distribute abroad the affaires of this world, like as a taverner or vintner doeth his wines or other li-30 quors, brewing and tempering one with another. But this life is conducted by two principles and powers, adverse one unto another; for the one leadeth us to the right hand directly, the other contrariwise turneth us aside and putterh us backe: and so this life is mixt, and the verie world it felfe, if not all throughout, yet at leastwife, this beneath about the earth, and under the Moone, is unequall, variable, and subject to all mutations that possibly may be. For if nothing there is, that can be without a precedent cause, and that which of it selfe is good can never minister cause of evill; necessarie it is, that nature hath some peculiar cause and beginning by it

fay, Arima .

felfe, of good aswell as of bad. And of this opinion are the most part of the ancients, and those of the wifelt fort. For some thinke there be two gods as it were of a contrary mystery & profesfion; the one, author of all good things, and the other of bad. Others there be who call the better of them god; and the other Dæmon, that is to fay, divell, as Zoroaftres the Magician did, who by report, was five thousand yeeres before the warre of Troy. This Zoroastres (Isay) na. med the good god Oromazes , and the other Arimanius. Moreover, he gave out, that the one resembled light, more than any sensible thing else whatsoever: the other darknesse and ignorance: alfothat there is one in the middes between them, named Mithres: (and heereupon it is, that the Persians call an intercessor or mediator, Mithres.) He teacheth us also to sacrifice unto the one of them, for petition of good things, and for thanke giving: but to the other, for to divert and turne away finifer and evill accidents. To which purpose they used to stampe in a 10 morter a certeine herbe which they call Omomi, calling upon Pluto and the darkneffe: then temper they it with the bloud of a woolfe which they have killed in facrifice : this done, they catie it away, and throw it into a darke corner, where the Sunne never shineth. For this conceit they have, that of herbes and plants, fome appertaine unto the good god, and others to the evill damon or divell. Semblably, of living creatures, dogs, birds, and land urchins, belong to their good god: but those of the water, to the evill fiend. And for this cause they repute those very happic, who can kill the greatest number of them. Howbeit these Sages and wise men report many fabulous things of the gods: as for example, that Oromazes is engendred of the electeft and purest light, and Arimanius of deepe darknesse: also that they watre one upon another. And the former of these created fixe other gods, the first of Benevolence; the second of Verity; the third of good discipline and publike Law; and of the rest behinde, one of Wisedome, another of Riches; and the fixth, which also is the last, the maker of joy for good and honest deeds. But the * later produceth as many other in number, concurrents as it were and of adverse operation to the former above named. Afterwards when Gromazes had augmented and amplified himselfe three times, he remooved as farre from the Sunne, as the Sunne is diffant from the earth, adoring and embeliffing the heaven with starres: and one starre above the rest heordeined to be the guide, mistresse, and overseer of them all, to wit, Sirius, that is to say, the Doggestarre. Then, after he had made foure and twentie other gods, he enclosed them all with in an egge. But the other, brought foorth by Arimanius, who were also in equall number, never ceafed untill they had pierced and made a hole unto the faid fmooth and polithed egge: and foat 30 ter that , evill things became mingled pel-mell with good. But there will a time come predeftined fatally, when this Arimanius who brings into the world plague and famine, shall of necesfitiebe rooted out and utterly destroied for ever, even by them; and the earth shall become plaine, even, and uniforme: neither shall there be any other but one life, and one commonwealth of men , all happie and speaking one and the same language. Theepompus also writeth, that according to the wife Magi, thefe two gods must for three thousand yeetes, conquer one after another, and for three thousand yeeres be conquered againe by turnes; and then for the space of another three thousand yeeres, levie mutuall warres, and fight battels one against the other, whiles the one shall subvert and overthrow that which the other hath set up: untill in the end Pluto shall faint, give over, and perish: then shall men be all inhappie estate, they shall 40 need no more food, nor cast any thadow from them; and that god who hath wrought and effected all this, shall repose himselfe, and rest in quiet, not long (I say) for a god, but a moderate time as one would fay for a man taking his sleepe and rest. And thus much as touching the fable devised by the Magi. But the Chaldwans affirme that of the gods, whom they call Planets or wandring starres, two there be that are beneficiall and dooers of good; two againe mischievous and workers of evill; and three which are of a meane nature and common. As for the opinion of the Greeks, concerning this point, there is no man I suppose ignorant thereof: namely, that there be two portions or parts of the world, the one good, allotted unto Jupiter Olympius, that is to fay, Celeftiall; another bad, appertaining to Pluto infernall. They fable so moreover, and seigne, that the goddesse Harmonia, that is to say, Accord, was engended of Mars and Venus: of whom, the one is cruell, grim, and quarrellous; the other milde, lovely, and generative. Now confider the Philosophers themselves, how they agree heerein: For Herachitus directly and difertly nameth warre, the Father, King, and Lord of all the world; saying,

Both out of heaven and earth to banish warre,

that Homer when he wisheth and praieth,

wift not how (ere he was aware) he curfed the generation and production of all things, which indeed have their effence and being by the fight and antipathie in nature. He was ignorant that the Sunne would not paffe the bounds and limits appointed unto him; for otherwhich the furies and curfed tongues which are the ministresses and coadjuttesses of justice would finde him out. As for Empedocles, he faith, that the beginning and principle which worketh good, is love and amity, yea, and otherwhiles is called Harmonie by Merops: but the cause of evill,

Malice, hatred, cankred spight, Quarrell, debate, and bloudy fight.

to Come now to the Pythagoreans, they demonstrate and specifie the same by many names : for they call the good principle, One, finite, permanent or quiet, straight or direct, odde, quadrat or fquare, right and lightforme : but the bad, twaine, infinite, moving, crooked, even, longer one way than another, unequall, left and darke, as if these were the sountaines of generation. Anaxagors calleth them the minde or understanding and infinity. Aristosle termeth the one forme, the other privation. And Plato under darke and covert termes hiding his opinion, in many places calleth the former of these two contrary principles, The Same, and the later, The other. But in the bookes of his lawes, which he wrote when he was now well flept in yeeres, he giveth them no more any obscure and ambiguous names, neither describeth he them symbolically and by an igmaticall and intricate names, but in proper and plaine termes, he faith, that this worke 20 is not moved and managed by one fole cause, but haply by many, or at leastwife no sower than twaine: whereof the one is the creatour and worker of good, the other opposite unto it and operative of contrary effects. He leaveth also and alloweth a third canse betweene, which is neither without foule nor reasonlesse ne yet unmoovable of it selse, as some thinke, but adjacent and adherent to the other twaine, howbeit enclining alwaies to the better, as having a defire and appetite thereto, which it purfueth and followeth, as that which heercafter we will deliver shall show more manifestly, which treatise shall reconcile the Aegyptian Theologic with the Greeks Philosophy, and reduce them to a very good concordance: for that the generation, composition, and constitution of this world is mingled of contrary powers, howbeit the same not of equall force: for the better is predominant: but impossible it is that the evill should utter-30 ly perish and be abolished, so deepely is it imprinted in the body & so far inbred in the soule of the univerfall world, in opposition alwaies to the better, and to warre against it. Now then, in the foule, reason and understanding, which is the guide, and mistresse of all the best things, is Ofris. Also in the earth, in the windes, in water, skie and the starres, that which is well ordained, flajed, disposed and digested in good fort, by temperate seasons and revolutions, the same is called the defluxion of Oficis, and the very apparent image of him: Contrariwife, the paffionate, violent, unreasonable, brutish, rash and soolish part of the soule, is 7 yphon : Semblably in the bodily nature, that which is extraordinarily adventitious, unholfome & difeafed, as for example, the troubled aire and tempeltuous indifpolitions of the weather, the obscuration or ecclipse of the Sunne, the defect of the Moone and her occultation, be as it were the excursions, deviations 40 out of course, and disparations: and all of them be Typhons; as the very interpretation of the Aegyptian word fignifieth no leffe: for Typhon, they name Seth, which is as much to fay, as violent and oppreffing after a lordly maner. It importeth also many times reversion, & other whiles aninfultation or supplantation. Moreover some there be who say, that one of Typhons samiliar friends was named Bebaon. But Manethos affirmeth, that Typhon himselfe was called Bebon, which word by interpretation is as much as cohibition, restreint or impeachment, as if the puiffance and power of Typhon were to stay and withstand the affaires that are in good way of proceeding, and tend as they should doe, to a good end. And hecreupon it is that of tame beafte they dedicate and attribute unto him, the most groffe and indocible of all others, namely an affe: but of wilde beafts the most cruell and favage of all others, as the crocodiles and river-50 horfes. As for the affe, we have spoken before of him. In the city of Mercury, named Hermupolis, they thew unto us the image of Typhon, purtraied under the forme of a river horfe, upon whom fitteth an hauke, fighting with a ferpent. By the foresaid horse they represent Typhon: and by the hauke, the power and authority which Typhon having gotten by force, maketh no care oftentimes, both to be troubled and allo to trouble others by his malice. And therefore when they folemnize a facrifice, the feventh day of the moneth Tybi, which they call the comming of Iss out of Phanicia, they devise upon their halowed cakes for facrifice, a river-horse, as if he

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were tied and bound. In the city of Apollo the maner and cultome confirmed by law was, that every one must eat of acrocodile: and upon a certaine day they have a solemne chase and hunting of them, when they kill as many of them as they can, and then cast them all before the temple: and they say, that Typhon being become a crocodile hath escaped from Orus: attributing all dangerous wicked beatls, all hurtfull plants and violent passions unto Typhon, as if they were his workes, his parts or motions. Contrariwife they purtray and depaint unto us Ofrei, by a fepter and an eie upon it : meaning by the eie forelight and providence, by the fepter authority and puissance: like as Homer nameth Jupiter who is the prince, lord and ruler of all the world. Hypatos, that is, fovereigne, and Meftor, that is, forefeeing: giving us to understand, by fovereigne, his supreme power, by foreseeing his prudence and wildome. They represent Osiria al. 10 fo many times by an hanke, for that the hath a wonderfull cleere and quicke fight, her flight also is as fwift, and the is wont naturally to fultaine her felfe with very little food. And more than that (by report) when the flieth over dead bodies unburied, the cafteth mould and earth upon their cies. And looke whenfoever the flieth downe to the river for to drinke the fetteth up her fethers straight upright, but when she hath drunke she laieth them plaine and even againe, by which it appeareth that fafe the is and hath escaped the crocodile: For if the crocodile feife upon her and catch her up, her pennache abideth stiffe and upright as before. But generally throughout wherefoever the image of Ofiris is exhibited in the forme of a man, they purtray him with the natural member of generation stiffe and straight, prefiguring thereby the generative and nutritive vertue. The habiliment also, wherewith they clad his images is bright, shi. 20 ning like fire: For they repute the * Sunne to be a body reprefenting the power of goodneffe, as being the visible matter of a spirituall and intellectuall substance. And therefore their opinion descriveth to be rejected who attribute unto Typhon the sphere of the Sunne, considering that unto him properly appertaineth nothing that is resplendent, healthfull and comfortable, no disposition, no generation or motion which is ordered with measure or digested by reason: But if either in the aire or upon the earth there be any unseasonable disposition of windes, of weather, or water, it hapneth when the primitive cause of a disordinate and indeterminate power commeth to extinguish the kinde vapours and exhalations. Moreover in the facred hymnes of Ofris, they invocate and call upon him who lieth at repose hidden within the armes of the Sunne. Also upon the thirtieth day of the moneth Epophi, they solemnize the seast of the nativi- 30 ty or birth of Orus cies: at what time as the Sunne and Moone be in the same direct line: as being perswaded that not onely the Moone but the Sunne also is the cie and light of Horm: Likewise upon the twenty eight day of the moneth Phaopi they celebrate another feast of the Sunnes basons or staves, and that is after the Aequinox in Autumne, giving covertly thereby to understand that the Sunne buth need of an appuy or supporter to rest upon and to strengthen him, because his heat beginnes then to decay and languish sensibly, his light also to diminish and decline obliquely from us. Moreover about the foltice or middle of winter, they cary about his temple feven times a cow: and this procession is called the seeking of Osiris, or the revolution of the Sunne, as if the goddeffe then defired the waters of winter: And so many times they doe it, for that the course of the Sunne, from the Winter solftice unto the Summer sol- 40 Rice is performed in the feventh moneth. It is faid moreover, that * Horus the fonne of Isis was the first who sacrificed unto the Sun, the source enth day of the moneth, according as it is written in a certaine booke as touching the nativity of Horses: howfoever every day they offer incense and sweet odors to the Sunne three times: First at the Sunne rising, Rosin: secondly about noone, Myrrh: and thirdly at the Sunne fetting, a certaine composition named Kiphi. The myfficall meaning of which perfumes and odors I will heereafter declare: but they are perfuaded that in all this they worship and honor the Sunne. But what need is there to gather and collect a number of fuch matters as these? seeing there be some who openly maintaine that Osiris is the Sunne, and that the Greeks call him Sirius, but the article which the Aegyptians put before, to wit, [O] is the cause that so much is not evidently perceived: as also that Isis is 50 nothing else but the Moone: and of her images those that have hornes upon them, fignifie no other thing but the Moone croiffant: but fuch as are covered and clad in blacke, betoken those daies wherein the is hidden or darkened, namely, when the runneth after the Sunne: which is the reason that in love matters they invocate the Moone. And Eudoxus himselfe faith, that Isis is the prefident over amatorious folke. And verily in all these ceremonies there is some probabilitie and likelihood of trueth. But to fay that Typhon is the Sunne, is so absurd, that we

Of Isis and Osiris.

ought not fo much as give eare to those who affirme so. But returne we now to our former matter, For Ist is the feminine part of nature, apt to receive all generation, upon which occasion called the is by Plato, the nurse and Pandeches, that is to say, capable of all: yea and the common fort name her Myrionymu, which is as much to fay, as having an infinite number of names, for that the receiveth all formes and thapes, according as it pleafeth that first reason to convertand turne her. Moreover, there is imprinted in her naturally, a love of the first and principall effence, which is nothing else but the foveraigne good, and it the defireth, feeketh, and purfuethafter. Contrariwife, The flieth and repelleth from her, any part and portion that proceedeth from ill. And howfoever the be the fubject matter, and meet place apt to receive as to well the one as the other, yet of it felfe, enclined the is alwaies rather to the better, and applicth herselfe to engender the same, yea, and to differninate and sowe the defluxions and similitudes thereof, wherein she taketh pleasure and rejoiceth, when she hath conceived and is great therewith, ready to be delivered. For this is are presentation and description of the substance engendred in matter, and nothing elfe but an imitation of that which is. And therefore you may fee it is not besides the purpose, that they imagine and devile the soule of Ofir is to be eternall and immortall: but as for the body, that Typhon many times doth teare, mangle, and abolifhit, that it cannot be seene: and that Is goeth up and downe, wandring heere and there, gathering together the dismembred pieces thereof, for that which is good and spirituall, by consequence isnotany waies subject to change and alteration; but that which is sensible and materiall, doth 20 yeeld from it selfe certeine images, admitting withall and receiving fundry porportions, formes, and fimilitudes, like as the prints and stamps of seales set upon waxe, doe not continue and remaine alwaies, but are subject to change, alteration, disorder and trouble, and this same was chased from the superor region, and sent downe hither, where it fighteth against Horus whom Is engendred fensible, as being the very image of the spiritual and intellectual world. And hecreupon it is, that Typhon is faid to accuse him of bastardie, as being nothing pure and fincere, like unto his father, to wit, reason, and understanding; which of it selfe is simple, and not medled with any passion: but in the matter adulterate and degenerat, by the reason that it is corporall. Howbeit, in the end the victorie is on Mercuries fide, for hee is the discourse of realon, which testifieth unto us, and sheweth, that nature hath produced this world materiall 30 metamorphozed to the spiritual forme: for the nativity of Apollo, engendred betweene 1/is & Ofres, whiles the gods were yet in the belly of Rhea, symbolizeth thus much, that before the world was evidently brought to light and fully accomplished, the matter of reason, being found naturally of it felferude and unperfect, brought foorth the first generation: for which cause they say, that god being as yet lame, was borne and begotten in darkenesse, whom they call the elder Horses. For the world yet it was not, but an image onely and defigne of the world, and a batefantafie of that which should be. But this Horse heere is determinate, definit and perfect, who killeth not 7 yphon right out, but taketh from him his force and puillance that he can doe little or nothing. And heereupon it is, that (by report) in the citie Coptus, the image of Horus holdeth in one hand the generall member of Typhon: and they fable befides, that Mercurie ha-40 ving bereft him of his finewes, made thereof strings for his harpe, and so used them. Heereby they teach, that reason framing the whole world, set it in tune, and brought it to accord, framing it of those parts which before were at jarre and discord: howbeit remooved not, nor abolished altogether the pernicious and hurtfull nature, but accomplished the vertue thereof. And therefore it is, that it being feeble and weake, wrought also (asit were) and intermingled or intellaced with those parts and members which be subject to passions and mutations, causeth earthquakes and tremblings, excellive heates, and extreame drineffe, with extraordinarie windes in the aire, besides thunder, lightnings and firie tempests. It impossoneth moreover the waters and windes, infecting them with peltilence, reaching up and bearing the head aloft, as farre as to the Moone, obfcuring and darkning many times even that which is by nature cleane 50 and thining. And thus the Acgyptians do both thinke and fay, that Typhon fometime strooke theeie of Horse, and another while plucked it out of his head and devoured it, and then afterwards delivered it agains unto the Sunne. By the striking aforesaid, they meane anigmatically the wane or decreate of the Moone monethly: by the totall privation of the cie, they understand her ecclipse and defect of light: which the Sunne doth remedy by relumination of her freight waies, as soone as the is gotten past the shade of the earth. But the principall and more divine nature is composed and consistest of three things, to wit, of an intellectuall nature, of matter,

matter, and a compound of them both, which we call the world. Now, that intellectuall part, Plato nameth Idea, the patterne also of the father: as for matter, he termeth it a mother, nurse, a foundation also and a plot or place for generation: and that which is produced of both, he is woont to call the iffue and thing procreated. And a man may very well conjecture, that the Aegyptians compared the nature of the whole world, especially to this, as the fairest triangle of all other, And Plate in his books of policy or common wealth, seemeth also to have used the fame, when he composeth and describeth his nupriall figure: which triangle is of this fort: that the fide which maketh the right angle, is of three, the basis of foure, and the third line called Hr. posinusa of five, aquivolent in power to the other two that comprehend it: fo that the line which directly falleth plumbe upon the base, must answer proportionably to the male; the base to the to female, and the Hypotimusa to the iffue of them both. And verily, Osiris representeth the beginning and principle: Is that which receiveth; and Horus the compound of both. For the number of three is the first odde and perfect: the quaternarie is the first square or quadrate number, composed of the first even number, which is two; and five resembleth partly the father, and in part the mother, as confifting both of two and three. And it should seeme also that the very name Hay, which is the univerfall world, was derived of Heyzethat is to fay, five, and so in Greeke ுமாய்கள், mold time fignified as much as to number : and that which more is, five being multiplied in it felfe, maketh a quadrat number, to wit, twentie five, which is just as many letters as the Acgyptians have in their alphabet, and so many yeeres Apis also lived. And as for Horse. they used to call him Kaimin, which is as much to fay, as seene, for that this word is sensible and 20 visible. Is likewise is sometime called Mouth, otherwhiles Athyri or Methyer. And by the first of these names, they signific a Mother: by the second, the faire house of Horus, like as Plato termeth it to be the place capable of generation: the third is compounded of Full and the cause: for Matter is full of the world, as being maried and keeping companie with the first principle, which is good, pure, and beautifully adorned. It should seeme haply also, that the Poet Hestodus, when he faith, that all things at the first, were Chaos, Earth, Tartarus and Love, groundeth upon no other principles than those, which are fignified by these names, meaning by the Earth Is; by Love Ofris; and by Tartarus Typhon; as we have made demonstration. For by Chaos it seemes that he would understand some place & receptacle of the world. Moreover, in some fort these matters require the sable of Plato, which in his booke entituled Symposium, So- 30 crates inferred, namely, wherein he setteth downe the generation of Love: saying that Penia, that is to fay, povertie, defirous to have children, went and lay with Poros, that is to fay, riches, and flept with him, by whom the conceived with childe, and brought foorth Love; who naturally is long and variable; and begotten of a father who is good, wife, and al-fufficient; and of a mother who is poore, needy, and for want, defirous of another, and evermore feeking and following after it. For the forefaid Poros, is no other, but the first thing amiable, desireable, perfeet and fufficient. As for Pema, it is matter, which of it felfe is evermore bare and needy, wanting that which is good, whereby at length the is conceived with childe, after whom the hath a longing defire, and evermore ready to receive somewhat of him. Now Horus engendred betweene them (which is the world) is not eternall, nor impassible, nor incorruptible, but being 40 evermore in generation, he endevoreth by viciffitude of mutations, and by periodicall paffion, to continue alwaies yoong, as if he should never die and perish. But of such fables as these we must make use, not as of reasons altogether really subsisting: but so, as we take out of ech of them, that which is meet and convenient to our purpose. When as therefore we say Matter, we are not to rely upon the opinions of some Philosophers, and to thinke it for to be a bodie without foule, without qualitie, continuing in it felfe idle, and without all action whatfoever: for we call oile the matter of a perfume or ointment; and gold the matter of an image or flatue, which notwithstanding is not voide of all similitude: and even so we say, that the very soule and understanding of a man, is the matter of vertue and of science, which we give unto reason, for to bring into order, and adorne. And some there were, who affirmed the minde or under-50 standing to be the proper place of formes, and as it were, the expresse mould of intelligible things: like as there be Naturalists who hold, that the feed of a woman hath not the power of a principle serving to the generation of man, but standeth in stead of matter and nourishment onely: according unto whom, we also being grounded heerein, are to thinke that this goddesse having the fruition of the first and chiefe god, and conversing with him continually, for the love of those good things & vertues which are in him, is nothing adverse unto him, but loveth

him as her true spouse and lawfull husband; and like as we say, that an honest wife who enjoieth ordinarily the company of her husband, loveth him nevertheleffe, but hath still a minde unto him; even to giveth not the over to be enamoured upon him, although the be continually where he is, and replenished with his principalland most fincere parts. But when and where as Typhon in the end thrufteth himselfe betweene, and setteth upon the extreme parts, then and there the feemeth to be fadde and heavy, and thereupon is faid to mourne and lament, yea and to feeke up certaine reliques and pieces of Ofirit, and ever as the can finde any, the received and arraicth them with all diligence, and as they are ready to periff and corrupt, the carefully tendeth and keepeth them close, like as againe the produceth and bringeth foorth other things to light of her felfe. For the reasons, the Idaae, and the influences of God which are in heaven 10 and among the starres, doe there continue and remaine; but those which be diffeminate among the fensible and passible bodies, in the earth and in the sea, diffused in the plants and living creatures, the same dying and being buried, doe many times revive and rife againe fresh by the meanes of generations. And hecreupon the fable faith thus much more, that Typhon cohabitethand lieth with Nephthys, and that Osiris also by stealth and secretly, keepeth company with her: for the corruptive and destroying power, doesn principally possesse the extreme parts of that matter which they name Nephibys and death: and the generative & prefetving vertue, conferreth into it little feed, & the fame weake and feeble, as being marred and destroiced by 7 yphon: unleffe it be fo much as Isis gathereth up & faveth, which the alfo norithech & mainteineth. But in one word, & to speake more generally, he is still better, as Plato & Aristotle are of opinion: for thenaturall pufflance to engender & to preferve, moveth toward him as to a fubfiflance and being whereas that force of killing & destroying moveth behind, toward non subsistence: which isthereason, that they call the one Ists, that is to say, a motion animate and wife; as if the word were derived of hear, which fignifieth to move by a certaine science and reason, for a barbarous word it is not. But like as the generall name of all gods and goddeffes, to wit, Thees, is derived of ಷಾಹಿನಡನ್, that is to fay, of vilible, and ಹಾನೆ ೨೯೮೯ , that is to fay, of running; even fo, both we and also the Aegyptians have called this goddesse, and 1/1/18, of intelligence and motion together. Semblably Plato faith, that in old time, when they faid Isia, they meant Ofu, that is to lay, facted; like as Noesis also and Phronesis, quasi reposes, that is to say, the stirring and motion of the understanding, being caried and going forward; and they imposed this word ours rest to those who have found our and discovered goodnesse and vertue: but contrariwise, have by reprocedull names noted fuch things as impeach hinder and flay the course of natural things, binding them fo, asthey can not go forward, to wit, zazua, vice, ameia, indigence, Junia, cowardife, and area, griefe, as if they kept them from ieras, or ies, that is to fay, free progresseand proceeding forward. As for Ofiris, a word it is composed of on@ and ison, that is to say, holy and sacred; for he is the common reason or Idea, of things above in heaven, and beneath of which, our ancients were woont to call the one fort, isex, that is to fay, facred; and the other, one, that is to fay, holy. Thereafon also which sheweth celestiall things, and such as move upward, is called Analis, and otherwhiles Hermanubis; as if the one name were meet for those above, and the other for them beneath: whereupon they facrificed unto the former a white cocke, and to the other a yellow or offaffron colour; for that they thought those things above, pute, simple and thining; but those beneath, mixed of a medley colour. Neither are we to marvell, that these termes are disguisted to the faithion of Greeke words; for an infinit number of more there be, which have been ctrans-Potted out of Greece with those men who departed from thence in exile, and there remains untill this day as ftrangers without their native countrey: whereof fome there be which cause Poety to be flandered, for calling them into use, as if it spake barbarously, namely, by those who terme fuch Poeticall and obscure words, Glottas. But in the books of Herimes or Mercurie, so called, there is written by report, thus much concerning facred names, namely, that the power ordeined over the circular motion and revolution of the Sunne, the Acgyptians call Horus, and o the Greeks Apollo: that which is over the wind, tome name Ofi is, others Sarapis, & fome againe in the Aegyptian language Sothi, which fignifieth as much as conception or to be with childe: and the tempon it is, that by a little deflexion of the name, in the Greeke tongue that Canicular or Dogge starre is called Know, which is thought appropriate unto 1/15. Well I wote, that we are not to thrive as touching names, yet would I rather give place unto the Aegyptians about the name Sarapis than Ofiris; for this is a meere Greeke word, whereas the other is a stranger; but as well the one as the other fignifieth the same power of Divinity. And heereto accordeth SIIII 2

the Acgyptian language; for many times they terme Isis by the name of Minerva, which in their tongue fignificth as much, as I am come of my felfe. And Typhon, as we have already faid, is named Seth, B. ebon and Smy, which words betoken all, a violent stay and impeachment, a contrariety and a diversion or turning aside another way. Moreover, they call the loadstone or Sederitis, the bone of Horus; like as iron, the bone of Typhon, as Manethos is mine author: for as the iron feemeth otherwhiles to follow the faid loadstone, and sufferethit selfe to be drawen by it, and many times for it againe, returneth backe and is repelled to the contrary : even fo, the good and comfortable motion of the world endued with reason, by perswasive speeches doeth convert. drawinto it, and mollifie that hardnesse of Typhon: but otherwhiles againe, the same returneth backe into it ielte, and is hidden in the depth of penurie and impossibility. Over and besides, Eu- 10 dox us faith, that the Acgyptians devise of Jupiter this fiction, that both his legs being so growen together in one, that he could not goe at all, for very shame he kept in a desert wildernesse: but Is, by cutting and dividing the same parts of his body, brought him to his found and upright going againe. Which fable giveth us covertly thus to understand, that the understanding and reason of God in it selfe going invisibly, and after an unseene maner, proceedeth to generation by the meanes of motion. And verily, that brafen Timbrel which they founded and rung at the facrifices of Isis, named Sistrum, sheweth evidently, that all things ought origins, that is to fay, to bestirre and shake, and never cease moving, but to be awakened and rassed, as if otherwise they were drowfie, lay afleepe and languished: for it is faid, that they turne backe and repulse Typhon with their Timbrels aforefaid, meaning thereby, that whereas corruption doth bind and 20 flay nature, generation agains unbindeth and letteth it a worke by the meanes of motion. Now the faid Sistrum being in the uppert partround, the curvature and Absis thereof comprehendeth foure things that are flirred and mooved: for that part of the world which is subject to generation and corruption, is comprehended under the sphære of the Moone, within which all things move and alter by the meanes of the foure elements, Fire, Earth, Water and Aire, upon the Absis or rundle of the Sistrum toward the toppe, they engrave the forme of a cat with a mans face; but beneath, under those things which are thaken, one while they engrave the visage of Ilis, another while of Nephthys; fignifying by these two faces, nativity and death: for these be the motions and mutations of the elements. By the cat, they understand the Moone, for the variety of the skin, for the operation and worke in the night feafon, and for the fruitfulneffe of this creature: for it is faid, that at first she beareth one kitling, at the second time two, the third time three, then foure, afterwards five, and fo to feven; fo that in all the brings foorth 28, which are the daies of every Moone. And howfoever this may feeme fabulous, yet for certeine it is true, that the appuls or fights of these cats are full and large when the Moone is at full; but contrariwile, draw in and become finaller as the Moone is in the wane. As for the vilage of aman, which they attribute unto the cat, they represent thereby the witty subtilty and reason about the mutations of the Moone. But to knit up all this matter in few words, reason would, that wee should thinke neither the Sunne nor the water, neither earth nor heaven to be Iss or Osriu; no more than exceeding drouth, extreame heat, fire and fea, is Typhon: but fimply, what loever in fuch things is out of measure & extraordinary either in excesse or defect, we ought to attribute 40 it unto Typhon: contrariwife, all that is well disposed, ordered, good and profitable, we must beleeve it to be the worke verily of Isis, but the image, example and reason of Osis: which if we honour and adore in this fort, we shall not sinne or do amisse: and that which more is, we shall remoove and flay the unbeliefe and doubtfull scrupulosity of Eudoxus, who asked the reason, why Ceres had no charge and superintendance over Love matters, but all that care lay upon 1/s, and why Bacehus could neither make the river Nilus to fwell and overflow, nor governe and rule the dead: for if we should alledge one generall and common reason for all, we deeme these gods to have beene ordeined for the portion and dispensation of good things, and whatsoever in nature is good and beautifull, it is by the grace and meanes of these deities; whiles the one yeeldeth the first principles, and the other receiveth and distributes the same : by which meanes 50 we thall be able to fatisfie the multitude, and meet with those mechanicall and odious fellowes; whether they delight in the change & variety of the aire, according to the feafons of the yere, or in the procreation of fruits, or in feednesse and tillings, appropriating and applying therto what hath beene delivered of these gods; wherein they take pleasure, faying, that Ofiris is interted, when the feed is covered in the ground; that he reviveth and rifeth againe to light, when it beginneth to spurt, And hecreupon it is said, that Isis when she perceiveth herselfe to be concei-

ved and with childe, hangeth about her necke a prefervative the fixth day of the moneth Phasphi, and is delivered of Harpocrates about the Solflice of Winter, being as yet unperfect, and come to no maturity in the prime of the first flowers and buds: which is the reason that they offerunto her the first fruits of Lentils new sprung, and solemnize the feast and holidates of her childbirth and lying in after the Acquinox of the Spring : for when the vulgat fortheare this, theyrest therein, take contentment, and beleeve it straightwaies, drawing a probability for beleele, out of ordinary things which are daily ready at hand. And verily, heerein there is no inconvenience, if first and formost they make these gods common, and not proper and peculiar unto the Aegyptians, neither comprise Nilus onely and the land which Nilus watereth, under to these names, nor in naming their Meeres, Lakes and Lotes, and the nativity of their gods, deprive all other men of those great gods, among whom there is neither Wilm, nor Butus, nor Memphis; yet nevertheleffe acknowledge and have in reverence the goddeffe Isis and other gods about her, of whom they have learned not long fince to name fome with the Aegyptian appellations: but time out of minde they knew their vertue and power, in regard whereof they have honoured and adored them. Secondly, which is a farre greater matter, to the end they fhould take heed and be affraied, left ere they be aware, they diffolve and diffipate these divine powers in tivers, winds, fowing, plowing and other paffions and alterations of the earth; as they do, who holde, that Bacches is wine, Fulcan the flame of fire, and Proferpina (as Cleanthes faid in one place) the spirit that bloweth and pierceth thorow the fruits of the earth. A Poet there was, 20 who writing of reapers and mowers, faid:

What time young men their hands to Ceres put, And her with hooks and fithes by piecemeale cut.

And in no respect differ they from those, who thinke the failes, cables, cordage and anchor, are the pilot; or that the thred and yarne, the warpe and woole, be the weaver; or that the goblet and potion cup, the Ptisane or the Mede and honied water, is the Physician. But verily in so doing, they imprint abfurd and blasphemous opinions of the gods, tending to Atheisme and impiety, attributing the names of gods unto natures and things lenselesse, livelesse and corruptible, which of necessity men use as the need them, and can not chuse but marre and destroy the fame. For we must in no wife thinke, that these very things be gods; for nothing can be a god 30 which hath no foule, and is subject to man and under his hand : but thereby we know, that they be gods who give us them to use, and for to be perdurable and sufficient: not these in one place, andthose in another, neither Barbarians nor Greeks, neither Meridionall nor Septentrionall; but like as the Sunne and Moone, the heaven, earth and fea, are common unto all, but yet in diversplaces called by fundry names: even so of one and the same intelligence that ordereth the whole world, of the same providence which dispenseth and governethall, of the ministerial powers subordinate over all, stundry honors and appellations according to the diversity of lawes have beene appointed. And the priests and religious, protessed in such ceremonies, use mysteries and facraments, some obscure, others more plaine and evident, to traine our understanding to the knowledge of the Deity: howbeit, not without perill and danger; for that fome miffing 40 the right way, are fallen into superstition; and others avoiding superstition as it were a bogge or quavernire, have run before they could take heed, upon the rocke of impiery. And therefore, it behoveth us in this case especially to be inducted by the direction of Philosophy, which may guide us in these holy contemplations, that we may woorthily and religiously thinke of every thing faid and done; to the end, that it befall not unto us as unto Theodorus, who faid, that the doctrine which he tendered and reached out with the right hand, some of his scholars received and tooke with the left; even fo, by taking in a wrong fenfe and otherwife than is meet and convenient, that which the lawes have ordeined touching feafts and facrifices, we grofly offend. For, that all things ought to have a reference unto reation, a man may fee and know by themfelves: for celebrating a feaft unto Mercurie the nineteenth day of the first moneth, they cat 50 hony and figges, faying withall, this Mot, Sweet uthe trueth. As to that Phylactery or prefer-Vative, which they fame Is to weare when she is with childe, by interpretation it signifiesh, A true voice. As for Harpocrates, we must not imagine him to be some young god, and not come to tipe yeeres, nor yet a man: but that he is the superintendant and reformer of mens language as touching the gods, being yet new, unperfect, and not diffinct nor articulate; which is thereason, that he holdeth a seale-ring before his mouth, as a signe and marke of taciturnity and filence. Also in the moneth Melori, they present unto him certeine kindes of Pulse,

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* Sai sussar. fome reade, that is to fay perfifteth.

faying withall, The tongue is Fortune: The tongue is Damon. Now of all plants which Agypt bringeth foorth, they confectate the Peach tree unto him especially, because the fruit resembleth an heart, and the lease a tongue: For of all those things which naturally arein man, there is nothing more divine than the tongue and speech, as touching the gods principally, neither in any thing commeth he necret unto beatitude : and therefore I advise and require every man who repaireth hither and commeth downe to this Oracle, to entertaine holy thoughts in his heart, and to utter feemly words with his tongue, whereas the common fort of people in their publicke feaths and folemne processions doe many ridiculous things, notwithstanding they proclaime and pronounce formally by the voice of the Crier and Bedil in the beginning of fuch folemnities, to keepe filence or speake none but good words: and yet to afterwards they cease not but to give out most blasphemous speeches and to thinke as basely of the gods. How then shall men behave and demeane themselves in those heavy and mournefull factifices from whence all mirth and laughter is banifled: if it be not lawfull either toomit any thing of the accustomed and usuall ceremonies, or to confound and mingle the opinions of the gods with abford and false suspicions? The Greeks doe many semblable things unto the Aepyptians even in maner at the very fame time: For at Athens in the feast called Thesmophoria to the honor of Ceres, the women doe fast, fitting upon the ground: And the Becotians make a rifling and remooving of the houses of Achea, naming this feast in the total fay, odious: as if Ceres were in heavineffe and forrow for the descent of her daughter Proferpma into hell; and this is that moneth wherein the starres called Pleiades appeare, and when the hus- 20 bandmen begin to fow, which the Aegyptians name Athyr, the Athenians Pyanepsion, and the Bocotians Damatrios, as one would fay Cerealis. And Theopompus writeth, that the people in habiting westward, doe both thinke and also call the Winter Saturne, the Summer Venu, and the Spring Proferpina: and that of Saturne and Venus all things be engendred. The Phrygians also imagining that God sleepeth all Winter, and lieth awake in Summer; thereupon celebrate in the one feafon, the feaft of lying in bed and fleeping; in the other of experiection or waking, and that with much drinking & belly chere, But the Paphlagonians fay, that he is bound and kept in ward as a prisoner during Winter, & in the Spring inlarged againe and set at liberty when he beginneth to stir and move. Now the very time giveth us occasion to suspect, that the heavy countenance & aufterity which they flow, is because the fruits of the earth be the hidden: 30 which fruits our ancients in times past never thought to be gods, but the profitable and necesfary gifts of the gods, availing much to live civilly, and not after a favage and beaftly maner. But at what time of the yeere as they faw the fruits from the trees to fall and faile at once; and those which themselves had sowen, with much adoe, by little and little opening and cleaving the earth with their owne hands and fo covering and hilling the fame, without any affired hope what would betide thereupon, and whether the fame would come to any proofe and perfection or no, they did many things like unto those that commit dead bodies to the earth, and mourne therefore. Moreover, like as we say, that he who buieth the bookes of Plato, buieth Plato: and who is the actour of Menandres comedies, is faid to act and play Menander: Semblably, they did not spare and sorbeare to give the names of the celestiall gods unto their gifts and inventi-40 ons, honouring the same with all reverence, for the use and need they had of them. But they who come after taking this grofely and foolifhly, and upon ignorance unskilfully returning upon the gods the accidents of their fruits; not onely called their presence and fruition, the nativity of the gods; and their abfence or want of them, the death and departure of the gods; but alfo beleeved to much and were perswaded fully so : In such wife, as they have filled themselves with many abfurd, leand and confused opinions of the faid gods. And yet verily, the error and abfurdity of their opinions they had evidently before their eies presented by Xenophanes the Colophonian, or other Philosophers after him, who admonished the Aegyptians, that if they repute them gods, they should not lament for them: and if they mourned, they should not take them for gods: as also that it was a rediculous mockery, in their lamentations to pray 50 unto them for to produce new fruits and bring them unto perfection for them, to the end that they might be confumed againe, & lamented for. But the case stands not so for they bewaile the fruits that are gone and spent, but they pray unto the gods the authors and givers thereof, that they would vouchfafe to bestow upon them new, and make them grow in supply of those which

were perithed &loft. Right well therefore was it faid of the Philosophers, that those who have

not learned to heare and take words aright, receive also and use the things themselves amisse

as for example, the Greeks who were not taught nor accustomed to call the statues of brasile and stone or painted images, the statues and images made to the honor of the gods, but the gods themselves : and afterwards were so bolde, as to say, that Lachares despoiled and stripped Minerva out of her clothes, and that Dionysius the tyrant polled Apollo who had a perruke or bulh of golden haire; also that Jupiter Capitolinus during the civill warres was burnt and confumed with fire. And thus they fee not, how in fo doing they draw & admit false and erroncons opinions which follow upon fuch maner of speeches. And herein the Aegyptians of all other nations, have faulted most, about the beasts which they honor & worship. For the Greeks verily in this point both beleeve and also speake well, saying that the dove is a bird facred unto Ve-10 nm, the dragon to Minerva, the raven or ctow to Apollo, and the dog to Disma, according to

The goddeffe Diana frining by night, In a dogs portraict will take much delight.

But the Aegyptians, at least wise the common fort of them, worthipping and honoring these very beafts as if they were gods themselves, have not onely pettered with laughter and ridiculous mockery their Leiturgie and divine service, (for ignorance and folly in this case is the least finne of all others) but allo there is crept into the midft of men a ftrong opinion, which hath fo farre possessed the simple and weaker fort, as that it bringeth them to mere superstition. And as for such as be of more quicke and witty capacity, and who besides are more audacious, those it 20 driveth headlong into beaftly cogitations and Athifticall discourses : And therefore I hold it not amiffe, curfarily and by the way to annexe hereto fuch things as cary fome probability and likelihood with them. For to fay, that the gods for feare of Typhon were turned into these creatures, as if they thought to hide themselves within the bodies of the blacke storkes called Hides, of dogges and haukes, paffeth all the monstrous woonders and fixions of tales that can be devifed. Likewise to hold, that the soules of those who are departed, so many as remaine still in being, are regenerate againe onely in the bodies of these beasts, is as absurd and incredible as the other. And as for those who will seeme to render a civilland politicke reason hecreof; fomegive out that Ofris in a great expedition or voiage of his, having divided his armie into many parts (fuch as in Greeke are called 2000 and and 5000, that is to fay, bands and companies) he 30 gave unto every of them for their severall enfignes the portractures and images of beasts: and each band afterwards honored their owne & had in reverence as some holy and facred thing, Others affirme, that the kings who fucceeded after Ofirin, for to terrify their enimies went forth to battell, carying before them, the heads of fuch beatls made in gold and filver, vpon their armes. Somethere beagaine, who alledge, that there was one of these their subtile and fine headed kings, who knowing that the Aegyptians of their owne nature were lightly disposed, ready to revoltand given to change and innovations, also that by reason of their great multitude, their power was hardly to be restrained and in maner invincible, in case they joined together in counfell and drew jointly in one common line, therefore he fowed among them a perpetual superstition, which gave occasion of diffention and enmity among them that never could be 40 appealed: For when he had given commandement unto them, for to have in reverence those beafts which naturally disagreed and warred together, even such as were ready to cat and devour one another, whiles every one endevoted alwaies to faccor and maintaine their owne, and were moved to anger if any wrong or displeasure were done to those which they affected; they sell together themselves by the cares ere they were aware and killed one another, for the enmity and quarell which was betweene those beasts whom they adored, and so fostered mutuall and mortall hatted. For even at this day, of all the Aegyptians the Lycopolitans onely, eat mutten, becanfe the wolfe whom they adore as a god is enimy unto theepe. And verily in this our age, the Oxyrinchites, because the * Cynopolites, that is to say, the inhabitants of the city Cynopolis, * Who work eat the fish named Oxyrinehos, that is to say, with the sharpe becke, when soever they can entrap shop the deg. 50 or catch a dogge, make no more adoe but kill him for a facrifice and cat him when they have

done. Vpon which occasion having levied warre one against the other, and done much mischiefe reciprocally, after they had beene well chastisfed and plagued by the Romans, they grew to attonement and composition. And for as much as many of them doe say, that the soule of Typhon, departed into these beasts, it seemeth that this fiction imported thus much, that every brunish and beastly nature, commeth and proceedeth from some cvill dæmon, and therefore to Pacific him that he doe no mischiese, they worship and adore these beasts. And if paradvenLaties or

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ture there happen any great drought or contagious heat which causeth pestilent maladies or other unuftiall and extraordinary calamities, the priefts bring forth some of those beafts which they serve and honor in the darke night, without any noise in great silence, menasing them at the first and putting them in fright. Now if the plague or calamity continue still, they kill and facrifice them, thinking this to be a punishment and chastisement of the faid evill dæmon, or else some great expiation for notable sinnes and transgressions. For in the city verily of Idithya. as Manethos maketh report, the maner is to burne men alive, whom they called Typhoni; whose ashes when they had boulted through a tamise, they scattered abroad, untill they were reduced to nothing: Butthis was done openly at a certaine time in those daies which are called Cynades or Canicular. Mary the immolation of these beasts, which they accounted facred, 10 was performed secretly and not at a certaine time or upon perfixed daies, but according to the occurrences of those accidents which happned. And therefore the common people neither knew nor faw ought, but when they folemnize their obsequies and funerals for them, in the prefence of all the people they show some of the other beasts and throw them together into the sepulcher, supposing thereby to vex and gall Typhon, and to represse the joy that he hath in doing mischiefe. For it seemeth that Apis with some other few beasts was consecrated to Ofiris : howfoever they attribute many more unto him. And if this be true, I suppose it importeth that which we feeke and fearch all this while, as touching those which are confessed by all, and have common honors; as the forefaid ftorke Ibis, the hauke and the Babian or Cynecephalia, yea and Api himselfe, for so they call the goat in the city Mendes. Now their remaineth the utility and fymbolization heereof: confidering that some participate of the one, but the most part of 20 both. For as touching the goat, the sheepe and the Ichneumon, certaine it is, they honor them for the use and profit they receiveby them : like as the inhabitants of Lemnos honor the birds called * Cerydali, because they finde out the locusts nests and quash their egges. The Theslalians also have the storkes in great account, because whereas their country is given to breed a number of ferpents, the faid florks when they come, kill them up all. By reason whereof they made an edict, with an intimation, that who foever killed a storke should be banished his country. The ferrent Aspir also, the wezill and the flie called the bettill, they reverence, because they observe in them I wot not what little slender images (like as in drops of water we perceive the refemblance of the Sunne) of the divine power. For many there be even yet, who both thinke and fay, that the male wezill engendreth with the female by her care, and that the bringeth forth her yoong at the mouth: which fymbolizeth as they fay, and representeth the making and generation of speech. As for the beetils, they hold, that throughout all their kinde there is no female, but all themales doe blow or cast their feed into a certaine globus or round matter in forme of bals which they drive from them and roll to and fro contrary waies, like as the Sunne, when he moveth himselfe from the west to the east, seemeth to turne about the heaven cleans contrary. The Affin also they compare to the planet of the Sunne, because he dothnever age and wax old, but mooveth in all facility, readineffe and celerity without the meanes of any instruments of motion. Neither is the crocodile set so much by among them, without some probable cause: For they say that in some respect he is the very image representing god: as being the onely creature in the world which hath no tongue: for as much as divine speech needeth neither voice nor tongue:

But through the paths of Justice walks with still and silent pace: Directing right all mortall things, in their due time and place.

And of all beafts living within the water, the crocodile onely (as men fay) hath over his eies a certeine thinne filme or transparent webbe to cover them, which commeth downe from his forehead in fisch fort, as that he can fee and not be seene: wherein he is conformable and like unto the sovereigne of all the gods. Moreover looke in what place the semale is discharged of her spawne, there is the utmost marke and limit of the rising and inundation of X_i fus: for being not able to lay their egges in the water, and affraid withall to sit far off, they have a most perfect and exquisit foresight of that which will be; insomuch as they make use of the rivers approach when they lay: and whiles they sit and cove, their egges be preserved drie, and are never drenched with the water. A hundred egges they lay, in so many daies they hatch, and as manic yeeres live they, which are longest lived: And this is the first and principall number that

that they use who treat of celestial matters. Moreover, as touching those beasts which are ho noted for both causes, we have spoken before of the dogge: but the Ibis or blacke storke, besides that it killeth those serpents whose pricke and sting is deadly, she was the first that taught us the use of that evacuation or clenfing the body by cliffre, which is so ordinarie in Physicke: for perceived the is to purge, clenfe, and mundifie her-felfe in that fort: whereupon the most religious priests, and those who are of greatest experience, when they would be purified, take for their holy water to sprinckle themselves with, the very same out of which the Ibis drinketh, for the never drinks of empoisoned and infected water, neither will the come neere unto it, Moreover, with her two legges standing at large one from the other, and her bill together, the to maketh an absolute triangle with three even sides, besides, the varietie and speckled mixture of her plume, confisting of white feathers and blacke, representeth the Moone when the is past the full. Now we must not marvell at the Aegyptians, for pleasing and contenting themselves in such slight representations and similitudes, for even the Greeks themselves as well in their pictures as other images of the gods, melted and wrought to any mould, used many times such refemblances: for one statue in Creta they had of Jupiter without cares, because it is not meant for him who is lord & governour of all, to have any instruction by the hearing of others, tinto the image of Pallas, Phidias the Imager fet a dragon; like as to that of Venus in the city of Elis a Tottoife: giving us by this to understand, that maidens had need of guidance and good custodie, and that maried woman ought to keepe the house and be filent. The three-forked mace of no Neptune, fignifieth the third place, which the fea and element of water holdeth, under heaven and aire; for which cause they called the sea Amphitrite, and the petie sea gods Tritons. Also the Pythagoreans have highly honored the numbers and figures Geometricall, by the gods names: for the triangle with three equal fides, they called Pallas, borne out of Jupiters braine, and Tritogenia, for that it is equally divided with three right lines, from three angles drawen by the plumbe. One or unitie they named Apollo,

As well for his perfusione grace; as plaine simplicitie, That doeth appeere in youthfull face, and this is unitie.

Two, they termed Contention and Boldneffe: and three Justice. For whereas to offend and be offended, to doe and to fuffer wrong, come the one by exceffe, and the other by defect, Just remaineth equally betweene in the middes. That famous quaternarie of theirs, named 7 etractrs. which confisteth of four enines, and amounteth to thirtie fixe, was their greatest oth, so rife in every mans mouth, & they called it the World, as being accomplished of the first four even numbers, and the first foure odde, compounded into one together. If then the most excellent and best renowned Philosophers, perceiving in things which have neither body nor soulc. some type and figure of deitic, have not thought it good to neglect or despise any thing herein, orpaffe it over without due honour, I suppose we ought much lesse so doe in those properties and qualities which are in natures fenfitive, having life, and being capable of paffions and 40 affections, according to their inclinations and conditions. And therefore we must not content our selves and rest in the worshipping of these and such like beasts, but by them adore the divinitie that shineth in them, as in most cleere and bright mirrors, according to nature, reputing them alwaies as the instrument and artificiall workemanship of God, who ruleth and governeith the univerfall world: neither ought we to thinke, that any thing void of life, and destitute offense, can be more woorthy or excellent than that which is endued with life and senses; no not although a man hung never formuch gold or a number of rich emerands about it: for it is neither colours nor figures, nor polished bodies, that deitie doeth inhabite in: but whatsoever doeth not participate life, nor is by nature capable thereof, is of a more base and abject condition than the very dead. But that nature which liveth and feeth, which also in it selfe hath the so beginning of motion and knowledge of that which is proper and meet, as also of that which is strange unto it, the same (I say) hathdrawen some influence and portion of that wise providence, whereby the univerfall world is governed, as Heraclitus faith. And therefore the deitie is no leffe represented in such natures, than in works made of braffe and stone, which are likewife subject to corruption and alteration, but over and besides, they are naturally voide of all lense and understanding. Thus much of that opinion, as touching the worthip of beasts, which 1 approove for best.

Morcover

Moreover the habilliments of I/n be of different tinctures and colours: for her wholepower confifteth and is emploied in matter which receiveth all formes, and becommeth all maner of things, to wit, light, darkneffe, day, night, fire, water, life, death, beginning and end. But the robes of Ofiris, have neither shade nor varietie, but are of one simple colour, even that which is lightforme and bright. For the first & primitive cause is simple; the principle or beginning, is without all mixture, as being fpiritual & intellegible. Whereupon it is that they make shew but once for all of his habiliments, which when they have done they lay them up againe and bestow them fafe and keepe them fo straightly, that no man may fee or handle them : whereas contrariwife they ale those of Isis many times: For that sensible things be in usage, and seeing they are ready and ever in hand, and be subject evermore to alternative alterations, therefore they be laid to abroad and displaced, for to be seene often. But the intelligence of that which is spirituall and intellectuall, pure, fimple, and holy, thining as a flath of lightning, offereth it felfe unto the foule but once, for to be touched and seene. And therefore Plato and Arifforle call this part of Philosophie Emorgically, for that those who discourse of reason, have passed beyond all matters fubject to mingled & variable opinions, leape at length to the contemplation of this first principle, which is simple, and not materiall: and after they have in some fort attained to the pure and fincere trueth of it, they suppose that their Philosophy as now accomplished is come to finall perfection. And that which the priefts in these dates are very precise and wary to shew, keeping it hidden and fecret with fo great care and diligence, allowing not fo much as a fight thereoffectely & by the way: also that this god raigneth & ruleth over the dead, and is no other 20 than he whom the Greeks name Hades and Pluto: the common people not understanding how this is true, are much troubled; thinking it very strange that the holy & facred Ofris should dwell within or under the earth, where their bodies lie who are thought to be come unto their finallend. But he verily is most farre removed from the earth, without staine or pollution, pure and void of all fubftance or nature, that may admit death or any corruption whatfoever. Howbeit the foules of men, fo long as they be heere beneath clad within bodies and paffions, can have no participation of God, unleffe it be formuch onely as they may attaine unto the intelligence of, by the study of Philosophy, and the same is but in maner of a darke dreame. But when they shall be delivered from these bonds, and passe into this holy place, where there is no patition, nor patible forme: then, the fame god is their conduction and king: then they cleave 30 unto him, as much as possible they can: him they contemplate and behold without fatietie: defiring that beautic, which it is not possible for men to utter and expresse: whereof according to the old tales, Ifis was alwaies inamoured: and having purfued after it untill the enjoied the fame, the afterwards became replenished with all goodnesse and beautiethat heere may be engendred. And thus much may fuffice for that fenfe and interpretation which is most befeeming the gods. Now if we must besides speake as I promised before of the incense and odors which are burnt every day: let a man confider first in his minde and take this with him, that the Aegyptians were men evermore most studious in those matters which made for the health of their bodies, but principally in this regard, they had in recommendation those that concerned the ceremonies of divine service in their fanctifications and in their ordinary life, and conversation; 40 wherein they have no leffe regard unto holfomnesse then to holinesse: For they thinke it neither lawfull nor befeeming to ferve that effence which is altogether pure, every way found and impolluted, either with bodies or foules corrupt with inward fores and subject to secret maladies. Seeing then, that the aire, which we most commonly use, and within which we alwaies converse, is not evermore alike disposed nor in the same temperature: but in the night is thickned and made groffe, whereby it compresset and draweth the body into a kind of sadnesse and pensivenesse, as if it were overcast with darke mists and waighed downe: so soone as ever they be up in a morning, they burne incense by kindling Rosin, for to clense and purific the aire by this rarefaction and fubrilization, awaking as it were and raifing by this meanes, the inbred fpirits of our bodies which were languishing and drowste : for that in this odor there is a forcible 50 vertue which vehemently flriketh upon the fenses. Againe, about noone, perceiving that the Sunne draweth forcibly out of the earth by his heat, great quantity of ftrong vapours, which be intermingled with the aire, then they burne myrth: For the heat of this aromaticall gum and odor is fuch, as that it diffipateth & dispatcheth whatsoever is groffe, thicke and muddy in the aire. And verily in the time of peftilence Physicians thinke to remedy the fame by making great fixes, being of this opinion, that the flame doth subtiliate and rarefie the aire:

which it effecteth no doubt the better in case they burne sweet wood, as of the Cypresse trees, of Juneper, or * Pitch tree. And hecreupon reported it is that the Phylician Acron, when there raigned a grievous plague at Athens, wan a great name and reputation, by caufing good fires to be made about the ficke persons: For he saved many by that meanes. And Aristotle writeth that the fweet fents and good finels of perfumes, ointments, flowers and fragrant medowes, ferve no leffe for health than for delight and pleasure. For that by their heat and mildenesse they gently diffolve and open rhefubltance of the braine, which naturally is cold and as it were congealed. Againe, if it befo that the Aegyptians call myrrh, in their language Bal, which if a man interpret fignifieth as much as the discussing and chasing away of idle talke and ravings to this also may serve for a testimonie to confirme that which we say. As for that composition among them named cyphi, it is a confection or mixture receiving fixteene ingredients. For thereenter into it, hony, wine, railins, cyperous, rofin myrrh, afpalathus & fefeli. Moreover, the fweetrush Schanos, Bitumen, Mosse, and the docke: Besides two forts of the juniper berries, the greater & the leffe, Cardamomum and Calamus. All these speeches are compounded together not at a venture and as it commeth into their heads: but there be read certaine facred writings unto the Apothecaries and Perfumers, all the while that they mix them. As for this number, although it be quadrate, and made of a fquare, and onely of the numbers equal, maketh the space contained within equall to his cercumference, we are not to thinke that this is any way materiall to the vertue thereof: but most of the simples that goe to this composition being 20 aromaticall, cast a pleasant breath from them and yeeld a delectable and holsome vapour, by which the aire is altered: and withall, the body being mooved with this evaporation, is gently prepared to repose, and taketh an attractive temperature of sleepe, in letting slacke and unbinding the bonds of cares, wearineffe and forrowes incident in the day time, and that without the helpe of furfet and drunkeneffe: polishing and smoothing the imaginative part of the braine which receiveth dreames in maner of a mirrour, caufing the fame to be pure and neat, as much or rather more, than the found of harpe, lute, viole, or any other instruments of musicke; which the Pythagoreans used for to procure sleepe, enchanting by that device, and dulcing the unreafonable part of the foule which is subject to passions. For sweet odors, as they doe many times excite and stirre up the sense when it is dull and beginneth to faile : so contrariwise they make 30 the same as often drowsie and heavy, yea and bring it to quietnesse, whiles those aromaticall finels by reason of their smoothnesse are spred and defused in the bodie: According as some Phylicians fay, that fleepe is engendred in us, when the vapour of the food which we have received, creepeth gently along the noble parts and principall bowels, and as it toucheth them, caufetha kinde of tickling which fulleth them afleepe. This Cyphi they use in drinke, as a compofition to feafon their cups and as an ointment befides: for they hold, that being taken in drinke, it scowreth the guttes within and maketh the belly laxative: and being applied outwardly as a liniment, it mollifieth the bodie. Over and above all this, Rosin is the worke of the Sunne: but Myrth they gather by the Moone light, out of those plants from which it doth destill: But of those simples whereof Cyphi is compounded, some there be which love the night better, as ma-40 ny Imeane as be nourished by cold windes, shadowes, dewes, and moisture. For the brightneffe and light of the day is one and fimple: and Pindarus faith that the Sunne is seene through the pure and folitarie aire: whereas the aire of the night is a compound and mixture of many lights and powers, as if there were a confluence of many feeds from every starre running into one. By good right therefore they burne these simple persumes in the day as those which are engendred by the vertue of the Sunne: but this being mingled of all forts and of divers qualities, they fet on fire about the evening, and be-

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ginning of the

night.



OF THE ORACLES THAT HAVE CEASED TO GIVE ANSWERE.

The Summarie.



He spirit of errour hath endewoured alwaies and assaich the best be can, tomainteine his power and dominion in the world, having after the revolt and fall of Adam beene summished within struments of all sorts to tyrannize over his slaves. In which number we are to range the oracles and predictions of certaine idoles erected in many places by his instigation; by meanes whereof, this sworne enemy to the glory of the true God,

hath much prevailed. But when it pleased our heavenly father to give us his sonne for to be our Savi- 20 our, who descending from heaven to earth, tooke upon him our humane nature, wherein he susteined the paine and punishment due for our sinnes, to deliver us out of hell, and by vertue of his merits, to give us entrance into the king dome of heaven, the trueth of his grace being published and made knowenin the world by the preaching of the Apostles and their faithfull successours; the Divell and his angels, who had in many parts and places of the world abused and deceived poore idolaters, were forced to acknowledgetheir Sovereigne, and to keepe silence and suffer him to speake unto those whom he meant to call unto salvation or els to make them unexcusable if they refused to heare his voice. This cessition of the Oracles put the priests and sacrificers of the the Painims to great trouble and woonderfull perplexitie, in the time of the Romane Emperours: whiles some imputed the cause to this, others to that. But our authour in this Treatife discourseth upon this question, shewing thereby, how great and lamentable is 30 the blindnesse of mans reason and wisedome, when it thinketh to atteine unso the secrets of God. For all the speeches of the Philosophers, whom he bringeth in heere as interlocutours, are meere tales and fables devised for the nonce, which every Christian man of any meane judgement will at the first sight condemne. Yet thus much good there is in this discourse, that the Epicureans are here taxed and condemned in fundry paffages. As touching the contents of this conference, the occasion thereof wiseth from the speech of Demetrius and Cleombrotus, who were come unto the Temple of Apollo : for the one of them having rehearfed a woonder as touching the Temple of Jupiter Ammon, moveth thereby a further defire of disputation : but before they enter intoit, they continue still the former speech, of the course and motion of the Sunne. Afterwards, they come to the maine point, namely, Why all the Oracles of Greece (excepting that onely of Lebadia) ceased ? Towhich demand, Planetis des 40 a Cynique Philosopher answereth, That the wickednesse of men is the cause thereof. Ammonitisentravivise attributesh all unto the warres which had consumed the Pilgrims that used to resort unto the faid Oracles. Lamprias proposeth one opinion, and Cleombrotus inferring another of his, fall int sa discourse and common place as touching Damons, whom he verily raungeth betweene gods and inen, diffusing of their nature, according to the Philosophie of the Greeks. Then he proveth, that these Damons have the charge of Oracles, but by reason that they departed out of one countrey into another, or died, these Oracles gave over. To this purpose he telleth a notable tale as touching the death of the great Pan, concluding thus, that feeing Damons be mortall, we ought not to woonder at the coffation of Oracles. After this, Ammonius confuteth the Epicureans, who holde, That there be no Darrons. Andupon the confirmation of the former positions, they enter together into the examinatio of the 10 opinions of the Epicureans and Platonifts, concerning the number of the worlds, to wit, whether they be many or infinit ? growing to this resolution after long dispute, that there bemany, and nanely, to the number of five. Which done, Demetrius reviving the principall question, movet halfo a sew one Why the Damons have this power to speake by Oracles? Unto which there be many and dispers on weres made, which determine all in one Treatife according to the Platonists Philosophie, of the principall, of fictent and finall cause, of those things that are effected by reason, and particularly of sevenations and predictions:

predictions: for which, he maket b to concurre, the Earth, the Sunne, Exhalations, Damons, and the Soule of man. Now all the intention and drift of Plutarch groweth to this point, that the earth being incited and moved by a natural vertue, and that which is proper unto it, and in no wife divine and perdurable, hath brought forth certaine powers of divination: that these inspirations breathing and ariling out of the earth, have touched the under standings of me with such efficacy, as that they have cauleathem to foresee future things afarre off and long ere they hapned; yea, and have addressed and framed them to give answere both in verse and prose. Item, that like as there be certeine grounds and lands more fertile one than the other, or producing some particular things according to the divers and peculiar proprietie of ech: there be also certeine places and tracts of the world endued with this tem-10 perature, which both ingender and also incite these Enthusiaque and divining spirits. Furthermore, that this puissance is meere divine indeed; howbest, not per peruall, eternall, unmoveable, nor that which is for ever perdurable; but by processe and succession of sime, doth diminish and decay by little and little, untill at length through age it consume to nothing. Semblably, that this great number of spirits are not engendred incessantly, neither proceed they forward or retire backe continually; but this vertue of the earth moveth of it felfe incerteiner evolutions, and by that meanes is enchafed and puffed up: and after that in time it hath gathered abundance of new vapours, it filleth the caves and holes fo full untill they discharge & send them up againe. Wheruponit commeth to passe, that the exhalations stirred in the laid caves, and desirous to iffue forth, after that they have beene beaten backe againe, violently affaile the foundations, and stirre the temples built upon them, in such fort, as being shaken as it were by 20 earthquakes, more or leffe in one place than another, according to the avertures and paffages madefor theexhalation, they finde is fue through the streights, breake forth with forcible violence, and so produce these Oracles. In summe, the intention and minde of Pluvarch is to prove that the beginning, progresse and end of these Oracles proceed all from naturall causes, to wit, the exhalations of the carth. Wherein he is fouly and grofty deceived, confidering that fuch Oracles in Greece have been einspired by the divell, who hath kept an open shop there of imposture, deceits, and the most horrible seducements that can bedevised. For mine owne part, I impute this whole discourse of Plutarch unto the ignorance of the true God, the very mother of this dispight, which bringeth forth this present treatise, saved by the Pagans, for to darken the resplendent light of that great King of the world and his trueth: which bath discussed and brought to nothing all the subtill devices of Satan, who triumphed over all Greece by 30 themeanes of his Oracles. Thus after large discourses upon these matters, Plutarch conclude this he whole disputation: the conclusion whereof he enricheth with an accident that befelunto the Prophetesse of Delphi; where aman may evidently fee the imposture and fraud of divels and of malicious spiries (and those be the Damons which Plutarch would designe) and their horrible tyranny over men destituteof Gods grace.

OF THE ORACLES THAT have ceased to give answers.



Here goeth a tale, my friend Teremius Priscus, that in times past certeine Eagles, or els Swannes, stying from the utmost ends of the earth opposit one unto the other, toward the mids there of encounted & met together at the very place where the temple of Apollo Pz-thius was built, even that which is called Omphalos, that is fay, the Navill. And that afterwards, Epimenides the Phæstian being desirenses know whether this fable was true, sought unto the Oracle for to be resolved; but having received from the god a doubtfull and uncerteine answere; by reason thereof, made these verses:

Now (ure in mids of land or fea, there is no Navill fuch; Or if there be, the gods it know: men must not see so much.

And verily the god Apollo chatticed and punished him well enough, for being so curious as to fearch into the triall or proofe of an olde received tale, as if it had beene some antique picture. But true it is, that in our daies, a little before the solemnity of the Pythique games, which were Ttttt held

* ¿pé)).: mu.

held during the magistracy of Calliffratus, there were two devout & holy personages, who comming from the contrary ends of the earth, met together in the city of Delphi: the one was Demetrius the Grammarian, who came from as farre as * Britaine, minding to returne unto Tarfusin Cilicia, the city of his nativity; and the other, Cleombrosus the Lacedæmonian, who had travelled and wandered long time in Acgret within the Troglodytique province, and failed a good way up into the Red sea, not for any traffique or negotiation of merchandise, but onely as a traveller that defired to fee the world and to learne new fashions abroad. For having wherewith fufficiently to mainteine himselfe, and not caring to gather more than might serve his owne turne, he emploied that time which he had, this waies, and gathered together a certeine hiftory. as the subject, matter and ground of that Philosophy, which proposed for the end thereof (ashe 10 himselse said) Theologie. This man having not long before beene at the temple and Oracle of Jupiter Ammon, made semblance as if he woondered not much at any thing that he sawthere; only he reported unto us a strange thing, worth the observation, and better to be considered of. which he learned of the Priefts there, as touching the burning lampe that never goeth out: for by their faying, every yeere it spendeth lesse oile than other. Whereby they gather certainly (quoth he) the inequality of the yeeres, whereby the latter is evermore thorter than the former: for great probability there is, that feeing leffe oile is confumed, the time also is in proportion fo much leffe. Now when all the company there prefent made a woonder heereat, Demetrius among the rest made a very jest of it, and said it was a meere mockery to search into the knowledge of matters fo high, by fuch flight and finall prefumptions : for this was not, as Alcaus 20 faid, to paint a lion by meature of his claw or paw, but to move and alter heaven, and earth, and all the world, by the conjecture onely of a weike and lampe; yea, and to overthrow at once all the Mathematicall sciences. It is neither so nor so, good fir, quoth Cleombrotus; for neither the one nor the other will trouble these men. For first, they will never yeeld and give place unto the Mathematicians in the certitude of their proofs; for looner may the Mathematicians mifreckon the time, and miffe in their calculation and accounts, in fuch long motions and revolutions fo farre remote and diffant, than they faile in the measure of the oile which they observe continually and marke most precisely, in regard of that which they see so strange and against all discourse of reason. Againe, not to grant and allow (ô Demetrius) that petie things may many times serve for signes and arguments of great and important matters, would hinder and preju-30 dice many arts, confidering that it is as much as to take away the proofs from many demonstrations, conclusions and predictions. And verily, even you that are Grammarians, will seeme to verific and avow one point which is not of the least consequence: namely, that those heroique princes and Worthies, who were at the Trojane warre, used to thave their haire, and keepe their skin smooth with the rasour; because for sooth in reading of Homer you meet with some place where he maketh mention barely of the rafour. Semblably, that in those daies men used to put forth their money upon usury, for that in one passage the said Poet writeth thus:

Whereas my debt is neither new nor small:

But as daies come and goe, it * growes withall.

Meaning by the verbe \$783255, that his debt did grow unto him by the interest for use. Further- 40 more, because ever and anon the same Homer attributeth unto the night, the epithet boil, which fignifieth Quicke and sharpe; you Grammarians are much affected to this word, faying: He understandeth thereby, that the shadow of the earth being round, groweth point-wife or sharp at the end, in maner of a cone or pyramis. And what is he, who standing upon this point, that small things may not be the proofes and signes of greater matters; will approove this argument in Phylicke: namely, that when there is a multitude of spiders seene, it doeth prognotticate a peffilent Summer : or in the Spring feafon, when the leaves of the olive tree refemble the crowes-feet? Who (I fay) will ever abide to take the measure of the Sunnes body, by clepsydres or water-dials, with a gallon or pinte of water or that a tyle-formed tablet, making a sharpe angle by the plumbe, enclining upon a plaine superficies, should show the just measure of the 50 elevation of pole from the Horizon, which alwaies is to befeene in our Hemisphære? Loc, what the priests and prophets in those parts may alledge and say. And therefore we ought to produce some other reasons against them, in case we would mainteine the course of the Sunne to be constant and unvariable, as we hold heere in these countries. And not of the Sunne onely, (cried out with a loud voice Ammonius the Philosopher, who was then in place) but also of the whole heaven, which by this reckoning commeth in question. For if it be granted, that the

yeeresdecrease: the race of the Sunne which he runneth betweene the one Tropique and the other, must of necessity be cut shorter, and that it taketh not up so great apart of the Horizon. as the Mathematicians fet downe; but that it becommeth shorter, and lesse according as the Southernor Meridionall parts be contracted, and gather alwaies toward the Septentrionall and Northerne. Whereupon it will enfue that our Summer will be shorter, and the temperature of the aire by confequence colder; by reason that the Sunne turneth more inwardly, and defenbeth greater paralelles, or equidiffant circles, than those be about the Tropicks, at the longest and shortest daies of the yeere. Moreover, this would follow hecreupon, that the Gnomons in the dials at Syene in Agypt, will be no more shadowlesse at the Summer Tropicke to or Solftice; and many of the fixed starres will runne under one another; fome also of them wil beforced for want of roome to runne one upon another, and be hudled pell-mell together. And if they shall say, that when other starres hold their owne, and keepe their ordinary courfes, the Sunne onely observeth no order in his motions, they cannot alledge any cause that should so much as hasten his motion alone among so many others as there be, but they shall trouble and disquiet most of those things which are seene evidently above : and namely, those generally which happen unto the Moone in regard of the Sunne. So that we shall have no need ofthose, who observe the measures of oile, for to proove the diversitie of the yeeres; because the ecclipses both of the Moone and Sun will sufficiently shew if there be any at all, for that the Sun thall many times meet with the Moone, and the Moone reciprocally fall as often within 20 the shadow of the earth: so as we shall need no more to display and discover the vanity and falfitte of this reason. Yea, but I my felfe (quoth Cleombrotus) have feene the faid measure of oile, for they thewed many of them unto me; and that of this prefent yeere when I was with them, appeared to be much leffe than those in yeeres past. So that Ammonius made answer in this wife: And how is it that other men who adore the inextinguible fires, who keepe and preferve the same religiously for the space of an infinit number of yeeres, one after another, could not as well perceive and observe so much? And say that a man should admit this report of yours to betrue as touching the measures of the oile: were it not much better to ascribe the cause thereof unto some coldnesse or moisture of the aire; or rather contrariwise to some drinesse and heat, by reason whereof, the fire in the lampe being enseebled is not able to spend so much nu-30 timent, and therefore hath no need thereof? For I have heard it many times affirmed by some: That in Winter the fire burneth much better, as being more stronger & more fortified, by reafon that the heat thereof is drawen in, more united and driven closer by the exterior colde: whereas great heats and droughts doe weaken the strength thereof, so as it becomment faint, loofe, and rawe without any great vehemencie and vigour; nay, if a mankindle it against the Sunne-shine, the operation of it is lesse, hardly catcheth it hold of the wood or sewell, and more flowly confumeth it the fame. But most of all, a man may lay the cause upon the oile it selfe; forit goeth not against reason to say, that in old time the oile was of lesse nutriment, and stood moreupon the waterish substance than now it doth, as pressed out of olives which grew upon yoong trees: but afterwards being better concocted, and riper in the fruit, comming of plants 40 more perfect and fully growen in the fame quantity, was more effectuall, and able longer to nourish and mainteine the fire. Thus you see how a man may falve and save that supposition of the Ammonian priefts, although it feeme very strange and woonderfully extravagant, After that Ammonius had finished his speech: Nay rather (quoth I) Cleombrotus, I beseech you tell us somewhat of the oracle: for there hath gone a great name, time out of minde of the deity residentthere; but now it feemeth that the reputation thereof is cleane gone. And when Cleambrotus made no answer hecreto, but held downe his head, and cast his cies upon the ground: There is no neede (quoth Demetrius) to demaund or make any question of the oracles there, when as we see the oracles in these parts to faile, or rather indeed (all fave one or two) brought to nothing. This rather would be enquired into, what the cause should be, that generally they 50 all doe cease? For to what purpose should we speake of others, considering that Beesia it selfe, which heeretofore in old time refounded and rung againe with oracles; now is quite voide of them, as if the springs and fountaines were dried up, and a great ficcitie and drought of oracles had come over the whole land? For there is not at this day, goe throughout all Baotia, (unleffeit be onely in Lebadia) one place where a man may, would he never to faine, draw any divination, what need foever he hath of any oracle: for all other parts are either mute, or altogether defolate and forlorne. And yet in the time of the Medes warre, the oracle of Ptous Apollo Ttttt 2

was in great request, and that of Amphiaraus was in no lesse reputation; for both the one and the other was fought unto. And in that of Ftous Apollo when the prieft or prophet who ferved in the oracle, used the Acolian language, and made answer unto those who were sent thither from the Barbarians, infomuch as none of the affiftants understood one word: this Enthusiasmeor divine inspiration, covertly gave thereby thus much to understand, that these oracles perteined nothing unto the Barbarians, neither were they permitted to have the ordinary Greeke language at their command. As for that of Amphiaraus, the servant who was thither sent, falling a fleepe within the fanctuarie, thought as he dreamed, that he faw and heard the minister of the god, as if with his word and voice he feemed at the first to drive him out, and command him to depart foorth of the temple, faying, that his god was not there; but afterwards to thrust him to away with both his hands: but in the end, feeing that he staid still, tooke up a great stone, and therewith finot him upon the head. And verily all this answered just to that which afterwards befell, and was a very prediction and denunciation of a future accident: for Mardoniwas vanquished not by the king himselfe, but by the Tutour and lieutenant of the king of La. cedamon, who at that time had the conduct and command of the Greeks armie; yea and with a flone felled to the ground, according as the Lydian fervant aforefaid imagined in his fleepe that he was fmitten with a stone. There stonrished likewise about the same time the Oracle of Tegyra, where the report goeth that the god Apollo himselfe was borne: and verily two rivers there are that runne neere one to the other, whereof the one fome at this day call Phanix, that is to fay, the date tree; the other Elea, that is to fay, the olive tree. At this Oracle, during the 30 time of the Medes warre, when the prophet Echecrates there ferved, god Apollo answered by his mouth, that the Greeks should have the honour of the victory in this warre, and continue fingerior. Also in the time of the Peloponnesiaque warre, when the Delians were driven out of their Island, there was brought unto them an answer from the Oracle at Delphi; by vertue whereof, commanded they were, to fearch and feeke out the place where Apollo was borne, and there to performe certeine facrifices: whereat, when they marvelled, and in great perplexity demaunded againe, whether Apollo were borne any where elfe, but among them? the propheteffe Pythia added moreover & faid: That a crow should tell them the place. Whereupon these deputies who were fent unto the Oracle, in their returne homeward chanced to paffethrough the city Cheronea, where they heard their hostessein whose house they lodged, talking with some 30 patterngers and guests (who were going to Tegyra) as touching the Oracle; and when they departed and tooke their leave, they faluted her, and bad her farewell in these termes: Adieu dame Cornice, for that was the womans name, which fignifieth as much as Crow. By this meanes they understood the meaning of the forfefaid Oracle or answer of Pythia: and so when they had sacrificed at Tegra, not long after they were reflored and returned into their native countrey. Moreover, there were other apparitions besides of Oracles, more fresh and later, than those which we have alledged; but now they are altogether cealed: fo that it were not amiffe, confidering that we are met neere unto Apollo Pythius, for to enquire into the cause of this so great change & alteration. As we thus communed & talked together, we were now by this time gone out of the temple, so farre as to the very gates of the Guidian hall: and when we were entred 40 into it, we found those friends of ours fitting there within, whom we defired to meet withall, and who attended our comming. Now when all the reft were at leifure, and had nothing elfe to doe (being at fuch a time of the day) but either to anoint their bodies, or elfe looke upon the champions and wreftlers, who there exercised themselves; Demetrius after a smiling maner began and faid:

What? were I best to tell some lie, Or makereport of truth shall 1?

It feemeth as fare as I can perceive, that you have in hand no matter of great consequence: for I sawyou sitting at your case, and it appeareth by your cheerefull and pleasant looks, that you have no busic thoughts hammering in your heads. True it is indeed (quoth Heraeleo the Mesogarians) for we are not in serious argument & disputation about the verbe sainway, whether in the Future tense it should lose one of the two Landaes meither reason we about these two comparatives sain as shower (that is to say, Worse and better) of what Positives they should come more of what Primitives these two Superlatives sains & Banner (that is to say, Worst and best) be derived? For these questions & such like, are those that make menkint and bend their browes: but of all other matters we may reason and Philosophize well enough and quietly, without making

any furrowes in our forheads, and looking with an auftereand foure countenance for the matter upon the companie present with us. Why then (quoth Demetrius) admit and receive us into your focietie, and together with us, enterteine the question also, which erewhile was moved among us, being as it is, meet for this place, and in regard of god Apollo, pertinent unto us all as many as we be: but I befeech you of all loves, let us have no frowning nor knitting of browes whiles we reason upon the point. Now when we were set intermingled one with another, and that Demetrius had propounded the foresaid question, immediately Didymus the Cynique Philosopher, furnamed Planetiades, started up, and stood upon his feete; and after he had stamped with his staffe twife or thrice upon the floore, cried out in this maner: O God! Come you heto ther with this question indeed, as if it were a matter so hard to be decided, and had need of fome long and deepe inquisition? for a great marvell no doubt it is, if seeing so much sinne and wickednesse is spred over the face of the whole world at this day, not onely shame and just indignation or Nemefis (according as Hefiodus prophefied before) have abandoned mans life; but also the providence of God being dislodged and carying away with it all the Oracles that be, is cleane departed and gone for ever? But contrariwife I will put foorth unto you another matter to be debated of : namely, how it comes to passe, that they have not rather already given over every one? and why Hercules is not come againe, or some other of the gods, and bath not long fince plucked up and carried away the three-tooted table and all, being fo full ordinarily of shamefull, vilanous and impious demands, proposed there daily to Apollo? whiles some preferre matters unto him as a Sophifter, to trie what he can fay; others aske him concerning treature hidden; some againe would be resolved of succession in heritages, and of incessions and unlawfull marriages? Infomuch as now Pythagoras is manifefully convinced of errour and lefing, who faid, that men were then best, and excelled in goodnesse, when they presented themfelves before the gods: for fuch things as it would well before to hide and conceale in the presence onely of some ancient personage (I means the soule maladies and passions of the foule) the fame they discover and lay abroad naked before Apollo. And as he would have gone forward ftill, and profecuted this theame, both Heracleon plucked him by the cloke, and I also (who of all the company was most familiar & inward with him) Peace (quoth I) my good friend Planetiades, and ceafe to provoke Apollo against you: for a cholericke and testic god he is, and 30 not milde and gracious; but according as Pindarus faid very well:

Misdeem' d he is, and thought amisse: To bee Most kinde to men, and full of lentie.

And were he either the Sunne, or the lord and father of the Sunne, or a fubstance beyond all visible natures, it is not like and probable, that he would distance to speake any more unto men at this day living, of whose generation, nativity, nourithment, being, and understanding, he is the cause and author; neither is it credible, that the divine providence, which is a good, kinde, and tender mother, produceth and preserveth all things for our use, should shew herselfe to be malicious, in this matter onely of divination and prophesse; and upon an old grudge and rankot, to be reave us of that which at first she gave us, as if for sooth even then when Oracles were tis in all parts of the world, there was not in so mightie a multitude of men, the greater number of wicked. And therefore make Pythicke truce (as they say) for the while with vice and wickednesse, which you are ever woont to chastice and rebuke in all your speeches, and come and sit downe heere by us againe, that together with us you may tearch out some other cause of this generall echipse and cellation of Oracles, which how is in question: but with all remember that you keepe this god Apollo propitious, and moove him not to wrath and displeasure.

But these words of mine wrought so with *Planeriades*, that without any word replying, out of the dores he went his waies. Now when the company sat still for a prety while in great silence, *Immonius* at length directing his speech to me: I beseech you (quoth he) *Lamprias*, take better heed unto that which we doe, and looke more neerely into the matter of this our difformation, to the end that we cleere not the god altogether, and make him to be no cause at all that the Oracles doe cease. For he who attributes this sessation unto any other cause than the will and ordinance of God, giveth us occasion to suspect him also, that he thinkes they never were not be at this present by his disposition, but rather by some other meanes: for no other cause and putiliance there is, more noble, more mighty, or more excellent, which might be able to desitoy and about the divination, if it were the worke of God. And as touching the discourse that *Planeriades* made, it please them never a whit: neither can I approace thereof, as well for

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other causes, as for that he admitteth a certaine inequality and inconstance in the god. For one while he maketh him to detest and abhorre vice, and another while to allow and accept thereof: much like unto some king or tyrant rather, who at one gate driveth out wicked persons, and receiving them in at another doth negotiate with them. But seeing it is so, that the greatest worke which can be fufficient in it felfe, nothing superfluous, but fully accomplished every way is most beforming the dignity and majesty of the gods, let this principle be supposed and laied for a ground, and then a man in mine opinion may very well fay, that of this generall defect and common scarcity of men, which civill feditions and warres before time have brought generally into the world, Greece hath felt the greatest part : infomuch as at this very day, hardly is all Greece able to make three thousand men for the warres, which are no more in number than one city in times past (to wit, Megara) fet forth and sent to the battell of Plataa : and therefore, whereas the god Apollo in this our age hath left many oracles, which in ancient time were much frequented, if one should inferre hecreupon and fay, that this argueth no other thing but that Greece is now much depopulate & dispeopled, in comparison of that which it was in old time, I would like well of his invention, and furnish him sufficiently with matter to discourse upon. For what would it boot, and what good would come of it, if there were now an Oracle at Tegra as sometime there was , or about Proum? whereas all the day long a man shall paradventure meet with one, and that is all, keeping and feeding cattell there. And verily it is found written in histories, that this very place of the Oracle where now we are, which of all others in Greece is for antiquity right antient, and for reputation most noble and renowmed, was in times past 20 for a great while defert and unfrequented; nay unacceffable altogether, in regard of a most venimous and dangerous beaft, even a dragon which haunted it. But those who write this, doe not collect hecreupon the ceffation of the Oracle aright, but argue cleane contrary : for it was the solitude and infrequency of the place that brought the dragon thither, rather than the dragon that caused the said desert solitarinesse. But afterwards when it pleased God, that Greece was fortified againe and replenished with many cities, and this place well peopled and frequented, they used two Prophetesses, who one after the other in their course descended into the cave and there fat; yea and a third there was befides chosen, as a fuffragane or affiltant to fit by them and helpe if need were: but now there is but one Propehtesse in all, and yet we complaine not; for the onely is sufficient for all commers that have any occasion to use the Oracle. And 30 therefore we are in no wife to blame or accuse the god: for that divination and spirit of prophefie which remaineth there at this day, is sufficient for all, and sendeth all suiters away well contented, as having their full dispatch and answere for whatsoever they demand. Like as therefore Agamemnon in Homer had nine Heraults or Criers about him, and yet hardly with them could he containe and keepe in order the affembly of the Greeks being fo frequent as then it was; but now within these sew daies you shall see heere the voice of one man alone able to resound over the whole Theater, and to reach unto all the people their contained: even fo, we must thinke, that this divination and spirit of prophely in those daies used many organs and voices to speake unto the people, being a greater multitude than now there be. And therefore we should on the other tide rather wonder, if God would suffer to run in vaine like waste water, this propheticall divination: or to refound againe, like as the defert rockes in the wide fields and mountaines ring with the refonance and ecchoes of heard-mens hollaing, and beafts bellowing. When Amenonius had thus faid, and I held my peace, Cleombrotus addressing his speech unto me : And grant you indeed (quoth he) thus much, that it is the god Apollo, who is the authour and overthrower also of these Oracles? Not so, answered I, for I maintaine and hold, that God was never the cause of abolishing any Oracle or divination whatsoever: but contrariwise, like as where he produceth and prepareth many other things for one use and behoofe, nature bringeth in the corruption and utter privation of some; or to say more truely, matter being it selfe privation, or subject thereto, avoideth many times and dissolveth that which a more excellent cause hath composed: even so I suppose there be some other causes, which darken and abolish the vertue of 50 divination, confidering that God bestoweth upon men many faire & goodly gifts, but nothing perdurable & immortall: in such fort as the very workes of the gods do die, but not themselves, according as Sophoeles faith. And verily the Philosophers and naturalists, who are well exercifed in the knowledge of nature and the primitive matter, ought indeed to fearch into the substance, property and puissance of Oracles, but to reserve the original and principal cause for God, as very meet and requifit it is that it should so be. For very foolish and childish it is that

Why Oracles cease to give answers.

the god himfelfe, like unto those spirits speaking within the bellies of possessed folkes, such as in old time they called Eugastrimithi, and Euryclees, and be now termed Pythons, entred into the bodies of Prophets, spake by their mouthes, and used their tongues and voices as organs and instruments of speech : for he that thus intermedleth God among the occasions and neceffities of men, maketh no spare as he ought of his majesty, neither carieth he that respect as is meet, to the preservation of the dignity and greatnesse of his power and vertue. Then Cleombrotus: You say very well and truely (quoth he:) but for as much as it is a difficult matter to comprise and define in what maner, and how farre forth, and to what point we ought to employ this divine providence: in my conceit, they who are of this minde, that fimply God is cause of to nothing at all in the world, and they againe, that make him wholly the authour of all things; hold not a meane and indifferent course, but both of them misse the very point of decent mediocrity. Certes as they fay paffing well, who hold that Plato having invented and devised that element or fubject, upon which grow and be engendred qualities, the which one while is called the primitive matter, and otherwhile nature, delivered Philosophers from many great difficulties: even so me thinks, they who ordained a certaine kinde by themselves of Dæmons betweene god and men, have affoiled many more doubts and greater ambiguities by finding out that bond and linke (as it were) which joineth us and them together in fociety: Were in the opinion that came from the ancient Magi and Zoroasties, or rather a Thracian doctrine delivered by Orpheus; or els an Aegyptian or Phrygian tradition, as we may conjecture by feeing the fa 20 crifices both in the one countrey and the other: wherein, among other holy and divine ceremonies, it feemeth there were certeine dolefull ceremonies of mourning and forrow intermingled, favouring of mortality. And verily of the Greeks, Homer hath used these two names indifferently, terming the Gods Dæmons, and the Dæmons likewife Gods. But He fiedne was the first who purely & distinctly hath set downe source kinds of reasonable natures, to wit, the Gods: then the Dæmons, and those many in number and all good: the Heroes and Men; for the Demi-gods are ranged in the number of those Heroicke worthies. But others hold, that there is a transmutation as well of bodies as soules: and like as we may observe, that of earth is ingendred water, of water aire, and of aire fire, whiles the nature of the substance still mounteth on high: even so the better soules are changed, first from men to Heroes or Demi-gods, and afterwards 30 from them to Dæmons, and of Dæmons some sew after long time, being well refined and purified by vertue, came to participate the divination of the gods. Yet unto some it befalleth, that being not able to holde and conteine, they fuffer themselves to slide and fall into mortall bodies againe, where they lead an obscure and darke life, like unto a smoaky vapour. As for He sodus, hethinketh verily, that even the Dæmons also, after certeine revolutions of time, shall die; for speaking in the person of one of their Nymphs called Manades, covertly and under anigmaticall termes he defigneth their time, in this wife:

Nine * ages of men * in their flower, doth live The * railing Crow: foure times the Stags furmount The life of Crowes : to Ravens dothnature give Athreefold age of Stags, by true account: One Phanix lives as long as Ravens nine; But you faire Nymphs, as the daughters verily Of mighty Jove and of nature divine, The Phanix yeeres ten fold do multiply.

But they that understand not well, what the Poet meaneth by this word goed, make the totall sum of this time to amount unto an exceeding great number of yeeres. For in trueth it is but one

yeere and no more. And so by that reckening, the whole ariseth in all to nine thousand seven hundred and twenty yeeres just; which is the very life of the Dæmons. And many Mathematicians there be, by whose computation it is lesse. But more than so Pindarus would not have it, 50 when he faith, that the Nymphs age is limited equall to trees; whereupon they be named Hamadryades, as one would fay, living and dying with Okes. As he was about to fay more, Demetriuinterrupted his speech, and taking the words out of his mouth: How is it possible, quoth he, ô Cleombrotus, that you should make good and mainteine, that the Poet called the age of man, a yeere onely and no more? for it is not the space either of his flower and best time, nor of his olde age, according as some reade it in Hesiodus: for as one reads is the row, that is say, flourithing; so, another readeth preferror, that is to say, aged. Now they that would have it to be

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il division, put downe for the age of man, thirty yeeres, according to the opinion of Heraelitus which is the very time that a father hath begotten a sonne able to beget another of his owne: but fuch as follow the reading that bath greetrer, attribute unto the age of man an hundred and eight yeeres, faying that foure and fifty is the just moity or one halfe of a mans life: which num. ber is composed of an unitie; the two first plaines, two squares, and two cubiques: which numbers Plato also tooke to the procreation of the soule which he describeth. But it seemeth verily, that Heliodus by these words covertly did signific that generall conflagration of the world; at what time, it is very probable, that the Nymphs together with all humors and liquid, matters fliall perifh:

Those Nymphs I meane, which many a tree and plant In forrests faire and goodly groves do hant, Or neere to fprings and river streames are seene, Or keepe about the medowes gay and greene.

Then Cleombrotins: I have heard many (quoth he) talke hereof, and I perceive very well how this conflagration which the Stoicks have deviled, as it hath crept into the Poems of Heraelitus and Orpheus, and so perverted their verses: so it hath seized upon and caught hold of Hesiodus, and given a perverse interpretation of him aswell as of others. But neither can I endure to admitthis place, Some confummation and end of the world, which they talke of, nor any such impossible matters; and namely, those speeches as touching the life of the Crow and the Stag or Hinde, which yeeres, if they were furnised together, would grow to an exceffive number. Moreover, a yere containing 20 in it the beginning and the end of all things which the feafons thereof doe produce, and the earth bring forth, may in mine opinion not impertinently be called wear, that is to fay, the age of men: for even your felves contesse, that Hespodus in one passage called mans life ford. How fay you, is it not fo? Then Demetrius avowed as much. This also (quoth Cleombrotus) is as certone toften teine, that both the measure, and also the things which be measured, are called by one and the fame names : as it appeareth by Coryla, Chanix, Amphora and Medimnus. Like as therefore we name timitie, a number, which in leed of all numbers is the leaft measure and beginning onely of them: lemblably, Hefiodus termed Yeere the age of man, for that with it principally we meafure his age, and to communicate that word with the thing that it measureth: as for those numtime reduced hers which they make, there is no fingularity at all or matter of importance in themas touching 30 the renowmed numbers indeed. But the number of 9720 hath aspeciall ground and begininnes) amount ning, as being composed of the foure first numbers arising in order from one and the same, added together or multiplied by foure, every way arise to fortie. Now if * these be reduced into triangles five times, they make the just fumme of the number before named. But as touching these maltiplied by matters, what need I to contend with Demetrius? for whether there be meant thereby a longer time or athorter, a certeine or uncerteine, wherein Hesiodus would have the soule of a Dæmon sanorem une to change, or the life of a Demi god or Heros to end, it skilleth not; for he prooveth nevertheleffe that which he would, and that by the evidence of most ancient and wife witnesses, that there way to work: be certaine natures neuter and meane (as it were) fituate in the confines betweene gods and men, and the fame subject to mortall passions, and apt to receive necessarie changes and mutati-40 ons: which natures according to the traditions & examples of our forefathers, meet it is that we call Dæmons, and honour them accordingly. And to this purpole, Xenocrates one of the familiar friends of Plato, was woont to bring in the demonstration and example of triangles, which agreed very well to the present matter in hand : for that triangle which had * three sides and angles equall, he compared unto the nature divine and immortall; that which had * all fides unequall, unto the humane and mortall nature; and that which had * two equall and one unequall, gle, it is 3000: unto the nature of the Dæmons: for the first is every way equall, the second on every fide unequall, and the last in some fort equall and in other unequall; like unto the nature of the Dztiphed by an. mons, having humane passions and affections, yet withall, the divine power of some god. But nature herfelle hath proposed unto us sensible figures and similitudes visible above; of gods ve- 50 maketh 9000 tilly the Sunne and other starres; but of mortall men, sudden lights and slashes in the night, blazing comets, and shooting of starres: for unto such Euripides compared them, when he faid:

Who was ere while and lately in the floure, Of his fresh youth, at sudden in an houre, Became extinct (as ftarre which feemes to fall From skie) and into aire fent breath and all.

Now for a mixt body, representing the nature of Dæmons or Angels, there is the Moone; which they feeing to be to subject to growing and decreasing, yea and to perishing altogether. and departing out of fight, thought to accord very well, and to be fortable unto the mutability of the Damons kinde. For which cause, some have called her a terrestriall starre; others an Olympian or celeftiall earth; and there be againe who have named her The heritage and poffertion of Proferpina, both heavenly and earthly. Like as therefore, if one tooke the aire out of the world, and remooved it from betweene the Moone and the earth, he should diffolye the continuation, coherence and composition of the whole universall frame, by leaving a voide and emptie place in the middes, without any bond to joine and linke the extremes together; 10 even for they who admit not the nation and kind of the Dæmons, abolish all communication, convers and conference betweene gods and men, confidering they take away that nature which ferveth as a hanchman, interpreter, and minister betweene both, as Plato said: or rather they would drive us to confound and huddle together, yea and to jumble all in one, if we came to intermingle the divine nature and deity among humane paffions and actions, and fo plucke it out of heaven, for to make it intermeddle in the negocies and affaires of men; like as they faie. the wives of Theffalie draw downe the Moone from heaven. Which devife & fiction hath taken roote, and is believed among women, by reason that Aglasmica, the daughter of Agetor (by report) being a wife dame, and well feene in Aftrologie, made femblance and perfwaded the vulgar fort, that in every ecclipte of the Moone, the used alwaies some charmes and enchant-20 ments; by vertue whereof, the fetched the Moone out of heaven. As for us, give we no care and credit unto them, who fay, there be some Oracles and divinations without a deity, or that the gods regard not facrifices, divine fervices, and other facred ceremonies, exhibited muo them: neither on the other fide let us believe, that God is present to intermeddle or employ himselse in person, but betaking and referring that charge unto the ministers of the gods, as it ismeet and just; like as if they were deputies, officers, and secretaries: let us constantly hold. that those be the Dæmons which are their espies and escouts, going too and fro throughout all parts, some to oversee and direct the facrifices, and facred rites and ceremonies performed to the gods: others to chaftice and punish the enormious and outragious offences and wrongs committed by men : and others there are befides, of whom the Poet Hefindus speaketh most ic-30 verently faying:

> Pure, holy, and syncere they be, the Donors of good things: This bonour is allotted them. beseeming noble kings.

Giving us by the way thus much to understand, that to doe good and be beneficiall is a roiall office and function: for a difference there is, and fundry degrees there be in the gifts and vertues of Dæmons, like as among men. For in some of them there remaine still certaine small reliques (and the fame verie feeble and fcaree fenfible) of that passionate and fensitive part of the foule which is not reasonable, even as a very excrement and superfluitie lest behind of the rest: 40 but in others againe, there abideth a great deale, and the fame hardly to be extinguished, whereof we may fee lively the works and evident tokens in many places, differninate in fome facrifices, feafts and ceremonies celebrated unto them; yea, and in the tales reported by them. Howbeit, as touching the mysteries and sacred services (by which & through which a man may more cleerely perceive than by any other meanes whatfoever, the true nature of the gods) I will not speake a word: let them lie close and hidden still for me, as Herodorus faith. But as for certeine festivall solemnities and sacrifices, which are held as dismall, unfortunate and heavy daies; when fometimes they use to eatraw flesh, and teare humane bodies piece-meale; or otherwhile to fast and knocke their brests; and in many places utter most filthy and beastly words during the facrifices:

> Wagging their beads in frantike wife, With strange all armes and hideous cries.

I will never believe that this is done for any of the gods: but will fay rather, it is to avert the ire and appeare the furie of fome maligne divels, Neither carieth it any likelihood and probability, that ever any god would require men to be facrificed unto them, as they were in old time : or stand well pleased with any such sacrifices. Neither was it for nought that kings and great captaines gave their owne children thus to be flaines yea, and with their owne hands killed them for facrifice:

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factifice: but we are to believe that it was to turne away and divert the rankor and wrath of fome perverse spirits and malicious fiends, or to fatisfie such hurtfull divels; yea, and to sulfill the violent, furious and tyrannicall lufts of fome, who either could not, or would not enjoy them with their bodies, or by their bodies. But like as Hercules befreged the city of Oechalia, for a virgins fake who was within: even to these powerfull and outragious fiends, demaunding some humane foule clad and compaffed within a body, to be given unto them, and yet not able to fulfill their lust by the body, bring pestilence, famine, dearth, and sterility of the ground upon cities, raife wars and civill diffentions, untill fuch time as they come to have and enjoy that which they loved: and some doe cleane contrary; as it was my hap to observe in Candie, (where I abode a long time) how they celebrated a certaine monstrous feast, in which they made shew of 10 an headlesse mans image, saying it was Molus, the father of Meriones: for having forced or defloured a Nymph, he was afterwards found without an head. Moreover, what ravifhment foever, what wandring voiages, what occultations, flights, banishments, ministeries and services of the gods be reported and fung in fables or hymnes, certes they be all of them no passions and accidents that befell to gods indeed, but to some Dæmons, whose fortunes were recorded in memoriall of their vertue & puissance: neither meant the Poet Aeschylus (a god) when he said:

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Apollo chast, who now is fled, And out of heaven banished;

Nor Admetus in Sophocles:

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My chaunting cocke that crowes so shrill, Hath raised him and brought to mill.

Also the Divines and Theologians of Delphi, are in a greaterror, and farre from the truth, who thinke, that fometimes in this place, there was a combat betweene Apollo and a dragon, about the hold and possession of this Oracle. They are to blame also, who suffer Poets and Oratours, striving one against another in their Theatres, to act or relate such matters; as if of purpose and expresly they contradicted and condemned those things which themselves performe in their most facred solemnities. Heereat, when Philippus woondered much (for the Historiographer of that name was present in this companie) & demanded withall, what divine rites and ceremonies they might be, which were contradicted and testified against by these who contended in the Theaters? Mary even those (quoth Chombrotus) which concerne this very Oracle of Del- 30 phi, and by which this citie not long fince hath admitted and received into the facred profession of holy mysteries, all the Greeks without Thermopyla, and excluded those that dwell as farre as the vale of Tempe. For the tabernacle or cotage heere of boughes (which is erected and fet up every ninth yeere, within the court-yard of this temple) is not a representation of the dragons cave or denne, but rather of some tyrants or kings house: as also the assault or surprise thereof in great filence, by the way called Dolonia, Likewife, that a little after they bring thither aboy who hath both father and mother living, with torches light burning: and when they have fet the faid tabernacle or tent on fire, and overthrowne the table, runne away as hard as they can through the dotes of the temple, and never looke behinde them. And finally, the wanderings of this boy in divers places, and his fervile ministeries, together with the expiatory facrifices and 40 ceremonies about Tempe, move suspicion that there should be represented thereby some notorious outrage, and audacious fact perpetrated there in old time. For it were a meete mockery (my friend Philippus) to fay, that Apollo for killing the dragon, fled as farre as to the utmost coasts and marches of Greece, for to be purified and affoiled: also, that he offered thereon certeine expiatorie libations and effusions, and performed all such duties and services which men doe, when they would appeale the wrath and indignation of fuch Dæmons and curst fiends, whom we call Alastoras and Palamnaos, as one would say, The revengers of such enormities and crimes as could not be forgotten, and those who bare still in minde some old sinnes, and purfued the fame. As for that tale, which I my selfe of late have heard as touching this slight and banishment, it is woonderfull strange and prodigious: but if it conteine some trueth among, 50 we must not thinke, that it was a small and ordinary matter that befell in those daies about the faid Oracle. But for feare I might be thought as Empedosles sometimes faid:

To Stitch the heads of fundry tales together, And goe in divers pathes I know not whether:

Suffer me I beseech you to make a convenient end heere of my light discourses. For now are wee just come to farre, as we may also be bold after many others to affirme and pronounce,

that seeing the Dæmons ordained for the presidence and superintendance of prophesics and Oracles doe faile, of necessity these Oracles also and divinations must cease with them; and when they be fled and gone, or change their refidence, it cannot chuse but the former places mult loofe their propheticall power and vertue: also, that when after long time they be returned thither, the faid places will begin againe to speake and found, like unto instruments of musicke; namely, if they be present who have the skill to handle and use them accordingly. After that Cleombrotus had thus discourfed: There is not (quoth Heracleon) any one of this companie that is a prophane miscreant and infidell, not protested in our religion, or who holdeth any opinions as touching the gods, discordant from us. Howbeit, let us take beed our selves & Philippus, 10 lest ere we be aware, we doe not in our discourse & disputation put downe some erroneous suppositions and such as may make great ground workes of implicity. You say very well (quoth Philip) but what point is it of all those that Cleombrotus hath put downe, that is to offensive and feandalizeth you most? Then Herackon: That they be not gods indeed who are the presidents of Oracles (because we ought to believe of them, that they be exempt from all terrettrial affaires) but that they be Damons rather, or the angels and ministers of the gods; in my conceit is no bad nor impertinent supposall: but all at once & abruptly, by occasion of Empedacles his verses, to attribute unto these Dæmons crimes, plagues, calamities, transgressions, inquietudes and errours fent from the gods above, and in the end to make them for to die, as mortall men; this I raketo be fomewhat to prefumpteoufly spoken, and to smell of barbarous audacity. Then Cle-20 ambrotus asked Philippus, who this youg man was, and from whence he came? And when he hadheard his name and his country, he answered in this wise: We are not ignorant our selves (ô Heracleon) that we are fallen into a speech savoring somewhat of absurdity : but a man cannot possibly discourse of great matters, without he lay as great foundations at the beginning, for to proceed unto probability and prove his opinion. And as for your felfe, you are not aware, howyou overthrow even that which you grant : for confesse you doe, that there be Dæmons; but when you will needs maintaine that they be neither lewd nor mortall, you cannot make it good that they be at all. For wherein I pray you doe they differ from gods, in case they beinsubstance incorruptible, and in vertue impassible, or not subject to sinne? Hecreupon Heracleon, when he had mused with himselfe not saying a word, and studied what answere to-30 make, Chembrosus went on and faid: It is not Empedecles alone who hath given out there were evill Dæmons, but Plato also himselfe, Xenocrates also and Chrysppus; yea and Democritus when he wished and praied that he might meet with lucky images, both knew and gave us (no doubt) thereby to understand, that he thought there were others of them crooked and shrewd, and such as were badly affected and had evill intentions. But as touching the death of fuch, and how they are mortall, I have heard it reported by a man who was no foole nor a vaine lying person: and that was Epitherses the father of Aemilianus the oratour, whom some of you (Idare well fay) have heard to plead & declaime. This Epitherfes was my fellow-citizen and had beene my schoolemaster in grammar, and this narration he related: That minding upon a time to make a voiage by fea into Italy, he was embarqued in a thip fraught with much marchandize 40 and having many paffengers befide aboord. Now when it drew toward the evening, they hapned (as he faid) to be calined about the Isles Echinades; by occasion whereof their thip hulled with the tides untill at length it was brought neere unto the Islands Paxe, whiles most of the paffengers were awake, and many of them still drinking after supper: but then, all on a sudden there was heard a voice from one of the Islands of Pane, calling aloud unto one Thamus; infomuch as there was not one of all our company but he wondred thereat. Now this Thamus was a Pilot and an Aegyptian borne: but knowen he was not to many of them in the ship by that name. At the two first calles, he made no answere; but at the third time he obeied the voice, and answered: Here I am. Then he who spake, strained his voice and said unto him: When thou art come to * Palodes, publish thou and make it knowen: That the Great Pan is Dead. And as E- * Some take it 50 ptherses made report unto us, as many as heard this voice were wonderfully amazed thereat, to be a place

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and entred into a discourse and disputation about the point, whether it were best to doe accor. of manie ding to this commandement, or rather to let it paffe and not curiously to meddle withall; but thall; but that that that the but that the but that that the but the b neglect it? As for Thamus, of this minde he was and refolved: If the winde ferved, to faile by the Place quietly and fay nothing; but if the windes were laid and that their enfued a calme, to crie and pronounce with a loud voice that which he heard. Well, when they were come to Palodes aforefaid the winde was downe and they were becalmed, so as the sea was very still without waves.

Whereupon

Whereupon Thamus looking from the poupe of the ship toward the land, pronounced with a loud voice that which he had heard, and faid: The great Pan is Dead. He had no fooner fpoken the word but there was heard a mighty noise, not of one but of many together, who seemed to groane and lament, and withall to make a great wonder. And as it falleth commonly out when as many be prefent, the newes thereof was foone spred and divulged through the city of Rome, in fuch fort as Tiberius Cafar the emperour fent for Thamus : and Tiberius verily gave so good credit unto his wordes, that he searched and enquired with all diligence who that Pan might be. Now the great clerks and learned men (of whom he had many about him) gave their conjecture that it might be he, who was the fonne of Mercurie by Penelope. And verily Philippus had fome of the companie present to beare witnesse with him, such as had beene Ac. of milianus scholars and heard as much. Then Demetrius made report, that many little desert and defolate Isles there were lying dispersed and scattering in the sea about Britaine, like unto those which the Greeks call Sporades; whereof some were named the Isles of Dæmons, and Heroes or Demi-gods: also that himselfe by commission and commandement from the emperour, failed toward the necreft of those desert Isles for toknow and see somewhat; which he found to have very few inhabitants, and those all were by the Britaines, held for facrosained and inviofable. Now within a while after he was arrived thither, the aire and weather was mightily troubled, many portenteous fignes were given by terrible tempests and stormes, with extraordinary windes, thunders, lightnings, and fire impressions: but after that these tempests were ceased. the Handers affured him, that one of those Dæmons or Demi-gods (who surmounted the na- 20 ture of man) was departed. For like as a lampe (fay they) or candle, follong as it burneth light offendeth no bodie; but when it is put out or goeth forth, it maketh a stinke offensive unto many about it : even so, these great Soules whiles they shine and give light, be milde, gracious, and harmeleffe; but when they come to be extinct or to perish, they raise (even as at that present) outragious tempests, yea and oftentimes infect the aire with contagious and pestilent maladies. They reported moreover, that in one of those Ilands Briareus kept Saturne prisoner in a found fleepe (for that was the devise to hold him captive) about whose person there were many other Damons of his traine and his fervitours. Chombrotus then taking occasion for to fpeake: I am able my felfe alfo (quoth he) to alledge many fuch examples if I lift; but it may fuffice for this present matter in hand, that this is nothing contrary nor opposit unto that 30 which by us hath beene delivered. And verily we know full well, that the Stoicks hold the same opinion not onely of Damons that we doe, but also of the gods: that there being so great a multitude of them, yet there is but one alone immortall and eternall; whereas all the relt had their beginning by nativity and shall have an end by death. And as for the scoffes, scornes, and mockeries that the Epicureans make, we ought not to regard them, nor be affraid of them: for fo audacious they are, that they use the same even in the divine providence, terming it a very fable and oldwives tale. But we contrariwise hold, that their infinity of worldes is a fable indeed: as also to say, that among those innumerable worlds, there is not so much as one governed by reason or the providence of God; but that all things were first made and afterwards maintained by meere chance and fortune. Certes, if it be lawfull to laugh, and that we must need smake 40 game in matters of Philosophy, we should rather mocke those who bring into their disputations of naturall questions, I woundt what deafe, blinde, dumbe and inanimate images; remaining I know not where, and continuing in appearance infinit revolutions of yeeres, wandring round about and going to and fro: which fay they, iffue and flowe from bodies partly yet living, and partly from those who long agoe were dead, burnt, yea and rotten and putrified to nothing. These men(I say) we should doe well to laugh at, who draw such ridiculous toics and vaine shadowes as these, into the serious disputations of nature.

Meanwhile for footh, offended they are and angry, if a man should say there be Dæmons: and that not onely in nature but in reason also it standeth with good congruity, they should cotinue and endure a long time. These speeches thus passed, Ammonius began in this wife : *Cleombrotus 50 thrastumome in mine opinion (quoth he) hath spoken very well: and what should impeach us, butthat we may admit and receive his fentence, being fo grave as it is, and most beseeming a Philosopher? For reject it once, we shall be forced to reject also and denie many things which are, and usually happen, whereof no certeine cause and reason can be delivered: and if it be admitted, it draweth after it no traine and consequence of any impossibility whatsoever, nor of that which is not fublistent. But as touching that one point, which I have heard the Epicureans alledge against

Empedacles, and the Dæmons which he bringeth in, namely: That they cannot possibly be happy and long lived, being evill and finfull as they are, for that vice by nature is blind, and of it felle falleth ordinarily headlong into perils and inconveniences which destroy the life; this is a very fortish opposition: for by the same reason they must confesse, that Epicurus was worse than Gorgius the Sophister; and Metrodorus, than Alexis the Comicall Poet : for this Poet lived twice as long as Metrodorus; and that Sophister, longer than Epicurus, by a third part of his age. For it is in another respect, that we say Vertue is puissant, and vice feeble, not in regard of the lasting continuance or diffolution of the bodie: for we fee, that of beafts there be many dull, flow and blockish of spirit; many also by nature libidinous, unruly and difordered, which live longer to than those that are full of wit, wily, wary and wife. And therefore they conclude not aright, in faying, that the divine nature enjoieth immortality, by taking heed and avoiding those things that be notione and mischievous. For it behooved, in the divine nature which is bleffed and happy, to have fet downe an impossibility of being subject to all corruption and alteration, and that it standeth in no need of care and labour to mainteine the said nature. But peradventure it feemeth not to fland with good maners and civility, to dispute thus against those that are not present to make answere for themselves: it were meet therefore, that Chombrotus would resume and take in hand that fpeech againe, which he gave over and laied afide of late, as touching the departure and translation of these Dæmons from one place to another. Then Cleombrotus: Yesmary, quoth he: but I would marvell, if this discourse of mine would not seeme unto you 20 much more abfurd than the former delivered already: and yet it feemen to be grounded upon naturall reason, and Plato himselse hath made the overture thereto, not absolutely pronouncing and affirming fo much; but after the maner of a doubtfull opinion and under covert words, cafling out a certeine wary conjecture tending that way, although among other Philosophers it hathbeene disclaimed and cried out against. Bur forasmuch as there is set a cup on the boord, full of reasons and tales mingled together, and for that a man shall hardly meet in any place againe with more courteous and gratious hearers, among whom he may paffe and put away fuch narrations, as pieces of forren coine, and strange money: I will not thinke much to gratific you thus farre foorth, as to acquaint you with a narration that I heard a stranger and a Barbarian relate: whom (after many a journey made to and fro for to finde him out, and much money given 30 by me for to heare where he was) I met with at length by good hap, necre unto the Red fea. His maner was to speake and converse with men but once in the yeere; all the rest of his time (as he faid himfelfe) he spent among the Nymphs, Nomades and Dæmons. Well, with much adoc Ilight upon him, I communed with him, and he used me courteously. The fairest man he was to lee to, of all that ever I fet eie on : neither was he subject to any disease : once every moneth he fedupon a medicinable and bitter fruit of a certeine herbe; and this was the fare he lived upon. A good linguist he was, and used to speake many languages; but with me he talked commonly in Greeke, after the Doricke dialect. His speech differed not much from song and meeter: and when soever he opened his mouth for to speake, there issued forth of it so sweet and fragrant a breath, that all the place about was filled therewith and fmelled most pleasantly. As for 40 his other learning and knowledge, yea, the skill of all histories, he had the fame all the yere long: but as touching the gift of divination, he was inspired therewith one day every yeere, and no more; and then he went downe to the fea fide and prophefied of things to come : and thither reforted unto him the Princes and great Lords of that countrey, yea and Secretaries of forten kings, who there attended his comming at a day prefixed: which done, he returned. This perfonage then attributed unto Dæmons the spirit of divination and prophesie : most pleasure tooke he inhearing and speaking of Delphi: and looke whatsoever we hold here as touching Bacchiu, what adventures befel unto him, & what facrifices are performed by us in his honor, he had bene enformed thereof, and knew all well enough, faying withall: That as these were great accidents, that hapned to Dæmons; fo likewife was that, which men reported of the ferpent Python: whom 50 he that flew was neither banished for nine yeres, nor fled into the valley of Tempe, but was chafed out of this world, and went into another; from whence (after nine revolutions of the great yeeres) being returned all purified and Phabus indeed, that is to fay, cleere and bright, he recovered the superintendance of the Delphicke Oracle, which during that while was left to the cu-Itodie of Themis. The fame was the case (said he) of the Titons and Typhons. For he assirance, they were the battels of Dæmons against Dæmons: the flights and banishments also of those who were vanquished : or rather the punishments inflicted by the gods upon as many as had

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Surely, this fellow as Iweene,

*O., Calum. committed fuch outrages as Typhon had done against Ofiris, and Saturne against * Calus or the heaven : whose honours were the more obscure or abolished altogether, by reason that them. felves were translated into another world. For I understand and heare, that the Solymians who border hard upon the Lycians, highly honoured Saturne when the time was: but after that he having flaine their princes, Arfalus, Dryus and Trofebius, fled & departed into fome other countrey (for whither he went they knew not) they made no more any teckoning of him: but Arla. lus and the other, they termed by the name of Scleroi, that is to fay, fevere gods: and in trueth. the Lycians at this day, as well in publicke as private, utter and recite the forme of all their curles

and execrations in their names. Many other femblable examples a man may draw out of Theologicall writings, as touching 10 the gods. Now if we call fome of these Damons by the usuall and ordinary names of the goes, we ought not to marvell thereat (quoth this stranger unto me:) for looke unto which of the gods they do reteine, upon whom they depend, and by whose meanes they have honour and puiffance; by their names they love to be called: like as heere among us men, one is called Joving of Jupiter; another, Palladius or Athenaus of Minerva; a third, Apollomius of Apollo; or Dionsfins and Hermans of Bacchus and Mercurie. And verily, fome there be who although they be named thus at aventure, yet answer very fitly to such denominations; but many have gotten the denominations of the gods, which agree not unto them, but are transposed wrong and misgiven. Herewith Cleombrotus paufed: and the speech that he had delivered seemed very strange unto all the company. Then Heraeleon demanded of him, whether this doctrine concerned Pla. 20 to? and how it was, that Plato had given the overture and beginning of fuch matter? You doe well (quoth Cleombrotus) to put me in minde heereof, and to reduce it into my memory. First and formost therefore, he condemnethevermore the infinity of worlds: mary about the just and precise number of them he doubteth: and howsoever he seemes to yeeld a probability and apparence of trueth unto those who have set downe five, and attributed to every element one; yet himselfe sticketh still to one, which seemeth indeed to be the peculiar opinion of Plato: wheras other Philosophers also have alwaies mightily seared to admit a multitude of worlds; as if necesfarie it were, that those who staied not by the meanes of matter in one, but went out of it once, could not chuse but fall presently into this indeterminate and troublesome infinity. But this your stranger, (quoth I) determined he nothing of this multitude of worlds, otherwise than Pla- 30 to did? or all the whiles that you converfed with him, did you never move the question thereof unto him, to know what his opinion was thereof ? Thinke you (quoth Cleombrotus) that I failed herein, and was not (howfoever otherwife I behaved my felfe) a diligent scholar and affectionate auditor of his in these matters, especially seeing he was so affable, and thewed himselfe fo courteous unto me ? But as touching this point, he faid: That neither the number of the worlds was infinit, nor yet true it was, that there were no more but one, or five in all : for there were 183, and those ordeined and ranged in a forme triangular; of which triangle, every side contained threefcore worlds; and of the three remaining still, every corner thereof had one: that they were fo ordered, as one touched and interteined another round, in maner of those who arein a ring dance: that the plaine within the triangle, is as it were the foundation and altar 40 common to all the worlds, which is called The Plaine or Field of Trueth: and within it lie immovable the defignes, reasons, formes, idea and examples of all things that ever were or shall be : and about them is eternity, wherof time is a portion, which as a riverer, runneth from thence to those things that are done in time. Now the fight and contemplation of these things was presented unto the soules of men, if they lived well in this world, and that but once in ten thoufand yeeres: as for our mysteries heere beneath, and all our best and most facred ceremonies, they were but a dreame in comparison of that spectacle and holy ceremonies. Moreover, he faid: That for the good things there, and for to enjoy the fight of those beauties, men emploied their study in Philosophy here: or els all their paines taken was but in vaine, and their travellost. And verily (quoth he) I heard him discourse of these matters plainly and without any art, no o- 50 therwise than if it had beene some religion wherein I was to be professed, in which he instructed me without using any proofe and demonstration of his doctrine. Then I (turning to Demetriu) called unto him, and asked what were the words that the woers of Penelope spake, when they beheld with admiration uliffes handling his bow? And when Demetrize had prompted unto me the verse out of Homer: Surely (quoth I) it comes into my minde to say the very same of this ftranger:

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Some * prying fie or theefe hath beene, not of bowes, as he faid of ulysses, but of tentences, resolutions and discourses of Philosophie: that to say, he hath beene converlant, I fay, no doubt in all maner of literature: and I warrant you, no itran- a humer. gernor Barbarian borne, but a Grecian, thorowly furnished with all knowledge and doctrine of the Greeks. And verily, this number of the worlds whereof he talketh, bewraieth not an Aegyptian nor an Indian, but favoureth of some Dorian out of Sieilie, and namely, of Petron, borne in thecity of Himera, who wrote a little booke of this argument; which I have not read my felfe, neither doe I know whether it be now extant : but Hippys the Rhegine (of whom Pharias the Eto reffian maketh mention) writeth, that this was the opinion and doctrine of Petron; namely, that there were 183 worlds, which raught one another in order and traine: but what he meant by this Reaching one another in order or traine, he declared not; neither annexed he any other probable reason thereof. Then Demetriue: And what likelihood or probability (quoth he)may there be in fuch matters, confidering that Plato himselfe alledging no argument or conjecture that carieth with it any shew of trueth and reason, hath by that meanes overthrowen that opinion? And yet (quoth Heracleon) we have heard you Grammarians fay, that Homer was the first authour of this opinion, as if he divided the universall frame of All into five worlds; to wit, Heaven, Water, Aire, Earth, and Olympus: of which, he leaveth two to be common, namely, Earth, to Allbeneath; and Olympus, to All above: but the three in the middles betweene them, hee attributeth unto three gods. Semblably, it feemeth that Plate allotting unto the principall parts and members of the faid univerfall nature, the first formes and most excel-lentigures of the bodies, called them five worlds; to wit, of the Easth, the Water, the Aire, the Fire, and finally, of that which comprehendeth the other; and that hee called the forme of Dodecaedron, that is to fay, with twelve bases or faces, which amply extentendeth it selfe, is very capable and mooveable, as being a figure proper and meet for the animall motions and revolutions of the foules. What need we at this prefent (quoth Demetrius) to meddle with Homer ? wee have had fables enough already, if that be good. As for Plato, hee is farre enough off from naming those five different substances of the world, five worlds: considering that even in that very place where he dispute th against those who maintein an infinit number of wor'ds, he affirmeth there is but one created by God, and beloved by him, as his onely begot-30 ten childe, composed of all nature, having one entier bodie, sufficient in it selfe, and standing in need of nothing elfe. Whereupon a man may very well woonder and thinke it strange, that having himselfe delivered a trueth, he should give occasion to others thereby, to take hold of a falle opinion, and wherein there is no apparence of reason. For, if he had not itucke hard to this unity of the world, in some fort he might have laid the foundation for those who hold them tobeinfinit: but that he should precisely affirme there were five, and neither more nor fewer is exceeding abfurd, and farre from all probabilitie; unleffe haply, you (quoth he, cafting his cie upon me) can fay fomewhat to this point. How now (quoth I then) are you minded thus to leave your first disputation of Oracles, as if it were fully finished and ended, and to enter upon ano-40 ther matter of fuch difficulty? Nay (quoth Demetrius) we will not passe it over so; but this here that presenteth it selfe now, and taketh us as it were by the hand, we cannot put by: for we will not dwell long upon it, but onely touch it fo, and handle it by the way, as that we may finde out fome probability, and then will we prefently returne unto our former question proposed in the beginning. First and formost therefore, I say: The reasons which permit us not to allow an infinit number of worlds, impeach us not, but that we admit more than one. For as well in many worlds as in one, there may be divination, there may be providence, and the least intercurrence of fortune: but the most part of the greatest and principall things shall have and take their generations, changes and mutations ordinarily: which cannot possibly be in that infinity of worlds. Over and befides, more conforant it is to reason, and accordeth better with the na-50 ture of God, to fay, that the world is not created by him, one onely and folitary: for being (as he is) perfectly and absolutely good, there is no vertue wanting in him, and least of all others that which concerneth justice and amity; which as they be of themselves most beautifull, fo they are best besitting the gods. Now such is the nature of God, that he hath nothing either unprofitable or in vaine and without use: and therefore needs there must be beside and without him, other gods and other worlds, unto whom and which he may extend those sociall vertues that he hath. For neither in regard of himselse, nor of any part in him, needeth he to use, ju-VVVVV 2

flice, gracious favour and bounty, but unto others. So that it is not likely that this world flotethand mooveth without a friend, without a neighbour, and without any focietie and comnunication, in a vast and infinit voidnesse; especially seeing we behold how nature encloseth, environeth, and comprehendeth all things, in their feverall genders and diffinet kinds, as it were within veffels or the husks and covertures of their feeds. For looke throughout the univerfall nature, there is nothing to be found one in number, but it hath the notion and reason of the effence and being thereof, common to others: neither hath any thing fuch and fuch a denomination, but beside the common notion it is by some particular qualities distinct from others of the fame kind. Now the world is not called so in common: then must it be such in particular: and qualified it is in particular, and diftinguished by certeine differences, from other 10 worlds of the fame kinde, and yet hath a peculiar forme of the owne. Moreover, confidering there is in the whole world, neither man alone, nor horse, nor starre, ne yet God or Dzmon folitarie: what should hinder us to say, that nature admitteth not one onely world, but hash many? Now if any man shall object unto me and fay, that in nature there is but one earth, or one fea: I answer, that he is much deceived and overfeene, in not perceiving the evidence that is of fimilare parts: for we divide the earth into parts fimilare, that it is to fay, of the semblable and the same denomination, like as we doe the sea also; for all the parts of the earth are called earth, and of the fea likewife: but no part of the world is world, for that it is composed of divers and different hatures. For as touching that inconvenience which some especially seare, who fpend all matter within one world, left for footh if there remained any thing without, it should 20 trouble the composition and frame thereof, by the jurres and resistances that it would make: furely there is no fuch cause why they should feare; for when there be many worlds, and ech of them particularly having one definit and determinate measure and limit of their substance and matter, no part thereof will be without order and good disposition, nothing will remaine superfluous, as an excrement without, to hinder or impeach; for that the reason which belongeth to ech world, being able to rule and governe the matter that is allotted thereto, will not suffer any thing to goe out of course and order, and wandring to and fro, for to hit and run upon another world; nor likewife that from another ought thould come for to rush upon it because in nature there is nothing in quantity infinit & inordinate, nor in motion without reason & order. But fay there should happly be some deflux or effluence that passeth from one world to ano- 30 ther, the fame is a brotherly fweet and amiable communication, and fuch as very well agreeth to all: much like unto the lights of starres, and the influences of their temperatures, which are the cause that they themselves doe joy in beholding one another with a kinde and favourable aspect; yea and yeeld unto the gods, which in every starre be many (and those good) meanes to intertaine and embrace one another most friendly. For in all this, verily, there is nothing impossible, nothing fabulous nor contrary unto reason: Unlesse paradventure some there be who will suspect and feare the reason and sentence of wisfotle, as consonant unto nature. Forif as he faith, every body hath a proper and naturall place of the owne; by reason thereof necessarily it must be, that the earth from all parts should tend toward the midst, and the water afterwards upon it, serving (by meanes of their weight and ponderosity) in stead of a foundation to 40 other elements of a lighter substance. And therefore (quoth he) if there were many worlds, it would fall out oftentimes that the earth should be found situate above are and fire, and as often under them: likewife the aire and fire formetime under, other whiles in their naturall places, and againe in others contrary to their nature. Which being impossible, as he thinketh, it must follow of necessity, that there be neither two nor more worlds, but one alone, to wit, this which we visibly s. ecomposed of all forts of substance, and disposed according to nature, as is meet and convenient for divertity of bodies. But in all this there is more apparent probability than vertty indeed. For the better proofe heereof, confider I pray you my good friend Demetrius, that when he faith, among simple bodies some bend directly to the midst, that is to say downward: others from the midft that is to fay upward: and a third fort move round about the midft and 50 circularly: in what respect taketh he the midst? Certaine it is, not in regard of voidnesse, for there is no fuch thing in nature, even by his owne opinion : againe, according unto those that admit it, middle can it have none, no more than first or last: For these beends and extremities: and that which is infinite must consequently be also without an end. But suppose, that some one of them should enforce us to admit a middle in that voidnesse, impossible it is to conceive and imagine the difference in motions of bodies toward it : because there is not in that void.

neffe any puissance attractive of bodies; nor yet within the same bodies, any deliberation or inclination and affection to tend from all fides to this middle. But no leffe impossible is it to apprehend, that of bodies having no foule any should moove of themselves to an incorporals place, and having no difference of fituation; than it is that the fame should draw them or give them any motion or inclination to it. It remainesh then, that this middle ought to be underfloodnot locally but corporally, that is to fay not in regard of place, but of body. For, feeing this world is an union, or maffe compounded of many bodies different and unlike conjoigned together; it must needs be, that their diversities engender motions discrepant and differing one from the other: which appeareth by this; that every of these bodies changing substance, change their place also withall. For the subtilization and rarefaction distributes thround about the matter which arifeth from the midst and ascendeth on high: contrariwise, condensation and constipation depresset and driveth it downeward to the middle. But of this point, we need not discourse any more in this place. For what cause soever a man shall suppose to produce fuch paffions and mutations, the fame thall containe in it a feverall world: for that each of them hath an earth and sea of the owne, each one hath her owne proper middle, as also passions and alterations of bodies, together with a nature and power which preferveth and maintaineth evetyone in their place and being. For that which is without, whether it have nothing at all, or elfe an infinite voidnesse, middle can it affoord none, as we have said before: but there being many worldes, each of them hath a proper middle apart; in fuch fort, as in every one there thall be motions proper unto bodies, some falling downe to the midst, others mounting aloft from the midft, others mooving round about the midft, according as they themselves doe diffinguish motions. And he who would have, that there being many middles, weighty bodies from all parts should tend unto one alone; may very well be compared unto him, who would have the blood of many men to run from all parts into one vaine: likewife that all their braines thould becontained within one and the fame membraine or pannicle; supposing it a great inconvenience and abfurdity, if of natural bodies all that are folide be not in one and the fame place, and therare also in another. Abfurd is he that thus faith; and no lesse foolish were the other, who thinketh much and is offended, if the whole should have all parts, in their order, range and fituation naturall. For it were a very groffe abfurdity for a man to fay, there were a world, which hadthe Moone in it fo fituate, as if a man should carry his braine in his heeles, and his heart in the temples of his head: but there were no abfurdity nor inconvenience, if in fetting downe mamy diffinct worldes and those separate one from another, a man should diffing unth with all and separate their parts. For in every of them, the earth, the sea, and the skie, shall be so placed and fituate in their naturall feats, as it is meet and appertaineth: and each of those worlds shall have Superior, inferiour, circular, and a centre in the midst; not in regard of another world nor of that which is without, but in it selfe and in respect of it selfe. And as for the supposition which some make of aftone without the world, it cannot be imagined how possibly it should either rest or moove : for how can it hang still, seeing it is ponderous and waighty? or moove toward the midst of the world as other heavy bodies, considering it is neither part of it, nor counted in the fubstance thereof?

Asconcerning that earth which is contained in another world and fast bound, we need not to make doubt and question, how it should not fall downe hither by reason of the wieght, nor be plucked away from the whole; feeing as we doe, that it hath a naturall strength to containe every part thereof. For if we shall take high and low, not within and in respect of the world, but without forth, we shall be driven unto the same difficulties and distresses, which Epicurus is fallen into, who maketh his little Atomes or indivisible bodies to move and tend toward those Places which are under foot: as if either his voidnesse had feet, or the infinity which he speakethof, permit a man to imagine either high or low. And therefore fome cause there is to marvell at Chrysippus, or rather to enquire and demand what fansie hath come into his head, and 50 mooved him to fay, that this world is feated and placed directly in the midft; and that the fubstance thereof, from all eternity having taken up and occupied the place of the midst, yet nevertheleffe it is so compact and tied together that it endureth alwaies and is (as one would fay) immortalized: for so much hath he written in his fourth booke acid twarter, that is to say, Of polfible things; dreaming (to no purpose) of a middle place in that vast emptinesse: and yet more abfurdly attributing unto that middle (which is not, nor hath any substittence) the cause of the

places, that the substance is governed and mainteined partly by the motions tending to the mids, and partly by others from the mids of it. As for other oppositions belides, that the Stoicks make, who is there that feareth them? as namely, when they demand, How it is poffible to mainteine one fatall necessity, and one divine providence? and how it can otherwise be, but that there should be many DIES and ZENES, that is to say, Joves and Jupiters, if we grant that there be many worlds? For to begin withall, if it be an inconvenience, to allow many fuch foves and Jupiters, their opinions verily be farre more abfurd: for they devise an infinit fort of Sunnes, Moones, Apolloes, Dianaes and Neptunes, in innumerable conversions & revolutions of worlds. Moreover, what necessitie is there, to enforce us to avow many Jupiters, if there be many worlds? and not rather, in every of them a feverall god, as a fovereigne governor and ruler of the whole, to furnished with all understanding and reason, as he whom we surname the Lord and Father of all things: Or what should hinder, but that all worlds might be subject to the providence & destiny of Jupiter: and he reciprocally have an cie to overfee all, to direct, digest and conduct all, in miniftring unto them the principles, beginnings, feeds and reasons of all things that are done and made ? For it being so that we do see even here many times, a bodie composed of many other diffinct bodies; as for example, the affembly or congregation of a city, an armie, and a daunce; in every one of which bodies there is life, prudence, and intelligence, as Chrysppus thinketh: impossible it is not likewise, that in this universall nature, there should be ten, fifty, yea and a hundred worlds, using all one and the same reason, and correspondent to one beginning. But contrariwife, this order and disposition is best beseeming the gods. For we ought not to make the 20 gods like unto the kings of a swarme of bees, which go not forth, but keepe within the hive; nor to holde them encloted and imprisoned (as it were) rather, and shut up fast within Matter, as these men do, who would have the gods to be certeine habitudes or dispositions of the aire; and fuppoling them to be powers of waters and of fire infused and mixed within, make them to arise and be engendred together with the world, and so afterwards, to be burnt likewise with it, not allowing them to be loofe and at libertie, like as coatch-men and pilots are; but in maner of statues or images are fet fast unto their bases with nailes, and sodered with lead : even so they enclose the gods within bodily matter, and pin them hard thereto; so as being jointed (as it were) fute unto it, they participate therewith all changes and alterations, even to finall corruption and diffolution. Yet is this opinion fare more grave, religious and magnificent, in my conceit: to 30 holde that the gods be of themselves free, and without all command of any other power. And like as the firy light Caffor and Pollux fuccour those who are toffed in a tempest, and by their comming and prefence

Allay the furging waves of feabelow, And still the blustring winds aloft that blow;

and not failing themselves, nor partaking the same perils with the mariners, but onely appearing in the aire above, fave those that were in danger : even so the gods for their pleasure goe from one world to another, to visit them; and together with nature, rule and governe every one of them. For Jupiter verily in Homer, call not his cies far from the city of Troy, either into Thracia, or the Nomades and vagrant Scythians along the river Ister or Daunbie: but the true Jupiter in 40 deed hath many faire paffages & goodly changes befeeming his majefty out of one world into another, neither looking into the infinit voidnesse without, nor beholding himselfe and nothing els, as fome have thought; but confidering the deeds of men and of gods, the motions also and revolutions of the statres in their sphæres. For surely, the deity is not offended with variety, nor hateth mutations: but taketh much pleasure therein, as a man may guesse by the circuitions, convertions and changes which appeare in the heaven. I conclude therefore, that the infinite of worlds is a very fenteleffe and false conceit, such as in no wise will beare and admit any god, but emploieth fortune and chance in the managing of all things: but contratiwife, the administration and providence of a certeine quantity and determinate number of worlds, feemeth unto mencither in majestic and worthinesse inferior, nor in travell more laborious, that which is 50 emploied and restreined to the direction of one alone; which is transformed, renewed and metamorphozed (as it were) an infinit fort of times. After I had delivered this speech, I pauled and held my peace. Then Philippu, making no long stay: As for me, I will not greatly strive nor stand upon it (quoth he) whether the trueth be so or otherwise: but in case we force God out of the superintendance of one onely world, how is it, that we make him to be Creatout of five worlds, neither more nor leffe? and what the peculiar and speciall reason is of this number to

aplurality of worlds, rather than of any other, I would more willingly know, than the occafion or cause, why this Mot [EI] is so consecrated in this Temple. For it is neither a triangular, nor a quadrat, nor a perfect, ne yet a cubique number: neither seemeth it to represent any other elegancie unto those, who love and esteeme such speculations as these.

And as for the argument inferred from the number of elements, which Plate himselfe obscurely and under covert tearmes touched, it is very hard to comprehend; neither doeth it carie and shew any probabilitie, whereby he should be induced to conclude, and draw in a consequence: that like it is, considering in matter there be engendered five forts of regular bodies, having equall angels, equall fides, and environed with equall superficies; there to should semblably of these five bodies, be five worlds made and formed, from the very first beginning. And yet (quoth I) it should feeme, that Theodorus the Solian, expounding the Mathematicks of Plato, handleth this matter not amiffe, nor mifinterpreteth the place; and thus goeth he to worke: The Pyramis, Octaedron, Dodecaedron, and Icolaedron (which Plate fetteth downe for the first bodies) are right beautifull all, both for their proportions, and also for their equalities: neither is there left for nature any other, to devife and forme better than they, or indeed answerable and like unto them. Howbeit, they have not all either the same constitution, nor the like originall: for the least verily and smallest of the five is the Pyramis; the greatest and that which consisteth of most parts, is Dodecaedron; and of the other two behind, the Icofaedron is bigger by two fold and more, than Octaedron, if you compare their num-20 ber of triangles. And therfore impossible it is, that they should be all made at once of one and the fame matter; for the small and subtile, and such as in composition are more simple than the rest, were more pliable no doubt, and obedient unto the hand of workemen, who mooved and formed the matter, and therefore by all consequence sooner made and brought into subfiftence, than those which had more parts and a greater masse of bodies: of which, and namely of fuch as had more laborious making, and a buffer composition, is Dodecaedron. Whereupon it followeth necessarily, that the Pyramis onely was the first body, and not any of the other as being by nature created and produced afterwards. But the remedie and meanes to falve and avoid this abfurditie also, is to separate and devide the matter into five worlds: for here the Pyramis came foorth first; there the Octaedron, and elsewhere the Icosaedron; and in eye-30 ry of these worlds, out of that which came first into effe, the rest drew their originall, by the concretion of parts, which causeth them all to change into all, according as Plate doth infinuate, discoursing by examples in maner throughout all: but it shall suffice us briefly to learne thus much. For aire is engendred by the extinction of fire: and the fame againe being fubtilized and rarefied, produceth fire. Now in the feeds of these two, a man may know their passions, and thetransmutations of all. The seminary or beginning of fire is the Pyramis, composed of foure & twenty first triangles: but the seminary of the aire is Octaedron, confishing of triangles of the fame kind, in number fortice ight. And thus the one element of aire, flandeth upon two of fire, composed and conjoined together: and againe, one body or element of the aire, is devided and parted into twaine of fire; which becomming to be thickned and conflipate more still 40 in it felfe, turneth into the forme of water; in fuch fort, as throughout, that which commeth first into light, giveth alwaies a ready and easie generation unto all the rest, by way of change and transmutation: and so, that never remaineth solitary and alone which is first; but as one maffe and constitution hath the primitive & antecedent motion in another of originall beginning: so in all there is kept one name and denomination. Now furely (quoth Ammonius) it is stoutly done of Theodorus, and he hath quit himselfe very well, in setching about this matter so industriously, But I would much marvell if these presuppositions of his making, do not overthrow and refute one another: for he would have, that these five worlds were not composed all at once together; but that the smallest and most subtile which required least workmanship in the making, came foorth first: then as a thing consequent, and not repugnant at all, he suppo-30 feth that the matter doth not thrust foorth alwaies into effence, that which is most subtile and imple; but that otherwhiles the thickest, the most groffe and heaviest parts, show first in generation. But over and besides all this, after a supposall made, that there be five primitive bodies or elements, and confequently thereupon five worlds; he applieth not his proofe and probabilitie but unto four onely. For as touching the cube, he subtracteth and remooyeth it quite away, as they doe who play at nine holes, and who trundle little round stones: for that such a square & quadrate body every way is naturally unfit, either to turne into them, or to yeeld them

any meanes to turne into it for that the triangles of which they be composed, are not of the fame kind: for all the rest do in a common consist of a demi-triangle, as the base; but the proper subject whereof this cube particularly standeth, is the triangle Hoscetes, which admitteth no inclination unto a demi-triangle, nor possibly can be concorporate or united to it. Now if it be fo, that of those five bodies there be consequently five worlds, & that in ech one of those worlds the beginning of their generation and constitution, is that body which is first produced and brought to light: it would come to passe, that where the cube commeth foorth first for the generation of the reft, none of the other bodies can possibly be there, forasmuch as the nature of it is not to turne or change into any one of them. For I let paffe heere to alledge, that the element or principle whereof Dodecaedron is composed, is not that triangle which is called 10 Scalenon, with three unequall fides, but some other as they fay, how ever Plato hath made his Pyramis, Octaedron, and Icofaedron of it: And therefore (quoth Ammonius, finiling thereat) either you must dissolve these objections, or else alledge some new matter as touching the question now presently in hand. Then answered I: For mine owne part alledge I am notable at this time any thing that carieth more probability: but peradventure it were better for a man to yeeld reasons of his owne opinion rather, than of anothers. To begin againe therefore I fav. that nature being parted and devided at the first in two parts, the one sensible, mutable, subject to generation and corruption, and varietie every way; the other spirituall and intelligible, and continuing evermore in one and the same state, it were very strange and absurd my good friends, first to say that the spiritual nature receiveth division, and hath diversity and difference in it: and then to thinke much and grow into heat of cholar and anger, if a man allow not the paffible and corporall nature wholly united and concorporate in it felte, without dividing or separating it into many parts. For more meet it were yet, and reasonable, that natures parmanent and divine should cohere unto themselves inseparably, and avoid as much as is possible all distraction and divultion: and yet this force and power of The Other, medling also even with these, causeth in spirituall and intellectuall things, greater diffociations and diffimilitudes in forme and effentiall reason, than are the locall distances in those corporall natures. And therefore Place confuting those who hold this position, that all is one, affirmeth these five grounds and principles of all, to wit , Effence or feeing , The fame, The other , and after all , Motion , and Station. Admitthele five, no marvell is it, if nature of those five bodily elements hath framed proper figures and re- 30 presentations for every one of them, not simple and pure, but so, as every one of them is most participant of each of those properties and pulssances. For, plaine and evident it is that the cube is most meet and sortable unto station and repose, in regard of the stability and stedy firmitude of those broad and slat faces which it hath. As for the Pyramis who feeth not and acknowledgeth not incontinently in it the nature of fire, ever mooving in those long and slender fides and sharpe angles that it hath. Also the nature of Dodecaedron apt to comprehend all other figures, may feeme properly to be the image reprefenting Ens, or That which is, in respect of all corporall effence. Of the other twaine, Icofaedron refembleth The Other, or Diverfe: but Octaedron, hath a principall reference to the forme of The fame. And fo by this reckoning, the one of them produceth foorth Aire, capable of all substance in one forme; and the 40 other exhibiteth unto us Water, which by temperature may turne into all forts of qualities. Now it so be that nature requireth in all things and throughout all, an equal and uniforme distribution, very probable it is, that there be also five worlds, and neither more nor fewer, than there be moulds or patterns: to the end that ech example or patterne may hold the first place and principall puissance in ech world, like as they have in the first constitution and composition of bodies. And this may fland in some fort for an answer, and to satisfie him who mervaileth, how we devide that nature which is subject to generation and alteration, into so many kinds : but yet I befeech you, confider and weigh with me more diligently this argument. Certeine it is, that of those two first and supreme principles, I meane unity, and Binary or Duality; this latter being the element and original primative of all difformity, disorder and confusion, 50 is called Infinity: but contrariwise the nature of Unitie, determining and limiting the void infinity, which hath no proportion nor termination, reduceth it into a good forme, and makethit in some fort capable and apt to receive a denomination, which alwaies accompanieth sensible things. And verily these two generall principles shew themselves; first in number, or rather indeed to speake generally, no multitude is called number, untill such time as unitie comming to be imprinted as the forme in matter, cutteth off from indeterminate infinity, that which is superfluous,

fuperfluous, heere more and there leffe; for then ech multitude becommeth and is made number, when as it is once determined and limited by unitie: but if a man take unitie away, then the indefinite and indeterminate Dualitie, comming againe in place to confoundall, maketh it to be without order, without grace, without number, and without measure. Now confidering it is fo, that the forme is not the destruction of matter, but rather the figure, ornament and order thereof; it must needs be, that both these principles are within number, from which proceedeth the chiefe diffimilitude and greatest difference. For the indefinite and indeterminate principle, to wit, Duality, is the author and cause of the even number: but the better, to wit, unitie is the father (as one would fay) of the odde number; so as the first even number is two, and the first 10 odde number three, of which is compounded five, by conjunction common to both, but in the owne puiffance odde. For it behooved, & necessary it was, in as much as that which is corporall & fentible for composition sake, is divided into many parts by the power and force of $Th\varepsilon$ Other, that is to fay, of Diversitie, that it should be neither the first even number, nor yet the first uneven or odde, but a third confifting of both: to the end that it might be procreate of both principles, to wit, of that which engendreth the even number, and of that which produceth the odde; for it could not be, that the one should be parted from the other, because that both of them have the nature & puissance of a principle. These two principles then being conjoined together, the better being the mightier, is opposed unto the indeterminate infinitie, which divideth the corporal nature; & fo the matter being divided, the unitie interposing it selfe between, 20 impeacheth the univerfall nature, that it was not divided and parted into two equall portions: but there was a pluralisic of worlds caused by The Other, that is to say, by Diversitie, and difference of that which is infinit and determinate; but this ploralitie was brought into an odde and uneven number, by the vertue and puissance of The same and that which is finite, because the better principle suffred not nature to extend farther than was expedient. For if one had beene pure and fimple without mixture, the matter should have had no separation at all; but in as much as it was mixed with Dualitie, which is a divifive nature, it hath received indeed and fuffred by this meanes separation and division: howbeit, staied it hath in good time, because the odde was the master and superior over the even. This was the reason that our anneients in old time were wont to use the verbe Pempasesthai, when they would fignific to number or to reckon: 30 And I thinke verily that this word mein, that is to fay, All, was derived of Pente, that is to fay, Five, & not without good reason, because that five is compounded of the two first numbers; and when other numbers afterwards be multiplied by others, they produce divers numbers: whereas five if it be multiplied by an even number and dubled, bringeth forth Ten, a perfect number; but if by the odde, it represente th it felfe againe. Heere I omit to say, that it is compofed of the two first quadrate numbers, to wit of unity and Foure; and that it is the first number which is equivalent to the two before it, in fuch fortas it compounded the fairest triangle of those that have right angle, and is the first number that containeth the sesquialterall proportion. For haply these reasons be not well surable nor proper unto the discourse of this present matter : but this rather is more convenient to alledge, that in this number, there is a naturall vertue 40 and facultie of dividing, and that nature divideth many things by this number. For even in our owne felves the hath placed five exterior fences, as also five parts of the foule, to wit, naturall, sensitive, concupifcible, irascible, and reasonable: likewise so many fingers in either hand . Also the generall feed is at the most distributed into five portions: for in no history is it found written, that a woman was delivered of more than five children at one birth. The Aegyptians also in their fables doe report, that the goddeffe Rhea brought forth five gods and goddeffes: fignifying heereby under covert words, that of one and the same matter five worldes were procteated. Come to the universall fabricke and frame of nature, the earth is divided into five zones: the heaven also in five circles, two Arctiques, two Tropickes, and one Aequinoctiall in the midft. Moreover five revolutions, there be of the Planets or wandring starres: for that the 50 Sunne, Venus and Mercurie run together in one race. Furthermore the very world it selfe is composed harmonically respective to five, Like as even among us our musicall accord and concent confifteth of the politure of five tetrachords, ranged orderly one after another, to wit, of Hypates, Meses, Synnemenæ, Diezeugmenæ, and Hyperboliææ likewise. The intervals likewifein fong which we use be five in number, Deelis, Semitonion, Tonus, Triemitonion, and Duonon. So as, it feemeth that nature taketh more pleasure in making all things according to the number offive, than after a Sphæricall or round forme; as Ariffotle writeth. But what is

the cause will some one say, that Plate hath reduced the number of five worldes to the five primitive figures of regular bodies, faying, that God in ordaining and describing the whole world used the Quinarie construction? and yet afterwards having proposed the doubtfull question of the number of worldes (to wit, whether we should hold, there was but one, or rather that there were five in truth ?) he sheweth plainely that his conjecture is grounded upon this very argument. If therefore we ought to apply the probability to his minde and opinion, then of neceffity with the divertity of these figures and bodies there must ensue presently a difference also of motions, according as he himselfe teacheth, affirming: Whatsoever is subtilized or thickned, with the alteration of substance changeth withall the place. For so, if of the aire is ingendred fire, namely when the Octaedron is diffolved and parted into Pyramides: and contratiwife to aire of fire being driven close and thrust together into the force of octaedron: it is not possible that it should be in the place where it was afore, but flie and runne into another, as being forced and driven out of the former, and so fight against whatsoever standeth in the way and maketh refiftance. And yet more fully and evidently declareth he the fame by a fimilitude and example of fuch things, as by fannes or fuch like instruments whereby come is clensed & shaken out, or winowed and tried from the reft: faying that even fo the elements shaking the matter, and likewife shaken by it, went alwaies to bring like to like, and some tooke up this place, others that, before the universall world was of them composed as nowit is. The generall matter therefore being in such estate then (as by good likelihood All must needs be where god is away) presently the first five qualities, or rather the first five bodies, having every one of them their proper in. 20 clinations and peculiar motions, went apart: not wholly and altogether, nor fevered fincerely afunder one from another, for that when all was hudled pell-mell confusedly, such as were surmounted and vanquished, went evermore even against their nature with the mightier and those which conquered. And therefore when fome were haled one way, and others caried another way, it hapned that they made as many portions and diffinctions in number just as there were divers kindes of those first bodies: the one of fire, and yet the same not pure, but carying the forme of fire: another of a celettial nature, not fincere heaven indeed, but standing much of the skie: a third of earth, and yet not fimply and wholy earth, but rather earthly. But principally, there was a communication of aire and water, as we have faid heeretofore, for that these went their waies filled with many divers kindes. For it was not God who separated and disposed the 30 fubstance, but having found it fo rashly and confusedly diffipated of it selfe, and ech part caried diverfly in fo great dilorder, he digested and arranged it by Symmetrie and competent proportion. Then, after he had fet over every one, Reason as a guardian and governesse, he made as many worldes as there were kindes of those first bodies subsistent. And thus let this discourse for Ammonius sake, be dedicated as it were to the grace and favour of Plato. For mine owne part, I wil never fland fo precifely upon this number of worlds: mary of this minde I am rather, that their opinion who hold that there be more worldes than one (howbeit not infinit but determinate) is not more abfurd than either of the other, but founded upon as much reason as they: feeing as I doe, that Matter of the owne nature is fpred and diffused into many parts, not resting in one, and yet not permitted by reason, to runne in in finitum. And therefore, especially heere 40 (if elfe where) putting our felves in minde of the Academie and the precepts thereof let us not be over-credulous, but as in a flippery place restraine our affent and beleefe: onely in this point of infinity of worldes, let us frand firme and fee we fall not butkeepe our felves uptight. When I haddelivered these reasons above said: Beleeve me (quoth Demetrius) Lamprias giveth us a good and wife admonition, For

The gods for 10 deceive somen, devise Right many meanes, not of false Sophistries

as Euripides faith: but of their deeds & works, when we prefume and dare pronounce of fo high and great matters, as if weknew them certainely. But as the man himfelfe faid even now, we must recall our speech unto the argument which was first proposed. For that which heeretofore 50 hath beene faid, namely that the Oracles are become mute and lie still without any validity, because the Dæmons which were wont to governe them, be retired and gone, like as instruments of musicke yeeld no found and harmonie when the Musicians handle them not: this (Iay) giveth occasion to moove another question of greater importance, as touching the cause and power, by which the Dæmons use to make their prophets and prophetesses to be ravished with an Enthusiasme or divine sury and full of santasticall visions. For it is to no purpose to say, that

the Oracles are filent, because they be abandoned and for saken of the Damons; unlesse we be first perswaded, that when they be present and president over them, they set them a worke, and cause them to speake and prophesic. Then Ammonius taking his turne to speake: Thinke you (quoth he) that these Damons becalled any thing els,

Then spirits clad with substance of the aire, Which walke about the earth, now here now there,

as faith Hesiodus? For it seemeth unto me, that looke how one man different from another, playing either in a Comedie or a Tragedie: the fame difference the weth in the foule, which is arraied and clothed within a bodie during this life. There is nothing therefore herein, either strange of or without apparence of reason, if soules meeting with other soules, imprint in them visions and fansies of future things: like as we also shew many accidents done and past, yea and foretell and prognosticate of such as are to come, not all by lively voice, but some by letters and writings, hay by touching onely and the regard of the cie; unlesse peradventure, you have somewhat els (ô Lamprus) to say against this. For it was not long fince told us, that you had much disputation and conference with certaine strangers in Lebadia; but he who related this newes unto us, could not call exactly to minde what talke paffed betweene you. Marvell not thereat (quoth 1:) for many affaires and occurrents fell out at once betweene, by occasion that the Oracle was open, and a facrifice folemnized, which caused our speeches to be dispersed, distracted and scattered disorderly. But now (quoth Ammenius) your auditors be at good leasure, willing also 20 to aske questions and to learne, not defirous to contest and contradict in a litigious and quarrelfome humor; before whom you may have good leave to speake what you will, and for that liberberry of speech have pardon at their hands and be held excused, as you see. Now when the rest of the company invited and exhorted me likewife, after fome paufe made and filence for a while, I began againe in this maner: Certes (quoth I,) ô Ammonius, it fortuned to, I wot nor how, that even your felfe gave the overture and first occasion of those discourses which then and there were held. For if Dæmons be spirits and soules separate from bodies, and having no felowship with them (as your selfesaid, following heerein the divine Poet Hesiodus who calleth

> Pure faints, heere walking on the earth at large: Of mortall men, who have the care and charge)

why deprive we those spirits and soules which are within the bodies, of this same puissance. whereby the Dæmons are able to foresee and foretell things to come? For it is not like, that the foules acquired any new propriety or power, when they have abandoned the bodies, wherewith they were not endued before: but thinke we must that they had the same parts and faculties alwaies, although worfe I must needs say, when they be mixed with bodies. And some of them verily appeare not at all, but be hidden: others are but obfcure and feeble, fuch as heavily and flowly performe their operations (much like unto those who see through a thicke mist, or moove in fome moist and waterish substance) desiring greatly to be cured, and to recover that facultie which is their owne; to be discharged also and clensed of that which hindreth and de-40 fraudeth them of it. For the foule, even while it is bound and tied to the body, hath indeed a power to foresee and know future things: but blinded it is with the terrestrial limixture of corporall substance; for that, like as the Sunne becommeth not then to be cleere, and not afore, when he is past the clouds; but being of himselfe alwaies shining, he seemeth unto us darke and troubled through a mist even so the soule, getterh not then a new power of divination and prophefie when the departeth out of the body, as if the were escaped out of a cloud; but having the faine before it is dimmed and obscured by the commixtion and consustion with that which is mortall and corruptible. Neither ought we to make a wonder hecreat, and thinke it incredible, feeing as we do (if there were nothing elfe in the foule) how that faculty which we call Memory, is equipollent and answerable in an opposite respect unto the pullance of divination; and con-50 fidering the great effect thereof, in preferving and keeping things past or rather indeed kee-Pingthem whiles they be. For to fay truely, of that which is once passed nothing remaineth nor substitteth in effe, were they actions, wordes, or passions : for all things be transitory and passe away as foone as they are, because time, in maner of a current or streame, carieth all away betore it: but this memorative faculty of the foule catching hold thereof I know not how, and flaying it for flipping away, giveth an imagination of effence and being to those things, which in trueth are not. For the Oracle verily which was given to the Theffalians as touching the city Arna, willed them to utter and speake

That which the blinde fee cleare, And what the deafe doe heare.

But memory is unto us the hearing of the deafe, and the fight likewise of the blinde; in such fort, as no marvellit is (as I have already faid) if our foule in retaining still things which are no more, doth anticipate many of those also, which are not yet. And such objects indeed concome it rather, and therewith is it affected more. For the bendeth and inclineth towards things that are to come: whereas of fuch as be already past and come to their end, she is freed and delivered, but onely that the remembreth them. Our foules then having this puillance in them inbred and naturall, though feeble, obfcure, and hardly able to expresse and represent their imaginations; yet nevertheleffe some of them shew and put them forth many times in dreames and in certaine facred ceremonies and mysteries, namely, when the body is well purified, or receiveth a fit temperature therefore, or elfe for that the reasonable and speculative faculty being then freed from the cares of things prefent, joineth with the unreasonable and imaginative part, and turnethit to thinke upon the future. For I approove not that which Euripides faith:

I hold him for Divinor heft, Who in conjectures museth lest.

but he verily who is directed by the reasonable and intelligent part of the soule, and solloweth the conduct and leading there of by all probabilitie. Now that power or facultie of divination (like unto a paire of blanke writing tables, wherein there is nothing written) void of reason and not determinate of it felfe, but onely apt and meet to receive fanfies, affections, and prefenfions, without any discourse of reason, or ratiocination, hitteth upon that which is to come, at what time as it is most removed from that which is present; and in this extaste is it transmuted, by a certaine temperature and disposition of the body, which we call Enthusiasme or inspiration. Now such a disposition as this, many times the body of it selfe hath; but the earth putteth foorth and yeeldeth unto men the fources and fountaines of many other powers and faculties: some of which transport them out of their wits, bringing maladies, contagions, and mortalities: others againe be fometime good, kinde, and profitable, as they know full well who make experience thereof. But this fpring, this winde, or propheticall fpirit of divination, is most divine and holy, whether it arise and breath up alone by it selfe through the aire, or be drawen up with fome liquid humour, For comming once to be infused and mixed within the 30 body, it caufeth a strange temperature and unusuall disposition in the soules: the property whereof, a right hard matter it is to declare exactly, and expresse certainly; but a man in reason may atteine thereto by conjecture fundry waies: for by heat and dilatation, it openeth (I wot not what) little holes, by which in a'l likelihood the imaginative facultie is fet on worke about future things; much like as wine which working and boiling in the body fumeth up, and among other motions, it revealeth and discovereth many hidden secrets. For the fury of Bacchus and of drunkennesse, if we may believe Euripides, conteneth much divination: when the soule being enchased and enslamed, expellethall seare, which humane wisdome bringeth in, and by that meanes many times averteth and quencheth the divine inspiration. And heerewithall a man may alledge very well, and not without great reason, that ficeitie comming intermingled with 40 hear, fubrilizeth the spirit, and maketh it pure, and of the nature of fire (for according to Herachtus, The foule it selfe is of a dry constitution:) whereas humiditied oth not onely dim the fight, and dull the hearing, but also being mingled with the aire, and touching the superficies of mirrours, dusketh the brightnesse of the one, and taketh away the light of the other. On the contrary fide, it is not impossible that by some refrigeration and condensation of this spitit, after ter the maner of the tincture and hardnesse of iron, this part of the foule which doth pringhostil cate, should shewit selfe and get a perfect edge. And like as tinne being melted with brasse (which of it felfe is a mettall in the oare, rare, spongious, and full of little holes) doth drive it neerer, and maketh it more massic and solid, and withall, causeth it to looke more bright and refplendent: even fo, I fee no inconvenience to hinder, but that this propheticall exhalation har 50 ving fome congruence and affinity with the foules, should fill up that which is lax and empty and drive it close together more inwardly. For many things there be, that have a reference and congruitie one unto the other: thus the beane is fortable unto the purple die; Sal-nitre likewise helpethmuch the tincture of a rich scarlet or crimson colour, if it be mixed therewith, according also as Empedocles said:

and with the flower of Saffron red, Fine flax and lilke are coloured.

And we have heard you speake (good friend Demetrica) of the river Cydnus, and the facred cutting knife of Apollo in Tarfus; and namely, how the faid river onely clenfeth that iron whereof the knife is made, neither is there any other water in the world able to fcoure that knife : like as in the city Olympia, they temper the after that commeth of the facrifices, with the water of the river Alpheni, and make thereof a mortar, wherewith they plaifter the altar there; but if they affay to doe it with the water of any other river elfe, it will not flicke to, nor binde one jot. No marvell therefore it is, if the earth fending up out of it many exhalations, these onely are found to transport the soules with an enthusiasme or divine sury, and represent the imaginations and fanfies of future things. But without all question and contradiction, the report that goeth of the Oracle in this place, accordeth well to this purpose. For it is said, that this propheticall and divining power heere, shewed it selfe first, by occasion of a certeine heardman, who chanced heeretofall; who thereupon began to cast foorth certaine fanaticall cries and voices, as if he had bene possessed with such a divine inspiration. Whereof the neighbors and those that came about him, at first made no account; but afterwards, when they faw that it fell out so indeed, as behad foretold, they had the man in great admiration: and the greatest clerks and wifest men of all the Delphians, calling to remembrance his name, gave out that it was Coretas, So that it feemeth to me, that the foule admitteth this temperature and mixtion with this propheticall spirit, as the sight of the eie is affected with the light. For albeit the eie hath naturally a property and power to fee, yet the fame is not effectuall without the light: even to the foule having this puissance and facultie, to foresee future things, like unto the eie had need of some proper and convenient thing to kindle it as it were, and fet an edge upon it. And heereupon it is, that many of our auncients have thought Apollo, and the Sunne, to be one and the fame god. They also who know what this beautifull and wile proportion is, and withall doe honour it; looke what reference or respect there is of the body to the soule, of the sight to light, and of the * under- * Our and & flanding to the trueth; the same force and power they esteemed there is of the Sunnes power flanding, unto the nature of Apollo: saving, that he is the iffue and geniture proceeding from Apollo who or light. unto the nature of Apollo: faying, that he is the iffue and geniture proceeding from Apollo who is eternall, and who continually bringeth him foorth. For like as the one kindles, bringeth foorth and stirreth up the visuall power and vertue of the sense: even so doth the other by the propheticall vertue of the foule. They therefore who thought that it was one and the felfe fame 30 god, by good right dedicated and confecrated this Oracle unto Apollo, and unto the Earth: judging, that the Sunne it was which wrought that temperature and imprinted this disposition in the earth, whereof arose this propheticall evaporation. And verily as Hesiodus upon good confideration, and with much more reason than some Philosophers, called the Earth;

The ground-worke fure Of all nature:

even so we deeme it to be eternall, immortall, and incorruptible: mary of the vertues and faculties which are in it, we hold that some faile in one place, and others breed a new and engender in another : and great probability there is, that there be transmutations and changes from one place to another, and that fuch revolutions as thefe, in the course and processe of long time turne and returne circularly often in it; as a man may conjecture and certainly collect by fuch things as manifestly do appeere. For in divers and fundry countries, we see that lakes and whole rivers, yea and many more fountaines and fprings of hot waters, have failed and beene quite loft, as being fled out of our fight, and hidden within the earth; but afterwards in the very fame places they have in time shewed themselves againe, or else run hard by. And of mettall mines, we know that some have been espent cleane and emptied; as namely, those of filver about the territory of Attica: femblably the vaines of braffe oare in Eubara, out of which they forged fometime the best swords, that were hardned with the tincture of cold water: according to which the Poet Aefchylus faid:

He tooke in hand the keene and douty blade, Which of Eubocan steele sometime was made.

The tocke also and quarry in Carystia, it is not long since it gave over to bring foorth certaine bals or bottomes of fost stone, which they use to spin and draw into three, in maner of flax : for Isuppose that some of you have seene towels, napkins, nets, caules, kerchieses and coifes woven of fuch thred, which would not burne and confume in the fire; but when they were foule and foiled with occupying, folke flung them into the fire, and tooke them footth againe cleane and faire: but now althis is quite gone, and hardly within the faid delfe shall a man meet

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with

and conceit of fuch a caule, as Euripides devileth Cyclops to alledge in the Tragoodie bearing

The earth must needs bring forth grasse, this is flat,

Will she or nill she, and feed my cartell fatte. This onely is the difference, because he faith not that he sacrificed his beasts unto the gods, but unto himselfe and his belly, the greatest of all the Damons: but we both facrifice and also powre forth our praiers unto them, forto have their answere from the Oracles: and to what purpose I pray you, if it be true, that our owne soules bring with them a propheticall facultie and vertue of divination, and the cause which doth excite and actuate the same, be some tempe-10 rature of the aire, or rather of winde? What meanes then, the facred inflitutions and creations of these religious prophetesses ordained for the pronouncing of answeres? And what is the reason that they give no answere at all, unlesse the host or facrifice to be killed, tremble all over even from the very feet, and shake whiles the libaments & effusions of halowed liquors be powred upon it. For it is not enough to wag the head, as other beafts doe which are flaine for fa crifice, but this quaking, panting and thivering must be throughout all the parts of the body, and that with a trembling noise. For if this be wanting, they fay the Oracle giveth no answere, neither doe they fo much as bring in the religious priestesse Pythia. And yet it were probable that they should both doe and thinke thus, who attribute the greatest part of this propheticall inspiration, either to God or Dæmon. But according as you say, there is no reason or likeli-20 hood therof: for the exhalation that arifeth out of the ground, whether the beaft tremble or no. will alwaies if it be prefent, cause a ravishment and transportation of the spirit, and evermore dispose the soule alike, not onely of Pythia, but also of any body else that first commeth or is presented. And thereupon it followeth, that a meere folly it is, to employ one filly woman in the Oracle, and to put her to it (poore foule) to be a votary and live a pure maiden all the daies of her life, sequestred from the company of man. And as for that Coretas, whom the Delphians name to have beene the first that chancing to fall into this chinke or crevasse of the ground, gave the hanfell of the vertue and property of the place, in mine opinion he differed nothing at all from other goteheards, or shepheards, nor excelled them one whit: at least wife if this be a truth that is reported of him, and not a meere fable and vaine fiction, as I suppose it is no better. 30 And verily when I confider and discourse in my selfe, how many good things this Oracle hath beene cause of unto the Greeks, as well in their warres and martiall affaires, as in the foundations of cities, in the distresses of famine and pestilence, me thinkes it were a very indignity and unworthy part, to attribute the invention and originall thereof unto meere fortune and chance. and not unto God and divine providence. But upon this point, I would gladly, ô Lamprias, (quoth he) have you to dispute and discourse a little: how say you Philippus, may it please you to have patience the while? Most willingly (quoth Philippus) for my part: and so much I may be bold alfo to promise in the behalfe of all the company, for I see well that the question by you proposed hath moved them all. And as for my selfe (quoth I) ô Philippus, it hath not onely moved, but also abashed and dismaied me, for that in this so notable assembly and conference of 40 formany worthy parfonages, I may feeme above mine age, in bearing my felfe and taking pride in the probability of my wordes, to overthrow or to call into question any of those things, which truely have beene delivered, or religiously beleeved as touching God and divine matters. But satisfie you I will, and in the defence of my selfe produce for my witnesse and advocate both, Plato. For this Philosopher reprooved old Anaxagor as, in that being to much addicted to naturall causes and entangled with them; following also and pursuing alwaies that which necesfarily is effected in the paffions and affections of naturall bodies, he overpaffed the finall and efficient causes, for which and by which thinges are done, and those are indeed the better causes and principles of greater importance: whereas himselse either before, or else most of all other Philosophers hath prosecuted them both: attributing unto God the beginning of all things 30 wrought by reason: and not depriving in the meane while the matter of those causes which are necessary unto the worke done: but acknowledging heerein, that the adorning and dispose of all this world fenfible, dependeth not upon one fimple cause alone, as being pure and uncompound, but was engendred and tooke effence, when matter was coupled and conjoined with reafon. That this is fo, doe but confider first the workes wrought by the hand of Artisans : as for example (not to goe farther for the matter) that fame foot heere and basis so much renowmed, of the standing cup, among other ornaments and oblations of this temple (which Herodotus XXXXX 2

with some few hairie threds of that matter, running here & there among the hard stones digged out from thence. Now of all these things Aristotle and his sectaries hold: That an exhalation within the earth, is the onely efficient cause, with which of necessity such effects must faile and passe from place to place; as also otherwhiles, breed againe therewith. Semblably are we to thinke of the spirits and exhalations prophetical which iffue out of the earth; namely, that they have not a nature immortall, and fuch as can not age or waxe olde, but subject to change and alteration. For probable it is, that the great gluttes of raine and extraordinary flouds, have extinguithed them quite, and that by the terrible fall of thunder-bolts the places were fmitten, and they withal diffipated and difpatched: but principally, when the ground hath beene thaken with carthquakes, and thereupon fetled downward and fallen in, with trouble and confusion of what, or foever was below; it cannot chuse but such exhalations conteined within the holow caves of the earth, either changed their place and were driven forth, or utterly were stifled and choked. And fo in this place also, there remained and appeared some tokens of that great earth-quake, which overthrew the city and staied the Oracle heere: like as, by report in the city Orchomenos, there was a plague which swept away a number of people; and therewith the Oracle of Tiresias the prophet, failed for ever, & so continueth at this day mute and to no effect. And whether the like befell unto the Oracles which were woont to be in Cilicia, as we heare fay, no man can more certainly enforme us than you Demetrius. Then Demetrius: How things stand now at this prefent, I wor not; for I have beene a traveller and out of my native country a long time, as yee all know: but when I was in those parts, both that of Mopfus, and also the other of Amphile- 20 chu, flourished and were in great request. And as for the Oracle of Mopfus, I am able to make reportunto you of a most strange and woonderfull event thereof, for that I was my selfe present, The Governour of Cilicia is of himselfe doubtfull and wavering, whether there be gods or no? upon infirmity, as I take it, of miscredance and unbeliefe (for otherwise he was a naughty man, a violent oppressour, and scorner of religion.) But having about him certaine Epicureans, who standing much upon this their goodly and beautifull Physiologie for footh (as they terme it) or else all were marred, scoffe at such things; he sent one of his aftranchised or freed servants unto the Oracle of Mopfus indeed, howbeit, making femblance as if he were an espiall, to discover the campe of his enemies: he fent him (I fay) with a letter furely fealed, wherin he had written without the privity of any person whatsoever, a question or demaund to be presented unto the Ora- 30 cle. This messenger, after the order and custome of the place, remaining all night within the fanctuary of the temple, fel there afleepe, and rehearfed the morrow morning what a dreame he had; and namely, that he thought he faw a faire and beautifull man to prefent himselfe unto him, and fay unto him this onely word Blacke, and no more : for prefently he went his way out of his fight. Now wee that were there, thought this to be a foolish and absurd toy, neither wish we what to make of it. But the governour aforesaid was much astonied thereat, and being firicken with a great remorfe and pricke of conscience, worshipped Mopfus and held his Oracle most venerable; for opening the letter, he shewed publikely the demaund conteined therein which went in these words: Shall I facrifice unto thee a white Bull, or a blacke? insomuch as the very Epicureans themselves who conversed with him, were much abashed and ashamed. So he 40 offied the facrifice accordingly, and ever afterwards to his dying day honoured Mapfus right

Demetrius having thus faid, held his peace: but I defirous to conclude this whole disputation with fome corollary, turned againe and cast mine eie upon Philippus and Ammonius who sat together. Now they feemed as if they had fomewhat to speake unto me, and thereupon I staied my selse againe. With that, Ammonius : Philip (quoth he) ô Lamprias, hath somewhat yetto fay of the question which hath beene all this while debated. For he is of opinion, as many others beside him are, that Apollo is no other god than the Sunne, but even the very same. But the doubt which I moove, is greater and of more important matters. For I wot not howerewhile, in the traine of our discourse, we tooke from the gods all divination and ascribed the 50 fame in plaine termes to Dæmons and angels : and now we will feeme to thrust them out againe from hence, and to diffeize them of the Oracle and three footed table of which they were possessioning the beginning and principall cause of prophesie, or rather indeed the very substance and power it selfe, upon windes, vapours, and exhalations. For even those temperatures, heats, tinctures, and confolidations (if I may fo fay) which have beene talked of, remove our minde and opinion farther off still from the gods, and put into our heads this imagination

called, Hypocreteridion) this hath for the materiall cause verily, sire, iton, the mollesying by the meanes of fire, and the tincture or dipping in water, without which this peece of worke could not possibly have bene wrought. But the more principall cause and mistresse indeed, which mooved all this, and did worke by all these, was att and reason applied unto the worke. And we rily we see that over such peeces, whether they be pictures or other representations of things, the name of the artissee and workeman is written, as for example:

This picture Polygnotus drew, of Iroy won long beforne, Who father had Aglaophon, and was in Thasos borne.

And verily he it was indeed as you see, who painted the destruction of Troy: but without colours ground, confused and mingled one with another, impossible had it beene for him to have exhibited such a picture, to faire and beautifull to the eie as it is. If then some one come now and will needs medle with the materiall cause, searching into the alterations and mutations thereof, particularizing of Sinopre mixed with Ochre, or Ceruffe with blacke, doth he impaire or diminish the glory of the painter Polyeletus? Healfo, who discourseth how iron is hardned, and by what meanes mollified: and how being made foft and tender in the fire, it yeeldeth and obaieth them who by beating and knocking drive it out in length and bredth: and afterwards being dipped and plunged into fresh waters still, by the actuall coldnesse of the said water (for that the fire heats had foftened and rarefied it before) it is thrust close together and condensate: by 20 meanes whereof it getteth that stiffe, compact and hard temper of steele, which Homer calleth the very force of iron; referveth he for the workeman any thing leffe heereby, in the principall cause and operation of his worke? I suppose he doth not. For some there be who make proofe and triall of Physicke drogues, and yet I trow they condemne not thereby the skill of Physicker like as Place also himselfe, when he faith: That we doe see, because the light of our eie is mixed with the electenesse of the Sunne; and heare by the percussion and beating of the aire, doth not deny that we have the facultic of feeing and power of hearing by reason and providence. For in fumme, as I have faid and doe still averre, whereas all generation proceedeth of two caufes, the most ancient Theologians and Poets, vouchsafed to set their mindeupon the better onely and that which was more excellent, chaunting evermore this common refraine and foot 30 (as it were) of the fong in all things and actions whatfoever:

Jove is the first, the midst, the tast; all things of him depend: By him begin they, and proceed; in him they come to end.

After other necessary and natural causes they never sought farther, nor came neere unto them: whereas the moderne Philosophers who succeeded after them and were named naturalists, tooke a contrary course; and turning cleane aside from that most excellent and divine principle, ascribed al unto bodies, unto passions also of bodies, and I wot not what percussions, mutations and temperatures. And thus it is come to paffe, that as well the one fort as the other, are in their 40 opinions defective and come short of that which they should. For as these either of ignorance know not, or of negligence regard not to fet downe the efficient principall cause, whereby, and from which : fo the other before, leave out the materiall causes, of which; and the instrumentall meanes, by which things are done. But he who first manifestly touched both causes, and coupled with the reason that freely worketh and moveth, the matter which necessarily is subject and fuffreth; he (I fay) for himfelfe & us, answereth all calumniations, and putteth by all furmizes and suspicions whatsoever. For we bereave not divination either of God, or of reason: for as much as we graunt unto it for the subject matter, the soule of man; and for an instrument and plectre (as it were) to fet it aworke, we allow a spirit or winde, and an exhalation enthuliaflicke. First and formost, the earth it is that engendreth such exhalations: then, that which gi- 50 veth unto the earth all power and vertue of this temperature and mutation is the Sunne, who (as we have learned by tradition from our forefathers) is a god. After this we adjoine thereto, the Damons as superintendants, overfeers and keepers of this temperature (as if it were some harmony and confonance) who in due and convenient time let downe and flacke, or elfe fet up and firetch hard the vertue of this exhalation: taking from it otherwhiles the over-active efficacy that it hath to torment the foule and transport it beside it selfe: tempering therewith a motive

vertue without working any paine, or hurt and damage to them that are infpired and possels therewith. Wherein me thinkes, we doe nothing that seemeth either absurd or impossible: neither in killing sacrifices before we come to moove the Oracle, and adorning them with coronets of slowers, and powring upon them facred liquors and libations, doe we ought that is contrary to this discourse and opinion of ours. For the priests and facrificers, and whosoever have the charge to kill the beast, and to powre upon it the holy libations of wine or other liquors; who also observe and consider the motion, trembling and the whole demeanour thereof, doe the same for no other end or cause but to have a signe, that God giveth care unto their demaund. For necessary it is that the beast facrificed unto the gods be pure, sound, entier, immaculate, and uncorrupt both in soule and bodie. And verily, for the body it is no hard matter to judge and know the markes: as for the soule they make an experiment, by setting before bulles, meale: by presenting unto swine, cich-pease: for if they will not fall to, nor tast thereof, it is a certaine token that they be not right. For the goat, cold water is the triall. Now if the beast make no shew and semblance of being mooved or affected, when as the said water is powred aloft on it, be sure the soule thereof is not disposed as it ought to be by nature.

Now, fay it go for currant and be constantly believed, that it is an undoubted and infallible figne, that the God will give answer, when the host or facrifice thus drenched doth stire; and contrariwife, that he will not answer, if the beast quetch not: I see nothing herein repugnant unto that, which we have before delivered. For every natural power produceth the effect for which 20 it is ordained, better or worse, according as the time and season is more or lesse convenient: and probable it is, that God giveth us certeine fignes, whereby we may know when the opportunity is palt. For mine owne part, I am of this minde, that the very exhalation it felfe which arifeth out of the earth, is not alwaies of the fame fort; but at one time is flacke and feeble, at another ftretched out and ftrong. And the argument which maketh me thus to judge, I may eafily confirme and verifie by the testimonie of many strangers and of all those ministers who serve in the temple. For the chamber or roume, wherein they are fet and give attendance who come to demand the answer of the Oracle, is filled thorow(not often, nor at certeine set times, but as it fallethout after some space betweene) with so fragrant an odour and pleasant breath, as the most pretious ointments and sweetest perfumes in the world can yeeld no better. And this ariseth from the fanctuarie and vault of the temple, as out of some source and lively sountaine: and very like it is, that it is heat, or at least wife some other puissance, that sendeth it forth. Now if peradventure, this may feeme unto you not probable nor to found of trueth: yet will ye at leastwife confesse unto me, that the Prophetesse Pythia hath that part of the soule, unto which this winde or propheticall spirit approacheth, disposed some time in this sort and otherwhiles in that, and keepeth not alwaies the same temperature, as an harmonic immutable. For many troubles and passions there be that possesses but, and enter likewise in her soule, some apparent; but more, secret and unseene: with which she finding herselfe seized and replenished, better it were forher not to present and exhibit herselfeto this divine inspiration of the god, being not altogether cleane and pure from all perturbations; like unto an instrument of Musicke well fer in 40 tuneand founding sweetly, but passionate and out of order. For neither wine doth surprise the drunken man alwaies alike, and as much at one time as at another; nor the found of the flute or shaulme affecteth after one and the same fort at altimes, him who naturally is given to be soone ravilhed with divine infpiration: but the same persons are one time more, and another while leffe transported befide themselves; and drunken likewise, more or lesse. The reason is, because in their bodies there is a divers temperature: but principally, the imaginative part of the foule, and which receiveth the images and fantafies, is possessed by the body, and subject to change with it, as appeareth evidently by dreames: for fometimes there appeare many visions and fantics of all forts in our fleeps; otherwhiles againe, we are free from all fuch illusions, and rest in great quietnesse and tranquillitie. We our selves know this Cleon here of Daulia, who all his life time 50 (and many yeeres he lived) never (as he faid himfelfe) dreamed nor faw any vision in his sleepe: and of those in former times, we have heard as much reported of Thrasymedes the Hoereian. The cause whereof, was the temperature of the bodie: whereas contrariwise it is seene, that the complexion of melancholicke persons is apt to dreame much, and subject to many illusions in the night; although it feemeth their dreames and visions be more regular, and fall out truce than others, for that fuch persons touching their imaginative faculty with one fansie or other, it can not chuse but they meet with the truth otherwhiles: much like as when a man shoots many

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shafts, it goeth hard if he hit not the marke with one. When as therefore the imaginative part and the propheticall faculty is well disposed and sutable with the temperature of the exhalation. as it were with some medicinable potion, then of necessitie there must be engendred within the bodies of Prophets an Enthuliasme or divine surie: contrariwise, when there is no such propor. tionate disposition, there can be no propheticall inspiration; or if there be, it is fanaticall, un. feafonable, violent and troublefome: as we know, how of late it befel to that Pythias or Propheteffe, who is newly departed. For there being many pilgrims and strangers come from forcen parts to confult with the Oracle, it is faid, that the hoft or beaft to be facrificed, did endure the first libaments and liquors that were powred upon it, never stirring thereat nor once quetching for the matter: but after that the Priests and Sacrificers powred Itill, and never gave over to to call liquor on, beyond all measure; at length (after great laving and drenching of it) hardly and with much adoc it yeelded and trembled a little. But what hapned hereupon to the Prophetesse or Pythias aforefaid? Went the did indeed downe into the cave or hole, againft her will (as they faid) and with no alacrity at all: but incontinently, when the was come up againe, at the very first words and answers that the pronounced, it was well known by the horsenesse of her voice, that the could not endure the violence of possession, being replenished with a maligne and mute fpirit, much like unto a thip caried away under full failes with a bluftering gale of wind. Infomuch as in the end being exceedingly troubled, and with a fearefull and hideous crie, making haste to get out, she slung herselfe downe, and fell upon the earth: so that not onely the forefaid pilgrims fled for feare, but Nicander also the High-priest, and other Sacrificers and religi- 20 ous ministers that were present. Who notwithstanding afterwards taking heart unto them, and entring againe into the place, tooke her up lying still in an extasse besides herselse: and in very trueth, the lived not many daies after. And therefore it is, that the faid Pythias keepeth her bo. die pure and cleane from the company of man, and forbidden she is to converse or have commerce al her life time with any stranger. Also, before they come to the Oracle, they observe certeine fignes; for that they thinke it is knowen unto the God, when her bodie is prepared and disposed to receive (without danger of her person) this Enthusiasme. For the force and vertue of this exhalation, doth not move and incite all forts of persons, nor the same alwaies after one maner, nor yet as much at one time as at another: but giveth onely a beginning, and fetteth to (as it were) a match to kindle it, as we have faid before; even unto those onely who are prepared 30 and framed aforehand to fuffer and receive this alteration. Now this exhalation (without all question) is divine and celestiall: howbeit for all that, not such as may not faile and cease, not incorruptible, not subject to age and decay, nor able to last and endure for ever: and under it, all things fuffer violence, which are betweene the earth and the moone, according to our doctrine: however others there be who affirme, that those things also which are above, are not able to re-

fift it; but being wearied an eternall and infinite time, are quickely changed and renewed (as one would fay) by a fecond birth & regeneration. But of these matters (quoth I) advise you I would and my selfe also, eftsoones to call to minde, and consider often this discourse, for that they be points exposed to many reprehenfions, and fundry objections may be alledged against them. All which, the time will not fuffer us now to profecute at large: and therefore let us put them off unto another opportunity, together with the doubts and questions which Philippus moved as touching Apollo and the

Sunne.

WHAT

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SIGNIFIETH

THIS WORD EL, ENGRA-

VEN OVER THE DORE OF APOL-

LOES TEMPLE IN THE CI-TIE OF DELPHI.

The Summarie.



Mong infinite testimonies of the fury of maligne spirits and evillangels (who having beene created at first good, kept not their originall, but fell from the degree and state of happinesse, wherein continue by the grace and favour of God the good angels, who minister and attend upon those who stall receive the inheritance of sal-

vation and everlasting life) these may be reckoned for the chiefe and principall, that such reprobate spirits and accursed fiends, endewour & practise by all meanes possible to make themselves to be adored by men: and faine would they be set in the throne of him, who having imprisoned and tied them fast in a deepe dungeon, with the chaine of darknesse, reserveth them to the judge. ment of that great day of doome. And so farre proceeded they in pride and presumption, as to cause themselves to be stiled by the name of God; yea, and to be adorned with those titles, which are due and apperteine unto the Acternall, their foveraigne judge. Their devices and artificial meanes to bring thu about, be woonderfull, and of exceeding variety: according as the infinit numbers of idols 30 Swarming in all parts, and so many strange and uncouth superstitions, wherewith the world hath beene diffamed unto this present day, doe testifie and give evident proofe. But if there be any place in the whole earth, wherein Satanhath actually (hewed his furious rage against God and man, it is Greece: and above all, in that renowmed temple of Delphi, which was the common feat, upon which this cursed enemy has breceived the homages of an infinit number of people of all fores and qualities, under the colour and pretence of resolving their doubtfull questions. Here then especially presumed he and was fo bold, as to take upon him the name of God: and for to reach thereto, hath fee out and garnished his Oracles, with ambiguous speeches, short and sententious, intermingling some trueths among lies: even as it pleased the just judge of the world, to let the reines loose unto this notorious seducer, and to give him power for to deceive and abuse the world: as also by certaine notable say-40 ings (as thefe: Know thy felfe. Nothing too much: and fuch like) he hath kept bound unto him, persons of highest spirit and greatest conceit: causing them to thinke, that in delivering so goodly precepts for the rule and direction of this life, it must needs be the true friend of mankinde, yea and the very heavenly wisdome, that spake by these Oracles. But his audacious pride, together with most intolerable impudence, hash appeared in the inscription of this bareword, EI, upon the porch of the temple of Apollo in Delphi, in that he pretended title and claimed thereby (according to the last interpretation thereof in this prefent discourse) to put himselfe in the place of the eternall God: who onely Is, and giveth Being unto all things. And that which worse is, the blindnesse was so horrible, even of the wifest Sages, that this opinion hath beene seated in their heads whiles this tyrant posses-Sed them, in such fort, as they tooke pleasure to suffer themselves so to be consened by him. But hereby good cause have we to praise our God, who bath discovered and laid open to us such impostures, and maketh his majestie knowen unto us by his word, to be the onely true and eternall deitie; in adoring and worst ipping whom, we may safely and truely say E1, that is to say, Thou art: as contrariwise, the deceitful wiles and illusions of latan and his complices, do declare how fearefull and horrible the judgement of God is upon such rebellious spirits. Now if some over-busic and curious head, will beere di-Spute and reason against the justice of him who is the disposer of all things, and enterprise to controlle that eternall wisedome which governeth the world, for having mercy upon such as it pleases h him, and

suffering to fall from so excellent an estate, the Apostatate and disobodient angels, and yet permittine them to have such a powerfull hand over the most part of Adams children; we answer in one word: Man, what art thou, that thus wilt plead against God? shall the thing formed, say unto him who formedit, Why hast thou made me fo? Hath not the potter full power to make of the same masse of earth or clay, one welfell for honor, and another for distronor? The judgements of God are unsearchable, they have neither bottom nor brinke : the riches of his wisdome and knowledge are inscrutable, and beyond all computation : his waies are hidden and impossible to be found out. If then there be any place in the consideration of the secrets of God, where we ought to be retentive, warie and discret, it is in this. where every man hash just occasion to thinke upon this notable lesson and advertisement: Not to presume for to know over and above that which he should, but to be wise unto sobrietie: and that no man ought to be pussed up with pride, but rather to searce. Moreover, as touching the contents of this dif. 10 courfe the author having used an honest and decent Preface, faith in generall: That by this present infeription, Apollo intended to make himfelfe knowen, and to incite every man to inquire into time, But becrein the enemie of mankind heweth his audacity and holdnesse sufficiently, as also how he deludeth and mocketh his flaves; in that after he had deprived them of right and found judgement, he flirreth them up to know, who he is : which is as much as if one should plucke out the eies, and cut in twaine the ham firings of a traveller or wasfaring min; and then bid him seeke out his way, and goe onward on hu journey. Now he brings in foure divers personages, delivering their minds as touching this Mot, Et. Lamptias opining in the first place, thinketh that the first and principall wife Sages of Greece devised it, for that they would be knowen and discerned from others. Ammonius secondly, 20 referreth and applieth it to the Wishes and Questions of those who resort unto the Oracle. Theon the third, attributeth this mysteric unto Logicke, and doth all that possibly he can to mainteine his opinion. Eustrophus the Mathematician feaking in the fourth place, and feconded by Plutarch, Philo-Sophizeth at large upon the number of 5. represented by the letter E: he discourseth and runneth through all the Mathematikes, and divers parts of Philosophy, and all to approove and make good his conceit : but his drift and end is , to shew under the mysticall sense of numbers , the perfection of his Apollo, which he draweth and fetcheth also from the consideration of his titles, epithets and attributes. But Ammonius gathering together their voices, and closing or flopping up the diffuration, seemeth to hit the marke : prooving by most strong and learned reasons, that Apollo would by this word instruct pilgims, how they ought to salute and call him, to wit, in saying thus, E it that is to say, 20 Thou art he: which is opposite unto that salutation which this false god (usur ping the name of the true Jehovah, or alwaies Existent) greeteth men with , in setting just before their eies, in the entrie and forefront of his temple, thefe two words, Irabi oreavor that is to fay, Know the felfe. Having enriched this with two evident proofes, the onetaken from the uncerteine condition of creatures; the other from the firmitude and true estate or being of the Creator; he exhorteth hufellowes to lift up themselves to the contemplation of the essence of God, and to honour the Sunne, his expresse image. Which done, herefuteth certaine contrary opinions: and after a new confirmation of his discourse, he endethwhere he first began; to wir, that the knowledge of God and our selves, are opposite in such fort, as yet neverthelesse they must meet and concurre in us. But all the application of this discourse unto Apollo (whom you must take for the very divell) in no wise u 40 fit and agreeable. And heerein aman may see better yet, what madnesse and folly is the wifdome of man : and in how thicke and palpable darknesse they goe groping with their hands before them, who are no otherwise guided than by the discourse of their owne reason. Which teacheth us once againe to adore the secrets of God: to recognize and apprehend his mercies in thematter of our falvation: to dread also his justice, which sheweth it selfe in the deplorable and piteous blindnesse of so many nations ; even from the time that sinne fir st entred into the world,

KEDEDED'S

unto this present day.

WHAT

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WHAT SIGNIFIETH THIS

word E1, engraven over the dore of Apolloes temple in the city of Delphi.



Light of late in my reading (friend Sarapion) upon certeine pretie [lambique] verses, not unelegantly endited, which Diezarchus supposeth that the Poet Euripides delivered unto king Archelaus, to this effect:

No. gifts will I to you present, Since poor e I am, and wealth you bave: Lest I for folly of you be shent, Or by such giving seeme to crave.

For he, who of that hitle meanes which he hash, bestoweth some small present upon them that are rich and possesse much, gratifieth

them nothing at all, nor deserveth any thanks : and that which worse is, because no man will beleeve that he giveth (be it never fo little) for nothing, he incurreth the fulpicion and obloquie of being cautelous, illiberall, and fimply naught. But forasmuch as the gifts that be in the nature 20 of filver, gold and temporall goods, be in regard of beautie and liberall courtefie, farre inferiour to those which go in the kinde of good letters, and proceed from learning: it standeth well with honesty, both to give such, and also to demand the like of those who receive the same. And therefore, in fending prefently unto you, and for your fake unto those friends about you in those parts, certaine discourses gathered together as touching the Temple and Oracle of Apollo Pythim, as an offering of first fruits; I confesse that I expect from you others againe, both more in number and better in value, confidering that you live in a great city, have more leafure, and enjoy the benefit of more books, and all fort of scholasticall conferences and learned exercises. And verily it feemeth, that our good and kinde apollo doth indeed remedy, eafe and affoile the doubtfull difficulties ordinarily incident to this life of ours, by giving answer unto those who re-30 paire unto his Oracle: but fuch as concerne matter of learning, he putteth forth and propofeth himselse unto that part of our minde, which naturally is given to Philosophize and study wisedome, imprinting therein a covetous defire to know and understand the trueth: as may appeare by many other examples, and namely, in this petie mot, E1, confecrated in his temple. For it is not like, that it was by meere chance and adventure, nor by a lotterie (as it were) of letters fluffled together, that this word alone should have the preeminence with this god, as to precede and goe before all others; ne yet, that it should have the honour to be confecrated unto God, or declared in the temple as a thing of speciall regard for to be seene and beheld : but it must needs be, that either the first learned men (who at the beginning had the charge of this temple) knew some particular and exquisit propertie in this word, or elsused it as a device to 40 symbolize some matter of singularity, or covertly to signific a thing of great consequence. Having therefore many times before, cleanly put by and avoided, or paffed over this question propoled in the schooles for to be discussed and discoursed upon 3 of late I was surprized and set upon by mine owne children, upon occasion that I was debating with certeine strangers, as delitous to fatisfie them: whom being ready to depart out of the city of Delphi, it was no part of civility either to deteine long, or altogether to reject, having so earnest a minde to heare me say fomewhat. When therefore, as we were fet about the temple, I beganne partly to looke unto fome things my felfe, and partly to demand and enquire of them; I was put in minde and admonished by the place and matters then handled, of a former question which before time (when Nero passed thorow these parts) I heard Ammonius to discourse, and others besides, in this ve-50 ry place; and as touching aquestion of the same difficultie likewise propounded. For, considering that this god Apollo is no leffe a Philosopher than a Prophet, Ammonius then delivered, that in regard thereof the furnames might very well be fitted and applied, which were attributed unto him very rightly and with good reason; thewing and declaring, that he is Pythus, a Questionist to those who begin to learne and enquire; Delim and Phanaus, that is to fay, cleere and lightfome unto fuch as have the trueth a little thining and appearing unto them; Ifmenius, that is to fay, skilfull and learned unto as many as have atteined unto knowledge already; and Lesche-

norum, as one would fay, Eloquent os Discoursing, when they put their science in practise and make use thereof, proceeding for to conferre, dispute and discourse one with another. And for that it appertemeth unto Philosophers, to enquire, admire and cast doubts, by good right the most part of divine matters belonging to the gods, are couched & hidden under darke anigmes and covert speeches, and thereupon require that a man should demand, why? and whether ? as also to be instructed in the cause. As for example, about the maintenance of the immortall or eternall fire, Why of all kinds of wood they burne the Firre only? Alfo, Wherefore they never make any perfume but of the Laurell? Likewife, What is the reason, that in this temple there be no more but two images of two destinies or fatall fisters, named Parse, whereas in all places els therebethree of them? Semblably, What should be the cause, that no woman (whatsoever she be) is permitted to have accesse unto this Oracle for counsell or resolution ? Againe, What is the reason of that fabricke or three sooted table? and such other matters which invite, allure and draw those who are not altogether witlesse, void of sense and reason, to aske, to see and heare formewhat, yea and to dispute about them, what they should meane? And to this purpose, doe but marke and confider these inscriptions standing in the forestront of this Temple: Know the felfe, and Nothing 100 much: what a number of questions and learned disputations they have moved: alfo, what a multitude of goodly discourses have sprung & proceeded from such writings, as out of some seed or graine of corne. And this will I say unto you, that the matter now in queftion, is no leffe fertile and plentifull, than any one of the other.

When Ammonius had thus faid, my brother Lamprius began in this wife: And yet (quoth he) 20 the reason which we all have heard as touching this question, is very plaine and short. For reported it is, that those ancient Sages or wise men, who by some are named Sophisters, were indeed of themselves no more than five: to wit, Chilon, Thales, Solon, Biss , and Pittaciss. But when first Cleobulus the tyrant of the Lindians, and then Periander the tyrant likewise of Corinth (who had neither of them any one jot of vertue or wildome) by the greatnesse of their power, by the number of their friends, and by many benefits and demerits whereby they obliged their adherents, acquired forcibly this reputation, in despite of all usurped the name of Sages: and to this purpole caused to be spred sowen and divulged throughout all Greece certaine odde sentences and notable fayings, as well as those of the others, wherewith the former Sages above named were discontented. Howbeit for all this, these five wisemen would in no hand discover and convince 30 their vanity, nor yet openly contest and enter into termes of quarell with them about this reputation, ne yet debate the matter against so mighty personages, who had so great meanes of countenance in the world: but being affembled upon a time in this place, after conference together they confectated and dedicated here the letter [E] which as it standeth fifth in the order of the Alphabet, so in number it fignifieth five : as if they testified and deposed heere before the god, that they were but five; protesting that the fixth and the seventh they rejected and excluded out of their focietie, as who had no right to belong unto them. Now that this conjecture is not befide the purpose, a man may know, who hath but heard them speake who have the charge and superintendance of this temple; namely, how they call that E1, which is written in gold, the E1 of Livia Augusta the empresse and wife of Augustus Cafar : the other in braffe, the 40 E1 of the Athenians: and the first, which is most ancient, and for the matter and substance thereof no better than cut in wood, at this very day they name, the E 1 of the Sages; as being dedicated not by one of them alone, but by all together. Heereat Ammonius pleafantly smiled, as supposing this to be the proper and peculiar conceit of Lamprias himselfe, howsoever he seemed to father it upon others, feigning that he heard it else where, to the end that he might not be called to account, and put to the maintenance and defence thereof. Then another of the company who were there prefent, faid that this was much like unto a foolish toy which a Chaldwan stranger, and by profession an Astrologer, not long since set abroch: That seven letters there were for footh in all the Alphabet, which were vocall and of themselves rendered a voice: like as seven starres there were in the heaven, which had their proper motions apart, at liberty, 50 and not bound and linked to others. Also that among those vocall letters or vowels, E was the fecond; even as the Sunne of all the Planets was next unto the Moone: and that all the Greeks in maner, with one accord, hold Apollo and the Sunne, to be both one. But this, when all is done, favoureth altogether of his counting table of judiciall Astronomic, and of his triviall discourfing head. Moreover it feemeth that Lamprias taketh not heed, but ere he is aware, stirreth up all those who have the charge of the temple, against this reason of his. For there is not a

man in al the citic of Delphi, who knoweth ought of that which he hath faid, but they alledge the common opinion, & that which runneth currant throughout the world, which is: That it is neither the outward forme and flew, nor the found; but the very Mot only as it is written, contcineth foine fecret fignification: for it is as the Delphians doe conceive of it. And with that the high priest. Nicander himselfe (who was present) faid, that this E 1 is the forme and maner that they use, who come to consult with the god apollo, and to conver their questions unto him: and ordinarily, it carieth the first place in al their interrogatories. For usuall it is with them thus to demamaund; El purisum; El paurisum, &c. that is to fay, If, or whether they shall have victorie? if they shall marry? if it will be expedient for them to goeto sea? if they were best to till 10 the ground ? or if they should do well to make a voiage and travell into forren parts? And herein the God (who is wife and learned, mocking the Logicians, bidding them farewell who hold, that of this particle or Conjunction E 1, that is to fay, If, and of what Subjunctive proposition foever following after it, nothing can be made, nor categorically affirmed) both understandeth all interrogations annexed unto E 1, as reallthings in effe, and so accepteth of them. And for as much as this E1 is proper for an interrogation proposed unto him as a Divinor or Prophet : and common it is with us, by it to pray unto him, as to a god; they thinke that this word Ex is of no leffe validity to pray and with by, than it is to demand or aske a question: for everic one that praieth, ufeth ordinarily this forme: EI of error, that is to fay, ô if it might please god. And thus Archilochus wrote:

Of E 1 at Delphi.

EI as, inco Morro xinge Neosians Sivers:

O if my lucke and hap were such,

As Neobules hand to touch.

And it is faid, that in the adverbe of withing EIOE, which fignifieth, Would God; the fecond fyllable 8s, is an adjunction idle and superfluous, for that 11 alone fignifieth as much: like as 600 in this verse of the Poet Sophron:

άμα τέννου θιωδ doωθόα: De firom alfoin their need Of children, for their jay and meed:

as also in Homer: Ως δίω κὴ σὸν ἐχὰ λύσω μθώνος:

As I will now, even thee difgrace,

And foile thy strengthin present place. Where & fignifieth just nothing. Thus you see, how in this little word E1 there is an optative power sufficiently declared. When Wieander had delivered these words, Theon (for I presuppose you know him, being a familiar friend of ours) demanded of Ammonius, whether Logike might have the libertie to speake in her owne defence, being thus wronged and troden under foote? when Ammonius willed him to speake hardly, and to say all that he could, and for to helpe her out of the mire: Certes, quoth he then, there be many Oracles which beare witnesse & evidently shew, that god Apollo is a most skilful Logician. For in some fort it belongeth 40 to one and the fame artiff, both to moove doubtfull ambiguities, and also to associate and electe the same. Moreover, according as Plato said, that there being in old time an Oracle given unto the Greeks, that they should double the altar within the temple of Delos, (which is a piece of worke for an expert Geometrician to performe, and who had the very habit and perfection of that Art) it was not that indeed which the god commanded the Greeks to doe, but he enjoined them to studie Geometrie: even so, in giving otherwhiles ambiguous answers, and doubtfull Oracles, he recommended thereby and augmenteth fo much the more, the credit of Logike, as being a science right necessary for as many as would gladly understand his speech. Now in Logike this Conjunction E1, that is to fay, If (which is fo apt to continue a speech and pro-Position) hath a great force, as being that which giveth forme unto that proposition, which is 50 most agreeable to discourse of reason and argumentation. And verily of this nature be all these Hypotheticall propositions,, copulative, disjunctive, &c. And who can deny it ? considering that the very brute beafts themselves have in some fort a certeine knowledge and intelligence of the substitence of things: but nature hath given to man alone the notice of consequence, and the judgement for to know how to differne that which followeth upon every thing. For that it is day; and, that it is light, the very woolves, dogs, and cocks doe perceive: but that, if it be day of necessitie it must make the aire light, there is no creature save onely man, that knoweth:

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for he alone hath intelligence of the beginning and of the end, of the antecedent and the gonfement, of the proceeding and finishing of things: as also of the coherence and bringing together of both ends and extremes, of the conference of one to another; what habitude, Correspondence, or difference there is betweene; and this is it whereof all demonstrations take their chiefe originall and beginning. Now fince it is so, that all Philosophic whatsoever , confifteth in the knowledge of the trueth; and the light which cleereth the trueth; is demonstration; and the beginning of demonstration, is the collectence and knitting of propositions together: by good right that power which maketh and mainteineth this, was dedicated and confecrated by the Sages and wife men unto this god, who above all others loveth the trueth. Againe, this god is a Divinor and Prophet; but the arte of Divining is as touching future things, by the 10 meanes of fuch as are either prefent or past. For as nothing is done or made without canse; fo there is nothing foreknowen without a precedent reason: but forasmuch as all that is, dependent dethand followeth upon that which hath beene; and confequently all that shall be, hath a stint and dependance of that which is, by a certeine continuitie, which proceedeth from the beginning to the end the who hath the skill to fee into causes, and by naturall reason how to combose and joine them together, knoweth and is able to discourse

What things are now, what shall beereafter come,

As also what are past, both all and some; according as Homer faith: who very well and wifely fetteth in the first place the present, then the future, and that which is past. For of the present dependent all Syllogisme and reasoning, and 20 that by the vertue & efficacie of a conjunction: for that if this thing be, fuch a thing went before: and conversim, if this be; that thall be. For all the artificiall feat and skill of discourse and argument, is the knowledge of consequence, as hath beene said already but it is the sense, that giveth anticipation unto the discourse of reason. And therefore although haply it may seeme to stand little with decent honesty, yet I will not be affraid to affirme that this reason properly is the Tripode or three footed table as one would fay, and Oracle of trueth:namely, when the disputer supposeth a consequence upon that which was premised and went before: and then afterwards affurning that which is extant and subfistent, commeth in the end to induce and inferre a finall conclusion of his demonstracion. Now if it be so, that Apollo Pythius, as the report goeth, loveth musicke, and be delighted in the singing of swans, and sound of lute and harpe; what mar- 30 vell is it then, if for the affection that he beareth unto logicke, he likewife embrace and love that part of speech, which he seeth Philosophers most willingly and oftenest to use? Hercules before that he had loofed the bonds wherewith Prometheus was tied, and having not as yet conferred and talked with Chiron and Atlans two great Sophisters and professiours of disputation, but being a yong man still, and a plaine Bœotian, abolished all logicke at first, and scoffed at this little Mot E1: but soone after seemed as if he would plucke away by force the three sooted table of Apollo, yea and contest with the god, about the art of divining; for that together with age and processe of time he proceeded so farre, as that he became by that meanes a most skilfull prophet, and as subtile and excellent a logician. When Theon had made an end of this speech, Enflrophus the Athenian, as I take it, directed his wordes unto us & faid : See you not how vali- 40 antly Theon defendeth the art of logicke, & hath in maner gotten on the lions skin of Execules? It is not therfore decent, that we who in one word referre all affaires, all natures and principles jointly together, as well of divine as of humane things into number, and making it the author, mafter, and ruler even of fuch matters as fimply are most faire and precious, should fitte still and say never a word: but rather for our part, offer the fruits of the Mathematicks unto god Apollo. For we fay and affirme that this letter E, of it selfe, neither in puissance, nor in forme, ne yet in name & pronounciation, hath any thing in it above other letters : howbeit we thinke, that preferred it hath beene before all the rest, in this regard that it is a charracter and marke of the number five, which is in all things of greatest vertue and validity, and is named Pemptas. Whereupon our Sages and great clerks in times past, when they would expresse the verbe [to 50 number] used Pempazein, as one would fay, to count and reckon by fives. And verily Eustrophis in faying thus, addressed his speech unto me, not merily but in good earnest, for that I was very affectionate and much addicted then unto the Mathematicks; but yet fo, as in all things I observed and kept still the old rule: Tomuch of nothing, as being a schollar of the Academie schoole. I answered therefore, that Eustrophus had solved passing well the difficulty of the question by this number. For feeing it is so (quoth I) that number in generality is divided into even

and odde, unity is in power and efficacy common to them both: in such fort, as being put unto the even, it maketh it odde; and likewise added to the odde, causeth the same to be even. Nowthe beginning and ground of even numbers is Two; and of odde, Three is the first; of which being joined together is engedted Five, which by good right is highly honored as being the first compound of the first simple numbers, whereupon it is worthily named rates, that is to fay, Mariage; because the even number hath some resemblance to the semale, and the odde, a reference to the male. For in the sections & divisions of numbers into equal parts, the even is altogether cleane parted and fevered afunder, leaving a certaine void space betweene the parts, as abeginning of capacity apt to receive fomewhat more: contrariwife in the odde number, if a to mandoe as much by it, and cut it into two numbers, there remainethalwaies somewhat in the midft betweene, fit for subdivition, yea and generation of new numbers : whereby it appeareth that more generative it is than the other. And whenfoever it commeth to be mixed with the other, it carieth the preeminence, and is mafter alwaies, but never maftered. For what mixture foever you make of them twaine, you shall never come thereby to an even number: but mix and compose them as often and in what maner you will, there shall arise alwaies thereof an odde number. And that which more is, both the one and the other added to it selfe, or compounded with it felfe, sheweth the difference that is betweene them. For never shall you see an even numher joined with another that is even, to produce an odde; for it goeth not out of his proper nature, as having not the power to beget any other than it felle, to feeble it is and imperfect: 20 but odde numbers coupled and mingled with others that be odde, bring forth many even numbers, so powerfull it is to engender every way. As for all the other properties and different puilfances of numbers, the time will not now ferve to discourse throughly of them all. But heereby youse, wherefore the ancient Pythagorean Philosophers called Five, the Mariage; as being compounded of the first male and of the first female. The same also is sometime named 2 ature; for that being multiplied by it felte, it falleth out still to determine in * it felfe. For like * For stimes as nature taking a graine of wheat in the nature of feed, and fo diffuling it, produceth many 5 maketh 25. formes and divers kindes of things betweene, through which the paffeth and proceedeth, untill at laft the bringeth her worke to an end; and when all is done theweth a corne of wheat againe, rendring the first beginning, in the end of all : even so, when other numbers multiply them-30 felves, and end by growing and multiplication in other numbers, only five & fix, if they be multiplied by themselves, do bring forth and regenerate likewise themselves : for fix times fix, maketh thirty fix; and five times five, artifeth to twenty five. But take thus much withall againe, that Six doth this but once and after one maner onely, when of it selfe it becommeth that * foure * That is to fquare number: but unto Five the same befalleth, when it is multiplied by it selse; and besides say, 36, made particularly, it hath this property, that by addition of it felfe it produceth also it felfe, in as much of 4 nines, as it maketh ten; which it doth alternatively, and holdeth on this courfe in infinite, as farre as any numbers will extend: fo as this number refembleth, that principle or first cause, which doth conduct and governe this univertall world. For like as it, of the owne felfe preferveth the world; and reciprocally, of the world returneth into it felfe, according as Heraelitus faid of the fire;

मण्डुंड को स्थापसंदिशका, मार्थास्क Καὶ πύς άπαί των:

Fire into all things fir ft doth turne, And all things shall to fire returne:

like as golde is exchanged for wates, and wates likewife for golde: even fo the meeting of five with it felfe, howfoever it be, can engender and bring forth nothing either imperfect or itrange, but all the changes that it hath, be limited and certeine. For either it begetteth it selfe, or els produceth ten; that is to fay, that which is proper and familiar, or els perfect and accomplished. Now if a man should come unto me and demand: What is all this (good sir) unto Apollo?

I will answer againe: That this concernethnot Apollo alone, but * Bacchus also, who hath no Alluding to 50 leffe to do with the city of Delphos, nor is of leffe anthority there, than Apollo himselfe. For we the proverbe, have heard the Theologians (partly in verte and partly in profe) fing and fay, That this god be. nages Annual the Theologians (partly in verte and partly in profe) fing and fay, That this god be. naveheard the Theologians (partly in verte and partly in prote) mig and ray 1 that mis god beobject the series of the series o fatall he is transmuted and changed in many forts. Sometime he is all on a light fire, and causes and to be feth all things to be of the fame nature, and like unto all things: otherwhiles most variable, in all different which maner of formes, paffions & pursuances all different, and becommeth (as now he is) the World; norto the fo called by a most common and best knowen name. But the Sages and water fort, willing to purpose.

conceale and keepe these secrets hidden from common people, name this mutation & change of his into sire, Apollo; signifying thereby, a kinde of sole unity whereunto it reduceth all things, and negation of plurality: and Phabus likewise; betokening thereby his purity and electenesse from filth and pollution. As for his conversion into winds, water, earth, startes, and into sundry kinds of plants and living creatures, together with the order and slipsofition thereof, such as we see; all this passion (I say) and mutation, they covertly do signific under the name of a certeine distraction and dismembring: and in these regards, they call himselse Dionysus, Zagreus, Nystetions, stegenerations also, and resurrections: which be sables all, and ænigmaticall sictions, devitions; regenerations also, and resurrections: which be sables all, and ænigmaticall sictions, devitions; regenerations also, and resurrections. And verily, to Bacebus they do chant in their songs so certeine Dithyrambicke ditties and tunes, sull of passion and change, with motions and agitations to and fro. For according as Assembles last:

The Dithyrambe with clamours dissonant, Sorts well with Bacchus, where he is resiant.

But unto the other (that is to (ay, Apollo) they fing the Pæan, which is a fetled kind of fong, and Musicke modest and sober. Moreover, in all their pictures and portraictures of images and statues, they make Apollo alwaies with a yong face, and never aging: but the other, to wit, Bacelua, they represent in many shapes, and as many formes and vilages. And in one word, to the one they attribute a constancy uniforme and evermore the same, a regular order, a serious and syncere gravity: but unto the other, mixed sports, games, wantonnesse and insolency; in summe, 20 sinch a gravity as is interlaced with fury, madnesse and inequality: they invocate and call upon him by the name of Bacehus Eüim:

Bacchus (Isay) surna ved Eüius, Who women doth to rage incite: And in such service surnous, And franike worship, takes delight:

noting hereby not unfitly and without good purpose that which is proper to the one and the other mutation. But for that the time of the revolutions in these changes is not equal and alike, but of the one (which is called Coros, and fignifieth plenty or fatiety) longer; and of the other (named Chresmosyne, which betokeneth want and necessity) shorter: observing even herein the 20 proportion, they use the canticle Paran, during all the rest of the yeere, in their factifices: but in the beginning of winter, they stirre up the Dithyrambe, and downe goeth Paan; and so invocate this god for three moneths space in stead of the other, supposing that there is the same proportion of the conflagration of the world to the refloring and reparation thereof, as is of three to one. But peradventure we have dwelt longer upon this point than we should confidering the time: howbeit this is certaine, that they attribute the number of five unto this god Apollo, as proper and peculiar unto him; faying, that one while it begetteth it selfe by multiplication, as fire; and another while maketh of it felfe ten, as the world. Moreover, thinke we not, that this number hath no focietie with Musicke, which is so agreeable unto this god, as nothing so much? Certes, harmonic is (to fay at once) occupied most of all about accords, which we call Sym-40 phonies: and that those are in number five, and no more, reason prooveth, and experience will convince it to be fo, even unto him who shall make the triall, either with strings or pipe-holes, by the very sense of hearing only, without any other reason. For al these accords take their generation by proportion in number. Now the proportion of the Musicke or Symphonic Diatessaron, is Epitritos or Sesquitertiall, that is to say, the whole and a third part over : of Diapente, Hemolios or Sesquialterall, that is to say, the whole and halfe as much more: of Diapason, duple : of Diapaton with Diapente together, triple: & of Dis-diapaton, quadruple. And as for that which the Musicians bring in over and above these, to wit, Diapason and Diatesfaron (for so they name it) they are not worthy to be admitted and received, as transcending all meane and measure to gratifie forfooth the unreasonable pleasure of the care against all proportion, and so breaking as it were the ordinance of the law.

To let passe therefore the five positures of the Tetrachords, as also the first five tones, tropes, changes, notes or harmonies, (call them what you will) for that they change and alter by setting up or letting downe the strings, more or lesse, or by streining or easing the voice; all the reit are considered as bases and trebles. For see you not that there being many, or rather infinit intervals, yet five there be onely used in song; namely, Diess, Hemitonium, Tonos, Trisemitonium,

nion, and Ditonos? Neither is there any space or intervall greater or lesse in voices, distinguifhed by base and treble, high and low, that can be expressed in song. But to passe by many other fuch things (quoth I) onely Plate I will alledge, who affirmeth, that there is indeed but one world: mary if there were more in number, and nor the same one alone; it must needs be that there are five in all, and not one more. But grant that there be no more in truth than one, as Ariftetle holdeth; yet fo it is, that the same seemeth to be composed and coagmented in some fort of five other worlds: whereof one is that of earth, another of water, the third of fire, the fourth of aire; as for the fifth, fome call it heaven, others light, and fome againe, the skie; and there be, who name it a quint-effence : unto which onely it is proper and naturall (of all other 10 bodies) to turne round, not by violent force, nor otherwise by chance and aventure. Plato therefore observing and knowing well enough, that the most beautifull and perfect figures of regular bodies which be in the world & within compaffe of nature, are five innumber (namely, the Pyramis, the Cube, the Octaedron, Icofaedron & Dodecaedron) hath very fitly appropriated and attributed ech of these noble figures unto one or other of those first bodies. Others there be alfo who apply the faculties of the naturall fenfes, which likewife be in number five, unto the faid primitive bodies: to wit, Touching, which is firme, folid and hard, to Earth; Tafting, which judgeth of the qualities of favors by the meanes of moilture, to Water; Hearing, to the Aire, for that the aire being beaten upon is the voice and found in the eares : of the other twaine, Smelling hath for the object Sent or odour, which being in maner of a perfume, is ingendred and e-20 levated by heat, and therfore holdeth of the Fire; as for the Sight, which is cleere and bright, by a certeine affinitie and confanguinity which it hath with the heaven and with light, hath a temperature and complexion mingled of the one and the other: neither is there in any living creature other sense, nor in the whole worldany other nature and substance simple and uncompound; but a marvellous distribution there is and congruity of five to five, as it evidently ap-

When I had thus faid, and made a ftop withall, after a little pause betweene: O what a fault (quoth I) ô Eustrophon, had I like to have committed: for I went within a little of paffing over Homer altogether, as if he had not beene the first that divided the world into five parts; allotting three of them which are in the middes unto three gods, and the other two which be the ex-30 tremes (namely, heaven and earth, whereof the one is the limit of things beneath, the other the bound of things above) in common and not distributed like the others. But our speech must remember to returne againe, as Euripides faith, from whence it hath digreffed. For they who magnisie the quaternarie or number of foure, teach not amisse nor beside the purpose, that everie folidebody hath taken the beginning and generation by reason of it. For it being so, that every folide confisteth in length and bredth, having withall a depth: before length there is to be supposed a positure and situation of a point or pricke, answerable to unitie in numbers; and longitude without bredth is called a line; and the mooving of a line into bredth, and the procreation of a superficies thereby, confisteth of three: afterwards, when there is adjoined thereto profundity or depth, the augmentation growth by foure, untill it become a perfect folidity. So 40 that every man feeth, that the quaternary having brought nature to this point, as to performe and accomplish a body, in giving it a double magnitude or masse with firme soliditie apt to make refistance, leaveth it afterwards destitute of the thing which is greatest and principall. For that which is without a foule, to speake plaine, is in maner of an Orphan, unperfect and good for nothing, folong as it is without a foule to use and guide it : but the motion or disposition which putteth in the foule, ingenerated by meanes of the number of five, is it that bringeth perfection and confummation unto nature. Whereby it appeareth that there is an effence more excellent than the foure, inafmuch as a living body endued with a foule, is of a more noble nature, than that which hath none: but more than so, the beauty and excellent power of this number five, proceeding yet farther, would not fuffer a body animate to be extended into in-50 finite kinds, but hath given unto us five divers forts of animate and living natures in al. For there be Gods; Dæmons, or Angels, Demi-gods, or Heroës: then after thele, a fourthkind, of Men; and last of all, in the fift place, is that of brute Beasts and unreasonable. Furthermore, if you come and divide the foule according to nature, the first and obscurest part or puissance thereof, is the vegetative or nutritive faculty: the second is the sensitive: then the appetitive: after it the italcible, wherein is engendred anger. Now when it is once come unto that power which difcourfeth by reason, and brought nature as it were to perfection, there it resteth in the fift, as in

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the very pitch & top of all. Since then this number hath fo many, and those fo great puissances & faculties, the very generation thereof is beautiful to be confidered; I meane not that whereof we have already heeretofore discoursed, when we faid, that composed it was of two and three, but that which is made by the conjunction of the first principle, with the first square and quadrate number. And what is that principle or beginning of all numbers even one or unitie, and that first quadrat is Foure: and of these twaine (as a man would say, of forme and of matter) being brought to perfection, is procreated this Quinarie or number of five. Now if it be true, as fome do hold, that unitie it selfe is quadrat and foure-square, as being that which is the power of it selfe, and determineth in it selfe, then five being thus compounded of the two first quadrat numbers, ought fo much the rather to be esteemed so nobleand excellent as nonecan be comparable unto it. And yet there is one excellency behind, that paffeth all those which went to before. But I feare me (quoth I) lest if the same be uttered, it would debase in some fort the honor of our Plato, like as himselfe said, the honour and authority of Anaxagor as was deptessed and put downe by the name of the Moone, who attributed unto himselfe the first invention of the Moones illuminations by the Sunne; whereas it was a very ancient opinion long before he was borne, How fay you, hath he not faid thus much in his Dialogue entituled Cratylus? Yes verily, answered Eustrophus; but I see not the like consequence for all that. But you know (quoth I) that in his booke entituled: The Sophister, he setteth downe five most principall beginnings of all things : to wit, That which is : The same : The other: Motion, the fourth : and Reft for the fift. Moreover in his Dialogue Philebu, he bringeth in another kinde of partition and division of 20 these principles, where he faith: That one is Infinite: another Finite, or the end: and of the mixture of these twaine, is made and accomplished all generation: as for the cause whereby they are mixed, he putteth it for the fourth kinde: but leaveth to our conjecture the fift: by the meanes whereof, that which is composed and mixed is redivided, and separate againe. And for mine owne part, I suppose verily, that these principles be the figures and images (as it were) of those before: to wit, of That which is, The thing engendred : of Motion, Infinite : of Reft, the End or Finit: of The same, the Cause that mixeth of The other, the Cause that dothseparate. But say they be divers principles, and not the same: yet howsoever it be, there are alwaies still five kinds, & five differences of the faid principles. Some of them before Plate, being of the fame opinion, or having heard so much of another, consecrated two E. E. unto the god of this temple, 30 as a very figne to fymbolize that number which comprehendeth all. And peradventure, having heard alfo, that Good appeareth in five kinds: whereof the first is Meane or Measure; the second, Symmetrie or Proportion; the third, Understanding; the fourth, The Sciences, Arts and True Opinions, which are in the foule; the fifth, Pure and Syncere Pleasure, without mixture of any trouble and paine: they staied there, reciting this verse out of Orpheus:

But at the fixth age cease your song:

It bootesh nos to chaunt fo long. After these discourses passed betweene us: Yet one briefe word more (quoth he) will I say unto Nicander, and those about him;

For fing I will

Tomen of skill.

The fixth day of the moneth when you lead the Prophetesse Pythia into some hal named Prytanium, the first casting of lots among you, of three, tendeth to five: for the casteth three; and you, two: how fay you is it not fo? Yes verily, quoth Nicander: but the cause heereof we dare not reveale and declare unto others. Well then (quoth I, finiling thereat) untill fuch time as god permitteth us after we are become holy and confectate, for to know the trueth thereof, meane while let that also be added unto the praises which have bene alledged in the recommendation of the number Five.

Thus ended the discourse as touching the commendations attributed unto the number of five, by the Arithmeticians and Mathematicians, as far as I can remember or call to mind. And 50 Ammonius (as he was a man who bestowed northe worst and least part of his time in Mathematicke Philosophy) tooke no fmall pleasure in the hearing of such discourses and faid: Needlesse it is and to no purpose, to stand much upon the precise and exact consutation of that which these yong men heere have alledged, unlesse it be that every number will affoord you also fufficient matter and argument of praise, if you will but take the paines to looke into them: for, to fay nothing of others, a whole day would not be enough to expresse in words all the vet-

tues and properties of the facred number Seven, dedicated to Apollo. And moreover we shall feeme to pronounce against the Sages and wifemen, that they fight both against common law received, and all antiquity of time; if diffeizing the number of feven of that preeminence, whereof it is in possession, they should consecrate Five unto Apollo, as more meet and befer ming for him. And therefore mine opinion is that this writing E1 fignifieth neither number, nor order, nor conjunction, nor any other defective particle; but is an entier falutation of it selfe. and a compellation of the God: which together with the very utterance and pronuntiation of the word induceth the speaker to think of the greatnesse & power of him, who seemeth to salute and greet every one of us when we come hither, with these words Transition, Know thy selfe, to which fignifieth no leffe, than if he faid wife, that is to fay, All haile or god fave you and we again to render the like, answer him E 1, that is to fay, Thou art; yeelding unto him not a falle, but a true appellation and title which onely and to him alone appertaineth, namely, that he is. For in very trueth and to speake as it is, we who are mortall men, have no part at all of being indeed, because that all humane nature being ever in the midst betweene generation and corruption, giveth but an obscure apparence, a darke shadow, a weake and uncertaine opinion of it selfe. And if paradventure you bend your minde and cogitation for to comprehend a fubstance and effence thereof, you shal doe as much good as if you would cluch water in your hand with a bent fift; for the more you feeme to gripe and prefle together that which of the owne nature is fluid andrunneth out, fo much the more shall you leese of that which you will classe and hold: and 20 even fo, all things being fubject to alteration, and to paffe from one change unto another, reafon feeking for a reall subfiftence is deceived, as not able to apprehend any thing subfiftant in trueth and permanent; for that every thing tendeth to a being before it is, or beginneth to die fosoone as it is engendred. For, as Heraelitan was wont to fay, a man cannot possibly enter twice into one and the fame river: no more is he able to finde any mortall substance twice in one and the same estate. Such is the suddenesse and celerity of change, that no sooner is it dissipated but it gathereth againe anon, or rather indeed not againe, nor anon, but at once it both subsifteth and also ceaseth to be, it commeth and goeth together; in such fort, as that which beginneth to breed, never reacheth to the perfection of being, for that in very deed this generation is never accomplished, nor resteth as being come to a ful end and persection of being, but con-30 tinually changeth and moveth from one to another : even as of humane feed, first there is gathered within the mothers wombe a fruit or maffe without forme; then an infant having some forme and shape; afterwards being out of the mothers belly it is a sucking babe, anon it proves to be alad or boy, within a while a stripling or springall, then a youth, afterwards a man growen, consequently an elderly & ancient person, & last of ala croked old man: so that the former ages & precedent generations be alwais abolifhed by the fubfequent & those that follow. But we like ridiculous fooles be affraid of one kinde of death, when as we have already died fo many deaths, and doenothing daily and hourely but die still. For not onely (as Heraclitus faith) the death of fire is the life of aire; and the end of aire, the beginning of water: but much more evidently we may observe the same in our selves. The stoure of our yeeres dieth and passeth away when old 40 age commeth: youth endeth in the floure of lufty and perfect age: childhood determineth in youth: infancy in childhood. Yesterday dieth in this day, and this day will be dead by to morow: neither continueth any man alwaies one and the fame, but we are engendred many according as the matter glideth, turneth and is driven about one image, mould or patterne common to all figures. For, were it not fo, but that we continued fill the fame, how is it that we take delight now in these things, whereas we joied before in others? how is it that we love and hate, praise and dispraise contrary things? how commeth it to passe that we use divers speeches, sal into disferent discourses, & are in fundry affections; retaine not the same visage, one countenance, one minde and one thought? For there is no likelihood at all, that without change a man should entertaine other passions; and looke who is changed, he continueth not the same; and if he be not 50 the fame, he is not at all : but together with changing from the same, he changeth also to be fimply, for that continually he is altered from one to another: and by confequence our fense is deceived mistaking that which appeareth, for that which is indeed; and all for want of knowledge, what it is to be. But what is it (intrueth) to be? Surely to be eternall, that is to fay, which never had beginning in generation, nor shall have end by corruption; and in which,

time never worketh any mutation. For a moveable and mutable thing is time, appearing (as

it were) in a thadow with the matter which runneth and floweth continually, never remai-

" Kidside

ning stable, permanent and folid, but may be compared unto a leaking vessell, conteining in it (after a fort) generations and corruptions. And to it properly belong these teames: " for and after : Hath bene, & shall be : which presently at the very first fight do evidently show. that time hath no being. For it were a great folly and manifelt abfurditie to fay, that a thing is, which as yet commeth not into effe, or hath already ceased to be. And as for these words, Present, Instant, Now, Ge. by which it seemeth that principally we ground and mainteine the intelligence of Time, reason discovereth the same, and immediatly overthroweth it; for incontinently it is thrust out & disparched, into suture, and past: so that it fareth with us in this case, as with those who would see a thing very farre distant; for of necessitie the visuall beames of his sight doe faile before they can reach thereto. Now if the same befall to nature which is measured, 10 that unto time which measurethit; there is nothing in it permanent nor subsistent, but all things therein be either breeding or dying, according as they have reference unto time. And therefore it may not be allowed to say of that which is , It hath beene , or it shall be: for these termes be certaine inclinations, passages, departures and chaunges of that which cannot endure nor continue in being. Whereupon, we are to conclude that God alone is (and that, not according to any measure of time, but respective to eternity) immutable and unmooveable, not gaged within the compaffe of time, nor fublert either to inclination or declination any way: before whom nothing ever was, nor after whom ought shall be, nothing future, nothing past, nothing elder, nothing yoonger; but being one really, by this one Prefent or Now, accomplisheth his eternitie and being alway. Neither is there any thing, that may truely be said to be, 20 but he alone, nor of him may it be verified : He hath beene, or shall be, for that he is without beginning and end. In this maner therefore we ought in our worthip and adoration, to falue and invocate him, faying, E1, that is to fay, Thou art; unlesse a man will rather, according as fome of the ancients used to doe, falve him by this title Er En, that is to fay, Thou art one: for god is not many, as every one of us, who are a confused heape and masse composed, or rather thrust together of infinit diversities and differences proceeding from all sorts of alterations: but as that which is, ought to be one; fo that which is one, ought to be: for alternative diverfittebeing the difference of that which is, departeth from it, and goeth to the engendring of that which is not. And therefore very rightly agreeth unto this god, the first of his names, as also the second and the third: for Apollo he is called, as denying and disavowing memora, that is 30 to fay, plurality & multitude: likewife, Teias, which is as much to fay, as One, or alone: thirdly, Phabus, by which name, they called in the olde time, All that was cleane and pure, without mixture and pollution. And semblably even at this day, the Thessalians (if I benot deceived) say, that their priests upon certeine vacant dayes, when they keepe forth of their temples and live apart pivatly to themselves, oo Coroquing. Now that which is one, is also pure and syncere; for pollution commeth by occasion that one thing is mingled with another : like as Homer speaking in one place of Yvorie having a tincture of red, faid it was polluted; and the word that he uleth is maire. Diers also, when they would expresse that their colours be medleies or mixed, use the word observer, that is to fay, to be corrupted; and the very mixture they tearme observ, that is to fay, Corruption. It behooved therefore, that the thing which is funcere and incorruptible, 40 should be also one and simple, without all mixture whatsoever. In which regard, they who thinke that Apollo and the Sunne be both one god, are worthy to be made much of and loved for their good conceit and pleasant wit, because they repose the notion of god in that which of all things that they know and defire, they honour and reverence most. And now, so long as we are in this life, as if we dreamed the most beautifull dreame that a man could imagine of this god Apollo, let us excite and stirre up our mindes to passe yet farther and mount higher, for to contemplate and behold that which is above our felves, in adoring principally indeed his effence: but yet honoring withall his image, to wit, the Sunne, and that generative vertue which he hath infused into it, for to produce and bring forth; representing in some fort, by his brightnesse fome obscure resemblances and darke shewes of his elemency, benignity, and blessednesse, as 50 far forth as it is possible for a sensible nature, to shew an intellectuall; and for that which is movable, to expresse that which is stable and parmanent. Moreover, as touching I wot not what extaites and leapings forth of himfelfo and his owne nature, certaine strange alterations likewife, as namely when he castleth fire and withall dismembreth and teareth himselse, as they say: as also that he stretcheth, dilateth and spreadeth forth; and contrariwise how he gathereth and draweth in himselse heere below, into the earth, the sea, the windes, the starres, and uncouth ac-

cidents of beafts and plants; they be fuch abfurdities, as are not to be named without impiety. Orelie if we admit them, he will become worfe than the little boy, whom the Poets feigne, playingupon the sea shore with an heape of fand, which he first raised, and then cast downe againe and scattered abroad: if (I say) he should continually play at this game like fast and loose, namely in framing the world first, where before it was not ; and then anon destroying it, so soone as it is made. For contrariwife, how much or how little foever of him is infufed into the world, the fame in fome fort containerth and confirmeth the fubltance thereof, maintaining the corporall nature of it which otherwife by reason of infirmity and weakenesse tendeth alwaies to corruption. In my conceit therefore, against this opinion principally hath beene directly oppo-10 fed this Mot and denomination of god, E1; that is to fay, Thou art: as giving good testimony in his behalfe, that in him there is never any change or mutation. But either to do, or fuffer this, as is before faid, belongeth to any other god or rather indeed to any other Dæmon, ordained to have the superintendance of that nature, which is subject both to generation and corruption: as may appeare immediately by the fignifications of their names, which are quite contrary and directly doe contradict one the other. For our god here is named Apollo, the other Plato: as if one would fay, Not Many; and Many. The one is clepted Delius that is, cleere and evident: the other Aidoneus, that is to fay, obscure blinde and unseene. Againe the former, is named Phabus, which is as much as Shining or resplendent: but the latter Scotius, which is all one with Darke. About him are feated the Muses and Mnemosyne, that is to say, Memory: but neere 20 to this are Lethe, that is to fay, Oblivion and filence. Our Apollo, is furnamed Theorius and Phanaus, of Seeing and shewing : but Pluto is

The Lord of night so * bleake and darke, Of idle sleeps that can not warke:

who also is

To gods and men most odiow, And to them as maliciow.

Of whom Pindarus faid not unpleafantly:

Condemn'd of all he was, for that He never any childe begat.

30 And therefore Euripides to this purpose spake right well:

Soule-fongs, dirges, libations funerall Faire Phoebus please not, he likes them not at all.

And before him, Stefichorus:

Apollojoies in mery songs, in dances, sports and places:

But Pluto takes delight in sighs,

But Pluto takes delight in Jighs, in groanes and plaints alwaies.

And Sophoeles feemeth evidently to attribute unto either of them their muficall instruments, by these verses:

The Pfalterie and pleasant Lute,

With dolefull mones do not well fute.

For very late it was, and but the other day to speake of, that the pipe and hauthoies durst presume to sound, and be heard in matters of mirth and delight: but in former times it drew solke to nourning and forrow, to heavie sunerals & convoies of the dead, and in such cases and services emploied it was, as it were not very honourable nor jocund and delectable; how soever after, it came to be intermingled in all occasions one with another. Mary they especially, who considedly have hudled the worship of the gods with the service of Dæmons, brought those instruments in request and reputation.

But to conclude, it feemeth that this Mot E1, is somewhat contrary unto the precept FireBit 50 staurs, and yet after a sort to accord and agree therewith. For as the one is a word of devout admittation and reverent worship directed to God, as eternall and everlasting; so the other is an advertisement given unto men mortall, to put them in minde of their straile and weake nature.







AN EXPLANATION OF

SUNDRY TEARMES SOMEWHAT

obscure, in this translation of Plutareb, in favour of the unlearned Reader; after the order of the Alphaber.



Ulm, A forename among the Romans. Abyrtuce, A deintic kinde of meat, with the Medes & other Barbarous nations, fharpe & quicke of

tafte to provoke and please the appetite, composed of Leeks, Garlike, Cresses, Senvie, Pomgranate kirnels, and such sike.

Academic, A shadowy place full of groves, a mile distant from Athens, where Plate the Philosopher was borne, and wherein hee taught. Of it, the Academicke Philosophers tooke their name; whose manget was to discourse and dispute of all questions, but to determine and resolve of nothing. And for the great frequence and concourse of scholars to that place, our Universities and great schooles of learning, be named Academies.

Mediles, Certeine magistrates or officers in Rome: who were of two forts; Pleben and Curales. Pleben, of the Commons oncly, two in number, more ancient than the other; chosen by the people alone, to second and affift the Tribunes of the Commons, as their right hands. This name they tooke of the charge which they had to mainteine temples and chapels: albeit they registred the Sanctions and Acts of the people, called Plebiseita, and kept the same in their owne custodie; were Clerks of the Marker, and looked to weights and measures, &c. yea, and exhibited the games and playes named Plebey. Curules were likewise twain, elected out of the order and degree of the Patrity: fo called of the Yvorie chaire wherein they were allowed to fit, as officers of greater flate; and by vertue whereof, in fome cases, and at certein times they might exercife civill jurisdiction. It belonged un-

to these to set forth the solemnities, called Ludi Magni or Romani : overleers they were likewife of the buildings thorowout the city, aswell publike as private, in maner of the Astynomi in Athens: they had regard unto the publike vaults, finks, conveiances, and conduits of the waters that ferved the city, as also to the Arcenall, &c. Moreover, they had power to attach the bodies of great persons: and were charged to see unto the provision of corne and victuals. At the first, none but of noble families or Patricians were advanced to this place: but in processe of time, Commoners also atteined thereto, More of them; &how in Iulius Cafars time there were elected fix Aediles. whereof two were named Cereals; See Alexander at Alexander, lib. A.cap. A. Genial. dieth.

Aegineticke, Mnaor Mina, Seemeth to be the ancient coine or money of Greece: for they were the first that coined money: and of them came voqua anywarv, Calius Rhodig.

Acolius Modus, In Musicke a certeine simple, plaine and mild tune, apt to procure sleepe and bring folke to bed.

Aegainox, That time of the yeere, when the daies and nights be of equall length; which hapneth twice in the yeere, to wit, in March and September.

Aefivall, that is to fay, Of the Summer: as the Aefivall Sollitice or Tropicke of the Sunne, when he is come neerest unto us, and returneth Southward from us.

Aloide or Aloiade, were Othus and Ephialtes, two giants, to named of Aloins the giant their supposed father: for of his wife Iphimedia, Nepture begatthem. It is faid, that every moneth they grewnine singers.

Alphabet, The order or rew of Greeke letters as they stand; so called of Alpha and Beta, the two formost letters: and it answereth to our A, B. C.

Zzzzz

Alternative,

Alternative, By course or turnes, one after another; going and comming, &c.

Amphictyones, Were a certein folemne counfell of State in Greece, who held twice in the yeere a meeting, in the Spring and Autunne, at Thermopple; being affembled from the 12 flourithing cities of Greece: there to confult of most important affaires. Amphitheatre, A spacious shew-place; in forme round, and made as it were of two

Theaters. See Theater.

Amphora, A meafure in Rome of liquors only.

It feemeth to take that name of the two cares it had, of either fide one it conteined eight Compins, which are fornewhat under as many of our wine galloas.

Annets, Prefervatives hung about the necke, or otherwife worne, against witcherast, poifon, eichting, sicknesse, or any other evils. Anarchie, The state of a city or countrey with-

out government.

Andria, A focietie of men, meeting together in fome publicke hall for to eat and drinke: Instituted first among the Thebans, like to the Phiditia in Lacedamon.

Annales, Hiftories, Records, or Chronicles, contening things done from yere to yeere. Anniverfarie, Comming once enery yeere, at a certeine time: as the Nativity of Chrift, and Sturbridge faire, &c.

Antaréticke, That is to fay, Opposit unto the Arcticke. See Arcticke.

Antidote, A medicine, properly taken inwardly against a poison or some pession and venumous disease. A counterpoison or prefervative.

Antipathie, A repugnance in nature, by reason of contrarie affections; whereby some can not abide the simell of roses, others may not endure the sight of a Cat, &c.

Antipariflasis, A combinion or restraint on every side; whereby either colde or heat is made stronger in it selfe by the restraining of the contrary: as the natural heat of our bodies in Vinter, through the coldnesse of the aire compassing it about: likewise, the coldnesse of the middle region of the aire in Summer, by occasion of the heat on both sides causing thunder and haile, &c.

Anuphonie, A noise of contrarie sounds.

Antipodes, Those people who inhabit under and beneath our Hemisphære, and go with their feet full against ours.

Apathie, Impaffibilitie, or voidnesse of all aftections and passions.

Apaturia, A feast solemnized for the space of

foure daies at Athens in the honour of Bacchus. So called of Apare, that is to fay, Deceit: because Xanthus the Boeotian was in fingle fight flaine deceitfully by Thimoeles the Athenian. For the tale gooth, that whiles they were in combat, Bacehus appeared behind Xanthius, clad in a goats skinne: and when Thimoeles charged his concurrent for comming into the field with an affiftant; as he lookedbacke, he was killed by Thimoeles abovenamed.

Apologie, A plea for the defence or excuse of any person.

Apothegme, A short sententious speech.
Apoplexie, A disease comming suddenly in maner of a stroke, with an universall astonishment and deprivation of sense and

niffment and deprivation of fense and motion, which either causeth death quickely; or else endeth in a dead palsey.

Archontes, Were chiefe magistrates at Athens, at first every tenth yeere; and assertions yeerely chosen by lot, unto whom the rule of the common welth in their popular state was committed: of whom the first was named surables, that is to say, King: the second, Archon, that is to say, Ruler: the third, Polemarchus: and the other six, The smallet.

Artick, that is to fay, Noutherly; fo called of Artios in Greeke, which fignifieth the Beare, that is to fay, those conspicuous seaven starres in the North, named Charlemans waine; neere unto which is that pole or point of the imaginarie axell-tree, about which the heavens turne, which thereupon is named, The pole Artick and over against it, underneath our Hemisphære, is the other pole, called Antarctick, in the South part of the world.

Ariflocratie, A forme of Government, or a State wherein the nobles and best men be Rulers.

To Aromatize, that is to fay, To feafon or make pleafant, by putting thereto fome fweete and odoriferous spices.

Aftragalote Maftis, A feourge or whip, the ftrings whereof are fet and wrought with ankle-bones, called Aftragali, thereby to give a more grievous lash.

Atomi, Indivisible bodies like to motes in the Sunne beames; of which Democritus and Epicurus imagined all things to be

Atticke pure, that is to fay, The most fine and eloquent: for in Athens they spake the purest Greeke; insomuch as Thucydides called

led it incides incide, that is to fay, Greece of Greece, as one would fay, the very quintensfence of Greece.

Averruncs or Averruncani, Were gods among the Romans, supposed to put by and chace away evils and calamities: such as Hercules and Apollo among the Greekes, called thereupon Apotropai,

Auffices, Plutareh feemeth to take for Augures, that is to fay, Certeine priefts or foothfaiers, who by the infpection and observation of birds did foretell future things.

Axiomes, Were principal propositions in Logicke, of as great authoritic and force as Maximes in law: and it should seeme that those Maximes be derived corruptly from Axiomes.

1

Acchanalta, named also Dionysa, Certein licentious festivall solemnities in the honor of Bacchuo, performed at the first by day light, and afterward in the night season, with all maner of filthy wantonnesses in Greece enery three yeeres: in Acgypt also at last they were taken up in Italy and at Rome.

Bacchiade, A noble familie in Corinth, who for the space almost of 200. yeeres there ruled. Bachyllion, A song or daunce, which seemeth to take the name of a famous Tragodian poet named Bachyllun, who devised and practised it; like as Pyladion, of Pylades, as

notable a Comcedian.

Barbarifme, A rude and corrupt maner of fpeech**, full of barbarous and absonant words.**

Bafis, The flar, piedstall or foote of a Columne, pillar, statue, or such like, whereupon it standeth.

Bastarches, or Bastarcha. The foueraigne magistrate or Ruler of the Bosotians.

Beotsus, a kinde of Mesure or Note in Musick used in Beotsa.

С

C. Aim, A common forename to many families in Rome, and Caia to the woman kinde: as ufuall as John and Jone with us, as appeareth by this forme of speech ordinary in mariage; Where thou art Caim, I will be Caia.

Calends. Sec Kalends.

Callafures, Hardneffe in maner of brawn, as in the skinne of hands or feet, occasioned by much labour and trauell. Cancerous, that is to fay, Refembling a certeine hard tumor or fwelling; occasioned by melancholicke bloud, named a Cancer, for the likeneffe it hath to a crab-fish, (named in Latine Cancer) partly, for the swelling veines appearing about it, like unto the feet or cleis of the faid fish: and in part, for that it is not easily remooved, no more than the crab if it once fettle to a place: & lastly, because the colour, is not much unlike. This swelling if it breake out into an ulcer, hardly or unneth admitted any cure, and by some is called a Wolfe.

Candyli, A kind of dainty meatmade with hony and milke.

Candys, an ornament of the Persians, Medians, and other East nations; much like to a Diademe.

Catamite, A boy abused against kinde: a baggage.

Cataplasme, A pultesse or groffe maner of plaster.

To Canterize, To burne or feare with a red hot iron or other mettall.

Cenotaph, An emptie Tombe or Sepulcher, wherein no corps is interred.

Censours, Magistrates of State in Rome, whose charge was to valew and estimate mens goods, and enroll them accordingly in their seurall ranges: Also to demise unto certaine sarmers, called Publicanes, the publicke profits of the city for a rent, and to put soorth the city works unto them; to be undertaken at a price. Likewise their office it was to oversee mens maners, whereby oftentimes they would deprive Senatours of their dignitie: take from Gentlemen their horses of service and rings: displace commanders out of their owne triber disable them for giving voices; and make them Ærarij.

Centre, The middle pricke of a circle or globe, equally diffant from the circumference thereof.

Centumoiri, A certeine Court of Judges in Rome, chosen three out of every tribe. And albeit there were 35 tribes, and the whole number by that account amounted to an hundred and five; yet in round reckoning, and by custome, they went under the name of an hundred, and therefore were called Centumoiri,

Cereopes, Certaine ridiculous people inhabiting the Iland Pinherufa, having tailes like monkeys, good for nought but to make fport.

Zzzzz 2 Chromaticke

Chromaticke Muficke, Was foft, delicate and effeminate, ful of defeant, fained voices and quavering, as fome are of opinion.

Cidaru, An ornament of the head, which in Persia, Media, and Armenia, the Kings and High priests wore, with a blew band or ribband about it, beset with white spots.

Cinarada, A familie descended from Cinaras. Some read Cinyrada, and Cinyras. Circumgyration, A turning or winding round.

Cn. A forename to some houses in Rome.

Colian earth, So called of Colias a promontory

or hill in the territoric of Attica.
Colleague, A fellow or companion in office.

Colonies, Were townes wherein the Romanes placed citizens of their owne to inhabit, either as Free-holders, or tenants & undertakers; endowed with franchifes and liberties diverfly: Erecked first by Romulus.

Comædia vetus, Licentiously abused all maner of persons, not forbearing to name and traduce upon the Stage even the best men, such as noble Perseles, wise Solon, and sust Arissides: nay it spared not the very State it selfe and bodie of the Common-weale; whereupon at length it was condemned and put downe.

conceons, Orations or speeches made openly before the body of the people, such properly as the Tribunes of the Commons u-

fed unto them.

Congiarium, a dole or liberall gift of fome Prince or Noble person bestowed upon the people. It tooke the name of that measure Congias, much about our gallon, which was given in oile or wine, by the poll: but afterwards, any other such gift or distribution, whether it were in other victuals, or in money, went under that name.

Confuls, two in number, Soveraigne Magifirates in Rome, fucceeding in the place of Kings, with the fame authoritie and roiall enfignes: onely they were chosen yeerely.

Contignate, Close set together, so as they touch one another, as houses adjoining.

Consulions, Bruiles, dry-beatings, or crushes.
Convulsions, Plucking or shooting paines:
Cramps.

Cordax, A lassivious and unseemly kinde of daunce, used in Comcedies at the first, but misliked afterwards and rejected.

Criticks, Grammarians, who tooke upon them

to censure and judge Poemes and other works of authors; such as Aristarchus was.

Criticall daies, In Phylicke be observed according to the motion of the humour and the Moone; in which the disease theweth some notable alteration, to life or death, as if the patient had then his dome. In which regard we say, that the seventh day is a king; but the fixth, a tyrant.

Cube, A fquare figure: as in Geometrie, the Die; having fixe faces foure fquare and even: in Arithmeticke, a number multiplied in it felfe; as nine arifing of thrice three, and fixteene of foure times foure.

Curvature, that is to fay, Bending round, as in the felly of a wheele.

Corollarie, An overdeale, or overmeasure, given more than is due or was promised.

Curulechaire, A feat of estate among the Romans made of Ivorie; whereupon certaine Magistrates were called Curules, who were allowed to sit thereon: as also Triumphes were named Curules, when those that tiriumphed were gloriously befeene in sich chaire, drawen with a chariot, for distinction of Oration, wherein Captaines rode on horsebacke onely.

Cyath, A finall measure of liquid things: the twelfth part of Sextarius, which was much about our wine quart. So that a Cyath may go for three good spoonefuls, and answereth in weight to an ounce and halfe, with the better.

Cynicke Philosophers, Such as Antisthenes, Diogenes and their followers were: so named of Cynosarges, a grove or schoole without Athens, where they taught: or rather of their dogged and currish maner of bitings barking at men, in noting their lives over rudely.

D. Decim, A forename, For Decim, although it were the Gentile name of an house in Rome, yet grew afterwards to be a forename, as Paulus: and likewise forenames at the first, in processe of time, came to name Families.

D. Decimus, A forename to certaine Romans, as namely to Brutus furnamed Albinus, one of the conspiratours that killed Iul. Cafar.

Decade, That which conteineth tenne: as the Decades of Livie, which confift every one of tenne books.

Democratie, A free State, or popular gouernment; wherein every citizen is capable of foveraigne Magistracy.

Desiceative,

Desiceative, that is to say, Drying, or having the power to drie.

Distession, A consonance or concord in Mufick, called a Fourth, whereof there be soure in the Scale which comprises fifteene strings: it answeres to the proportion, Epitritos; for it consistent of three and one third part.

Diapente, A confonance or concord in Muficke, called a Five, it answereth to the proportion Hemiolios, or Sesquialtera: for three conteineth two and halfe; three and two make five.

Diapajon, a perfect confonance conteining two fourths; or made of Diatesseron and Diapente, As if it confished of all : an Eight, It answereth to duple proportion; or Diplason.

Disdia pajon, A duple Eight; or quadruple Fourth; which was counted in old time the greatest Systema in the Musicke scale.

Diaftema, The intervall in the scale of Musick.
Also the rest or Time, of which and of founds or notes consistesth Diatonicke Musicke.

Diazengmenon, Of disjuncts in Musicke.

Diaphoretical, or Diphoretical, So is called in

Phylicke Exceffive Iweat, whereby the fpinits be fpent, and the body much weakened and made faint, as in the difeafe Cardiaca.

Distorique Musicke, Keepeth a meane temperature betweene Chromaticke, and Enharmoniacke; and may go for plaine long, or our Musicke.

Diatonos, Anote in Musicke. Diatonos Hypatón, D, SOL RE. Diatonos Mejón.

Distatour, A foveraigne Magistrate above all others in Rome, from whom no appeale was granted, meere absolute and king-like; but that his time of rule was limited within fixe moneths ordinarily: so named, because he onely said the word and it was done; or for that he was Distau, that is to say, nominated by one of the Consuls, usually in some time of great danger of the state, and not otherwise elected.

Diesis, The quarter of a note in Musicke; or the least time or accent, G, SOL, RE, UT. Dionysius in Corinth, An usuall proverbe in Greece, against such as are upon their profperous citate, so proud and infolent, as they forget themselves and oppresse their inferiors; putting them in mindethat they may have a fall as well as Dionysius, who having beene a mighty and absolute Monarch of Sieils, was driven at last to teach

a Grammar and Musicke schoole in Co-

Dithyrambs, Were fongs or hymnes in the honour of Baechus, who was furnamed Dithyrambus, either because hee was borne twice, and came into this world at two dores; once out of his mother Senerleus wombe, and a second time out of his stather Jupiters thigh: or essentially of the Jupiters thigh: or essentially or essentially a piter had sowed him within his thigh, at what time as he should come forth againe, he cried foorth, with sightly with the same, the Poets who composed such Hymnes were called Dithyrambicques, whose verses and words were darke and intricate.

Divination, Soothfaying, or foretelling of future things.

Dolichus, Along carriere or race, containing twelve, or (as fome fay) 24. Stadia.

Dorian, or Doricke Mufick, Was grave and sober: so called, for that the Dorians first devised and most used it.

Drachme or Dram, The eight part of an ounce. Also a peece of money valued at seven pence halfe-penie in filver, and in gold much about a french crowne. The Romane denarius was æquivalent unto it.

Ε

Echo, Aresonance, or resounding of the last part of the voice or words delivered.

Echo-pan, Asong, of Echo supposed to be a Nymph nor visible, but woonderfully beloved of Pan, the Heardmens god.

Eclipticke, making or occasioning an eclipse. Elegi, Lamentable and dolefull ditties, composed of unequall verses, as the Hexameter and Pentameter; and such be called Elegiake.

Elenchs, fubtile arguments devised to reproove or confute.

Elota, The common flaves that the Lacedamonians ufed, and emploied in bafe miniferies, as publicke executions, &c.

Elucidaries, Expositions or Declarations of things that be obscure and darke.

Embrochalion, adevife that Physicians have to foment the head or any other part, with fome liquor falling from aloft upon it, in maner of raine, whereupon it tooke the name.

Emphaticall, that is to fay, Expresse and verie fignificative.

Empiricke Physicians, Who without regard ei-Zzzzz 3 ther

An explanation of certeine obscure words.

tution and nature of the patient, goe boldly to worke with those meanes and medicines whereof they had experience in others, fall it out as it would.

Empufa, A certeine vaine and fantasticall illufion, fent by the divell, or as the Painims fay, by Hecate, for to fright infortunate folke. Appeare it doth in divers formes, and feemeth to go with one legge (whereupon it tooke the name, quasi E mason:) for one foote or legge it hath of braffe, the other of an affe; and therefore it is named alfo ονοκάλη or ονοσκελίς.

Encomiastical, Perteining to the praise of a thing or person.

Endrome, Akinde of bickering or conflict: Endymatia, A kinde of daunce or Musicall Note.

Enharmonion, one of the three generall forts of Musicke: song of many parts, or a curious concent of fundry tunes.

Enthymemes, unperfect fyllogifmes, or short reasonings, when one of the premisses is not expressed, yet so understoode, as the conclusion neverthelesse is inferred.

Epact, The day put to, or fet in, to make the leape yeere.

Ephori, Certeine Magistrates or Superintendents for the people in Sparta, in opposition to the kings, and to take downe their regall power: fuch as were the Tribunes of the Commons at Rome, ordeined for to abridge the Confuls absolute authoritie.

Epiali, Be fevers of the Quotidian kind, that is continuall: they have an unequall diftemperature, both of colde and heat at once: but the heat seemeth to be milde and gentle at the first: whereupon they tooke that name. These fevers also, for the same reason be called figoruperoi. .

Epidemial diseases, Such as are occasioned by fome common cause, and therefore spred, and take hold of all persons indifferently in a tract or city: as the pestilence.

To Epitomize, To relate or pen a thing briefly and by way of an abbreviarie.

Epitritos, The proportion sesquitertion, whereby eight exceedeth fixe, namely by a third part.

Etymologie, the knowledge of the original of words, and from whence they be derived. Eviration, Gelding, or disabling for the act of

Exharmonians, Discords or dissonances in Musicke.

ther of the cause in a disease, or the consti- | Exstaste, or Ecstaste, A traunce or transportation of the minde, occasioned by rage, admiration, feare,&c.

F Latulent, Windy, or engendring winder as peafe and beanes, be flatulent meet Fomentations, in Physicke, be properly devises. for to be applied unto any greeved part:either to comfort and cherish it; or to allay the paine; or elfe to open the pores of the skinne, and to make way for plasters and ointments to worke their effects the better. Laid to they are by the meanes of bladders, fpunges, wollen clothes, or quilts and fuch

Fungosity, A light and holow substance, such as weemay perceive, in fpunges, mushromes, fuffe bals, elder pith, &c.

Alli, The furious priefts of dame Cybele, I the great mother of the gods, honored in Phrygia: It is supposed that they tooke that name of Gallus the river; the water whereof if they dranke liberally, they fell into a furious rage, and cut off their owne

Gracostasis, A withdrawing gallerie or place in Rome, neere unto the Senate house Curia Hostilia: where Greeks and other forreine Embassadors staide and gave atten-

Gymnastical, Belonging the publicke places of exercise, where youth was trained up to wrestling and other seates of activitie: the

which places were called Gymnasia. Gymnick games or plaies, performed or practifed by those who were naked.

Gymnopodia, or Gymnopadia, a certaine daunce, that the Lacedæmonian children were trained in, barefoot; untill they proceeded to another more warlike, called Pyrrhica.

Gymnosophists, Philosophers of India, who went naked, and led beside a most austere and precise life.

H

Abite, In our bodies , is either the fubflantiall constitution thereof; whereby we terme the evill habite (in Greeke) yexatia, whenas the bodie milliketh and thriveth not; and the good habite degla (in Greeke) when it prospereth: or els the outward parts; and fo we fay sweats, pocks, me-

zels, and scabs, are driven foorth to the habite of the body by strength of nature. Harmonicall Musicke, See Enharmonia.

Hemiolios, Proportion sesquialterall: conteining the whole & halfe; as twelve to eight.

Hemisphare, that is to say, The halfe sphære or globe, used commonly for that part of the heaven which is in our fight.

Hexameter, A verse consisting of fix mesures, called feete.

Hexatonos, Having fix tones or fix strings. Hicroglyphicks, The Aegyptians facred Phi losophie, delivered not in characters and letters, but under the forme of living creatures and other things engraven.

Holocaust, A whole burnt sacrifice: whereas ordinarily they burnt upon the altar, onely the inwards of the beaft.

Homonymie, the double or manifold fignification of a word or fentence, which is the occasion of ambiguity and doubts:

Horizon, That circle that determineth our fight, and divideth the one halfe of the iphære of heaven above, from that which is under, out of our fight.

Horoscope, the observation of the houre and time of ones nativitie, together with the figure of the heavens at that very instant; and that for footh in the East.

Hypate, hypaton, Principall of principals. A base string in a Musicallinstrument: or a note in the skale of Musicke, B, MI.

Hypate Melon, A meane string or note in Muficke: principall of meanes, E, LA, MI.

Hypare, The base string in a lute or other stringed instrument; so called, because it is seated highest & is principall. And yet it may seeme in vocall Musicke, as Lambinas taketh it in Horace, to be the small treble, by that which he writeth of Tigellus, who long To Bacche, modò fumma Voce, modò hac, re-Sonat chordis que quatuor ima: where by summa he meaneth the treble, and ima the base. Alfo Boetius (as Erasmus upon the proverb Dis Diapason, observeth) writeth the cotrary, namely, that Hypate is the lowest or base; and Wete the highest or treble. Neither doth Plutarch seeme to agree alwaics with himfelfe in thefe termes.

Hyperbolyaum, A terme in Musick, belonging to their skale, & appropriate to the trebles, that is to fay, it fignifieth Excellent or ex-

Hyporchema, An hymne and dance unto Apollo, performed by children with a noise of pipes before them, in the time of pestilence, and thereupon it was also called

Hypotheticall propositions, such as are pronounced with a supposition.

Ambus, A measure or foote in verse, confist Ling of two fillables, the former short, the other long: it is put also for the verse made

Iambicke verles, be they which stand upon fuch feete. If of foure, they be called Quaternary:if of fix, Senary:if of eight, Octonarij. Now for that this kinde of foote runneth very quicke, two of them together be reckoned but for one measure: and therefore the faid verses, betermed also Dimetri, Trimetri, and Tetrametri, as if they had but two, three, & foure feete or measures.

Irofaedron, A Geometricall folid body, reprefenting twenty fides or faces, diffinguished by their feverall lines and angles.

Idea, The formes of things fetled in the divine intelligence or heavenly minde, according to which as paternes, by Platees doctrine all things were made.

Idai Dactyli, were certaine servitours unto Cybele, bretheren all, called otherwife Corybantes and Curetes. But whether they were Dæmons, fanaticall men, or coufening impoftors, it is not agreed upon among writers: neither how many they were, or why fo called. See Natalis Comes Mytholog.

But heere I must not forget to note, that in the Page 257 line 50, instead of Ideau δακτίλων: fome read Ιδίων δακτύλων, that is to fay, of their owne fingers. Calius Rhodig. Lect. Amig. lib. 17. cap. 12.

Identity, that is to fay, The fameneffe, or being the very fame.

Idea or Ides, Eight daies in every moneth, derived of an old word Iduo to divide, for that they commonly fall about the midft of the moneth, namely upon the thirteene or fifteene daies, according to Horace: Idus tibi funt agenda; Qui dies mensem veneris marina, findit Aprilem.

To Incarnate, that is to fay, to make flesh, or helpe that the flesh may grow : and so cerraine falves or medicines be called incar-

To Inerassate, that is to say, to make thicke and grofe.

Intercular daies, that is to fay, fet or put betweene, as the odde daie in the leape yeare. Interstise, Interflice, that is to fay, The space or distance betweene.

Inumbration, that is to fay, Shadowing. Ionicke Musicke, Gallant and galliardlike: plea-

fant or delectable.

Isonomie, An aquability of government under the fame lawes, indifferently ministred to al persons: As also an equality of right which all men docenjoy in one state: And an æquall distribution unto all persons, not according to Arithmeticall, but Geometricall proportion.

Isthmus, A narrow banke of landelying betweene two feas, as namely, that of Corinth and Peloponne [w: and by analogic thereto, all fuch are so called. By a metaphor also, other things that ferve as partitions, be fo

Isthmick games, Were those which were performed neere Corinth upon the faide Ifthmus: instituted as some thinke, by T heseus, to the honour of Melicerta, otherwise named Palamon and Portamnus.

Alends, Was among the Romans the first day of the Moneth, or the very day of the new Moone, which commonly did concurre and fall out together: N eomenia in Greeke. But so called and TE raken, that is to fay, a Calando, because the Prinst used then to call the people unto the court Calabra, and there to pronounce unto them how many daies there were to the Nones, &c.

L. Lucius, A forename to divers families in Rome.

To Laconize, that is to fay, To imitate the Lacedæmonians, either in flort and pithy fpeech, or in hard life.

Lassitude, that is to say, Wearinesse.

Laterall motions, that is to fay, Moovings to a fide; for diffunction of those that be circular, mounting upright or descending downward.

Libations, or Libaments, Assaics of sacrifices, or offrings to the gods; especially of liquid

things, as wine.

Lichanos, A string of an instrument or note in Musicke: Index: In an instrument: the forefinger string or third: in the GAM- UT, or skale, D, sol, RE, and G, sol, RE, UT, according to the addition of Hypatón or

Liturgia, Any publicke function: but more

particularly for the ministeric in the church, about divine service and worthin of God.

Lydius Modus, Lydian Musicke, dolefull and lamentable,

Lyceum, or Lycium, A famous place necre to Athens, wherein Aristotle taught Philofophic. His followers, because they confer. red and disputed walking in this Lyceum were called Peripatetici.

Lyrical poets, Such as composed ditties and fongs to be fung unto the Lute or fuch like

stringed instruments.

M. Marcu, M. Manius, with the note of apoltrophus, Forenames of of apostrophus, Forenames of fundry houses in Rome.

Medimnus, A meafure conteining fixe Modif Romane; and may goe with us for a bulbel and three pecks of London measure, or thereabout.

Megarian questions, that is to say, Such as were propounded and debated among the Philosophers Megarenses: for there was a fect of them, taking name of the place; like as the Cyrenaiks: for Euclides and Stilpo were Megarians.

Mercenarie, that is to fay, Hirelings, or fuch

as take wages.

Mele, The middle string or meane: it endeth on Eight, and beginneth the other in the skale of Musicke. In the GAM- UT, A, LA,

Metamorphofed, that is to fay, Transmuted

Metaphysicks, that is to fay, Supernaturall. The first and principall part of Philosophy in the intention, although it be last atteined unto, as unto which all other knowledge ferveth, and is to be referred. The Philosophers Theologie or Divinity, treating of intelligible and visible things.

Meteors, Be impressions gathered in the aire above; as thunder, lightning, blafing flars,

and fuch like.

Mimi, VVere actours upon the stage, reprefenting ridiculously the speech and gesture of others; jefters and vices in a play: Alfo certeine Poemes or plaies, more lascivious than Comcedies, and fuller of obscoene wantonnesse. The authors of such were called Minographi, as Laberius.

Mina, or Mna, A weight, answering to Libra, that is to fay, a pound. Also come valued

at fo much.

Minervall,

An explanation of certeine obscure words.

Minervall, The stipend or wages paid unto a Schoole-master for the institution and teaching of scholars; derived of Minerva, the prefident of learning and good arts.

Mixelidian tune, that is to fay, Lamentable and pitifull: meet for Tragoedies.

Monarchie, The absolute governement of a state, by one prince. Rosalty.

Mordicative, that is to fay, Biting and ftinging : as mustard seed, Pelletary of Spaine. Muscles, The brawny or fleshy parts of the

Mythologie, A fabulous Narration: or the delivery of matters by way of fables and

MEmeia, Certaine folemne games institu-ted in the honour of Hercules for killing a lion in the forest Nemea; or as some thinke, in the remembrance of Archemorus a yong babe killed by a ferpent.

Nete, The lowest or last string in an instrument, answering to the treble, and oppofire to Hypate. Some take it cleane contrary, for the base. See Hypate: and Erasmus upon the Adage, Dis diapafon.

Nete Diezeugmenon; A treble ftring or note of musicke, last of disjuncts. E, 1A, MI. N ete Hyperbolean, the last of trebles : A, IA

Mi, RE. Nete Synnemmenon or Syzeugmenon, The last of the conjuncts: aftring or note in muficke, D, La, so L.

Niglary, Are thought to be notes or tunes in musicke, powerfull to encourage, See Scho-

liast in Aristoph.

Nones, Were certaine daies in the moneth: fo called, because they began evermore the ninth day before the Ides, honored by the Romans both for the birth day of king Servine, and also for the chasing out of the kings : for otherwise it was not festivall; according as Ovid writeth, Nonarum tutela deo caret.

Novenary number, that is to fay, Nine.

Bolus, A certeine weight: halfe a scriptul or scrupul, the fixt part of a drachme or somewhat better in Greece : also a small coine, currant for eight chalci, which in filver is a peny and farthing.

Ottaedra, A Geometricall body of eightbafes, sides or faces, diffinct by their angles.

Oeconomie, House-governement : or the Administration and dispose of houshold af-

Oligarchi, A state of government, wherein a few, and those properly of the welthier fort, rule the common wealth.

Olympiades, were the space of those source yeeres, according to which the Grecians reckoned the time: as the Romans did by their lustra; and Christians, by the yeere of

Olympicke or Olympian games, were instituted first by Hersules in the honour of Jupiter Olympias; or of Pelops, as some thinke; and celebrated with a folemne affluence and concourse from all parts of Greece every foure yeeres complet once, betweene Pifa and Elis, in a plaine called Olympia: where also stood the temple of Jupiter Olympius.

Oracle, An answere or sentence given by the devil, or the supposed gods of the heathen: also the place where such answeres were

delivered.

Organe, An Instrument. And our body is faid to be Organicall, because the soule performeth her operations by the parts thereof as instruments.

Orthios Nomos, In muficke a tune or fong exceeding high and incentive; which when Timotheus fung beforeking Alexander, he was fo moved and incited, that presently he leapt foorth and tooke armes.

Orthographi, That part of Grammar which teacheth the feat of writing truely; also,

true writing it felfe.

Ostracisme, In Athens A condemnation and confining for ten yeeres space of that perfon, who was thought to grow greater in wealth, reputation and opinion of vertue or otherwise, than the democratic or free popular estate would well beare, ordained first by clisthenes: who for his labour was himfelfe first condemned. It tooke the name of Offratos, a shell or little potsherd, wherein his name was written, whom any of the people was in that behalfe offended with; and meant to expell the city. And if the major part of the people noted one in this maner, he was fent away. It differed from banishment, because no person lost by Ostracisme goods or lands: againe the time was limited, and the certaine place fet downe, where he should abide. In this fort Arifides the just, valiant Themistocles and other good men were driven out.

Oxyrynchos,

P Acan The name of Apollo. An hymne also to Apollo and Diana for to avert plague, warre, or any calamity : र्था गेरे मधासंग, which fignifieth to strike or to heale, or of musiv, to flay or make to ceafe.

Paderafti, The loving of yong boics : commonly taken in the ill part, as fignifying the abuse of them against kinde.

Pagma, Pleasant poems or merry ditties for

Paon, or Paeon, The name of Apollo; and of a metricall foot in verie, of which Pæans are composed: and it is duple, to wit of foure fillables, either the first long, and the other three short; or the first short and the other three long: it is named also Paran: also an epithet of Apollo.

To Palliat, that is to fay, To cover or hide: and fo fuch cures be called Palliative, which fearch not to the roote or cause of the difcase, but give a shew onely of a perfect cure; as when a fore is healed up aloft, and festereth underneath. And thus sweet pomanders doe palliat a stinking breath, occasioned by a corrupt stomacke or discased lungs and such like.

P. Publius, A forename to some Romane fa-

Panathenea, A folconnity held at Athens: wherein the whole city men, women and children were affembled. And fuch games, dances and plaies as were then exhibited; or what orations were then and there made, they called Panathenaik. Of two forts these solemnities were: once every yeere; and once every fifth yeere, which were called the greater.

Paneratium, Plutarch taketh for an exercise of activity or mixt game of fift-fight and wrestling. Howbeit other writers will have it to be an exercise of wrestling, wherein one indevoureth with hand and foot, and by all parts of his body to foile his adverfary: as also the practise of all the five feats of activity, which is called Pentathlon and Quinquertium: to wit, * buffetting, wrestling, running leaping and coiting,

Paneratiast, One that is skilfull and professed in the faid Pancration.

Paramese, Next the meane or middle string. A note in mulicke: B, TA, E, MI, in space. Paranete Hyperbolaan, A treble string or note in musicke: the last save one of trebles : G. SOL, RE, UT.

Panegyricke, Feasts, games, faires, marts, poinpes, shewes, or any such solemnities, performed or exhibited, before the gene. rall affembly of a whole nation: fuch as were the Olympicke, Pythicke, Ishmicke, and Nemian games in Greece Orations likewife to the praise of any person at such an asfembly, be called Panegyricall.

Paradox, A strange or admirable opinion held against the common conceit of men: fuch as the Stoicks mainteined.

Periode, A cercuit or compasse certeinly kept: as we may observe in the course of Sunne and Moone, and in the revolution of times and feafons: in fome agues also and other ficknesses, that keepe a just time of their returne, called therefore Periodicall. Alfo the traine of a full sentence to the end, and the very end it felfe, is named a Periode.

Paranete Diezeugnumenón, A treble string or note in Musicke: the last fave one of disjuncts: D, LA, SOL, RE.

Paranete Synemmenon or Syzengmenon: C,

Parhypate hypaton, that is to fay, Subprincipall of principals. A string or note in Muficke : C, FA, UT.

Parhypate Meson, that is to fay, Subprincipall of meanes: a string or note in Musicke: F,

Peripateticks, A fect of Philosophers, the followers of Ariflotle: See Liceum.

Phidiria, Were publicke hals in Lacedæmon, where all forts of citizens, rich and poore, one with another met to eat and drinke together, at the publicke charges and had xquall parts allowed.

Philippicks, Were invective orations made by Demosthenes the Oratour, against Philip king of Macedony, for the liberty of Greece. And heereupon all invectives may be called Philippicke, as those were of M. Tullius Cicero against Antonie.

brygim Modus, Phrygian tune or mulicke, otherwise called Barbarian; mooving to devotion, used in facrifices and religious worship of the gods: for so some interpret Entheon in Lucianus : others take it for incenfing and stirring to furie.

To Pinguifie, that is to fay, To make fat. Plethoricall plight, that is to fay, That state of the body, which being full of bloud and other humours, needeth evacuation: whether the said fulnesse be, ad vasa, as the Physicians Physicians say, when the said bloud and i humours be otherwise commendable, but offending onely in quality: or, ad vires, when the same be diftempered and offenfive to nature, and therefore would be ridde away; which state is also called Cacochymie.

Polemarchus, One of the nine Archontes or head magistrates in the popular state of Athens, chosen as the rest yeerely. Who notwithstanding that he reteined the name of Polemarchas, that is to fay, a Captaine generall in the field, fuch as in the Soveraigne government of the kings, were emploied in warres and martiall fervice under them: yet it appeareth that they had civill jurisdiction, and ministred justice, between citizens & aliens, of who there were many in Athens; like as the Archon for the time being, was judge for the citizens onely. Affiftants he had twaine, named Paredri, who fat in commission with him.

Poliorceles, Afurname of Demetrius, avaliant king of Macedonie, and fonne of king Antigonus: which addition was given unto him for befreging of fo many cities.

Polypragmon, A curious busic body, who loveth to meddle in many matters.

Pores, The little holes of the skinne, through which fweat paffeth, and fumes breath foorth.

Positions, Such sentences or opinions as are held in disputation.

Pratour, One of the superiour Magistrates of Rome. In the citic he ruled as L. chiefe Justice, and exercised civill jurisdiction: Abroad in the province, he commanded as L. Governour, Deputie, or Licutenant Generall: In the field, he was L. General, as well as the Confull. At first, the name of Conful, Prætor, and Judge was all onc.

Primices, First fruits. Problemes, that is to fay, Questions propounded for to be discussed.

Procatar Eticke causes of sicknesse, Be such as are evident and comming from without, which yeeld occasion of disease, but do not mainteine the same: as the heat of the Sunne, causing headach or the ague.

Prognosticke, that is to say, Foreknowing and foreshewing : as the signes in a disease which forefignifie death or recovery.

Profeription, an outlawing of persons in Rome, with confifcation of their goods, and felling the fame in portfale : and depriving them of publicke protection.

Proflambomene, A, R E, a terme in Muficke; fignifying (a String or Note) taken in or to: for otherwise of two Heptachords, there would not atife 15. to admit a place in the middle for Mele, that is to fay, the Meane, to take part of two Eights, or two Diapafons.

Profodia, A certeine hymne or time thereto, in maner of fupplication to the gods, and namely to Apollo and Diana, at what time as a facrifice was to be brought and prefented before the altar.

Proteleia, The facrifice before mariage: as alfo the gifts that ceremonionfly went before.

Prytaneum, A stately place within the castell of Athens, wherein was a court held for judgement in certeine causes: where also they who had done the Common-wealth fingular fervice, were allowed their diet at the cities charges, which was accounted the greatest honour that could be.

Parhypate Hypaton, A base string or note in musicke, Subprincipall of principals: C, FA, UT,

Parhypate Melon, Subprincipall of meanes, a meane string or note, F, FA, UT,

Pyladion, In muficke a kinde of note bearing the name of Pylades, a Poet comicall and skilfull mafter in muficke.

Pyramidal, Formed like unto the Pyramis, which is a geometricall body, folid, broad beneath, and rifing up one all fides which be flat and plaine, unto a sharpe point like a steeple. It taketh the name of mup, that is to fay, Fire, which naturally hath that fi-

Pythia, or Phabas, The priestresse or prophetiffe, who pronounced the answeres at the oracle of Apollo Pythius at Delphos: who tooke that name of Python there flaine by him and lying putrified: or of mursurest, that is to fay, To aske and demand; for the refort of people thither to be refolved by him of their doubts.

Pythick, or Pythian games, were celebrated to the honour of Apollo Pythius, neere the city Delphos, with greate folemnity: instituted first by Diomedes and yeerely renewed.

Q

Q. Quintus, A fore name to divers Ro-

Quaternary, the number of Foure: called likewife rerest and rerestants, so highly celebrated

* Or launcing the dart.

* Some put in

flead hereof

Fift-fight.

by the Pythagoreans, comprising in it the proportion Epitritos, whereof ariseth the musicall harmonie*Diatessaron; for it contained three and the third part of three also Diplasson, because it comprehendeth two duple, whence ariseth the musicke diapason: and Dissipason, being dubled, which is an Eight & the perfect harmony, according to the proverbe drawr berni: also in that, it contained all numbers within its for, one, two, three and source arise to Ten, beyond which we cannot ascend but by repetition of former numbers.

Questions, inferior officers in Rome in maner of Treasurers: whose charge was to receive and lay out the cities mony and revenewes of state: of which fort, there were turbani, for the city it selfe: Provinciales, for the provinces: and Castrenses, for the campe and their warres.

Quinquertium, named in Greeke, Pentathlon.

Five exercifes or feats of activity among the greeks practifed at their folemne games: namely *launcing the dart, throwing the coit, running a race, wreflling and leaping. See Pancratium.

R

Adical moisture: Is the substantial humidity in living bodies; which is so united with naturall heat, that the one maintaineth the other, and both preserve life.

To Rarifie, that is to fay, To make more subtile, light and thin.

Recidivation, Is a telapte or falling backe into a ficknesse, which was in the way of recove ry, and commonly is more dangerous than the former: Recidiva pejor radice.

Regents, Professions in the liberall sciences and in Philosophi: a tearme usuall in the universities.

Reverberation, that is to fay, A smiting or driving backe.

Rhapfales, A fowing together or conjoining of those Poems and verse especially heroicke or hexametre, which before were loose and scattered: such as were those of Homer, when they were reduced into one entier body of times and Odyssea. Those Poets also, who recite or pronounce such verses, were tearmed Rhapsales.

Rivals and Corrivals, Counter-suiters: or those who make love together, unto one and the same woman,

To Ruminate, that is to fay, To ponder and confider, or revolve a thing in the minde:

a borrowed speech from beasts that chew the cudde.

S

Atyri, Woodwofes, or monstrous creatures with tailes, yet resembling in some fort, partly men & women, & in part goats, given much to venery and lascivious estimates also to feurill, frumping and jibing, for which they were also called Sileri, especially when they grew aged; supposed by the rulal heardmen to be the saties or gods (I would not esse)

Satyra or Satyrs were certaine Poems received in place of Comadia vetus, detelling and reprooving the missemeanours of people and their vices: at first by way of myrth and jest, not sharpely and after abiting maner, to the shame, disgrace or hunt of any person; such were they that Horse composed; howbeit they grew afterward to more diracity and licentious sine broad tearness without respect all leand-nesse, and sparing no degree; as those were of Juvenales and Persus penning, Latine poets onely, handled this argument, both in the one fort and the other.

Seammonte, A medicinable plant, and the juice thereof iffuing out of the roote when it is wounded or cut: it purgeth yellow choler ftrongly. The fame juice or liquor being concrete or thickned and withall corrected is called Daerydium; as one would fay, the teares defitilling from the roote: and is the fame which the unlearned Apothecaries call Diagridium; as if for footh it were fome compound like their Diaphenicon.

Seelet, The dead body of a man artificially dried or tanned, for to be kept and feene a long time. It is taken also for a dead carcasse of man or woman, represented with the bones onely, and ligaments.

Scepticke philosophers, Who descended from Pyrrhogio called, for that they would confider of all matters in question, but determine of none: and in this respect they were more precise than the Academicks.

Scolia, Were certeine longs and carols lung at fealts.

Serutinie, A search, and properly a perusing of suffrages or voices, at elections or judiciall courts, for the triallor passing of any cause.

Secundine, The skinne that enwrappeth the childe or young thing in the wombe:

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women the after-birth or later-birth; in beafts the heame.

Senarie, The number of fixe, also a kinde of verse. See Iambus.

Septimane, A weeke or feven-night. Also what foever falleth out upon the seventh daie, moneth, yeere, &c. as Septimane faetwe, in Arnobius, for children borne at the seventh moneth after conception; and Septimane fabres, Agues returning with their fits every seventh day.

Serg. Sergius Forenames to certeine fasex. Sextus. Forenames to certeine families in Rome.

Sefguialteral, A proportion, by which is ment that which conteineth the whole and halfe againe, as 6, to 4, 12, to S. It is also named Hemiolios.

Sefgui-tertian, A proportion, whereby is understood as much as comprehendeth the whole, and one third part, as 12. to 9. and the same is called Epiritos.

Sefgui offave, That which comprises the whole and one 8 part; as 9 to 8, 18 to 16: in Greeke Epiogdoos, or Epogdoos.

Solecisme, Incongruity of speech, or defect in the purity thereof: It arose of those who being Athenians borne, and dwelling in Soli, a city in Cilieta, spake not pure Artick, but mixt with the Solians language.

Sulfice, The Sunne-steed, which is twice in the yeere, in Iune & December, when the Sunne seemeth of sand for a while, at the very point of the Tropicks, either going from us, or comming toward us; as if hee returned from the end of his race, North and South.

Sp. Spurius, A forename to fome Romanes.
Spajmes, that is to fay, Crampes, or painfull pluckings of the muskles and finewes. See Convuljans. And Spafmaticke, full of fuch or given thereto.

Sphares, The circles or globs, of the feven planets as also the compasse of the heaven above all.

Spifitude, Thicknesse or dimnesse.

Spondess, An hymne fung at factifices and libations. Alfo a metricall foot in verfe, confifting of two long fyllables: whereof principally fuch hymnes or fongs were composed;

Stadium, A race or space of ground, conteining 625, shore, whereof eight make a mile, consisting of athousand paces, which are five thousand 'oot, reckoning five foot for a pace; for so much commonly a man

taketh at once in his pace, that is to fay, in his stepping forward, and removing one footbefore another.

Stoicks, Certeine Philosophers, whose sinst master was Zeno, who taught in a certeine spatious gallery at Athens, called Poecile, for the varietie of pictures wherewith Polignorus the excellent painter beautisted it: And for that a gallery, in Greeke is called Stoa, therefore those Philosophers who taught and disputed therein, tooke that name of Stoicks.

strophes, that is to fay, Convertions or turnings. In Comoedies and tragoedies, when the Chorus first speaketh unto the actours; and then turneth to the spectators, and pronounceth certeine jambicks. In the rehearling of Lyricall veries, when the Poet one while turneth to the right hand, and another while to the left, and/foreciteth certeine veries: which thereupon be called Stropha, and Antistropha.

Stypticke, being fuch things, as by a certeine harft tafte, doe shew that they be aftringent: as the fruit called Mydkars, and Alum especially, which thereupon is called Stypteria. And Stypticitie is such a qualitie.

Subitarie, that is to fay, Of a fudden, without premeditation.

Subterranean, that is to fay, Under the earth.
Superficies, The upper face or outfide of any
thing. In Geometrie it is that, which is
made of lines fet together, like as a line of
prickes united.

Superfactation, Conception upon conception.

Suppuration, A gathering to matter or attir: as in biles, impostumes, inflammations and such like.

Sycophants, Tale-bearers, faile promoters, or flanderous informers, and fuch as upon finall occasions brought men into trouble. The name arose upon this occasion, that wheteas in Athan there was an act, That none should transport sigges out of the territory Attiens, such as gave information of those that contrarie to this law conveied sigges into other parts, were tearmed Sycophants: for that Stoppin Greeke, is a figge.

Syllogifmes, Be certeine formes of arguing: when upon two propositions graunted, which are called Premisses, there is inferred a third, namely a Conclusion.

for a pace; for fo much commonly a man | To Symbolize, that is, By certeine outward A a a a a figures,

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signes, to signific some hidden things: Thus an eie fymbolizeth vigilancy.

Sympathie, that is to fay, A fellow feeling, as is betweene the head and stomacke in our bodies: also the agreement and naturall amitie in divers fenfleffe things, as between iron and the load-stone.

Symphonie, Concent and harmony, properly in vocall Musicke.

Sympoliarch, The master of a feast. The Romanes called him Rex, that is to faie, a

Symptomes, Be accidents accompanying ficknesse; as headach, the ague: stitch, shortneffe of winde, spitting blood, cough and ague; the plurifie.

Synemmenon, or Synezeugmenon, A tearme of art in musicke, fignifying strings or notes conjunct.

Symaxu, The construction and coherence of words and parts of speech by concord and regiment.

T. Tim, A forename to many houses of the Romans.

Talent Atticke (as well ponderall which was weighed, as numerall or nummarie, counted in mony) was of two fortes: The lesse, of fixty pound Attick, and every one of them confilted of one hundred Drachma. If mina then, be three pound two shillings fix pence starling in filver; this talent amounteth to one hundred eighty feven pound ten shillings of our english mony. The greater, or simply the great talent, is eighty mine and hath the proportion Epitritos, or fesquitertian to the lesse: so that it commeth to two hundred and fifty pound starling.

Tautologies, Vaine repetitions of the fame things oftentimes.

Ternarie, The number of three.

Terpandrios, A severall tune in musicke, or a fong that Terpander devised.

Tetrachord, An instrument in old time of foure strings: but now, it is taken for every fourth in the scale of Musicke or GAM, ur, whereof there be foure in fifteene strings: reckoning Mese, to end one octave and begin another.

Tetrarch, A potentate or ruler over the fourth part of a country.

Theatre, A shew place built with seates in maner of an halfe circle, for to behold games, plaies and pastimes; which if both

ends meet round, is called an Amphitheatre. Theorems, Principles or rules in any science.

Theriacal Trochisks, Trofches made of viners flesh, to enter into the composition Theriaca, that is to fay, Triacle.

Thesmothela, Were fix of the nine Archontes or chiefe rulers in Athens during their free popular estate. They had civill jurisdiction and fat as judges in certeine causes.

The mothe frum, feemeth to be the court or commission of the said Thesmothele.

Topicks, That part of logicke which treateth of the invention of arguments, which are called Topi, as if they were places, out of which a man might redily have sufficient reasons to argue and dispute with Pro & contra.

Tribunes of the Commons , Certaine officers or magistrates at Rome, as provosts and protectours of the cominaltie to restraine and keepe downe the excessive power of the confuls and nobility. Chofen they were and confirmed by the generall oth of the people, whereby they were Sacrofan-Hi, that is to fay, Inviolable, & no violence might be done to their persons. A negative voice they had and power of inhibition called Intercessio; whereby they might croffe and stop all proceedings of the Senate or any superiour magistrate (save only the Dictator) even of the very confuls, whom in some case they might command. They resembled much the Ephory in Sparta.

Trite Diezeugmenon, The third of disjuncts 2 string or note in the scale of musicke C, SOL, FA, UT.

Trite Hyperbolaan, A treble ftring; the third of Exceeding or treble; F, FA, UT.

True Synnemmenon, or Syzeugmenon, The third of the Disjuncts, aftring or note in musicke, B, FA, B, MI in rule.

Triviall, Common and ordinary as is the high way, stale and of no account.

Trocheans, A metricall foot in verse, consisting of two fillables; the former long, and the other short.

Tropaes or Trophaes, Were monuments in memoriall of victory, erected in marble, braffe, or in default thereof with heaps of stone or piles of wood, in the very place where any Generall had vanquished his enimies and put them to flight; whereupon they tooke that name: for that resm in greeke signifieth, Turning back and slight. Tropes, In speech the using of wordes otherwife than in their primitive and naturall

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fignification; which many times giveth a grace to the sentence.

Tutelar, Protectours and defenders. So were the gods or goddeffes among the Painims called, whom they beleeved to have a speciall charge of any city or country.

A Type, that is to fay, A figure under which is fignified some other thing.

TEstall virgins, were certeine Nunnes or Votaries, instituted first by W uma Pompilim king of Rome, in the honour of Veff4 the goddesse: whose charge was to keepe the facred fire that it went not foorth. Chosen they were betweene the yeeres of fix and tenne of their age : and were enjoined virginitie for thirtie yeeres : after which time it was lawfull for them to be married: But if in the meane while they committed fornication, buried they were quicke.

Vnction, that is to fay, Anointing.



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VAlerius Poplicala. 865.40 Valerius Poplicala suffected for affecting the kingdome 380.40 ted. of Rome. Valerius Torquatus. 908.10 exiled. templative. 910.30 Valeria her vertuous act. 491.50 they differ. Valeria Tufculanaria enamoured of her owne father. 912.50 Vertue no more than one. Valerius killeth himselfe. 913.1 Bed. Veleria Luperca, destined to be (acrificed. 916. 20. She hada gift to cure the ficke. Vallies within the Moone three. 1182.20 Valiant men may be flaine by cowards. 973.50 Variety accordeth to Nature.652. Ventofes and cupping glasses, the reason of their attraction. 1022. Venus image why placed hard by 316.10 Mercurie. Venus Beleftie. 1137.1 Venus what attribute she hath. 1140.10 Venus why called Harma. 1155. Venus and Love how they differ. Venus image among the Elians upon a tortoife fbell. 321.1 Temple of Venus the murdreffe. 1154 Empona. of Venus the end. 337.30 Sophocles joied, that by age he was bereaved of the sports of Venus. Venus how to be used. 621.10 Venus of Dexicreon. 904.1 Venus altogether to be abandoned. Venus sports in day time not to be Rome. used. 692.50. at what time to be nsed. forts. Venus why she is said to be borne 728.50 of the sea. Venus the goddesse, on whether hand wounded by Diomedes. ple feeding. 789.50 Viands of sca or land, which be bet-635.30 Venus Epitalaria. Venus Epitimbia. 857.40 Viands simple, more holsome than Venus her image with a Tortoife. of divers forts. 1317.20 700.20 Viands rare and dainty.

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10}, 105, 106, 107, 108, 112,	12, and then, spare 10, made the statues 8, given unto; whiles he 10 in clipping	266. 268. 270.	4. those Galatians 49. Celmis or Bacelas 50. upon the pleafant tabor plais		med an ill Poet, for to be a good Phyfician?	634. 636.	50. private defliny.
10}, 105, 106, 107, 108, 112, 113,	11, and then, spare 10, made the flatues 8, given unto ; whiles he 10 in clipping 18, leand courfes 7, which are trebles in one, 8	268. 270. 271.	4. those Galatians 49. Celmis or Bacelas 50. upon the pleafant tabor plaja	ı	good Physician 5	636.	50. private defliny. 37. but they being humbled!
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7°4. 785.	4. I wor not how 30. thickned: the poure	970.	6. a		1151.	10. wonderfull generative 42. invention of love, that	273.2	1
786. 788.	6, accordant, in Muficke 5	,,.,		within the Amphitheaters 1	1152.	42. Invention of love, that		
,	22 in that their amount.		F/6	. that he may raife himfelfe .	1153.	10. braches and bitches	276. 3 1277. 4 ti	4
790.	19. this Lady gently, Sec,	972.	2.	on, and so get footh, 1 but fay it were true, 1	1155. 1156.	4. and revile Penus, 31. confuled trouble and	ti R	1
,, 798.	19. this Lady gently, See, 3. and therefore, Irus, 1. our willes					10. Dractics and Dicties 4. and revile Venus, 31. confuled trouble and 1 In the marg. august of the property of the desired of the property of	201.3 185.2	2
799. Boo.		977. 978.	3	within the fand fwallowes doe; nor yet	159.	47 to incite those (17/2/1	286. 1	1
	9. of running water, they are	979. 980.	35. 24,	with his feet; and as men .	160	15 amulets	188. 5	
	33. with hot defire, and 42. I was with her gold excurse	084	.,	fav. 1	164.	10, ayou cato be the carth : 1	190, 5 291, 2	4
	42. Iune with her gold crowne bonour'd, Faire Dione and well 45. From Hellen (favour'd,	986.	42	most facted oblation that is Salamia accompanieth	165.	z. bodies heere, and their	3	į
	55. And foune, (favour'd,	e88.	56. 44.	Salamis accompanieth she inconfiderate folly			31 192. 44 193. [n	ŀ
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245. Ame. Reade 1100, 22. to come themselves its 1109, 18. Imposity, 1174, 47. and the calme, white: 56. is a dead body 1175, 21. and argumentation, 1176. 10. even and fibrile 30. and embediments 1177, 27. doe not admi: 177. 27. doe not admit 181. 1. with the windes and team-186.1. with the winder and team-footed 192. incontaminate 192. incontaminate 40. They be affidanc 40. They be affidanc 40. They be affidanc 41. Standard 192. Standard 19 98. 3. Mifogynt

45. Ad now to their things fo well faid well laid

198, 21, For, wine, as

49, golden tufts

100, 36, Inachian an Aliartian,

101, 9, of the faid god,

106, a, my telte quoth Phed, land,

107, 88 what the tente and me aming

is the occasion 51. is by occasion

8. 51. and called unto those his familiar 30-5, 1. and called uncortact his familiar.

11.11 good tume, either hath it 1, which thy his reliabil came!

14.1. As for your Lyra,

30.5. the singlection of 30.5. the singlection of 30.5. the singlection of 30.5. the singlection of 40.5. the single the treated 30.5. the single the single 40.5. the single the single 40.5. t 2.4: Ical hamed Aparica 33. called hom Hays 39. upon a poore an infirable 1. 10. he diminathed, eliminated, 6.37. Did with their blous 4.45. candoned and betrafed 6.45. Coloffes & giantike flauta 7. 18. Setharts, 'Depnalla,' 4.9. Greeks, weet quite deci-12. Filharmonia: (ved. 14. Didfi nest nine the wife.) (c.d. Finhamonian

14. Diefi next unto the prince;
and a differ of difforance;
5.00 more than the lute or the
harpe onely &c.
53.100 the gold deviled the play
both of the one and the other;
4.34, did it writingly, But to
5.27 Hemotian both of the one and the other;
4.3 did it winnings/Butro
5.27. Hemotion
5.47. Hemotion
5.40. Hemotion
5.40. Hemotion
5.40. Hemotion
5.40. Hemotion
5.40. Hemotion
5.40. Hemotion
6.40. Hem 54. dimly appeareth,
53. Unitry Apollo; Two, Disna;
54. And Ire, they fee out
44. Office body, and caused
nother marg, in the trustice of the
Plant \$295.42.005

Errata.

1395 41, one Methide 49, where they were honored 1397. In the marg, wicked or curft. Inputer to Minerva. 1298. 16. Hades and Bronylus. 1300. 29. O all yee	1317.4. Cyfire 1319. 14. all thefespecies 1321, 20. ouvertures	13:7, 2 Engaltrimythi 42. The daughters werily 13:28, 32. in order from one: and 3, 3, by four every way, In the marg, by another, maketh 54. all fuddaine 13:0, 12:as a tuchman	Page, line, Reads 1340, 19, Effence or Being, 1344, 16, who in Conjectures miffeth 1356, 13, hath a fuite and 1356, 13, hath a fuite and 1357, 16, in infinitum, 1362, 17, nor libjeckeither 1363, 45, as were noe
1301, 10, teligious Thyades 23, facred fury	1324. 33. Adieu dame Corone,	1335. In the marg. Outstrap 1339. 9. having equal angles,	1363.45.25 were not

Those sew faults which haply have escaped su besides, are such, as the Reader not altogether unlearned may cor-rest of himselfe, and of his curtesse pardon sus for considering the sarre absence of our Author, and the master of the booke not atwaits samiliar.